1	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
2	FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
3	JUDICIAL WATCH, INC., ) Civil Action No. Plaintiff. ) 10-cv-1834
4	v. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND ) October 14, 2011
5	RECORDS ADMINISTRATION, ) 10:03 a.m.
6	Defendant. ) Washington, D.C.
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LO	TRANSCRIPT OF MOTION HEARING
11	BEFORE THE HONORABLE AMY BERMAN JACKSON
12	UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE
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## PROCEEDINGS

THE CLERK: Your Honor, calling Civil Action 10-1834, Judicial Watch, Incorporated v. National Archives and Records Administration.

Will all counsel please approach the podium and identify yourselves for the record and the parties you represent.

MR. BEKESHA: Good morning, Your Honor. Michael Bekesha on behalf of the plaintiff, Judicial Watch.

THE COURT: Good morning.

MR. SCHWEI: Good morning, Your Honor. Daniel Schwei on behalf of the defendant, the National Archives and Records Administration.

THE COURT: Good morning.

MS. SHAPIRO: Good morning, Your Honor. Elizabeth Shapiro on behalf of the Archives.

THE COURT: Good morning.

This is the defendant's motion, so I think we ought to start with the defendant.

MR. SCHWEI: Good morning, Your Honor, and may it please the Court, plaintiff's requested relief is both extraordinary and unprecedented. Plaintiff is attempting to compel the National Archives to physically seize and then publicly scrutinize the personal audio diary of a former president of the United States. This Court lacks the

authority to provide such relief. Neither the Presidential Records Act nor the Administrative Procedure Act authorizes such an order. Under those statutes, a private litigant cannot compel the seizure and scrutiny of a potential presidential record. This fundamental defect underlies each of the threshold reasons why plaintiff's complaint must be dismissed.

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First, plaintiff's alleged injury is not redressable. Plaintiff's only alleged injury here is a lack of access to the audiotapes, but the Court cannot require NARA to go seize those audiotapes, and NARA does not currently possess the audiotapes; therefore, the injury cannot be redressed under the PRA. Moreover, NARA's decision about how to enforce the PRA cannot be overruled by this Court.

THE COURT: Can I determine from the face of the pleadings from the point where we are at the moment that you don't actually have them?

MR. SCHWEI: According to the allegations in plaintiff's complaint, NARA does not currently possess the tapes.

THE COURT: I think he says, upon information and belief, the president took them with him. And I think it's in one of your -- the second letter, the appeal letter, Exhibit 4, that the archivist says, we don't have them. You would have thought that would have been the response to the

first -- in the first letter, but at that point they say, we don't have them. Is that a given for purposes of this hearing? I'm going to ask the plaintiff the same thing. Does everybody agree that they're not there?

MR. SCHWEI: Yes, Your Honor --

THE COURT: All right.

MR. SCHWEI: -- I think everybody does agree that they're not there. That's based both on the complaint and the letter that you referenced --

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. SCHWEI: -- which is incorporated into the complaint.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. SCHWEI: With those allegations, because NARA does not possess the tapes and because the Court can't order NARA to go out and seize the tapes, there is simply no way to redress the only injury alleged in plaintiff's complaint, which is a lack of access to the audiotapes.

The second threshold reason which is tied to that same fundamental defect is that the PRA is the statute that precludes judicial review under the PRA. That's true both because of the D.C. Circuit's Armstrong line of decisions and because the particular action here, namely the classification of particular records as personal, is precluded by the PRA.

The third threshold reason is the lack of final agency

action. The letters that Your Honor referenced earlier were a response to a FOIA appeal, not to anything related to the PRA.

And the final reason, which is not a threshold reason why this Court must dismiss the complaint, is that it fails to state a claim upon which relief can be granted. Even assuming all of the factual allegations, the particular records here were not -- NARA's action in responding to those letters was not an arbitrary and capricious action.

THE COURT: Let me start with kind of the fundamentals here. Basically, you are beyond the redressability issue, which goes to the scope of the archivist's authority. I guess your third position is that -- the second issue that you raised is that the classification decision is not reviewable by the Court.

Who made the classification decision here?

MR. SCHWEI: I think there are two classification decisions, only one of which the plaintiff is challenging. President Clinton initially classified the audiotapes as -- presumably classified the tapes as personal records by not transferring them to the archives at the conclusion of his administration.

There's then the second classification determination, setting aside the final agency action problem, of course, but assuming that there is a final determination on that issue, NARA then would be presented with the issue: Do we agree with

the president's classification? If NARA does not agree, then they can invoke their enforcement mechanism, which we discuss; or if they do agree, then they are not required to do anything further. And so there's really -- there are two classification decisions, but the issue in front of this Court is did NARA act arbitrarily or capriciously in making their own decision or responding to the plaintiff's own letter.

THE COURT: Well, I don't understand -- the judicial review issue seems to be based on the president's classification decision. Once archives takes it upon itself to make its own classification decision, why isn't that reviewable? What was it even doing at that point?

MR. SCHWEI: Because the issues are exactly the same, are these presidential records or are these personal records, and so for this Court to review the archivist decision, it would necessarily have to decide did the president correctly classify these materials. And plaintiff's own complaint bears that out when they allege that President Clinton unlawfully retained these materials. So the rationale for why judicial review is precluded, namely a sensitivity for the president's personal papers, applies both to the president's own classification decision as well as the archivist decision because that issue, the examination of are these presidential or personal, that is the rationale for precluding judicial review, and the Court would have to answer that question

regardless of whether it is the archivist or the president.

THE COURT: Well, all the arguments for why I can't review a decision of the president don't apply to the archivist, so my first question: What was -- under what authority was the archivist even purporting to reclassify or to classify at all the tapes? I mean the -- the letter says I have to consider the nature of the audiotapes, the purpose for which they were created, how they were utilized. Based on the record before me, I am of the opinion that the tapes are personal.

Now, under the statute, differentiation between presidential records and personal records is made by the president. At the close of the presidency, the presidential records become -- fall within the custody of the archivist. What was the archivist doing when it purported to make a classification decision? What portion of the statute even permitted that exercise to go on?

MR. SCHWEI: Right, I think the statute would be Section 2112(c), which is the enforcement mechanism, which allows the archivist to go after records that it believes are improperly classified or that are outside of its control and that it believes should be within its custody and control, and so that is exactly what happened in the McIlveney decision, the United States v. McIlveney lawsuit in which the archivist and the Department of Justice jointly brought a lawsuit to

recover a map of Cuba that was annotated by President Kennedy because they believed it belonged in the Kennedy Presidential Library.

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THE COURT: So the decision before this Court to review, in your view, is the archivist's refusal to invoke the enforcement mechanism under 2112? Is that even alleged in the complaint?

MR. SCHWEI: No, the action as alleged in the complaint is an arbitrary and capricious challenge to the merits decision, are these presidential or personal; but there's a separate question of redressability. And a necessary action to redress plaintiff's injury would be to order the archivist to initiate this enforcement action. even before we deal with the complaint, the actual claim in the complaint, the Court needs to examine the threshold inquiry of redressability. Under that inquiry, the relevant decision is did the archivist fail to invoke the enforcement mechanism or is that something the Court can review. And the answer is no. And so it's not necessarily what is alleged in the complaint, but it is a separate inquiry under the redressability. And so because this Court cannot review the archivist's failure to enforce the discretionary -- or the failure to bring the discretionary enforcement action, that's why redressability fails here.

THE COURT: What's your basis -- I understand the

basis for saying I can't review what the president did. What is your basis for your claim that I can't review the archivist's decision of whether or not to invoke the enforcement mechanism?

MR. SCHWEI: I think it starts with heck Heckler v. Chaney, the Supreme Court's decision stating that presumptively, a failure to bring an enforcement action is not reviewable by this Court. And then the second thing is when one looks at the actual statutory text of the enforcement mechanism, it says that when the archivist considers it to be in the public interest, he may initiate an enforcement action. And that type of language, when an agency, individual, or representative considers it to be in the public interest, has already been construed by the D.C. Circuit to constitute unreviewable discretion by the agencies because there is no law to apply for this Court in determining whether the agency had properly determined whether something is or is not in the public interest.

THE COURT: Can I review it under the APA as arbitrary and capricious exercise of the discretion? The discretion is so unfettered that I can't even review it under that standard?

MR. SCHWEI: Correct, Your Honor, which is what both Heckler v. Chaney and the line of D.C. Circuit decisions hold, which is that APA review has a carve-out stating that this statute of the APA does not apply to agency action committed

to agency discretion by law, and that is exactly what the Supreme Court held in Heckler v. Chaney; that an agency's failure to initiate an enforcement action is unreviewable because that decision is committed to agency discretion by law. And the particular statutory text we have here, the D.C. Circuit already construed nearly identical statutory text and also agreed that that language constitutes unreviewable discretion, so no APA review is available.

THE COURT: What you're saying makes it -- when you read the letter, it doesn't give you any indication that what the archivist is talking about is whether or not it's going to invoke the enforcement mechanism. It sounds like the archivist is making a classification decision, which is not committed to the archivist in the first place.

MR. SCHWEI: According to the D.C. Circuit's case laws, I think it is, and the reason why is because part of the decision whether to enforce is the antecedent judgment whether a violation has even occurred, and those are the cases that we cite in our reply brief, such as Block v. SEC, that even if the Court -- even if the agency declines not to enforce on the basis of there being no violation, that antecedent determination whether there is or is not a violation is part of the decision to enforce and thus cannot be reviewed. And that's true both under the D.C. Circuit's law and it was the case in Heckler v. Chaney.

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THE COURT: Well, doesn't Armstrong II specifically contemplate that the one thing that is reviewable is the classification decision of what's presidential and what's not.

MR. SCHWEI: Only in very narrow circumstances, which are not present here. The Armstrong II decision creates -- it allows for review of guidelines defining what constitutes a presidential record but only if there is a Federal Records Act or a Freedom of Information Act claim at issue. And here plaintiff, in their brief, concedes both of those points. Number one, plaintiff concedes that it is not challenging any guidelines; and number two, plaintiff concedes that it is not bringing an FAR or a FOIA-based claim. And so for those reasons, it fails under both preconditions for an Armstrong II type of claim. The Armstrong II type of claim would allow someone under the APA to argue that bringing an FAR claim only, not a PRA claim, which is the only statute at issue here, it would allow someone bringing an FAR claim to argue that the guidelines defining what is a federal record are at issue, and in order to determine whether those guidelines are accurate, the Court would also be able to determine whether quidelines defining presidential record are accurate and conform to the statute.

THE COURT: Right. I mean, Armstrong II, the holding is much narrower than some of the language in it.

Armstrong II was dealing with a situation where presidential

agencies were trying to sweep what are agency records otherwise covered by FOIA and the FAR into the Presidential Records Act and, therefore, narrow access to them; and Armstrong II said, no, you can't do that. But there are snippets in there that this Court has read subsequently as saying, well, the Court was concerned about over classifying in general, and there's a concern that a president could shield all sorts of things that should be open to the public by simply designating them as private.

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What is the -- what is to prevent a president from frustrating the balance that the statute was trying to strike between his privacy and public access and given the fact that the Court recognizes that just about nothing that a president does is private? Let's say a president kind of maliciously over classifies, what is the remedy?

MR. SCHWEI: I think there are three answers to that, Your Honor. The first one and the primary remedy is that it always lies with the archivist and the attorney general, who have the authority if they believe that the president has misclassified something that they can invoke the discretionary enforcement mechanism and pursue recovery of those records. So there's always the possibility for the archivist to act as the check, and that's what Congress chose, and that's the remedy that this Court is bound by. The Congress did not choose to allow private litigants to try to compel the

archivist to pursue those records. Congress left the decision in the archivist's and the attorney general's hands.

The second answer --

THE COURT: Is that a remedy that the archivist even has available once the president is no longer the president? And what it says in the Presidential Records Act is you have the remedies available to you under the records act. So you go to the records act, and it says you can ask the attorney general to go after an agency. But we're now talking about a former president. Can he go after a former president?

MR. SCHWEI: Yes, and that would be a very serious consideration for the archivist to make, but that is exactly what Congress intended, is leaving it to the archivist and the attorney general to decide when it is appropriate under serious considerations in situations like that to seek recovery of those records. It is a very different situation what plaintiff is attempting here, which is a private litigant trying to compel the archivist to sue a former president, and there are good reasons why Congress would leave the decision to experts like the archivist and the attorney general.

And the second answer, I think, going back to Your Honor's earlier question about the checks on the president, is that Armstrong I already addressed this issue and said, quote, "Congress presumably relied on the fact that subsequent presidents would honor their statutory obligations to keep a

complete record of their administration." And that's on page 20 of our initial brief, that the D.C. Circuit in *Armstrong* --

THE COURT: Given some of the litigation that's occurred subsequently, that may or may not have been a good thing to do.

MR. SCHWEI: Well, that was Congress's judgment, which the D.C. Circuit upheld in Armstrong I.

And the third check on a president is always Congress, because if Congress believes that a president is wildly misclassifying information, it can pass a law to change the statutory structure or to seize some of those records, which it has done in the past. That's exactly what happened with President Nixon and the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act, or the PRMPA, which was the predecessor to the Presidential Records Act. Congress felt that there was a real danger of losing some of these documents, and so they passed a new statute seizing those documents.

THE COURT: Well, and the statute we're dealing with came after that, so the whole point is to have to avoid that, that's why we have this statute.

MR. SCHWEI: Correct. Hopefully, this statute will avoid that through enforcement mechanisms like the archivist, but in the event that it does not, then it is always up to Congress.

And a second historical instance of Congress acting is

with records relating to President Kennedy's assassination, which Congress passed a law in 1992 to preserve all of those records and make them publicly available.

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So even aside from the archivist's own enforcement discretion and the presumed good faith of the president to honor the PRA, there is always the possibility that Congress could act to correct an instance where a president is not following the PRA.

THE COURT: Well, what's -- how do you distinguish the American Historical Association case?

MR. SCHWEI: Right. That case was really about whether after a president's term ends the president still retains legal authority to make certain classification decisions, and there the archivist had essentially delegated the authority to the former president. And so before the Court in that case was the legality of that agreement. So it's not really a case like this one, where a private litigant is trying to compel the archivist to seize and reclassify certain records. Peterson was simply a case about who the relevant decision maker was, and that issue is not present here because the archivist clearly is the relevant decision maker here and plaintiff is not alleging otherwise.

THE COURT: Well, but the Court said it had the authority to look at what the archivist was doing, whether the archivist was doing what it was doing because it was bound by

a contract with the former president or because it was just simply acceding to the judgment of a former president. The Court determined after reading Armstrong I and Armstrong II that there was a little window open for it to look at the classification process and to review what the archivist was up to.

MR. SCHWEI: Right.

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THE COURT: So do you think that that part of the decision was wrong?

The part that read Armstrong I and II and MR. SCHWEI: concluded that the Court could enforce a freestanding PRA claim under the APA, yes, we believe that part of the decision was wrong; but I will also note that the Peterson decision involved guidelines. And so still whatever Armstrong I and II might mean or whatever other courts have construed them to mean, it is always in the context of reviewing guidelines defining presidential records, and here that is not what plaintiff is attempting to do, as they concede in their brief. They are attempting to reclassify particular records as presidential records; and even under the Federal Records Act, which by all accounts permits more judicial review, litigants are precluded from challenging a particular classification decision, and the reason why is because that is the administrative enforcement mechanism that Congress chose. They chose to give it to the archivist to choose whether to

reclassify or pursue the recovery of missing records. They did not want private litigants in control of that, which is consistent with the rationale of *Heckler v. Chaney*, which is that agencies are in the best position to determine how to spend their resources and to chose how to enforce their statutes.

THE COURT: Well, if, in fact, the president was not just chatting up Taylor Branch and musing about why he did what he did but they literally kept the tapes running while he went about conducting his business and he is talking on the phone to foreign leaders and he's making appointments, doesn't that sort of take it out of the realm of what you started with, which is this is a personal audio diary? Aren't we really talking about records, or at least in part, that track his official presidency?

MR. SCHWEI: Right, so just to be clear, our position is that Your Honor could only reach that issue if Your Honor disagrees with all of our threshold arguments but --

THE COURT: I understand that, but it's an interesting issue.

MR. SCHWEI: Right. But here those tapes that

President Clinton allegedly recorded are the functional -- or

NARA rationally responded to the plaintiff and said those

tapes are the functional equivalent of a diary or other

personal notes because those tapes were not prepared for use

in official business, they were not communicated throughout the government. They were simply President Clinton's personal record --

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THE COURT: How does the archivist know what they were without asking President Clinton?

MR. SCHWEI: Because based on the facts provided by the plaintiff in the letter, and which are again alleged here in the complaint, NARA responded rationally to the letter by saying, based on the facts that you have provided in your letter, those sound more like personal records rather than presidential records.

THE COURT: Even the ones where it is literally a tape recording of him on the phone talking to someone else as opposed to a recording of his expounding on his presidency to a historian?

MR. SCHWEI: But that would be no different than if the president sat down and simply wrote in their diary, this is what I said on a telephone conversation earlier --

THE COURT: Well, no, one is filtered through someone's memory and perception and the other is a raw tape.

MR. SCHWEI: It would be the equivalent of either the post hoc recollection or personal notes, which are also included in the statute, which is the mere fact of contemporaneousness would not take it outside the realm of personal records because, again, the statute recognizes that

its diaries and papers and personal notes, or the functional equivalent thereof, and so personal notes would likely be created contemporaneously but --

THE COURT: I'm not focusing on the timing; I'm focusing on the exact duplication, the capturing of the conduct of official business, it is different. The transcript that is being created at this moment is different than the notes he is sitting there taking.

MR. SCHWEI: Because the transcript is a public record that will be communicated, you know -- it might be posted on the docket and it is available to everyone, but here the audiotapes were allegedly created solely by President Clinton solely for his use after the presidency, solely to act as memory joggers about what happened during his presidency.

THE COURT: How can you say that? How do you know it was prepared solely to be a memory jogger? Aren't you making factual findings about what was in President Clinton's mind?

MR. SCHWEI: No. It's based on the facts provided by the plaintiff in their letter. NARA rationally concluded that President Clinton created these solely as memory joggers for his post-presidency.

THE COURT: The definition of personal records includes diaries, journals, or other personal notes serving as the functional equivalent of a diary or a journal -- yes -- which are not prepared or utilized for transacting government

business -- correct -- but it also says not communicated in the course of transacting government business.

Now, isn't pressing the "on" button on a tape recorder while you pick up the phone and talk to a foreign leader communicated in the course of transacting government business?

MR. SCHWEI: That was not plaintiff's argument in their letter, and NARA could rationally conclude that it was not communicated in the course of transacting government business, because the focus is not on the -- perhaps the audio of President Clinton's voice, it would be on the records themselves, so the records were not communicated in the course of transacting government business.

THE COURT: I think his letter clearly cites those instances where Taylor Branch pointed out that the president kept the tape running while he conducted business, and they specifically asked the archivist to segregate those portions. So I don't see how you can't say that's not in the letter.

MR. SCHWEI: But there is no allegation in the letter or the complaint that the records were communicated in the course of transacting government business, because the relevant record is the audiotapes, not the sound of President Clinton's voice as he's speaking.

THE COURT: Okay. So the way you parse the statute is he had to take the tape out of the tape recorder after Branch made it and hand it to someone in the course of official

business to make it a presidential record. The fact that it captured the conduct of official business doesn't bring it under the statute.

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Right, and there are a couple of further MR. SCHWEI: points to add to that, which is that is certainly a reasonable reading of the statute, and NARA would be entitled to deference on that reading, which is something that the plaintiff does not contest here. And the second point is that presidential diaries have historically, and almost certainly will in the future, contain information relating to official The president is so busy that it's almost certain that every presidential diary will contain information about what the president did, and that's borne out by President Reagan's diary, which is almost exclusively about official business, and also by the Supreme Court's decision in the Nixon case and in the D.C. Circuit's subsequent decision where they say, simply because a record has official business or historical interest does not take it outside the realm of a personal record.

And Congress was very cautious in drafting this protection for personal records. I think that goes to one of our other preclusion arguments about how Congress would not have intended to allow a private litigant to challenge the classification of a particular record as presidential or personal, and one of the reasons why is the history of the

president -- that led up to the passage of the Presidential Records Act. At the time when Congress passed this act, the scope of a president's personal privacy right was still undefined and was still being litigated by President Nixon, and so Congress, when drafting this statute, was very cautious to avoid a potential challenge on personal privacy grounds, which was one of the main arguments that President Nixon made to the Supreme Court and then later to the D.C. Circuit. That's borne out both by this expressed exemption for personal records, as well as the legislative history which talks about why it's important to avoid some of the challenges presented by the Nixon litigation.

THE COURT: Well, but all of that goes back to where we started, which is Congress and the Courts recognizing a strong presumption that it should -- it is committed to the discretion of the president to say, this is mine and this is public, and that's why I don't quite understand the way the archivist went about answering the letter. Instead of saying the president designated these as personal, it said, I think they're personal. And once the archivist purports to be acting, making this classification decision, then it seems to be it's making a decision that might be a reviewable agency action.

MR. SCHWEI: But it is not reviewable because it is inherently part of the enforcement decision, which is

delegated to the archivist's complete discretion. And so that's why the archivist responded making -- responding with its own independent evaluation and characterization, because the archivist could -- could, theoretically, go after records that it believes are presidential records but not within its custody and control. And so there is a role for the archivist in this statutory scheme, which is what Congress intended, but there is not a role for the Court to evaluate the archivist's decisions within that statutory scheme.

THE COURT: It certainly didn't make it clear at any point in its letter that that's what it was doing. There might have been a more helpful way to get this teed up the way you now read it.

MR. SCHWEI: But it is not the way I'm reading it, and I think a lot of the confusion is because this entire case was initially teed up as a FOIA case, which is that the letters all were FOIA requests pursuant to the PRA, and so the genesis of those letters led the archivist to respond in the way it did, and then only when this complaint was filed does the plaintiff add these additional dimensions of, oh, the archivist is required to go seize these tapes and provide me access to them. And so the reason why the issues that we're discussing now are perhaps not completely borne out in this letter is because they were never raised in the appeal by plaintiff and, therefore, the archivist had no occasion to

respond to them, and I think that goes to the core of our final agency action argument, which is that the letter that plaintiff is focusing on here was certainly a final agency action with respect to the FOIA appeal but it did not present the PRA type issues that we are now discussing and, therefore, it did not create binding legal consequences under the PRA, and it did not represent the consummation of the agency's decision-making process under the PRA.

THE COURT: Well, it certainly seems final when you look at it. The archivist says, I'm done, go to District Court now. And since now you've just explained that the whole point of making the classification decision in the letter was as a predicate to whether it was going to invoke the enforcement mechanism or not, why isn't the letter a final decision that is not going to invoke the enforcement mechanism? I understand you're saying that even if it is that is not a reviewable decision --

MR. SCHWEI: Right.

THE COURT: -- but why doesn't the letter clearly say, we're done with this from the archive's perspective?

MR. SCHWEI: Because it only says we are done with this with respect to the FOIA claim that was actually presented in the letter. It says, first and most fundamentally, we don't have these audiotapes, so your FOIA claim is over; but oh by the way, here's an additional

explanation about why we do not think -- or we do not think that these -- we probably view these records as personal records rather than presidential.

THE COURT: Well, "probably" is a little softer than what they said. It said, "I decide."

MR. SCHWEI: They say, based on the facts made available to me, I believe that these are personal records, which is -- which has nothing to do with the actual FOIA claim that was presented.

THE COURT: So to tee up the claim that you would ultimately be standing here and telling me is unreviewable, they would have had to write a letter to the archivist and say, please exercise your authority under 2112 to ask the attorney general to go after the records, and the archivist write back and say no, and then they were supposed to sue under the APA and say that was arbitrary and capricious so that you could come back and say it's within its unfettered discretion so you have to dismiss this.

MR. SCHWEI: Which is the point of requirements like final agency action, to give the agency the opportunity to actually consider the issues that are going to then be litigated. So it makes sense to give the agency the first opportunity to consider those issues and resolve them before a lawsuit is filed against that agency.

THE COURT: So you're telling him that if he thinks he

1 can make a better case than he's made already for the fact 2 that these might be presidential records and not personal 3 records, he can write another letter asking the archivist to 4 consider invoking the enforcement mechanism and the archivist 5 hasn't already decided whether it would or it wouldn't? 6 MR. SCHWEI: I think that lawsuit would present all of 7 the same --8 THE COURT: I'm not talking about the lawsuit. 9 that letter dead on arrival, or is that a letter he could 10 write? 11 MR. SCHWEI: I can't speak to whether that would be 12 dead on arrival. It's the agency's decision. 13 THE COURT: But your position on final agency action 14 is that that decision has not yet been made? 15 MR. SCHWEI: That the letter at issue here does not 16 represent a final agency action with respect to that decision. 17 THE COURT: Okay. All right. Well, that's 18 interesting. 19 MR. SCHWEI: But that lawsuit, the eventual lawsuit 20 would present all of the same other threshold --21 THE COURT: That would be dead on arrival, in your 22 view? 23 MR. SCHWEI: Yes, Your Honor. 24 THE COURT: All right. I think you've covered all of your points, but if I interrupted you too early and there is 25

something else you want to cover, you can do so.

MR. SCHWEI: No, Your Honor, I think we've covered all of the issues.

THE COURT: Okay. Thank you very much.

MR. BEKESHA: Good morning, Your Honor.

Since you guys just -- since you just concluded with talking about the agency action, the first letter in response to our FOIA request did not say anything about we don't have the records. It just said these are not presidential records. So we wrote another letter, and in response we received the same response. So we believe it is a final agency action because you had a first letter. We asked for -- you know, we provided more evidence, more guidance on why we believed the tapes were presidential records, and archives came back and still said, once again, in a final agency action, these are not presidential records.

THE COURT: But your suit is certainly premised on the assumption that they do not have them; is that correct?

MR. BEKESHA: We don't know whether or not they have We assume that they don't have them on information and belief because archives has told us they don't have them.

THE COURT: And if I'm assuming the complaint to be true for purposes --

> MR. BEKESHA: Then --

THE COURT: -- it's not your allegation that they do

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1 have them and they're hiding them from you --2 MR. BEKESHA: Correct. 3 THE COURT: -- because you've asked me to order them 4 to go get them? 5 MR. BEKESHA: We've asked you to determine that the 6 records are presidential records; and once --7 THE COURT: Well, you've asked me to order them to go 8 get them. 9 MR. BEKESHA: To an extent. We asked the Court to 10 require them to assume custody and control of them. We're not 11 asking for seizure. I mean it sounds awful that they think 12 we're asking for this Court to bang down President Clinton's 13 door and seize these audiotapes. I mean archives could make a 14 phone call, they could write a letter. There is nothing in 15 the record stating that President Clinton wouldn't just give 16 them the records. So we're asking that they assume custody 17 and control of them. We're not specifically saying they have 18 to go seize. 19 THE COURT: They can call and ask, but ultimately 20 you're asking them to assume control to get something they 2.1 don't have. 22 MR. BEKESHA: That's correct, Your Honor. 23 THE COURT: All right. What authority under the 24 statute do they have to do that?

MR. BEKESHA: Under the Presidential Records Act, they

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are required to assume custody and control of the records and then make them immediately available.

THE COURT: They're required to assume custody and control of the presidential records after the president designates which are which?

MR. BEKESHA: Possibly.

THE COURT: Where do they have the authority to go behind that and demand something else?

MR. BAKESHA: Well, first, it is not in the record and no one knows how President Clinton classified these records, nor is that an issue here today. But the second --

THE COURT: Why not?

MR. BEKESHA: Why isn't it an issue?

THE COURT: Right. Aren't we missing an indispensable party here?

MR. BEKESHA: We're not because the definition of presidential records doesn't talk about how the president classifies the records; it talks about the substance of the records. So regardless of how the president classifies the records, if it is a presidential record based on substance, they're still presidential records.

THE COURT: No, the president is given the specific authority to categorize the records as presidential or personal, and the ones that are personal are filed separately. Then when the presidency ends under the statute, the

presidential records go within the custody and the control of the archivist. So where under that statutory scheme does the archivist have any control over something that has already been separated as personal?

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MR. BEKESHA: Well, the plaintiff -- we would argue that there is that classification that goes on initially, but that's not -- that's just to help the White House and the president sort out which records is going to be turned over to archives. It's not the final decision. It's not absolute. The definition of a presidential record doesn't include a presidential record is what the president says it is. A presidential record --

THE COURT: Well, actually, I think that's exactly what the statute says. Where does the statute give the archivist the authority to decide what a presidential record is?

MR. BEKESHA: The archivist -- all the statute says is that the archivist of the United States shall assume responsibility for the custody, control, and preservation of and access to presidential records of that president.

Our argument is that these records, as we've alleged, are presidential records and, therefore, archives is to assume custody and control of the records --

THE COURT: That's upon conclusion of the president's term of office.

MR. BEKESHA: Correct, and he has been out of office.

THE COURT: Right. And that's Section (f).

MR. BEKESHA: Correct.

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THE COURT: But if you go up to Section (b), documentary materials produced or received by the president and his staff or units or individuals in the executive office of the president shall -- shall -- to the extent possible, be categorized as presidential records or personal records upon their creation or receipt and be filed separately. That's (b). That's during the presidency. It's only after the presidency is over and there is a category -- you know, let's say he had two boxes, he's leaving the White House; personal, presidential, personal, presidential. They get this box, they don't get the other box. This is what they assume custody and control over. So where do they get to classify anything?

MR. BEKESHA: Your Honor, if you go to section or subsection (b), it says, shall to the extent practical be categorized. It does not say that if it is not categorized by the president as a presidential record that it is not a presidential record.

For example, if you go to the archive's website about the Clinton Library --

THE COURT: It says it shall be classified as presidential or personal and filed separately.

MR. BEKESHA: Correct. The president is supposed to

1 categorize his records but that doesn't make it a presidential 2 record; that is just how the president categorizes the record. 3 THE COURT: Well, who exercises the authority to 4 classify? 5 MR. BEKESHA: Archives, in response to two of our 6 letters, states that it has the authority to make that 7 determination. 8 THE COURT: Well, and I'm not sure that it does, and 9 I'm asking you where is that authority found in the statute. 10 There is no reference to presidential versus personal anywhere 11 in the statute except in subsection (b). 12 MR. BEKESHA: No, Your Honor, but the other parts of 13 the statute talk about presidential records --14 THE COURT: Right. 15 MR. BEKESHA: -- and once -- a presidential record is 16 not because somebody classified it as so but because it fits 17 the criteria. We have alleged that these records are 18 presidential records based on the information and belief 19 listing, as you were speaking about before, you know, 20 conversations with foreign dignitaries, conversations with 21 congressmen, and the recording kept going.

So our position is these records are clearly presidential records and they should be made available to the public as quickly as possible.

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THE COURT: Well, let's say you're right. What

authority do I have to tell the archivist to do anything about it? And what authority do you have to sue, to ask them to do anything about it?

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MR. BEKESHA: Well, first off, if you look at the enforcement mechanisms that the archives keeps talking about, section 2112(c), as well as the separate provision about the attorney general.

THE COURT: Right. And 2112(c) states the archivist may.

MR. BEKESHA: Correct, but it also talks about records being deposited with them. It doesn't talk about necessarily enforcement actions to go get records they don't have. I think what 2112(c) talks about is, once archives is provided with personal records, other records, they may treat them as though they were received as presidential records, which is important when they're prior presidents, not as much the case anymore, but I mean prior to the Presidential Records Act, if they received these materials from a former president, what do they do with them. And all 2112(c) talks about is, once they receive them, they can treat them as presidential records.

And then with regard to the attorney general provision, that only applies to the Federal Records Act. I mean there is no statutory authority or any case authority talking about --

THE COURT: Well, the Presidential Records Act says,

if they think it is in the public interest, they can invoke the remedies available in the Federal Records Act, and then you have to go and read the Federal Records Act to see what they're talking about. But if you're saying neither one of those applies here, where is the statutory authority -- let's put aside the question of whether I can even order them to do it -- where is the statutory authority that they get to call up -- we're not going to go knock on the door now -- and say, President Clinton you've got something that you shouldn't have?

MR. BEKESHA: The authority would be under the Presidential Records Act and the idea that the records -- that archives is required to assume custody and control of the records and make them available. If they don't have the records, they cannot make them available to the public under FOIA or under any other provision or in any other way. So the authority rests with what the statute says; that they are required to assume custody and control and then required to make those available to the public.

In this instance, if they don't have the records, they will then have an obligation to try to obtain and try to get the records, and that's what we're asking. We're asking for a determination that the records are presidential records and that archives assumes custody and control of the records.

THE COURT: But you can only read that section the way

you're reading that section if you read that section without reading the rest of the statute, that something happens before the end of the presidency, and what happens before the end of the presidency is the president classifies his records.

MR. BEKESHA: Well, we don't know -- that's the other problem. We don't know what the president did. We do not know if President Clinton classified these records as personal records or as presidential records. Archives doesn't know. Archives, in the letter, assumed that these records were classified one way, but they don't know. I mean there's --

THE COURT: So why aren't -- are we missing a party here? American Historical Association sued George Bush.

MR. BEKESHA: We're challenging -- we don't think President Clinton is a necessary party because we're challenging the determination by archives; and archives, at that time, didn't reference President Clinton. They said, as this Court has already stated, they said based on information, I determine.

Now, there may be information that President Clinton has that he may be able to provide to the Court to clarify how he classified the records, what happened to the records, maybe even where the records are; but in the motion to dismiss, that is not an issue. Maybe we need to take the next step and see -- have very limited discovery on that issue if the idea of the classification is important, let the case go forward at

this point, and then figure out what the next step is.

Limited discovery of some sort may resolve those issues.

THE COURT: Well, what do you do with the holding in CREW vs. Chaney that there is no cause of action against the archivist under this statute?

MR. BEKESHA: We would turn the Court's attention to the Judicial Watch v. Commerce Department case about -- which was FACA, so slightly different -- but how -- you know, the prevention of making this determination prevents any possible remedy, any action. I mean this relies solely on the determination that these were not presidential records.

Because they're not presidential records, archives argues, you know, it's outside the scope of FOIA. There would be no -- because it is outside the scope of FOIA, we couldn't bring a FOIA lawsuit against the Court -- I'm sorry -- against archives. So we're stuck. We have no way to challenge their determination. And so we believe in this instance, which is different circumstances, that APA allows, and this Court has authority, to make a determination under the APA about the decision that archives made in this instance.

THE COURT: What is the decision that you're asking me to review? The failure to invoke the enforcement mechanisms or the classification?

MR. BEKESHA: Well, the determination that these records are not presidential records.

THE COURT: And again, why -- why is there a cause of action against them? How do you distinguish CREW v. Chaney?

What the Court found in that situation is she could mandamus the vice president, but there wasn't really anything she could do about the archivist. Why isn't that the answer here?

MR. BEKESHA: If I recall correctly, CREW was -- CREW, very similar to Armstrong, was during the presidency.

THE COURT: Right.

MR. BEKESHA: President Clinton is no longer in office. These are different circumstances. There is -- a lot of those issues talk about separation of powers and courts and even Congress interfering with the president's day-to-day activities while the president or vice president is in office. We don't have that issue here.

THE COURT: Right. What she said in CREW is, at this point before the presidency is over, they don't have any authority. They don't get to classify, the vice president is doing all the classifying. So there is nothing in the statute, there is no statutory hook for me to hold them responsible. So she lets them out of the lawsuit.

Here you're saying the presidency is over, but I see even less of a statutory hook at this point because they get what's given to them at the end of the presidency. They don't get anything else under the statute, and you're saying there's something they didn't get that was misclassified and I want

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MR. BEKESHA: Well, we don't know if they're misclassified. All we know is that archives does not have these audiotapes at this moment. And based on their letters, they made a determination that they don't have the audiotapes because they're not presidential records. That's all that's before the Court right now. You know, we don't know if they may have received the audiotapes at one point. We don't know that. They haven't alleged that they never received them; just that they don't have them right now. They may have been reviewed by archives. We don't know. We've alleged that these are presidential records, that they have a requirement to assume custody and control of these records, that they have a responsibility and obligation to make these records available to the public. Their response, archives' response was they're not presidential records, you don't get them, and that's what we're stuck with, that's what we're faced with.

THE COURT: Well, the Presidential Records Act, according to Armstrong I, accords the president virtually complete control over his records during the term of his office. And the archivist and Congress can't even veto him if he actually starts disposing of records, much less saying, you know, this is private.

How do you square that language with your claim that the decision to classify these records is subject to judicial

review?

MR. BEKESHA: Well, both the Armstrong cases were extremely focused and they were during the presidency and now we're after the presidency; but how we view Armstrong was the creation, the management, and disposal decisions; and we're not addressing any of the creation, management, or disposal decisions made by President Clinton.

THE COURT: But the only classification --

MR. BEKESHA: He created --

THE COURT: -- decision in Armstrong II said the Court had to be able to review was the decision essentially to bring things under the Presidential Records Act that don't belong there as opposed to excluding something from the Presidential Records Act that you think belongs there. What right do you have as a private party to say, I am not particularly happy with the balance that has been struck under the Presidential Records Act here?

MR. BEKESHA: Well, the Armstrong cases were during the presidency; and although I won't concede that point, I would say that under Armstrong, if President Clinton was still in office and making these audiotapes, at this point, under Armstrong, we may not be able to go in and ask the Court to deal with the creation, the management, and the disposal of the records. But these are different times. We know these records exist. We know they've been created. We don't know

how they were necessarily managed during the presidency. We don't know what happened to them when President Clinton's term ended. All we know is that archives does not have the records and they don't believe they are presidential records, and we're trying to figure that out. We're asking the Court to make a determination based on the evidence provided that these records are presidential records, and once they're presidential records, other obligations take effect.

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THE COURT: How can I make that decision without the information that would really only be in the president's head, what they were created and utilized for?

MR. BEKESHA: Well, that's the problem. Archives thinks they can still make that determination. They, in fact, make that determination, so we're challenging their determination. We're challenging that their decision was arbitrary and capricious because they never reviewed the records, they never asked President Clinton about the records. They looked at our letter and said, no, we don't think these are presidential records, they're not subject to FOIA, so we're challenging that decision.

THE COURT: Well, if a Court could review the decision of presidential versus personal, how would it go about doing that? What is the standard of review?

MR. BEKESHA: Well, first, the standard of review -- the Court would be reviewing the determination. It

wouldn't -- and once you get to that point --

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THE COURT: Right. But am I supposed to defer? Do I get to do it de novo? It depends on what it was prepared or utilized for. How would I make that determination without input from the president? And doesn't the lack of any mention of any of this in the statute sort of point to the notion that once it's done, it's done?

MR. BEKESHA: I don't think so. If once it's done, it's done, the president could classify or not classify, do nothing, and then take all his papers and records with him on the last day. And archives would say, oh, well, we can't do anything about that. We don't believe that was the intent that Congress had in mind.

THE COURT: All right. Well, let's say President

Clinton took everything with him, and not just these tapes -
MR. BEKESHA: Uh-huh.

THE COURT: -- and there was essentially an abuse of the Presidential Records Act, and it was a matter of history, he held a press conference and he said, I am taking every single piece of paper in the White House with me, so there, and he leaves. What can the archivist do under the statute?

MR. BEKESHA: Under the statute, the archives is required to assume custody and control. Exactly how the archives goes about doing that is part of the discretion that archives has. But we're not challenging the enforcement

mechanism of how they get somewhere. If they're trying to get C -- if we're at point A and they're trying to get to point D and B and C is in the middle, we're not challenging whether they choose point B or whether they choose point C, whether or not they file a court action, have the attorney general file a court action, whether they try to physically seize the records, make a phone call. All we're saying is they have a requirement to do so. How they go about doing it is for the archives to choose, but they're required to do so.

THE COURT: And you get all of that out of the sentence in Section (f)?

I mean doesn't the fact that the Presidential Records

Act itself specifies the administrative enforcement remedy

available under the Federal Records Act indicate that that is

the enforcement mechanism and the only enforcement mechanism?

MR. BEKESHA: We don't believe so, Your Honor. I mean also --

THE COURT: What does "assume custody and control" mean in your view? What do you want them to do?

MR. BEKESHA: Because they are also required to make them available to the public, "assume custody and control" would be to take control of the records or have somebody else take control of the records, review the records, because if there is personal information --

THE COURT: How do they take control? He's got them.

I have them. He issues a press release, I've got them. I'm taking them to New York with Buddy. Then what? What are they supposed to do?

MR. BEKESHA: As I said, there are many options. They --

THE COURT: Tell me one.

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MR. BEKESHA: One option is they can call President Clinton and ask. There is nothing in the records --

THE COURT: Okay. He says no. Now what?

MR. BEKESHA: They write a nice letter. They maybe use one of these enforcement mechanisms. Maybe they try something else. I mean the idea is, also, you know, Section 2202 says, the United States shall reserve and retain complete ownership, possession, and control of presidential records. Under the Presidential Record Act, these records are United States property. They are supposed to stay within the United States government. So if you take everything combined and you take the Public Records Act and you look at all those sections as a whole, archives is required to have custody and control of presidential records because they're United States government property and they're supposed to make them available to the public, you know, 5 years, 10 years, 12 years, 20 years, if its designated as such, and they're supposed to process them through FOIA, and if they process them through FOIA, they can segregate. We don't dispute that

some of these records could be more of an audio diary; but as a whole, they're presidential records and archives is required to process them as such.

THE COURT: Well, what is your response to the Court's holding in the CREW opinion that there is no private right of action under the PRA?

MR. BEKESHA: We have brought this claim under the APA.

THE COURT: Well, you've brought it under both. Are we only talking about APA?

MR. BEKESHA: The decision whether or not these are presidential records is our focus.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. BEKESHA: So our focus is the APA and the determination that archives made. Where Presidential Records Act and where FOIA comes into play is that the decision was based on the Presidential Records Act; but the focus -- our claim, our argument is solely on the APA, that it was -- that the determination was arbitrary and capricious and that these records are presidential records.

THE COURT: Well, why is it arbitrary and capricious? If you say the final agency action is the letter saying, in my opinion, based on the record before me, these are private, and you say that that is a final decision, and you say that that is a reviewable decision, and that's a decision that the

archivist was entitled to make under the statute -- which I'm not sure about, but let's assume you're right about all those things and they made it, and I agree with you that it is final -- what am I measuring it against to find it to be arbitrary and capricious? If I'm using the APA, doesn't that mean that I have to give them deference?

MR. BEKESHA: There is deference involved but -- and I don't want to go ahead and read our five-page letter -- but if the Court looks through the five-page letter that we wrote on appeal --

THE COURT: No, I read it.

MR. BEKESHA: -- we pretty clearly establish that these were presidential records. We talk about all the instances that these are presidential records, about conversations President Clinton had with foreign dignitaries, with congressmen, with senators, talking about policies, trying to determine who is going to be his next secretary of state, I believe. These are all conversations about policy, even in some instances where Taylor Branch went off to a foreign country and came back and reported to the president about what he saw there. These are all discussions that aren't like a diary. A diary is something you usually write at the end of the day, at the end of the week in your point of view of what is -- of what occurred. This is actually what occurred as it was occurring. It's no different than, you

know -- this is very similar -- counsel was talking about this
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THE COURT: Let's say you're right because I think there is something to at least the portions of the tapes where he's doing something else other than just chatting with Taylor Taylor Branch is watching him do his job. record of his doing his job. That still doesn't necessarily fall within the definition because personal talks about what you do with the record and whether you use the record in the course of your government business. And I don't believe there is anything in your letter that suggests he used the recordings for anything other than personal purposes. let's say you are right and he -- after he got off the phone -- took his tape with Taylor Branch and sent it to his chief of staff and said, listen to this great conversation I just had with the foreign leader, wasn't I brilliant, and do you think I made the right decision or should I call them back? So let's say some portion of them fall within presidential records. Why is your injury redressable? doesn't that just sort of end the lawsuit?

MR. BEKESHA: Well, under -- going back to the Judicial Watch vs. Commerce case, the FACA case where it talked about standing in the FACA context, in there -- I mean I think we fall within there. Because the records were determined not to be presidential records, we fail

to -- archives doesn't have an obligation to process the records; and because of that, we don't have access to the records. I think -- if the system worked and you went through the checklist, once they're determined presidential records, archives assumed custody and control of the records, and then they make them available. Because the determination was these were not presidential records, therefore they fall outside the context of FOIA, we don't get the records, and that's our injury. Our injury is that Judicial Watch as well as --

THE COURT: But Judicial Watch said that the defendant in that case was subject to statutory obligations under the particular statute that were within the agency's power to discharge.

MR. BEKESHA: Yes.

THE COURT: And what they're saying is it is just simply not within our power to do what it is you want us to do, to assume custody and control of the records, and you keep repeating that phrase, and I keep asking you what does that mean, what do they have the statutory authority to do other than exercise their unfettered discretion to ask the attorney general to try to go get them, and you haven't pointed to anything in the statute that they have the authority to do, and I think that's kind of where this sits at the moment.

What enforcement mechanism, what thing, what power can they exercise under the statute that I can order them to do

that makes your injury redressable?

MR. BEKESHA: Once the records are determined to be presidential records, there is an obligation to assume custody and control of them. How -- and I will just say, once again, how they go about doing that -- Judicial Watch is not challenging how. We're not challenging whether they use one enforcement mechanism or another. The statute --

THE COURT: I just want you to tell me what they have other than the one that they have that they don't have to do.

Under the APA, for instance, I can only order an agency to do what it has to do.

MR. BEKESHA: Yes.

THE COURT: And under the statute, they don't have to go after misclassified records. They can choose to go after misclassified records. And so that's why I want to know what is it that you see that they have the statutory power to do that they also have the statutory obligation to do.

MR. BEKESHA: We believe they have -- I keep repeating myself.

THE COURT: To assume custody and control of their records?

MR. BEKESHA: Yes, I sound like a broken record, but this obligation will exist. You know, once a determination is that they are presidential records, this obligation is created; and once that obligation is created, it sets

up -- there may be other options -- Judicial Watch is harmed by that determination because it ends everything. It's final, it's determinative, and there is no redressability -- I mean there is no other way to challenge this determination. And once the determination is made that's presidential records, it opens the door. It leaves for the possibility that archives will go out and get the records. It leaves the possibility that they'll use one of their enforcement mechanisms or they may use other avenues to get them.

We're challenging the determination. We're not challenging archives' failure to bring an enforcement action. We didn't get there. That's not before the Court. What's before the Court is --

THE COURT: Why isn't that what should happen next?

MR. BEKESHA: If this Court agreed and found that the records were presidential records and ordered archives to, to the best of it abilities, seek to assume custody and control of the records, it would bring us to a next step. If archives didn't use their -- you know, all their powers to the best of their ability, there would be --

THE COURT: We're talking about very mushy unenforceable orders at this point. I mean I just don't think I could issue an order that says try your best. Then how would anybody be able to ascertain whether they've complied.

MR. BEKESHA: If archives did nothing, they wouldn't

be complying. If they asked President Clinton to turn over the records and he did, they would be complying. It opens up the door for Judicial Watch to be redressed, to have the records determined to be presidential records and then properly processed as presidential records are supposed to be. Once again, you know, archives can pick and choose how they can go about assuming custody and control, but they have to do so under the statute.

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THE COURT: But to me the statute only has them assume custody and control of what has been designated by the president as presidential records. Earlier in the statute it's the president who exercises the authority to classify them one way or the other and then they get what is presidential, they don't get what's personal. And so you're basically asking me to enforce the definition section as opposed to asking me to enforce the section that tells under which the archivist has authority one way or the other.

MR. BEKESHA: But once the definition section is enforced, then the other sections fall into place. If a record is determined to be a presidential record, archives can't sit back and do nothing. I mean these are United States government property. They are supposed to be made available to the public. So the definition is important. The determination of what is a presidential record is important because it leads to everything else.

THE COURT: But the statute doesn't include a private right of action. The statute doesn't include a judicial review provision. Doesn't all of that suggest that misclassified records are only subject to the enforcement -- the one mechanism that is set forth in the statute, which is that they can exercise their discretion to go ask the attorney general and Congress to do something about this?

MR. BEKESHA: No, but it also leaves open the opportunity to bring an APA claim for that because there is no remedy, there is no avenue or vehicle to bring such a challenge specifically under the PRA, and that's why we're focusing on the determination made by archives in its two letters.

THE COURT: Well, they say that the determination they make is essentially do we invoke the enforcement mechanism or not and that that discretion is so broad that it is unreviewable. What is your response to that?

MR. BEKESHA: That they didn't make a determination about the failure to bring an enforcement action; they made solely a determination about whether or not these records are presidential records, and their determination was that it was not. There is nothing in their determination saying -- under their theory, they could have said, these are presidential records but we don't invoke the enforcement mechanism. That

would have been a different determination and something else we may have a possibility -- I don't know -- to challenge, but that wasn't their determination. Their determination was only is this -- are these records presidential records.

THE COURT: And what was the source of their authority to make that determination at all?

MR. BEKESHA: Their source would be the PRA and their -- the overall objective to make presidential records available to the public.

THE COURT: What part of the PRA accords the archivist as opposed to the president any authority whatsoever to classify things as presidential versus personal? Isn't that a decision committed to the president under the act?

And I agree with you, the letter purports to make a decision --

MR. BEKESHA: Uh-huh.

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THE COURT: -- and I find that troubling, and I see why you took the approach you took in light of receiving the letter you received. But where do they have the authority to do any classifying or reclassifying?

I mean initially I thought this lawsuit was about your asking them to sort of reclassify. Now you're saying they went ahead and classified and I think they're wrong and that is a reviewable agency action --

MR. BEKESHA: Uh-huh.

THE COURT: -- and that has some force to it. But I don't know that they had the power to do that at all anywhere under this statute. I don't see anywhere where Congress gave the archivist the opportunity to decide what of the president's is personal or not.

MR. BEKESHA: During his term there is no -- I mean they have no -- archivist has no authority during the president's term to make a classification. That is solely up to the president.

THE COURT: Well, after his term, how does that change? What's personal is personal. What he used it for, what he thought it was for, what he created it for, and that's why it says, under Section (b), they should be categorized as presidential or personal upon their creation or receipt.

MR. BEKESHA: Yes. The president is required to classify the records, if possible. But it does not -- it does not say that only those records classified by the president are presidential records. They're just saying he's supposed to classify. He holds one sheet of paper up, he puts one in one box, one in the other. That's what his requirement is. If he takes, for example, his daily calendars or maybe his notes on his speeches, a speech that he just -- one of his speeches and puts that in the personal records box, that doesn't make it a personal record, that just means that President Clinton classified it as a personal record.

THE COURT: Right. And Armstrong I says, while he's doing that, there is no judicial review whatsoever. What he does he has unfettered discretion to. We're going to trust him to do it right. Congress trusted him to do it right. He has unfettered discretion to do it, though the archivist is allowed to raise his hand and say, Mr. President, how about this, how about that, but very, very limited authority to veto what he is doing. Even literally shredding presidential records, he may dispose of presidential records, and there is nothing we can do about it.

MR. BEKESHA: Correct.

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THE COURT: And that, it seems to me, is even more troubling than what you're talking about. If he can do that, why can't he do this?

MR. BEKESHA: He could classify them as such and maybe he did and maybe he didn't. We don't know. But it is still under the obligation -- but archives is still under the obligation to take possession of presidential records.

Now, they could -- Congress could have easily in the definition of presidential records said a presidential record is this and list what makes it a presidential record and then said, and as classified by the president. But they didn't. They didn't focus on the president's classification in the definition of a presidential record. They focused on the substance.

THE COURT: Well, but they do in Section 2203 specifically talk about the classification process taking place.

MR. BEKESHA: Well, that talks about the management and custody of the records. I mean that's the section it is in, section on how to manage these. Congress was concerned that --

THE COURT: Well, as I said, Section (b) is the only section I could find that talks about personal at all other than the definition section, and so they have the categorization of presidential versus personal taking place during the presidency, which makes perfect sense.

MR. BEKESHA: Right, but they didn't need to say personal records there. They could have just said, if it falls in the presidential. I mean if it is not a presidential record --

THE COURT: Right.

MR. BEKESHA: -- then it is a personal record.

THE COURT: Right. And so that seems to vest exclusive authority for saying this is personal on the person who would know.

MR. BEKESHA: It gives him that ability to classify at that time, but it doesn't mean that something he classifies at that time is, in fact, a personal or a presidential. It just means he needs to classify it to make it easier for management

during his term and then after his term for archives. If the president didn't classify and didn't manage his records, if he didn't think about it, if there was no system set up, then you'd have a problem. At the end of the term, you'd have a big stack of papers, one page personal, one page presidential, and archives would have to sort it out and figure it out. So Congress here was trying to make it easy for archives. They were trying to say the president needs to classify records.

Just because he classifies it doesn't mean it's a presidential record. We're also not asking for archives to go on a fishing expedition and try to find records that may or may not exist.

We informed archives that these records exist. Based on the letters, it almost seems to suggest that archives -- I'm sorry -- not letters, audiotapes -- that these audiotapes exist. So we're not asking for a fishing expedition.

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THE COURT: Well, I feel like your entire theory works if I ignore Armstrong I completely, and you say I can ignore Armstrong I completely because that was during the presidency, and Armstrong II is during the presidency, and CREW is during the presidency, and American Historical Association is different. Are you hanging your hat on anything other than Judicial Watch v. Commerce, or am I writing on a blank slate here?

MR. BEKESHA: None of these issues were before the Court. And that happens. In Armstrong it was the first time

that it was before the Courts.
THE COURT: I just war

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THE COURT: I just want to know if I'm right that you're saying I'm writing on a blank slate?

MR. BEKESHA: Yes.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. BEKESHA: Yes. We don't think the current case law discusses this issue at all, and that happens. And so yes, it's a blank slate with in mind what the PRA says and the obligations that archives has.

THE COURT: Okay. So let's go back to my original question: What is the standard of review to be applied to a classification decision? Are you saying arbitrary and capricious because I'm getting at it through the APA?

MR. BEKESHA: Yes. I mean that's our argument; that the determination was arbitrary and capricious. How to review the audiotapes -- I mean it would be a -- I mean it's difficult to answer.

THE COURT: It's an important question --

MR. BEKESHA: It is, and I appreciate that. I just -- thinking, you know --

THE COURT: You're telling me, Judge, you absolutely get to review it. And I'm saying, okay, what's the --

MR. BEKESHA: Right. I mean, it would be arbitrary and capricious because it is under the APA. Our claim is that they acted arbitrarily and capriciously, and then you would

take into account the facts alleged and whether or not their decision was merited based on the facts presented to them in the letters and also in the complaint.

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THE COURT: Well, and am I giving them Chevron deference because they're the agency given the authority to implement this statute under the Presidential Records Act?

MR. BEKESHA: I think because the decision was so arbitrary it doesn't matter what standard you review it under. The letters clearly establish that these records are presidential records; that even with some deference, which the agency doesn't even -- I mean they don't even discuss the facts. They just say these sound like personal diaries. don't even -- it seems based on the letters that they didn't even think about, well, if this is one end of the conversation, you know, is that recordings made in the Oval Those would be presidential records but why not these. Oval Office operations helped set up the meetings. They were intimately involved in the recordings. They set up the appointments with Taylor Branch. They escorted him sometimes into the Oval Office, sometimes into other rooms in the White House.

THE COURT: Well, let's say you're right about every single step of this: They were wrong. I have the authority to tell them that they were wrong. I have the authority to say assume custody and control. And they make a phone call,

write a nice letter. They even head up to Observatory Circle 1. 2. and knock on the door. And he says, they're my records, and 3 he closes the door. How is your injury something we can redress? 5 MR. BEKESHA: The injury there would be redressable 6 because by making a determination that the records are 7 presidential records, it falls under FOIA, and there would be -- the FOIA statute would kick in. 8 9 THE COURT: FOIA only has to give you what they have. 10 MR. BEKESHA: Yes, unless it's in the possession of 11 another agency or --12 THE COURT: He's not an agency. MR. BEKESHA: It could be -- and I haven't --13 14 THE COURT: He is a private citizen. 15 MR. BEKESHA: He is a private citizen, but he also 16 holds -- the former president has some type of office. 17 THE COURT: Are you saying that my order to them, go 18 get them, binds him to give them to them when they knock on the door --19 20 MR. BEKESHA: No, your order would not bind them. 21 However, they are --22 THE COURT: So even if you win, what do you get? 23 MR. BEKESHA: We get the possibility to discuss that 24 when the time comes. I mean we've been redressed -- I mean 25 the injury of the determination stops the proceedings.

1 it stops. We win by now -- we now have --THE COURT: The opportunity to sue President Clinton, 2 3 which you haven't elected to do so far? MR. BEKESHA: We haven't elected to do so, so far, but 4 5 that could be a possibility, or the possibility could be that 6 he turns over the records. It just opens the door to having 7 many -- redressability could be by simply having them declared presidential records and then the ability to have the further 8 9 process under FOIA. You know, there are many different 10 instances where an agency could go out and get records under 11 FOIA. 12 THE COURT: This is not one of those. This just does 13 not fall within -- if they don't have them, FOIA doesn't help 14 you. 15 MR. BEKESHA: Most likely, yes. THE COURT: Okay. All right. Is there anything else 16 17 that you wanted to say that I took you off your outline and 18 you didn't get to say? You can take a minute. 19 20 MR. BEKESHA: Thank you. 2.1 I think we covered everything. 22 THE COURT: All right. Thank you very much. 23 MR. BEKESHA: Thank you very much.

THE COURT: All right. Briefly, I think I understand

all the arguments you made initially, and I don't think we

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need to repeat them. The one thing that we haven't really talked about is the only thing he talked about, which is the mandatory nature of Section (f), where it says the archivist shall assume responsibility for access to presidential records, and he says presidential records is defined in the definition section, these meet the definition, therefore you do have a duty that is enforceable by this Court, reviewable by this Court. What do you say to that?

MR. SCHWEI: We have two responses to that: The first is that, as Your Honor alluded to, we argue that whatever that duty within Section 2203(f) is, it only applies to the specific collection of presidential records designated by the president as Section 2203(b) contemplates, which there are two pre-existing collections that get -- one gets transferred at the end of the term; personal records do not.

The second argument is that even the language of 2203(f) does not actually impose a duty to, quote, assume custody and control. What 2203(f) actually says is, quote, to assume responsibility for assume custody and control, which is very different, because as the D.C. Circuit stated in the American Friends Service Committee v. Webster case, when a statute says -- a statute there said NARA shall have responsibility to conduct inspections of records; and the D.C. Circuit, in that case, stated NARA does not have a mandatory duty to conduct inspections. NARA has the

responsibility and the prerogative, but it is not the type of 1 mandatory duty and certainly not the type of specific 2 3 unequivocal command that is required under the APA for this Court to order NARA to actually comply with that section. 4 5 THE COURT: Is that cited in your reply, the case you 6 just cited to me? 7 MR. SCHWEI: Yes, Your Honor. THE COURT: Okay. All right. I think you said you 8 had two answers. That was the second answer. The first 9 10 answer was Section (b) --11 MR. SCHWEI: Correct. 12 THE COURT: -- that he puts them in the two boxes. 13 All right. Is there anything else you want to say in 14 response to what he said? 15 MR. SCHWEI: I think we're content to rest on our 16 briefs, Your Honor. 17 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you very much. 18 I very much appreciate the quality of the arguments 19 this morning. It is a very interesting case. I think, based 20 upon everything I've read, that we are writing on a relatively 21 blank slate, which makes it interesting, but it also means I

(Proceedings adjourned at 11:31 a.m.)

advisement. And thank you very much.

need to think about it, and I'm going to take it under

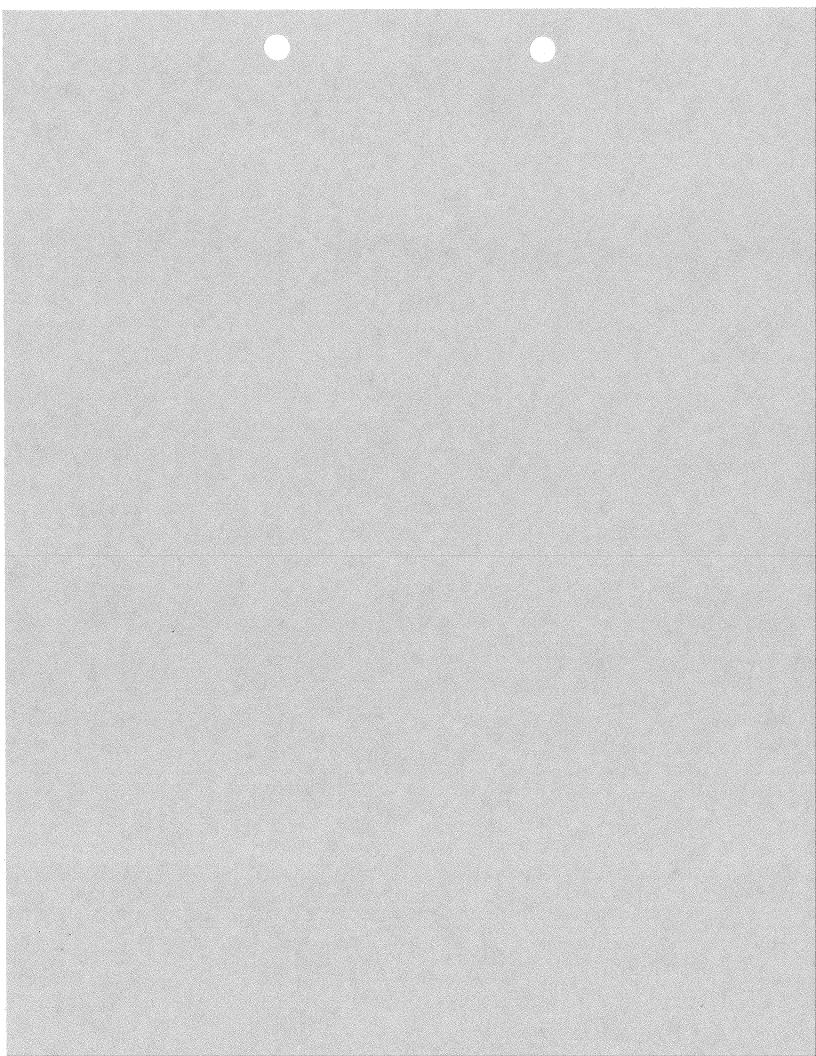
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# CERTIFICATE OF OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER I, Patricia A. Kaneshiro-Miller, certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter. Patricia ax Milles :0/3/11 PATRICIA A. KANESHIRO-MILLER DATE



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