1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES 2 - - - - - - X REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA, ET AL., : 3 4 Petitioners : : No. 03-13 5 v. б MARIA V. ALTMANN : 7 - - - - - - - - - - - X 8 Washington, D.C. 9 Wednesday, February 25, 2004 The above-entitled matter came on for oral 10 11 argument before the Supreme Court of the United States at 12 11:13 a.m. 13 **APPEARANCES:** MR. SCOTT P. COOPER, ESQ., Los Angeles, California; on 14 behalf of Petitioners. 15 16 THOMAS G. HUNGAR, ESQ., Deputy Solicitor General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf of the United 17 States, as amicus curiae, supporting the Petitioners. 18 E. RANDOL SCHOENBERG, ESQ., Los Angeles, California; on 19 20 behalf of the Respondent. 21 2.2 23 24 25

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1	CONTENTS	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	PAGE
3	SCOTT P. COOPER	
4	On behalf of the Petitioners	3
5	THOMAS G. HUNGAR	
6	On behalf of the United States,	
7	as amicus curiae, supporting	
8	the Petitioners	14
9	E. RANDOL SCHOENBERG	
10	On behalf of the Respondent	24
11	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF	
12	SCOTT P. COOPER	
13	On behalf of the Petitioners	48
14	、 、	
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(11:13 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument next
4	in 03-13, the Republic of Austria v. Maria Altmann.
5	Mr. Cooper.
6	ORAL ARGUMENT OF SCOTT P. COOPER
7	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
8	MR. COOPER: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please
9	the Court:
10	Landgraf and its progeny provide the basis for a
11	decision in this case. In enacting the FSIA, Congress did
12	not direct that it apply retrospectively to events that
13	occurred prior to its enactment. Moreover, application of
14	the 1976 expropriation exception to alleged conduct that
15	occurred in and before 1948 would change the legal
16	consequences of that conduct, and therefore be impermissibly
17	retroactive.
18	QUESTION: What why would it change the legal
19	consequences? It wouldn't it just change where you can,
20	where you can sue?
21	MR. COOPER: No, in fundamental terms it would
22	change the legal consequences. Prior to 1976, there was
23	complete immunity in this country for claims of
24	expropriation. Foreign sovereigns had an expectation that
25	they would not be hailed into our courts to answer for the

1 internal exercise of their sovereign activities, and that is 2 the fundamental aspect of --

3 QUESTION: Did the Tate letter have any coverage
4 prior to '76, the so-called Tate letter from the State
5 Department?

6 MR. COOPER: The so-called Tate letter changed the 7 State Department's position with respect to commercial 8 activities as of 1952. This conduct all preceded 1952 and 9 concerned what has always been recognized as essentially 10 public acts, that is, acts of expropriation.

11 But to finish the answer to Justice Scalia, the --12 the issue that underlies the whole concept of foreign 13 sovereign immunity at its very basis is the question of 14 whether our courts, in the case of United States' 15 jurisdiction, will exercise jurisdiction to question past 16 judgment on the sovereign conduct of foreign states acting in their own -- within their own borders with respect to 17 property within their own country in this case. And that's 18 something that as a matter of comity and as a matter of 19 20 international concepts of orderly relationships between 21 sovereigns that we don't tolerate.

QUESTION: But I thought that -- well, first, I think you recognize that this suit could be brought inside Austria, and then one of the countries that don't follow the -- the absolute rule. Then it seems to me that Justice

Scalia is right, it's a question of where you can sue. You
 -- your argument is the United States has been self-denying,
 but countries like Austria itself that don't follow that
 absolute rule could be a proper forum.

MR. COOPER: With respect, Justice Ginsburg, the --5 б this issue of the adoption of the restrictive theory by any 7 country is really a red herring here. The expropriation 8 exception concerns itself with what has always been recognized as a public act, and that is that the act of 9 expropriation, something that can only be done by a 10 11 governmental entity through the exercise of its governmental 12 authority.

QUESTION: But I -- as I understand this claim, it's not the original ex parte -- expropriation is when Austria isn't even a country, because this happened in the Nazi period, right?

MR. COOPER: No, Your Honor. The United States' MR. COOPER: No, Your Honor. The United States' position throughout World War II and thereafter has been that Austria retained its sovereignty, that it was an occupied state by the Nazi regime. The United States immediately recognized --

22 QUESTION: Then why was there a second republic? 23 MR. COOPER: The second republic was the 24 reconstituted government of the state of Austria, but the 25 United States' position, and it is the executive's position

1 that has binding authority with respect to the sovereign 2 status, the executive's position was that Austria was always 3 a state.

More importantly, Your Honor --

4

24

5 QUESTION: But may I continue, because I thought 6 that this claim, whatever you say about Austria's status in 7 the, at the time of the Anschluss, that it's not necessarily 8 about the stealing of the goods, it's about the retention of 9 the goods.

MR. COOPER: We don't believe that that's a correct 10 11 reading of section 1603 -- 1605(a)(3). 1605(a)(3) concerns 12 itself with the expropriation of property. The Congress --13 I articulated the power for the enactment of the expropriation exception as the power to define and punish 14 violations of the laws of nations, and it is not even 15 16 arguably the case that a possession of expropriated property, especially as it's been argued by the respondent, 17 not necessarily even having been expropriated by the 18 defendant country, is a violation of international law. 19 20 QUESTION: So if you know that you've taken from an

20 QUESTION: SO II you know that you've taken from an 21 expropriator, that's all right under international law? 22 MR. COOPER: It's not a question of whether it's 23 all right. It's a question of whether Congress decided that

it was a basis for an exception to the long-standing and

25 general rule of law in this country, that is, sovereign

1 immunity. So in other words, has -- has Congress determined 2 that one of the narrow and specified exceptions to foreign sovereign immunity is the mere possession of property? 3 QUESTION: Is it sovereign immunity or is it the 4 5 act of state doctrine? 6 MR. COOPER: It's sovereign immunity, Your Honor. 7 QUESTION: Well, but, I mean, even -- there -there are two things that happen here. The sovereign can be 8 brought into court, but more than that, the sovereign can be 9 held to account for the act of the sovereign on its own 10 11 territory. The latter, it seems to me, can be described as 12 substantive law, the former, just allowing the sovereign to 13 come into your -- or allowing your court to entertain a suit against the sovereign is -- is just -- just where suit goes. 14 15 It has nothing to do with the outcome of the suit. 16 MR. COOPER: This Court determined --QUESTION: So I -- I wish you could tell me that it 17 did have to do with the act of state doctrine, because that 18 would be -- that would be a substantive change and that 19 20 should not be retroactive. 21 MR. COOPER: The -- the active state doctrine is an 22 independent doctrine that is not before the Court today. 23 The sovereign immunity doctrine is before the Court today. Sovereign immunity, this Court decided in Verlinden, is a 24

25 matter of substantive Federal law. This Court made that

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Alderson Reporting Company, Inc. 1111 14th Street, N.W. Suite 400 1-800-FOR-DEPO Washington, DC 20005 decision after careful consideration and with specific
 reference to the FSIA and Congress' power to enact it, and
 concluded that it was more than a jurisdictional statute.

4 Moreover, in the Hughes case, this Court 5 determined that merely articulating a statute's terms in 6 terms of jurisdiction does not remove it from the 7 retroactivity analysis we urge is the rule of law that -that determines the outcome of this case. Quite the 8 contrary. Hughes made it clear that in circumstances very 9 10 much like these, where a cause of action was not previously 11 allowed, and here the immunity kept a -- an action for 12 expropriation from being adjudicated in American courts 13 under those circumstances. As of 1976, there was a 14 fundamental change in the law with respect to foreign 15 sovereigns.

16 QUESTION: Well, in Hughes -- in Hughes there were -- there were other changes besides the -- besides the 17 jurisdictional one. There -- there were defenses that were 18 19 eliminated. I don't think Hughes is a very good -- good 20 case for you, but Verlinden, it seems to me, is -- is -- is 21 closer, but we were determining there whether it was a 22 substantive law or not for a very different purpose, for the 23 existence of -- of power on the part of the Federal Government to -- to enact the statute. That's a -- that's a 24 25 bit different from the purpose for which we're determining

1 whether it's a substantive law here.

2 MR. COOPER: The interest of the United States, Your Honor, in the -- the administration of cases against 3 4 foreign sovereigns has long been recognized by this Court as 5 being a -- a matter of great national interest. The 6 question of when we decide to exercise jurisdiction over 7 foreign sovereigns is an essential component of the way this 8 country interacts with other countries. It's an area in 9 which the Constitution conferred responsibility on the political branches. The executive exercised that 10 11 responsibility for the vast portion of this country's 12 history and then submitted to Congress an act, the Foreign 13 Sovereign Immunity Act, which Congress then enacted, and 14 created --15 QUESTION: But none of that's in question. 16 MR. COOPER: -- very narrow exceptions to the 17 doctrine. QUESTION: None of that's in question. The only 18 19 thing that's in question is when Congress enacted this, did 20 they intend it to have the effect of -- of -- what should I say -- de-immunizing, if you want to put it that way, prior 21 2.2 acts or not. 23 MR. COOPER: And it --24 QUESTION: We're -- we're not questioning the 25 authority of the executive or the authority of the

legislature or the importance of this matter. Essentially,
 the issue is, what did Congress mean by this statute?

3 MR. COOPER: And Congress in this Court has clearly 4 articulated in -- in Landgraf and in the -- the several 5 cases that followed it, exactly how we determined what it 6 was that Congress did as it relates to the retroactive 7 aspects of those changes in law.

8 QUESTION: And in -- in our domestic jurisprudence, 9 we are cautious about retroactivity because it destroys 10 subtle expectations. Is that same rationale applicable when 11 we're talking about foreign sovereign immunity, or are there 12 other considerations such as the dignity or -- of the 13 foreign state?

MR. COOPER: We think when the issue of a concept of basic fairness so close to the root of our understanding of what constitutes fair treatment of any individual, that no less standard --

18 QUESTION: Well, that's why --

MR. COOPER: -- no less rigorous standard thanLandgraf should apply.

QUESTION: That leads to my -- my next question. If we're talking about expectations, my understanding -correct me if I'm wrong -- is that in 1948 Austria was -and all countries -- were on notice that immunity would be judged later on by acts of the executive, or in this case,

by an act of Congress. Wasn't the expectation here that there would be a later determination of whether there was immunity?

MR. COOPER: The expectation was that, based on the general concepts of international law and general concepts of comity, which are not just a question of whim or courtesy, but rather a question of fair treatment of one sovereign by another with the expectation that the sovereign who is declining jurisdiction would be fairly treated in the courts of other countries.

11 QUESTION: But still whether or not there would be 12 immunity, Austria and all other countries knew, would be a 13 later determination, so that the expectation they had was to 14 that extent necessarily, it seems to me, diminished --

15 MR. COOPER: The expect --

16 QUESTION: -- or qualified.

MR. COOPER: Expectations are only one of a numberof factors that the Court has referred to in Landgraf.

19 QUESTION: So it's -- so there are additional 20 factors other than expect. What are the additional factors? 21 MR. COOPER: Well, certainly. Landgraf quoted 22 Justice Story in his 1814 articulation of what was relevant, 23 but the factors are expectations, changed circumstances, and 24 changed considerations for the parties. In any case that 25 increases liability, for instance, for a particular act is

1 considered to be --

2 QUESTION: Let's just stick -- stick with 3 expectations --

4 MR. COOPER: -- part of common sense --

5 QUESTION: -- for the moment. Let's -- before you 6 get off of expectations, I don't know that we protect 7 expectations of the sort that -- that you're talking about. Let's assume that a state which has not -- not previously 8 allowed a tort action by -- by two out-of-state people, 9 between two out-of-state people, to be brought within that 10 11 state. Let's assume they change their law and they say, you know, in the future, you -- you can bring a tort action. 12

Do you think that -- that we would say, you're -you're disrupting people's expectations`if you allow those persons who are -- who are the parties to a tort in another state before this statute was passed to sue in the new state?

18 MR. COOPER: Our concepts of --

QUESTION: What expectation, you know? I expected not to be able to be sued in Virginia. As it turns out, I can -- I can be sued in Virginia. Did that really affect my action in -- in this case? I can't believe that Austria when it took this action had in mind, oh, I -- I know that I -- that I can't be sued for this in the United States, I may be sueable a lot of other places.

1

MR. COOPER: Reliance --

2 QUESTION: I'm sueable here, but I'm not sueable in 3 the United States. Who cares?

4 MR. COOPER: That kind of particularized reliance 5 analysis has never been a part of this Court's retroactivity 6 analysis. It -- the Court doesn't look for purposes of 7 civil or criminal cases, can we find evidence that the individual, when that individual acted, or the party, when 8 9 that party acted, had in mind the current state of law. The question has been as a matter of common sense understanding, 10 11 is the new law a change in the consequences for past 12 conduct? And --

QUESTION: So you're -- you're distinguishing reliance and expectation? An expectation is relevant even though there may be no reliance. Is -- do I understand you correctly?

MR. COOPER: We are focused on the changed legal consequences, not the subjective intention of the party in any respect.

20 QUESTION: But is -- do -- do you articulate that 21 in terms of the country's expectation, even though the 22 country may not have relied upon that expectation when it 23 acted?

24 MR. COOPER: Not --

25 QUESTION: Are you drawing that distinction?

MR. COOPER: Not solely. We are not focused on the expectation component of the test. We are focused primarily, although I think expectations could be a factor, we think that the more important aspect of the analysis is the changed legal circumstances. That's -- that's the core of what the --

7 QUESTION: And the changed legal circumstance that I understand you're emphasizing here is that, at least prior 8 to 1976, this particular possession of expropriated 9 property, as well as the expropriation itself, would not 10 11 have been cognizable in the court of any country unless 12 possibly the country itself, which as an act of grace later, 13 decided to -- to make its own reparations. But subject to that section -- that exception -- it would not be -- would 14 not have been cognizable anywhere? 15 16 MR. COOPER: That's absolutely correct. 17 QUESTION: Okay. 18 MR. COOPER: If there are no further questions at 19 this point, I'd like to reserve time. 20 QUESTION: Very well, Mr. McCoy -- rather, Mr. 21 Mr. Hungar, we'll hear from you. Cooper. 2.2 ORAL ARGUMENT OF THOMAS G. HUNGAR 23 ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES AS AMICUS CURIAE 24 SUPPORTING THE PETITIONERS 25 MR. HUNGAR: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please

1 the Court:

The position of the United States has always been that sovereign immunity bars U.S. courts from adjudicating pre-1976 expropriation claims against foreign sovereigns. As this Court recognized in Dames and Moore, claims by nationals of one country against the government of another are frequently sources of friction between the two sovereigns.

9 Since 19 -- prior to 1976, therefore, and absent a waiver of sovereign immunity, expropriation claims against 10 11 foreign sovereigns have always been addressed through 12 diplomatic negotiations and foreign claims processes, and 13 not in U.S. courts. And the United States has entered into 14 numerous agreements with foreign countries regarding such 15 claims, always against and with a background understanding 16 prior to 1976 that such claims could not be adjudicated in 17 U.S. courts.

18 QUESTION: Is -- is the friction that's feared in 19 part based on changed expectations, or is that just 20 irrelevant to the analysis?

21 MR. HUNGAR: Changed expectations are relevant in, 22 in the general sense, not the particular -- particularized 23 expectations of a particular state, but that it is a general 24 rule and understanding of international laws set forth in 25 the Vienna Convention on Treaties and elsewhere that changes

in international law, including changes in sovereign immunity law, are not retroactively applied. And there are numerous examples of the latter point cited in our brief at footnote 14, and -- and it was an absolute rule in 1948 and before.

6 QUESTION: Is the absolute rule based on the act of 7 state doctrine or on sovereign immunity? The distinction --8 MR. HUNGAR: Sovereign immunity. Sovereign -- it 9 was an absolute rule of sovereign immunity --

10 QUESTION: But as you stated the proposition, 11 you're limited to appropriation claims.

MR. HUNGAR: Well, that's what we're addressing here. This -- the absolute doctrine, the doctrine of absolute immunity was applicable to all`claims. There is no -- there is not a single instance of any case or State Department determination prior to 1952 in which a suit was permitted to proceed against a foreign sovereign --

18 QUESTION: And then that was the Tate letter, the 19 --

20 MR. HUNGAR: The Tate letter changed --

21 QUESTION: In '52.

MR. HUNGAR: With respect to commercial activity, but, of course, this is not a commercial -- it's not even alleged the -- within the commercial activity exception. We're not talking about commercial activity.

1 QUESTION: Why is it that retroactivity -2 retroactivity causes more friction? Because --

MR. HUNGAR: Because it would be inconsistent with the understandings with which the United States and these foreign governments operated under with claims resolution agreements with numerous countries, not merely arising out of World War II, but out of communist government expropriations and numerous agreements regarding these types of --

QUESTION: But I thought part of the baseline of immunity law was that other -- foreign countries such as Austria knew that from time to time we would confer immunity or not confer immunity depending on the decision of the executive. So I don't see how wealth -- how settled this expectation or this other reliance is.

16 MR. HUNGAR: The -- the case that -- the doctrine of absolute sovereign immunity, there were no -- there are 17 no exceptions. There could not possibly have been any 18 expectation or reason to believe that the executive of this 19 20 country would deny immunity in an expropriation case because 21 that had never happened in the history of the absolute 22 doctrine, immunity doctrine, for 150 years. No suit, again, 23 no suit in the United States has been permitted, was 24 permitted to proceed on any theory against a foreign 25 sovereign in personam. It was -- it would be absolutely

2 to 1976, in fact, in the expropriation context. And so --QUESTION: Would that be true of -- would that be 3 true of Austria itself if the tables were turned? 4 5 MR. HUNGAR: It's unclear whether a -- a court б action could have been brought, at least we're not familiar 7 with anything in the record that indicates whether a court action could have been brought in 1948, under, for example, 8 the restitution law that Austria passed in 1947. 9 QUESTION: I think there was --10 11 MR. HUNGAR: But that's irrelevant because it can't 12 be -- the retroactivity analysis has to be a term --13 determined on a section-by-section, or -- or provision-by-

unprecedented for such a suit to have been permitted prior

14 provision basis. It can't be a case-by-case, country-by-

15 country rule.

1

QUESTION: Well, it was relevant to something that Mr. Cooper said. He said this was a matter of fairness and we want others to be treated -- treat others -- treat others well so that they will treat us well. That sounded to me like he was speaking in reciprocity terms.

21 MR. HUNGAR: Reciprocity is also an important 22 consideration, Your Honor. If this law were to be applied 23 retroactively, it could open the United States to reciprocal 24 claims brought in foreign courts, which would further 25 complicate our foreign relations.

1 QUESTION: Well, how -- how does it work if in fact 2 you treat the statute as purely jurisdictional? You have to, one, establish jurisdiction, they have it under 1330. 3 You have to have venue, they established that. And then you 4 5 look to see if it's wiped out by sovereign immunity, and 6 (a)(3) says this is a case in which rights and property taken in violation of international law are an issue. 7 8 Right.

9 So suppose you said, yes, that is such a case, even though the expropriation took place in '48 or earlier 10 11 Then the State Department could come in and say, perhaps. 12 well, you don't win if you wanted to. You'd say, after all, 13 there first is the act of state doctrine, and this was not 14 clearly in violation of international law in 1948, or you could file, what is it called, it's a -- an information, or 15 16 what is it, it's a suggestion of something or other -- it's 17 a --

18 MR. HUNGAR: Well, prior to --

QUESTION: -- statement of interest. And you say it's the -- there's a -- there's a foreign policy interest here, and so that way the State Department's in control, and if it feels that it would hurt foreign affairs to have the suit go ahead, it says either act of state if it's not clear or a statement of interest, and a -- which is a kind of political question, I guess.

And so, what -- how does that, in other words, where am I wrong in thinking there's no real foreign policy concern here in respect to the application of this statute as a purely jurisdictional matter?

5 MR. HUNGAR: We believe that the -- as we said in 6 our briefs, and part of the reason we're here today is that 7 there are foreign policy concerns implicated --

8 QUESTION: I know, and what I want to know is, what 9 was wrong with what I just said? You see, as I was saying 10 it -- did you follow it? One --

MR. HUNGAR: Well, I'm not -- understand. We are here today saying the United States has an interest in not having this expropriation exception applied retroactively because it would undermine the background assumption --

QUESTION: I understand that and I'm trying to get 15 16 to the reasoning. And my thought was, I don't see why it 17 affects foreign affairs. You can explain why. I understand you believe it does and I'm sure you're right, but I just 18 19 want to know why, and the reason I find it difficult to see 20 why is because it seems to me you still, even assuming 21 jurisdiction, can come in and say this was an act of state, 22 this seizure in 1948, or you can file a statement of 23 interest, which I take it is saying there's a big foreign policy matter here and we're working it out in other forums 24 and you courts stay out of it. Now -- now am I wrong about 25

1 that? I'm sure you're going to say I am wrong and I want to 2 know why.

3 MR. HUNGAR: Well, we don't perceive a meaningful 4 difference between an amicus brief expressing foreign policy 5 concerns, which is what we have filed, and a statement of 6 interest expressing foreign policy concerns.

7 QUESTION: Ah. Well, then the correct result in 8 this case is to say yes, this statute applies, it applies to 9 1948 seizures, because they were in violation of 10 international law. Now, the State Department files a 11 statement of interest saying to the court, there is a valid 12 foreign policy reason for not going ahead in this case.

13 MR. HUNGAR: But the --

QUESTION: I take it, by the way, you promised you wouldn't in this case, but nonetheless, all right. So -- so if -- that would be just up to you, so if you do it, then the court will not go ahead and adjudicate this case even though there is jurisdiction under the FSIA.

19 MR. HUNGAR: Justice Breyer --

20 QUESTION: I'm missing something, so you explain it 21 to me.

22 MR. HUNGAR: Well, several things. First of all, 23 it's not true that we promised not to express a view --24 QUESTION: I'm sorry I brought that up. Take that 25 out.

1 MR. HUNGAR: That has to do with a particular 2 agreement entered into in 2001 and it is certainly our position that that agreement does not cover this case and 3 that was the position we took. But again, with respect to 4 5 the -- we are expressing the foreign policy concerns that 6 I've identified, which are generalizing, go through the 7 retroactive application of this statute generally. We're not talking just about Austria here. There are claims and 8 potential claims against countless foreign countries, many 9 of whom -- many of which would involve claims that were 10 11 previously addressed --

12 QUESTION: Some of them do not involve the act of 13 state doctrine and you want us to hold that -- that -- that 14 this would be a retroactive application of this 15 jurisdictional statute no matter -- no matter what claim is 16 made, whether it's an act of state claim or not. If -- if you were limiting them to act of state, I could understand 17 it, because that's a substantive -- a substantive matter, 18 19 but you want us to say no -- no suits can be brought that -out of actions that -- that arose before this. 20

21 MR. HUNGAR: In principles of retroactivity, the 22 presumption against retroactivity require --

23 QUESTION: It's not --

24 MR. HUNGAR: This is not a sub --

25 QUESTION: It begs -- it begs the question whether

1 it is retroactive or not.

2	MR. HUNGAR: This is not purely no, Your Honor,
3	this is not purely jurisdictional. The fact that a if
4	it's true that a similar type claim could have been brought
5	in Austria at the time, that cannot change the retroactivity
6	analysis, because otherwise retroactivity would be
7	determined country by country, and that fact that that a
8	state by by an exercise of grace has chosen to allow
9	claims that somehow deprive it would change the rules, which
10	can't be
11	QUESTION: Give me an example. I only have one
12	question in this case and I've just said it and I want to be
13	sure I get the best answer I can. So give me an example of
14	an instance where it would hurt the foreign affairs
15	interests of the United States if the law said you proceed
16	as I outlined.
17	MR. HUNGAR: We have
18	QUESTION: There is jurisdiction but you are free
19	to file act of state or
20	QUESTION: Wind it up.
21	QUESTION: statement of interest.
22	MR. HUNGAR: May I answer, Your Honor?
23	QUESTION: Yes.
24	MR. HUNGAR: The we there are currently cases
25	pending against countries such as Japan and Poland, with

1 which -- which this country previously entered into 2 agreements which both sides thought had resolved the issue 3 entirely, and to now retroactively apply a substantive provision that this Court recognized in Ex parte Peru is a 4 5 substantive, not merely jurisdictional, but a substantive б legal defense, to apply that retroactively would be to 7 change settled expectations, change the rules, and it should 8 not be done.

9

12

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Hungar.

10 Mr. Schoenberg, we'll hear from you.

11 ORAL ARGUMENT OF E. RANDOL SCHOENBERG

ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT

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

We believe there are four independent grounds for affirming the lower court in this case. First, as the Court has just discussed, the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act regulates the exercise of jurisdiction, not the underlying primary conduct of the parties. Therefore, the Act does not operate retrospectively.

21 QUESTION: Well, why doesn't it retro -- why -- why 22 isn't it just as easy to say that it does operate 23 retrospectively, because the question is, when should it 24 exercise jurisdiction for a particular purpose? And on the 25 one hand there's no point in exercising jurisdiction now if

1 it's not going to adjudicate later, so so far as the court 2 is concerned, presumably it's going to adjudicate on a 3 substantive issue.

That being the purpose, why can you -- why really does it make sense to draw that neat line?

6 MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, I'm -- I'm not sure that I 7 understand the question.

8 QUESTION: Why -- why -- why isolate jurisdiction 9 when we all know that the purpose of exercising the 10 jurisdiction is to exercise it for the purpose of 11 adjudicating a particular kind of case and to apply a 12 particular substantive law to it?

MR. SCHOENBERG: Because the -- the operative event, the event that's being regulated by a jurisdictional statute, as the Court has said, is that exercise of the Court's power, regardless of when the underlying acts took place, the Court has differentiated between the primary conduct of the parties and the secondary conduct, which is the exercise of the Court's power.

For example, just last term in the Dole Food case, the Court found that the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act is not intended to chill the conduct of the foreign state. Rather, it's there to decide whether now presently it would embarrass the conduct of foreign relations, and the -- 25 years ago, over 25 years ago, Congress decided that cases

1 such as these should be allowed to go forward.

2 QUESTION: Well, the Government of the United States has just said you're going to embarrass foreign 3 relations whether the United States' position with respect 4 5 to a consideration in interpreting this act is raised now or 6 whether it's raised after jurisdiction is assumed and you 7 get to the next stage. Why not -- why not get into it now and consider it in interpreting the -- the scope of the act, 8 9 in particular its retroactivity.

MR. SCHOENBERG: This would be a much different 10 11 case if the foreign government had ever said that the 12 prosecution of this case would interfere with foreign 13 relations, as it has in all of these other cases. But it 14 hasn't in this case, it hasn't filed a suggestion of 15 immunity, it hasn't filed a statement of interest. A matter 16 of fact, it required Austria to withdraw the act of state doctrine defense when it was asserted below. This case 17 itself --18

19 QUESTION: But I thought it just told us that it 20 would be an interference three minutes ago.

21 MR. SCHOENBERG: The concern, as I understand the 22 Government's concern, is that in other cases that are 23 pending against Japan and Mexico, et cetera, there might be 24 foreign relation issues.

25

QUESTION: Well, why -- why should we look further?

1 If the Government says that, I mean, isn't that conclusive 2 in a case like this?

3 MR. SCHOENBERG: I don't -- I don't think so. I
4 think there are two responses. First, the amount of
5 deference that is given to the Government's litigation
6 position under Bowen v. Georgetown and also INS v. St. Cyr.

7 QUESTION: Well, those are not cases involving8 foreign relations.

9 MR. SCHOENBERG: That -- that's correct, and that's 10 why the second issue is very important. I believe it was 11 Justice Powell who said in the First National City Bank case 12 that -- that jurisdiction is not the same as justiciability. 13 And what the Government is talking about is a justiciability 14 question. Does the act of state doctrine, for example, 15 prevent this case from going forward?

16 I'll give you another example, Your Honor. In -the same district court judge who handled our case and 17 granted jurisdiction in our case, Judge Cooper, also was 18 19 given a class action case asserting World War II era claims 20 against Austria, this is the Anderman case. And just last 21 April, she threw out that entire class action, because the 22 Government had come in and filed a statement of interest and 23 asserted its interest in the -- in the case, and she found 24 very similar to the Court's holding in Garamendi last term 25 that the political question doctrine was implicated when the

Government comes in and says that the prosecution of this
 particular case will interfere with foreign relations.

But I've never heard any -- in any other case the Government say that a case that does not implicate foreign relations, as this one does, should be dismissed on jurisdiction grounds merely because we have justiciability concerns with other cases.

QUESTION: What -- what is it if -- what do you 8 reply to their, what I take is their argument, that if we 9 say there is jurisdiction here, so that this covers pre-1952 10 11 expropriations, think of all the eastern European bloc, what 12 used to be, millions of pieces of real estate, et cetera, 13 and Japan, Peru, all over the world, South America, there 14 have been expropriations, and suddenly our Court becomes --15 become places where you litigate who owns property all over 16 the world, at least if you trace an interest to an American 17 citizen, for expropriations that may have taken under Maximilian of Mexico. I mean, see -- you see that kind of 18 19 problem I think is what they're trying to raise. 20 MR. SCHOENBERG: Right. We're very --21 QUESTION: What's the answer to that? 22 MR. SCHOENBERG: We're very sensitive to the 23 Government's concern, the can of worms argument here. And I think the answer to it is that all of those cases present 24

25 much more difficult problems than this one does in terms of,

1 for example, the statute of limitations. Your Honor, the 2 statute of limitations is designed to get rid of old claims. In our case, because of Austria's post-war conduct 3 of concealment --4 5 QUESTION: All right, statute of limitations. б Let's go on, let's list a few other things, because --7 MR. SCHOENBERG: There --QUESTION: -- there might be instances where the 8 statute hasn't run for all kinds --9 10 MR. SCHOENBERG: Right. 11 QUESTION: -- of local reasons. 12 MR. SCHOENBERG: There's --13 QUESTION: I don't know what the statute of 14 limitations rule is in Peru and et cetera. MR. SCHOENBERG: I can think of at least five 15 16 problems that cases, old cases, would have. One would be 17 statute of limitations. Form non-convenience may be a problem. It wasn't in this case. The act of state doctrine 18 19 we've mentioned is also a serious problem in many of these 20 cases. You have interference with treaties, which is also 21 not this case. And you have interference with executive 22 agreements, which is also not this case. 23 QUESTION: Can they come in and file a letter, in your opinion, assume you have jurisdiction to say, look, 24

25 Judge, we don't want you to litigate this case, it

1 interferes with our foreign affairs, period?

2 MR. SCHOENBERG: Yes.

3 QUESTION: They can?

4 MR. SCHOENBERG: They can file that. I think it 5 would have to be considered by the --

6 QUESTION: And they give a good reason, they give a 7 good reason.

8 MR. SCHOENBERG: If there were a good reason why 9 Austria's ownership of paintings would interfere with 10 foreign policy --

11 QUESTION: But that's for a court to judge rather 12 than the executive?

MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, there's a certain amount of
deference that would have to be given to --

15 QUESTION: But no, but you're saying that the 16 executive could say and have -- give a good reason, and the 17 court could say, no, we don't -- we don't approve of that? MR. SCHOENBERG: I think under -- under this 18 19 Court's doctrine in foreign affair and policy -- foreign affairs policy -- there is an automatic deference given to 20 21 the Government's suggestion that a particular case will 22 interfere with foreign policy, but in most cases I think it 23 would be guite clear. This case --

24 QUESTION: Well, what -- what case is it that says 25 that the court should decide rather than the executive in a

1 case like this?

MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, I believe, for example, in -2 - in Sabbatino, the Court did not immediately accept the 3 Government's position as to whether a case should or should 4 5 not go forward and said that it was -- now, I don't know 6 whether that, whether Sabbatino, in that part of Sabbatino, 7 it would still be good law today. I don't think that's been considered. 8 9 QUESTION: It -- we -- it wasn't the Court opinion, was it? 10 11 MR. SCHOENBERG: Right. It was a plurality

opinion. But there is a suggestion, it may not be an answered question, Your Honor. I'm not sure I can point to a case that would -- would talk about the deference, but again, we're talking about not our situation, because the Government has not filed any suggestion of immunity or -- or statement of interest suggesting that this case would interfere with foreign policy.

QUESTION: Could -- could I ask about the act of state doctrine? I mean, even -- why isn't that in play here? I mean, even if giving -- holding Austria here would not be acting retroactively insofar as the exercise of jurisdiction is concerned, why wouldn't holding Austria liable for an act of state which previously would not be a basis for -- for challenge in this country, why wouldn't

1 that be acting retroactively?

2 MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, we haven't addressed the act of state because it hasn't been raised and it was an 3 argument that was dropped. I -- I can answer the guestion 4 5 though. The act of state doctrine, as I understand it, is 6 designed to prevent courts from entering into situations 7 where there is no settled basis for deciding the case. In other words, in the Cuban cases where there's a regime that 8 9 has a completely different property system than ours, it would be unwise for the courts to venture into this 10 11 political dispute over whether communism or capitalism is 12 the appropriate way to adjudicate these cases.

In our case, we have a treaty, article 26 of the Austrian State Treaty says Austria must return property taken from Jewish families during the Nazi era. So there's no dispute between the two countries as to whether or what type of law would apply in this case. And under Sabbatino, it's very much qualified by the absence of a treaty governing the rule of decision.

20 So I -- I don't think this case could ever pose an 21 act of state problem. Other cases do though. That -- and 22 that's -- that's really the point. These cases against 23 Mexico, against Japan, against Poland could potentially pose 24 serious act of state problems. This particular case 25 doesn't. We'd be happy to litigate it.

1 QUESTION: Whether it poses a problem or not, the 2 suit is -- is resting upon -- is challenging an act of the state of -- of Austria that -- that occurred in Austria. 3 4 MR. SCHOENBERG: That -- that's correct. Every 5 suit against a foreign sovereign that's authorized under the 6 Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act has the potential of 7 interfering with foreign relations to the extent that it concerns the actual foreign country. 8 9 QUESTION: Right. So the issue would be, should that be given retroactive application? 10 11 MR. SCHOENBERG: In the act of state context. 12 QUESTION: Yeah. MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, I -- I don't think --13 14 QUESTION: This is the act of state context. I 15 mean, that's what's going on here. 16 MR. SCHOENBERG: The act of state doctrine is a 17 choice of law doctrine, as I understand it, and -- and so 18 it, again, is not something that really operates 19 retroactively, I think. I don't think to -- to echo what 20 was said before that any country could have an expectation 21 in how the act of state doctrine will apply in the 22 particular case. 23 QUESTION: How about the public acts? 24 MR. SCHOENBERG: I'm sorry? 25 QUESTION: This is a public act.

MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, whether it's a public or private act to collect paintings, I'm not sure is so clear. QUESTION: Let's assume it's a public act. Does it have an expectation that -- that that will be adjudicated under the then-prevailing norms?

6 MR. SCHOENBERG: I -- well, yes and no. Yes in the 7 sense that we do have to establish that -- that this property was taken in violation of international law, and I 8 think that part of the statute clearly expects that the 9 taking be adjudicated according to the state of 10 11 international law at the time. So to that degree I think 12 yes. But whether -- whether it's a public or private act I think doesn't determine the -- the retroactivity question. 13

OUESTION: But we're told that at least in this 14 15 country such acts were never adjudicated in foreign courts. 16 MR. SCHOENBERG: I -- I understood that to be the 17 Government's position. I don't know how the Government explains The Santissima Trinidad case, which is a case 18 19 concerning private property on a ship where not one, but 20 several, sovereigns claimed an ownership interest, and 21 Justice Story said that our courts, of course, have to 22 adjudicate the ownership of that private property, 23 regardless of whether it was taken as part of a public act. 2.4 In the Santissima Trinidad, it's a confusing case, 25 and I'm not sure, even having read it many times, how the

ship came to be in its final location, but as I understand
 it, it went through many different, many different hands.
 And the question at the end was, because the sovereigns were
 claiming the ship, which was potentially a ship of war, does
 that mean that the Court could not adjudicate the ownership
 of cargo on the ship? And Justice Story said no.

QUESTION: No, but he -- isn't the -- the concern about the applicability of that case to this one is precisely the reason you said. It was -- it was a suit between sovereigns and we're talking here about the sovereign immunity defense in a suit by an individual, and it's rather a stretch to take that as -- as the basis for your law in this case.

MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, I would -- I would think 14 that the act of state doctrine, which is what we were 15 16 talking about, would -- would be implicated even more strongly in a -- in a suit involving multiple sovereigns 17 than it would with regard to just an individual against a 18 sovereign. And I -- I -- the Government makes the position 19 20 I think for the first time today that the expropriation 21 clause sort of appeared from nowhere, but I don't think 22 that's the case. The first section of 1605(a)(3) very 23 clearly is the Santissima Trinidad case. That's the 24 property is inside the United States in connection with the 25 commercial activity.

1 The second clause I believe arises out of the 2 Cuban expropriation cases and the Government's experience in 3 those cases, and it was the intention of the Government in 4 1976 when the executive branch proposed this law and when 5 the Congress enacted it to allow our courts to adjudicate 6 these types of claims.

7 QUESTION: Well, what -- what I'm looking for, I'm beginning to understand his answer better -- I think there 8 9 should be a way, not in your case necessarily, but in general, for the Government to say, court, stay out of this 10 case, because of the international implications. And what I 11 12 was thinking is if we -- if this is jurisdictional, follow 13 Justice Powell's distinction, that won't be a problem 14 because there'll be other ways for them to do it. You're 15 gradually closing those doors.

One way I had thought of was act of state, but you correctly point out that the act of state doctrine does not bar anything when the claim rests upon a treaty or other unambiguous agreement, and your quoting the '55 treaty might not help you because it's post-'48, but a -- but 1907 might help you, so you're there with a treaty.

And so they say, well, we can't use that one, and there'll be a lot of cases when we can't. So then I had mentioned this thing called a statement of interest, which I was looking for an explanation because I don't know what it

is. And there's a third thing that you mentioned, which is
 called a letter about immunity. Well, that won't help them
 because that's what this statute is.

4 See, so that now we're back to the statement of 5 interest. Now, can -- what is this thing, a statement of 6 interest? Can -- in other words, is the statement of 7 interest sufficient to achieve the objective that I was thinking was important, that not necessarily your case, but 8 in many other cases there has to be a way for the executive 9 to stop the judge from deciding the matter where it really 10 11 does interfere with foreign relations.

12	Now,	what's	do	you	see	where	I'm	
13	MR.	SCHOENBERG:	I					

14 QUESTION: Do you see that that is the thing that 15 has been floating in my mind --

16 MR. SCHOENBERG: I understand --

17 QUESTION: -- and I'm trying to settle on.

18 MR. SCHOENBERG: I understand. It's, of course,

19 difficult for us to talk about it because there is no

20 statement of interest in this case, but --

21 QUESTION: But you can explain to me what a 22 statement of interest is.

23 MR. SCHOENBERG: Right.

24 QUESTION: And whether a statement of interest is a 25 sufficient legal route to achieve the end that I think is

1 necessary and that they're arguing for.

2 MR. SCHOENBERG: I believe if -- if the Government 3 were to file a statement of interest saying that the 4 prosecution of this particular lawsuit would interfere with 5 the foreign relations of the Government, I think a court 6 would be proper in abstaining from adjudicating the case 7 under the political question doctrine, very similar to this 8 Court's holding last term in Garamendi, I think.

9 QUESTION: But it wouldn't have to, in your view? MR. SCHOENBERG: I would say it would -- it would 10 11 be very -- it would almost always have to. I think -- I think the Court should still be allowed to determine whether 12 13 -- whether there is really a basis for the Government's position. I -- I wouldn't say that our courts necessarily 14 15 have to bend always to the Government's position with regard 16 to a statement of interest. I think that's the -- the import of the first National City Bank case and -- and --17 and the -- the Sabbatino case and Alfred Dunhill also. 18 QUESTION: But I -- I take it that in no case, in 19

20 no instance would you concede the appropriateness of -- of 21 the statement of interest being considered at the 22 jurisdictional as opposed to the justiciability of --23 MR. SCHOENBERG: That's -- that's absolutely 24 correct. We're talking today only about the jurisdiction

25

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question. There hasn't been a statement of interest filed

and there couldn't be a suggestion of immunity. I'm sorry,
 Your Honor.

3 QUESTION: No, I'm sorry. What do you do about 4 Verlinden?

MR. SCHOENBERG: Verlinden actually is a great case 5 б for us as I realized in reviewing it. Verlinden is -- is a 7 retroactive application of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities In that case it was a foreign company against a 8 Act. foreign state, something for which there was no jurisdiction 9 in the United States prior to the enactment of the Foreign 10 11 Sovereign Immunities Act. That action arose in 1975 and yet when it was brought under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities 12 13 Act several years later, this Court directed the lower court 14 to adjudicate jurisdiction under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. 15

So that case is exactly a -- if -- if anything is retroactive, that's a retroactive application of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. But again, it goes back to this Court's statements in Landgraf that jurisdictional statute which confers or ousts jurisdiction is not impermissibly retroactive and that --

22 QUESTION: Did -- Verlinden didn't expressly 23 discuss the right to retroactivity?

24 MR. SCHOENBERG: It absolutely did not discuss 25 retroactivity. It maybe never occurred to any of the

Justices or the parties at that time that a jurisdictional statute like the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act could be in any way --

4 QUESTION: No, but they -- but we did say that it 5 wasn't just a jurisdictional statute. That's what we said. MR. SCHOENBERG: The -- the Court said that it was 6 7 substantive in Republic of Mexico v. Hoffman in 1945. The 8 Court refers to sovereign immunity as substantive law. But I think as this Court has said, whether you label the -- the 9 law substantive or procedural really isn't the question. 10 11 The question is, on what activity is -- is the statute 12 operating? And here it's operating on the claim to immunity 13 and how that is adjudicated by our courts in deciding 14 whether the court has the jurisdiction --

QUESTION: But that -- that has a bearing on the Landgraf exception too. If a statute is more than jurisdictional, you know, it isn't so easily disposed of under Landgraf.

MR. SCHOENBERG: It's correct, but I think this case presents a much better case than the two cases cited in Landgraf, the Andrus case and U.S. v. Alabama, although U.S. v. Alabama you could distinguish as something seeking only injunctive relief and therefore prospective. In Andrus, this is a case brought against the U.S. Government after the U.S. Government -- or while the case was pending, I think,

1 the statute is changed to take away the amount in 2 controversy requirement. So, in other words, very clearly before the suit could not proceed, now the statute's been 3 changed without any suggestion of retroactivity in the 4 5 enactment. And the Court says -- this is 1978, I think -б it's of no moment that this jurisdictional statute has been 7 changed now to allow a suit against in -- in a sovereign 8 entity, the United States.

9 So I think this case presents actually a much 10 better -- much better case, because here, and these are 11 other points that I wanted to raise, I believe the text of 12 the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act demonstrates that it 13 was intended to apply to all claims to immunity, regardless 14 of when the acts took place, the underlying acts took place. 15 Our -- our third point --

16 QUESTION: May I just ask you on that, I mean, 17 isn't the objection to that that the -- that the subject matter we're concerned with here is a subject matter which 18 19 is defined in terms of property and the history of that 20 property, and the history of that property as expropriated 21 necessarily raises the time question? And if the time is 22 prior to the -- the enactment of the statute, we 23 necessarily, by the definition of present subject matter, 24 get into an issue of retroactivity. What -- what's the 25 answer to that?

1 MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, the answer is, again, in 2 Landgraf that not every statute which affects prior events 3 is impermissibly retroactive, and my point was --

4 QUESTION: But it's not impermissibly retroactive, 5 but it raises the question about the permissibility of a 6 retroactive application.

MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, I -- my view is that the 7 Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act is -- is a statute that is 8 9 designed to take away the immunity decision from the State Department and place it in the hands of judges, and the 10 purpose of the statute was that henceforth all claims to 11 12 immunity should be adjudicated under this procedure, not the 13 old procedure. In other words, the U.S. Government's 14 position should --

QUESTION: Yeah, but even -- even that, with 15 16 respect, it seems to me that that begs the question. The 17 court is going to adjudicate. The guestion is whether in adjudicating them it is going to draw a line based on -- on 18 -- on this temporal consideration. That still leaves it in 19 20 the hands of the court. But the question is whether in the 21 hands of the court retroactivity ought to be a basis for 22 making the jurisdictional decision.

23 MR. SCHOENBERG: I -- I don't -- I don't see -- I 24 don't think that it is with regard to the text of this 25 statute. I -- even though the statute does refer to events

that could take place prior to the enactment, the purpose of the statute, which is what I think the analysis requires that we consider, is to change the forum of the adjudication from the old State Department procedure to the -- to the court procedure under these specific rules.

6 QUESTION: How does your -- the discussion about 7 the statement of interest then fit in? It seems to me what 8 you just said is, they meant to take it away from the State 9 Department and put it in the hands of the court.

MR. SCHOENBERG: The -- the immunity consideration, yes, but I think the statute, the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, was not intended to change the rules, for example, with the act of state doctrine or with the statute of the limitations or with any of the other doctrines that might bar an older claim from -- from entering court.

16 Our third point, this I don't want to spend too much time on, but it's our view that the Foreign Sovereign 17 Immunities Act merely codified the common law of sovereign 18 immunity, and therefore, it did not substantially change the 19 20 And this is not only my opinion. If one looks at the law. 21 State Department circular that was sent out in 1976 to 22 foreign states, it says, this enactment will not 23 substantially alter the rules for deciding sovereign immunity questions in U.S. courts. So it was the position 24 25 of the State Department at the time that they proposed this

legislation that it merely codified what the State
 Department then considered to be the rules of sovereign
 immunity.

4 And we have an interesting situation, I think an unprecedented situation, because the common law itself 5 б depended on the views of the State Department, so we have a 7 little bit of a reflexive situation. The way I look at it, 8 let us suppose, for example, that the -- that instead of enacting the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act they issued 9 another Tate letter, another letter that merely said, 10 11 henceforth we want the courts to adjudicate things under 12 this -- under this regime. So it's not a new statute, it's 13 just a suggestion to the courts on how to decide cases.

Under this Court's ruling with regard to common law, non-statutory law, of course that -- that approach would have to be applied retroactively, and I don't think it's any less retroactive just because the executive branch sent it over to Congress and said, we want you to pass the statute also. Our last --

20

21 MR. SCHOENBERG: Any more retroactive. Our last --22 our last point is really the basis for the Ninth Circuit's 23 decision, and that is, as to these parties in this case, 24 there is no impermissibly retroactive effect, because 25 Austria could never have had any expectation of immunity

QUESTION: Any -- any more retroactive?

1 with regard to Mrs. Altmann's claims.

2	QUESTION: That would be a pretty good nightmare,
3	wouldn't it, if we had to have judges trying to work out on
4	a case-by-case basis, country by country, whether Turkey in
5	1921 when it was an enemy, had a didn't have an
6	expectation of being treated as a sovereign, but Hungary in
7	1962 had a different expectation, et cetera. I mean, that -
8	- that I think their point on that's a pretty good one,
9	isn't it?
10	MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, it it's but it's not a
11	point about retroactivity, Your Honor. The
12	QUESTION: Well, it is because they're saying that
13	unless you treat these things as a whole, you won't
14	understand the problem. And even if in your case the
15	country had no expectation, there are so many countries that
16	did that and going into it case by case is so difficult
17	that it would better to have an absolute rule. That's their
18	arguments.
19	MR. SCHOENBERG: It would be better, but that's not
20	really how the Court's retroactivity analysis has gone over
21	the last 10 years, and that's that's why I certainly
22	favor some of the earlier arguments. I think it's easier to
23	decide the case on those, rather than the way the Ninth
24	Circuit did in evaluating the expectations, but if one
25	doesn't decide in our favor on all of those other arguments,

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1 that the statute itself is jurisdictional, that Congress 2 intended it to apply, that there's really no change in the law because it's the same as the common law of sovereign 3 immunity, then really under Hughes one has to look at 4 5 whether, as to the parties of this case, there is any 6 retroactive effect, and that -- that's -- that's what the 7 Hughes holding is. It's a statute phrased jurisdictionally, 8 but let's look at what happened here. You have a new plaintiff with new incentives and a defense, substantive 9 defense taken away. That's the Hughes case. 10

And so it requires you to look outside the four corners of the statute to look at what was -- what are you comparing the statute to, when -- when in Hughes the Court said if it determines whether a cause of action can proceed and not where, the where question, of course, implies that you have to look and see if there are other jurisdictions where the case could be brought.

And in this case, as we've made very clear, 18 19 Austria could always have been sued, at least since it was 20 re-established after World War II for these acts, and as a 21 matter of fact, Austria was required by the United States to 22 enact restitution laws that were designed to afford people 23 like Mrs. Altmann relief. They have never asserted sovereign immunity in these claims in their own courts and 24 25 they would not have been allowed to by the U.S. Government,

1 and that sentiment, of course, is echoed in the subsequent 2 treaty in 1955 and it's echoed in the Bernstein letter in 1948 that as to expropriations, as to property taken from 3 Jewish families in violation of international law, this 4 5 country does not recognize sovereign immunity anywhere, not 6 in the states where -- where -- that were involved, and not 7 in the United States, and that -- that's -- that's our last point and that's the Ninth Circuit's position. 8

9 If the Court has no further questions --

10 QUESTION: Is it -- is it correct that -- that we 11 would be out of step with all other countries if we -- if we 12 allowed this suit to proceed?

MR. SCHOENBERG: Well, certainly not as a matter of
-- of the statute. Our -- our -- in terms of --

QUESTION: No, no. I mean -- I mean, have -- have all other countries, when they've changed to the new modern notion of limited sovereign immunity, have they all declined to -- to apply it in a manner that the Government here would call retroactive?

20 MR. SCHOENBERG: Right. I -- I don't know how all 21 states have done it. I know that, for example, in Austria 22 we cited the Dralle case, which concerned a post-war 23 communist expropriation of a -- of a subsidiary company in 24 Czechoslovakia, and a German company was allowed to sue 25 Czechoslovakia in Austria concerning the trademarks and --

1 and the expropriation, and have an Austrian court rule 2 whether that expropriation violated international law. 3 So I would say as to Austria, the argument is, and I think we cited also in our brief a statement by an 4 Austrian professor, Seidl-Hohenveldern, who said that the 5 6 courts -- there's nothing in international law that prevents 7 courts from adjudicating the rights and property taken in violation of international law. 8 9 Thank you very much. QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Schoenberg. 10 11 Mr. Cooper, you have five minutes remaining. REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF SCOTT P. COOPER 12 13 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS MR. COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice. Just on 14 15 that last point, the Dralle case, which is one that we 16 address in our reply brief, does not stand for the proposition that Czechoslovakia's expropriation could be 17 second-quessed in Austria. Quite the contrary. Austria 18 determined that the legality of Czechoslovakia's activities 19 20 in their own -- in its own country were not subject to 21 reconsideration in Austria. Austria concerned itself only 22 with whether, given its own neutrality as between 23 Czechoslovakia and Germany, whether Austria could give effect to an expropriation as an act of war. And it 24 25 determined that it could not with respect to property

located in Austria. That issue has nothing to do with
 what's before the Court today.

Sovereign immunity isn't merely a form selection 3 It confers on the foreign state the right to choose 4 rule. whether and where to be sued. That's a substantive right. 5 6 It's a right this country has always understood as a right 7 in a sovereign. Austria's choice, if it did so choose, the circumstances under which it would provide remedies in its 8 9 own country, either by statute or in its own courts, doesn't constitute a waiver of the sovereignty to which it had been 10 11 accorded in this country throughout the current period up to 12 1976.

13 So this country has always recognized the 14 difference between a sovereign's right to create a remedy, 15 and this country has done so in its own instances with 16 respect to events that were claimed to be the subject of 17 reparations, and by doing so it has never suggested that it thought it was subjecting itself to the jurisdiction of a 18 foreign court for individual claims to be able to look for 19 20 more than the statute of the United States provided for.

In addition, with respect to the law immediately prior to the enactment of the FSIA, I think the suggestion was that somehow the United States had -- had eroded the expropriation rule or that Congress thought that it was adopting the -- codifying the law of the land with respect

to expropriation in the FSIA, and that plainly is not true.
The legislative history, and more importantly the statements
of the State Department, in particular the -- the digest by
John Boyd with respect to State Department decisions from
1952 to 1976 cited in our brief make it clear that the State
Department considered this to be a fundamental change in the
law.

8 The conduct being regulated here is expropriation or at the very least possession that goes back to events in 9 1948 alleged in the complaint. It is not the mere question 10 11 of the exercise of jurisdiction here or, worse yet, this 12 mere substitution of another tribunal. This is something 13 that Congress focused on in each of the expropriation 14 exceptions. It identified the conduct that it thought the 15 foreign sovereign had engaged in that justified one of our 16 narrow exceptions to the general concept of foreign 17 sovereign immunity.

Whether that was an express waiver under (a)(1), 18 whether that was the exercise of commercial conduct that any 19 20 private party could engage in under (a)(2) or the -- or the 21 expropriation of property in violation of international law 22 in (a)(3), Congress identified the conduct that it thought 23 justified the lifting of the generally applicable foreign 24 sovereign immunity and decided that's the conduct we want to regulate. And that's what we think justifies the variance 25

from our general rule with respect to sovereigns, and that is a change in the law that requires application of the retroactivity analysis to treat those sovereigns fairly. If there are no further questions, I have nothing. CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr. Cooper. The case is submitted. б (Whereupon, at 12:13 p.m., the case in the above-entitled matter was submitted.)