1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
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3	UNITED STATES, :
4	Petitioner :
5	v. : No. 10-1259
6	ANTOINE JONES :
7	x
8	Washington, D.C.
9	Tuesday, November 8, 2011
10	
11	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
12	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
13	at 10:07 a.m.
14	APPEARANCES:
15	MICHAEL R. DREEBEN, ESQ., Deputy Solicitor General,
16	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on
17	behalf of Petitioner.
18	STEPHEN C. LECKAR, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
19	Respondent.
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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 (10:07 a.m.) 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear argument 4 first this morning in Case 10-1259, United States v. 5 Jones. Mr. Dreeben. б 7 ORAL ARGUMENT OF MICHAEL R. DREEBEN ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER 8 9 MR. DREEBEN: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it 10 please the Court: 11 Since this Court's decision in Katz v. 12 United States, the Court has recognized a basic dichotomy under the Fourth Amendment. What a person 13 14 seeks to preserve as private in the enclave of his own 15 home or in a private letter or inside of his vehicle 16 when he is traveling is a subject of Fourth Amendment 17 protection. But what he reveals to the world, such as 18 his movements in a car on a public roadway, is not. 19 In Knotts v. United States, this Court applied that principle to hold that visual and beeper 20 surveillance of a vehicle traveling on the public 21 roadways infringed no Fourth Amendment expectation of 22 23 privacy. 24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Knotts, though, 25 seems to me much more like traditional surveillance.

1 You're following the car, and the beeper just helps you 2 follow it from a -- from a slightly greater distance. 3 That was 30 years ago. The technology is very 4 different, and you get a lot more information from the 5 GPS surveillance than you do from following a beeper. MR. DREEBEN: The technology is different, 6 7 Mr. Chief Justice, but a crucial fact in Knotts that shows that this was not simply amplified visual 8 surveillance is that the officers actually feared 9 10 detection in Knotts as the car crossed from Minnesota to 11 Wisconsin. The driver began to do certain U-turns and, 12 the police broke off visual surveillance. They lost 13 track of the car for a full hour. They only were able 14 to discover it by having a beeper receiver in a 15 helicopter that detected the beeps from the radio transmitter in the can of chloroform. 16

CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But that's a good 17 18 example of the change in technology. That's a lot of work to follow the car. They've got to listen to the 19 beeper; when they lose it, they've got to call in the 20 21 helicopter. Here they just sit back in the station, and 22 they -- they push a button whenever they want to find 23 out where the car is. They look at data from a month 24 and find out everywhere it's been in the past month. 25 That -- that seems to me dramatically different.

1	MR. DREEBEN: But it doesn't expose
2	anything, Mr. Chief Justice, that isn't already exposed
3	to public view for anyone who wanted to watch, and that
4	was the crucial principle that the Court applied
5	JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, under that
6	rationale, could you put a beeper surreptitiously on the
7	man's overcoat or sport coat?
8	MR. DREEBEN: Probably not, Justice Kennedy;
9	and the reason is that this Court in Karo v. United
10	States United States v. Karo specifically
11	distinguished the possibility of following a car on a
12	public roadways from determining the location of an
13	object in a place where a person has a reasonable
14	expectation of privacy.
15	JUSTICE KENNEDY: Oh, no. This is special
16	device. It measures only streets and public elevators
17	and public buildings.
18	MR. DREEBEN: In that event, Justice
19	Kennedy, there is a serious question about whether the
20	installation of such a device would implicate either a
21	search or a seizure. But if it did not, the public
22	movements of somebody do not implicate a seizure.
23	JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well and on that latter
24	point, you might just be aware that I have serious
25	reservations that there wasn't that there about $5$
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1 the way in which this beeper was installed. But you can 2 get to that at -- at your convenience. 3 JUSTICE SCALIA: Mr. Dreeben, I'd like to 4 get to it now. 5 (Laughter.) б MR. DREEBEN: Happy to, Your Honor. 7 JUSTICE SCALIA: I have to give a little proloque to my question. When -- when wiretapping first 8 9 came before this Court, we held that it was not a 10 violation of the Fourth Amendment because the Fourth 11 Amendment says that the -- the people shall be secure in 12 their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures. And wiretapping 13 14 just picked up conversations. That's not persons, 15 houses, papers, and effects. 16 Later on, we reversed ourselves, and, as you 17 mentioned, Katz established the new criterion, which is, 18 is there an invasion of privacy? Does -- are you obtaining information that a person had a reasonable 19 20 expectation to be kept private? I think that was wrong. 21 I don't think that was the original meaning of the Fourth Amendment. But, nonetheless, it's been around 22 23 for so long, we're not going to overrule that. 24 However, it is one thing to add that privacy 25 concept to the Fourth Amendment as it originally

1 existed, and it is quite something else to use that 2 concept to narrow the Fourth Amendment from what it 3 originally meant. And it seems to me that when that 4 device is installed against the will of the owner of the 5 car on the car, that is unquestionably a trespass and thereby rendering the owner of the car not secure in his б 7 effects -- the car is one of his effects -- against an unreasonable search and seizure. It is attached to the 8 car against his will, and it is a search because what it 9 10 obtains is the location of that car from there forward. 11 Now, why -- why isn't that correct? Do you deny that 12 it's a trespass? 13 MR. DREEBEN: It may be a technical 14 trespass, but it was equally a technical trespass in the 15 United States v. Karo, when a can of ether was 16 transferred to somebody that had -- and it had a radio 17 transmitter --18 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, but the owner of the can at the time it was installed consented, and that is 19 20 not this case. There is no consent by the owner of the

22 was done, as Justice Scalia indicated, surreptitiously.

21

property to which this device was affixed. In fact, it

23 MR. DREEBEN: But there was no consent to 24 the owner of the can once he acquired it to have it 25 contain a foreign item installed by the government.

1 And --2 JUSTICE SCALIA: Well, that's too bad. That 3 doesn't make it a trespass. I mean --4 MR. DREEBEN: Well, this Court thought that 5 it --JUSTICE SCALIA: It may be a sneaky thing to б 7 do, but -- but every sneaky thing is not a trespass. MR. DREEBEN: Well, this Court thought that 8 9 it was a technical trespass in Karo and said that made 10 no difference because the purpose of the Fourth Amendment is to protect privacy interests and meaningful 11 12 interferences with possessory interests, not to cover all technical trespasses. And the case that I --13 14 JUSTICE SCALIA: So, we've narrowed the 15 Fourth Amendment? MR. DREEBEN: Well, I think the Court --16 JUSTICE SCALIA: So, the -- the privacy 17 18 rationale doesn't expand it but narrows it in some 19 respects. 20 MR. DREEBEN: It changes it, Justice Scalia. 21 And I think the case that most clearly illustrates the 22 distinction between trespass and Fourth Amendment 23 protection is Oliver v. United States, the case that 24 reaffirmed the open fields doctrine. In that case, 25 there was absolutely no doubt that the police committed

a trespass under local law. They entered, they crossed 1 2 fences, they ignored big "no trespassing" signs; and 3 this Court held that the interests that are protected by 4 trespass law are distinct from the interests protected 5 by the Fourth Amendment. б JUSTICE SCALIA: Undoubtedly, but the 7 rationale of that case was that it was not an 8 unreasonable --9 MR. DREEBEN: No, the rationale was that --10 JUSTICE SCALIA: -- it was not an 11 unreasonable search. 12 MR. DREEBEN: -- there was no search, Justice Scalia. The rationale of that case was that 13 14 open fields are not among the things that are protected by the Fourth Amendment. And the Court was very 15 16 specifically focused on the distinction between trespass 17 law and Fourth Amendment law. 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You think there would also not be a search if you put a GPS device on 19 20 all of our cars, monitored our movements for a month? 21 You think you're entitled to do that under your theory? MR. DREEBEN: The Justices of this Court? 22 23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yes. 24 (Laughter.) 25 MR. DREEBEN: Under our theory and under

1 this Court's cases, the Justices of this Court when 2 driving on public roadways have no greater expectation 3 of --

4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So, your answer is 5 yes, you could tomorrow decide that you put a GPS device 6 on every one of our cars, follow us for a month; no 7 problem under the Constitution?

8 MR. DREEBEN: Well, equally, Mr. Chief 9 Justice, if the FBI wanted to, it could put a team of 10 surveillance agents around the clock on any individual 11 and follow that individual's movements as they went 12 around on the public streets, and they would thereby 13 gather --

14 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, that seems to get --15 to me to get to what's really involved here. The issue 16 of whether there's a technical trespass or not is potentially a ground for deciding this particular case, 17 18 but it seems to me the heart of the problem that's presented by this case and will be presented by other 19 20 cases involving new technology is that in the pre-computer, pre-Internet age, much of the privacy -- I 21 22 would say most of the privacy -- that people enjoyed was 23 not the result of legal protections or constitutional 24 protections; it was the result simply of the difficulty 25 of traveling around and gathering up information. 10

1 But with computers, it's now so simple to 2 amass an enormous amount of information about people that consists of things that could have been observed on 3 4 the streets, information that was made available to the 5 public. If -- if this case is decided on the ground that there was a technical trespass, I don't have much 6 doubt that in the near future, it will be possible -- I 7 think it's possible now in many instances -- for law 8 9 enforcement to monitor people's movements on -- on 10 public streets without committing a technical trespass. 11 So, how do we deal with this? Do we just 12 say, well, nothing is changed, so that all the information that people expose to the public is -- is 13 14 fair game? There's no -- there's no search or seizure 15 when that is -- when that is obtained because there 16 isn't a reasonable expectation of privacy, but isn't 17 there a real change in -- in this regard? 18 MR. DREEBEN: I don't think, Justice Alito, that there's a particularly dramatic change in this case 19 20 from what went on in the Karo and the Knotts cases. 21 It is possible to envision broader advances 22 in technology that would allow more public information 23 to be amassed and put into computer systems. But I 24 think that the remedy for that -- if this Court agrees 25 with the principles in Knotts and Karo and applies them 11

to this case, the remedy is through legislation, just as when the Court held that amassing pen register data, all of the numbers that you dial on your telephone, the lengths of the times of the calls. The Court was confronted in that case with Justice Stewart's view in dissent, that --

7 JUSTICE GINSBURG: There was a third party 8 involved in the telephone -- in the pen register case. 9 And, here, it's the police. Essentially, I think you 10 answered the question that the government's position 11 would mean that any of us could be monitored whenever we 12 leave our homes. So, the only thing secure is the home. 13 Is -- I mean, this is -- that is the end point of your 14 argument, that an electronic device, as long as it's not 15 used inside the house, is okay.

MR. DREEBEN: Well, we're talking here about monitoring somebody's movements in public. We're not talking about monitoring their conversations, their telephone calls, the interior of their cars, their private letters or packages. So, there are enclaves of Fourth Amendment protection that this Court has recognized.

JUSTICE BREYER: What -- but what is the question that I think people are driving at, at least as I understand it and certainly share the concern, is that 12

1 if you win this case, then there is nothing to prevent 2 the police or the government from monitoring 24 hours a day the public movement of every citizen of the United 3 4 States. And -- and the difference between the 5 monitoring and what happened in the past is memories are б fallible; computers aren't. 7 And no one, or at least very rarely, sends human beings to follow people 24 hours a day. That 8 9 occasionally happens. But with the machines, you can. 10 So, if you win, you suddenly produce what sounds like 11 1984 from their brief. I understand they have an interest in perhaps dramatizing that, but -- but maybe 12 13 overly. But it still sounds like it. 14 And so, what protection is there, if any, 15 once we accept your view of the case, from this slight

17 more so in their briefs?

16

MR. DREEBEN: Justice Breyer, first of all, this is exactly the argument that was presented to the Court in Knotts. If you go back to 1983, the beeper technology in that case seemed extraordinarily advanced, and there was a potential for it to be used. The Respondent --

futuristic scenario that's just been painted and is done

JUSTICE BREYER: Of course, that's true. And they do have a limit. In this case, they say Knotts 13

1 involved a single journey, or let's say it involved four 2 journeys. And let's say it involved four journeys in 3 2 days. This involves every journey for a month. So, 4 they say whatever the line is that's going to protect 5 us, it's short of every journey in a month. So, I'm not asking -- I'm saying I accept 6 7 your point there. And what do you say is the limit? MR. DREEBEN: I first want to address the 8 9 suggestion that you could draw a line somewhere between 10 a month and a trip and have a workable standard for 11 police officers to use. Police officers use a variety 12 of investigative techniques which in the aggregate 13 produce an enormous amount of information. Pen 14 registers, trash pulls. They look at financial records. 15 They conduct visual surveillance. And under a principle 16 of law that says 1 trip is okay but 30 trips in not, there is absolutely no quidance for law enforcement in 17 18 how they are --

JUSTICE BREYER: Well, there is the same kind of guidance that you have in any case of this Court that uses the technique which is used sometimes, and I think it's used for example in the bribing the judge case, you know, with campaign contributions. You draw an outer limit, you say you can't go beyond that. We know within that, there is no standard. We'll leave it 14

1 for the lower courts to work out, and we'll review it 2 over time.

3 That's not necessarily desirable, but that 4 is a method this Court has sometimes used. 5 MR. DREEBEN: Well, I --6 JUSTICE BREYER: But even if it's wrong, I 7 want to know, are you saying there is no limit or are 8 you suggesting one? 9 MR. DREEBEN: I'm suggesting that the Court 10 do the same thing that it did in Knotts. This case does 11 not involve 24-hour surveillance of every citizen of the 12 United States. It involves following one suspected drug 13 dealer as to whom there was very strong suspicion, for a 14 period of time that actually is less than a month, 15 because the beeper technology failed during --16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, then you're -you're moving away from your argument. Your argument is 17 18 it doesn't depend how much suspicion you have; it doesn't depend on how urgent it is. Your argument is 19 you can do it, period. You don't have to give any 20 21 It doesn't have to be limited in any way, reason. 22 right? 23 MR. DREEBEN: That is correct, Mr. Chief 24 Justice.

CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, isn't the 15

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1 normal way in these situations that we draw these limits 2 how intrusive the search can be, how long it can be, is 3 by having a magistrate spell it out in a warrant? 4 MR. DREEBEN: When you're talking about the 5 movements of a car on a public roadway, which even 6 Justice Breyer's question seems to concede could be monitored for a day or perhaps 4 days, there is no 7 Fourth Amendment search, unless --8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, you're talking 9 10 about the difference between seeing the little tile and seeing a mosaic. The one gives you information; the 11 12 other doesn't. 13 MR. DREEBEN: So does a pen register. So 14 does a garbage pull. So does looking at everybody's 15 credit card statement for a month. All of those things 16 this Court has held are not searches. And the --17 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Mr. Dreeben, this case 18 started out with a warrant. There was a warrant, and the limits weren't followed. The warrant said 10 days, 19 20 do this in 10 days, and the police took 11. They were supposed to do it in D.C. Instead, they did it in 21 22 Maryland. 23 So, the police could have gotten permission 24 to conduct this search. In fact, it had received it. 25 Now, I take it that the practice had been, because it's 16

in the electronic surveillance manual, better get a warrant. Was there any problem about -- when this kind of surveillance is wanted by the government, to get a warrant? Were they encountering difficulty getting warrants?

MR. DREEBEN: In this case, there would not 6 7 have been any difficulty getting a warrant, Justice 8 Ginsburg. And the warrant authorized things beyond just monitoring the car. It authorized entering the car in 9 10 order to install it, which wasn't necessary here. It 11 also authorized monitoring the car in a location where 12 there was a reasonable expectation of privacy. This 13 case is only about monitoring a car on public streets.

But I think it's very important to keep in mind that the -- the principal use of this kind of surveillance is when the police have not yet acquired probable cause but have a situation that does call for monitoring. And I'd like to give an example.

19 If the police get an anonymous phone call 20 that a bomb threat is going to be carried out at a 21 mosque by people who work at a small company, the bomb 22 threat on an anonymous call will not provide even 23 reasonable suspicion under this Court's decision in 24 Florida v. J.L.

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But you can hardly expect the FBI to ignore 17

1 a credible, detailed-sounding piece of information like 2 that. Now, the --

3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: If you get an 4 anonymous tip that there's the same bomb in somebody's 5 house, do you get a warrant or do -- do you just go in? 6 MR. DREEBEN: You do neither, because 7 without probable cause you cannot enter the house. CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Then why are you 8 asking for a different rule in this situation? 9 10 MR. DREEBEN: Because the -- the police in 11 this situation have the traditional means available to 12 investigate these sorts of tips. They could put teams of agents on all the individuals who are within the pool 13 14 of suspicion and follow them 24/7. And that would 15 raise --16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You're -- you're now 17 suggesting an answer to Justice Kennedy's question, 18 which is it would be okay to take this computer chip, put it on somebody's overcoat, and follow every citizen 19 20 everywhere they go indefinitely. So -- under your theory and the theory espoused in your brief, you could 21 monitor and track every person through their cell phone, 22 23 because today the smartphones emit signals that police

25 Decause cours the smallphones emit signals that police

24

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can pick up and use to follow someone anywhere they go.

Your theory is so long as the -- that all --

1 that what is being monitored is the movement of person, 2 of a person, they have no reasonable expectation that 3 their possessions will not be used by you. That's 4 really the bottom line --5 MR. DREEBEN: I think that -б JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- to track them, to 7 invade their sense of integrity in their choices about 8 who they want to see or use their things. That's really 9 argument you're making. 10 MR. DREEBEN: Well, Justice Sotomayor, I think that that goes considerably farther than our 11 12 position in this case, because our position is not that 13 the Court should overrule United States v. Karo and 14 permit monitoring within a private residence. That is off limits absent a warrant or exigent circumstances 15 16 plus probable cause. And monitoring an individual 17 through their clothing poses an extremely high 18 likelihood that they will enter a place where they have a reasonable expectation of privacy. 19 20 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Cars get parked in a 21 It happened here. garages. 22 MR. DREEBEN: Yes, but a car that's parked 23 in a garage does not have a reasonable expectation of 24 privacy as to its location. Anyone can observe --25 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Neither does the person. 19

1 MR. DREEBEN: Well --2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: A person goes home, and 3 their overcoat gets hung on a hanger. What's the 4 difference. 5 MR. DREEBEN: Once the -- once the effect is in the house, under Karo there is an expectation of б 7 privacy that cannot be breached without a warrant, and we're not asking the Court to overrule that. 8 9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Tell me what the 10 difference between this and a general warrant is? I 11 mean --12 MR. DREEBEN: A general warrant --JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- what motivated the 13 Fourth Amendment historically was the disapproval, the 14 15 outrage, that our Founding Fathers experienced with 16 general warrants that permitted police indiscriminately to investigate just on the basis of suspicion, not 17 18 probable cause, and to invade every possession that the individual had in search of a crime. How is this 19 20 different --MR. DREEBEN: A warrant authorizes --21 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- this kind of 22 surveillance where there's no probable cause, there's 23 not even necessarily a reasonable suspicion in --24 25 A warrant authorizes a search. MR. DREEBEN: 20

1 This authorizes the ability to track somebody's 2 movements in a car on a public roadway, a subject as to 3 which this Court said in Knotts that no individual has a 4 reasonable expectation of privacy because when they go 5 out in their car, their car is traveling on public roads. Anyone can look. The police have no obligation 6 7 to avert their eyes from anything that any member of the 8 public --

CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: What if we -- I give 9 10 you that, that it's in public. Does the reasonable 11 expectation of privacy trump that fact? In other words, 12 if we ask people, do you think it's -- it violates your right to privacy to have this kind of information 13 14 acquired, and everybody says yes, is it a response that, 15 no, that takes place in public, or it simply the 16 reasonable expectation of privacy regardless of the fact 17 that it takes place in public?

MR. DREEBEN: Well, something that takes place in public isn't inherently off limits to a reasonable expectation of privacy. That's essentially the holding of Katz. You go into a phone booth, you're in a public; making your calls within the phone booth is subject to a reasonable expectation of privacy. But this Court, with full awareness of that

25 holding, in Knotts and in Karo recognized that 21

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1	surveillance of a vehicle traveling on the public
2	roadways doesn't fit that description.
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You can see, though,
4	can't you, that 30 years ago if you asked people does it
5	violate your privacy to be followed by a beeper, the
6	police following you, you might get one answer, while
7	today if you ask people does it violate your right to
8	privacy to know that the police can have a record of
9	every movement you made in the past month, they might
10	see that differently?
11	MR. DREEBEN: They probably would also feel
12	differently about being followed 24/7 by a team of FBI
13	agents, who gain far more information than a GPS device
14	produces. GPS only gives you the approximate location
15	of the car as it drives on the roads
16	JUSTICE GINSBURG: And speed as well.
17	MR. DREEBEN: The approximate speed, the
18	location traveled, that that is what the GPS
19	provides. It doesn't show you where the car stopped.
20	It doesn't show you who was driving the car. It doesn't
21	show you who was
22	JUSTICE GINSBURG: An easy way to pick
23	someone up for speeding when you suspect something far
24	worse but have no no probable cause.

25 MR. DREEBEN: Well, this Court held in Whren 22

v. United States that when the police have probable
 cause to stop someone for a traffic violation, they can
 do that. There are protections --

JUSTICE GINSBURG: That was -- that was when the police came upon the violator. But this is -- it's all in the computer. The police can say we want to find out more about X, so consult the database, see if there's an indication that he was ever speeding in the last 28 days.

10 MR. DREEBEN: Justice Ginsburg, it's not very hard for police to follow somebody and find a 11 12 traffic violation if they want to do that. But to answer in part Justice Breyer's earlier concern about 13 14 limiting principles, this Court recognized in the Whren 15 decision that, although the Fourth Amendment is not a 16 restriction on discriminatory or arbitrary or oppressive 17 stops that are based on invidious characteristics, the 18 Equal Protection Clause is. The First Amendment also stands as a protection. If this Court believes that 19 20 there is an excessive chill created by an actual law or universal practice of monitoring people through GPS, 21 22 there are other constitutional principles that are 23 available.

JUSTICE GINSBURG: But the Fourth Amendment protects us against unreasonable searches and seizures. 23

1 And if I were to try to explain to someone, here's the 2 Fourth Amendment, the Fourth Amendment says -- or it has 3 been interpreted to mean that if I'm on a public bus and 4 the police want to feel my luggage, that's a violation; 5 and yet, this kind of monitoring, installing the GPS and б monitoring the person's movement whenever they are outside their house in the car, is not? I mean, it just 7 -- there's something about it that -- that just doesn't 8 9 parse.

10 MR. DREEBEN: I'm quite sure, Justice 11 Ginsburg, that if you ask citizens whether the police 12 could freely pick up their trash for a month and paw through it, looking for evidence of a crime, or keep a 13 14 record of every telephone call that they made for the 15 duration and the number that it went through, or conduct 16 intense visual surveillance of them, that citizens would 17 probably also find that to be, in the word that 18 Respondents choose to use --

19 JUSTICE BREYER: But they won't -- they 20 won't and probably couldn't physically.

Start with the other end. Start -- what would a democratic society look like if a large number of people did think that the government was tracking their every movement over long periods of time. And once you reject that, you have to have a reason under 24

1 the Fourth Amendment and a principle. And what I'm 2 looking for is the reason and the principle that would 3 reject that, but wouldn't also reject 24 hours a day for 28 days. 4 5 MR. DREEBEN: I think --6 JUSTICE BREYER: Do you see where I'm -- and 7 that's what I'm listening very hard to find. MR. DREEBEN: All right. Justice Breyer, 8 two things on that. First of all, I think the 9 10 line-drawing problems that the Court would create for 11 itself would be intolerable, and better that the Court 12 should address the so-called 1984 scenarios if they come 13 to pass, rather than using this case as a vehicle for 14 doing so. Second, if the Court --15 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: This case is not that 17 vehicle. 18 MR. DREEBEN: If the Court --19 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The GPS technology today 20 is limited only by the cost of the instrument, which frankly right now is so small that it wouldn't take that 21 much of a budget, local budget, to place a GPS on every 22 23 car in the nation. 24 MR. DREEBEN: Oh, I think that would be --25 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Almost every car has it 25

1 now.

MR. DREEBEN: Well, I think it would be 2 3 virtually impossible to use the kinds of tracking 4 devices that were used in this case on everyone 5 because -б JUSTICE SCALIA: Don't we have any 7 legislatures out there that could stop this stuff? 8 MR. DREEBEN: I -- Justice Scalia, the legislature is a safeguard, and if the Court believes 9 10 that there needs to be a Fourth Amendment safequard as 11 well, we have urged as a fallback position that the 12 Court adopt a reasonable suspicion standard which would 13 allow the police to conduct surveillance of individuals 14 in their movements on public roadways, which they can do 15 visually in any event, and would allow the police to investigate leads and tips that arise under 16 17 circumstances where there is not probable cause. 18 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Who would be under your test the judge of the reasonable suspicion? 19 20 MR. DREEBEN: As in most reasonable suspicion cases, it's the police at the front end and 21 22 it's the courts at the back end if there are motions to 23 suppress evidence. But fundamentally, just as in the 24 pen register example and in the financial records 25 example, if this Court concludes, consistent with its 26

earlier cases, that this is not a search, yet all 1 2 Americans find it to be an omen of 1984, Congress would 3 stand ready to provide appropriate protection. 4 If I may save the rest of my time for 5 rebuttal. б CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you. Your --7 our questions have eaten into your rebuttal time. So, we'll give you the full time. 8 9 Mr. Leckar. 10 ORAL ARGUMENT OF STEPHEN C. LECKAR 11 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT 12 MR. LECKAR: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, 13 and may it please the Court: 14 I want to talk about the one issue that the United States didn't talk about, which is whether this 15 16 is a seizure. This case can be resolved on a very narrow basis, a very narrow basis: What are the 17 18 consequences when the police without a warrant install a GPS secretly on a car of any citizen of the United 19 20 States, and they want to use the evidence gained that way in a criminal trial? Our position is that's a 21 22 seizure. 23 JUSTICE ALITO: What is the size of this 24 device? 25 MR. LECKAR: I'm sorry, Your Honor? 27

1 JUSTICE ALITO: What is the size of this device? 2 3 MR. LECKAR: In -- the record doesn't show 4 in this case, but we know -- we learned last week, 5 Justice Alito, from the NACDL that there's now a GPS on the market that weighs 2 ounces and is the size of a 6 7 credit card. Think how easy it would be for any law enforcement agent of the 880,000 in the United States to 8 stick one of those on anybody's vehicle. 9 10 JUSTICE ALITO: And what if it was put on the license place? Would that be a technical trespass? 11 12 Is that the property of the driver? 13 MR. LECKAR: Well, a license plate, as I 14 understand it, is the property of the State, and driving 15 is a privilege. But it's not a technical trespass in 16 this particular case. Mr. Jones had the --17 JUSTICE SCALIA: Is that right? I didn't 18 own my license plate? I didn't know that. How do you 19 know that? 20 (Laughter.) 21 JUSTICE SCALIA: How do you know that? I 22 paid for my license plate. 23 (Laughter.) 24 JUSTICE KENNEDY: We don't need to get into 25 it, but "Live Free or Die" was spelled on the license 28

1 plate.

2 (Laughter.) 3 MR. LECKAR: What I'm saying, Justice Kennedy and Justice Scalia, is this: That the issue 4 5 insofar as the seizure is concerned is, is it б meaningful. Everybody agrees here that there is -- that Antoine Jones had the right to control the use of his 7 vehicle. The question is, was the interference a 8 meaningful deprivation of his possessory interest? 9 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I didn't -- I didn't hear an answer to Justice Alito's question. What is 11 your position on the placement of the GPS device on the 12 State-owned license plate? 13 14 MR. LECKAR: They can't do it. They can't 15 do it, Your Honor. It's a seizure. 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: It's a --17 MR. LECKAR: If -- I'm sorry. If the 18 installation --CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: My understanding is 19 20 correct that it's the State's license plate they require 21 you to have. So, your trespass theory, it would seem, falls apart with respect to that particular scenario. 22 23 MR. LECKAR: Well, first of all, Justice --24 Chief Justice Roberts, my -- you would probably see the 25 GPS, and in that case, you might have --

1	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: No. It's the size
2	of a credit card. You slip it behind the license plate.
3	MR. LECKAR: In that particular case, what
4	you have done is you have the installation of the
5	GPS, it is a seizure. What makes it meaningful is the
6	use of that GPS
7	JUSTICE SCALIA: Well, this is ridiculous.
8	Look at you give the State permission to put the
9	license plate to carry to have your car carry the
10	State's license plate. You do not give anybody
11	permission to have your car carry a tracking device.
12	MR. LECKAR: That's correct.
13	JUSTICE SCALIA: And whether it's put
14	directly on the car or directly on something that the
15	car is carrying doesn't seem to me to make any
16	difference.
17	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I thought it made a
18	difference under your theory, which focused on the
19	question of trespass, because it was attached to an
20	effect owned by somebody else. This is an effect not
21	owned by the individual.
22	MR. LECKAR: That's correct.
23	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So, the trespass
24	theory anyway doesn't seem ridiculous to me.
25	MR. LECKAR: But it's an effect, Your Honor. 30
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1 The Fourth Amendment protects effects. It protects 2 people. If you put it on somebody's briefcase, you put 3 it on somebody's car, you have affected their possessory 4 interest. Then the question becomes --

5 JUSTICE KAGAN: Mr. Leckar, I guess I'm not 6 sure I quite understand the argument, because a trespass 7 is accomplished no matter what you put on somebody's car 8 or somebody's overcoat or what have you. You could put 9 a nonworking device in somebody's car, and it would 10 still be a trespass, but surely the same constitutional problem is not raised. So, how do you get from the 11 12 trespass to the constitutional problem?

MR. LECKAR: As I -- thank you, Justice Kagan. As I said moments ago, what makes it meaningful, what makes it a meaningful deprivation of a -- of a possessory interest, is once the GPS gets activated. We look at reality. We follow what Silverman v. --

JUSTICE SCALIA: That doesn't make it a
seizure. That doesn't make it a seizure. It makes it a
search.

21 MR. LECKAR: Your Honor --

JUSTICE SCALIA: I mean, you can say that there's a trespass for the purpose of obtaining information, which makes it a search. But I don't see how it's a seizure. A seizure -- you have to bring

1 something within your control. You have to stop the 2 person or stop the vehicle. What has been seized when 3 you -- when you slap a tracking device on a car? 4 MR. LECKAR: What has been seized is 5 Antoine's data. Data is seized that is created by the б GPS. Antoine Jones has the right, Your Honor, to control the use of his vehicle. And what the government 7 8 did was surreptitiously deprive him of the use of that --9 10 JUSTICE SCALIA: Do you have any case involving seizure of data floating in the air as opposed 11 12 to papers? 13 MR. LECKAR: The closest case I could come, 14 Your Honor, would be Silverman, where the Court called a 15 Fourth Amendment violation where the spike mike just touched -- touched the ventilator unit. 16 17 JUSTICE BREYER: It's not a violation 18 unless, in addition to a search, it is an unreasonable search. And since you already -- and the same is true 19 20 of seizure, isn't it? 21 MR. LECKAR: That's right. 22 JUSTICE BREYER: So, you already have --23 everybody agrees it's at least a search. So, what do 24 you care whether there's the -- and there's a case 25 called Karo which says whether it's a trespass doesn't 32

1 really matter. The question is the reasonableness of 2 it. And that's what I think -- I mean, you can argue 3 trespass as much as you want, but I'll still have in 4 mind is it reasonable.

5 MR. LECKAR: That's right.

JUSTICE BREYER: And I think that's the question we've been debating. And I would like to know from you -- what they are saying is that the parade of horribles we can worry with -- worry about when it comes up; the police have many, many people that they suspect of all kinds of things ranging from kidnappings of lost children to terrorism to all kinds of crimes.

13 They're willing to go as far as reasonable 14 suspicion in a pinch. And they say at least with that, 15 you will avoid the 1984 scenario, and you will in fact 16 allow the police to do their work with doing no more 17 than subjecting the person to really good knowledge of 18 where he's going on the open highway. Now, I -- they probably put it better than I did, but I'd appreciate 19 20 your views on that.

MR. LECKAR: Reasonable suspicion, Justice Breyer, is something that the Court has adopted for limited intrusions. And I refer you to the United States v. Place. Every 10 seconds of the day for 28 days is by no person's lights a -- a limited intrusion.

1 That said, what -- what happened here, society does not 2 view as reasonable the concept that the United States 3 Government has the right to take a device that enables 4 them to engage in pervasive, limitless, cost-free --5 cost-free surveillance -- that completely replaces the б human equation --7 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: How do you know 8 that? 9 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Why does it have to be 10 cost-free? Suppose the police department says: We've got two things; we can put 30 deputies on this route and 11 12 watch this person, or we can have a device with a 13 warrant. What difference does it make? 14 MR. LECKAR: What happens is the police have 15 the capacity with GPS to engage in grave abuse, grave 16 abuse of individual and group liberties, Your Honor. 17 JUSTICE KENNEDY: But suppose what they got 18 is nothing more than what they would have had if they had 30 deputies staked out along the route. That's all. 19 20 They'd get the same from 30 deputies. A constitutional 21 violation? 22 MR. LECKAR: Yes, if they use a GPS, Your 23 Honor. Any placement of a GPS on anybody's car or this 24 car --25 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, no. We're assuming 34

1 that there's no initial trespass, which was a problem in 2 this case.

3 MR. LECKAR: All right. 4 JUSTICE KENNEDY: You're saying it's -- it's 5 the quantity and -- of the information seized and the time over which it's seized. And that's the proposition б 7 we're testing. And it seems to me what you're saying is that the police have to use the most inefficient 8 methods. 9 10 MR. LECKAR: No, Your Honor. I'm not 11 asking --12 JUSTICE KENNEDY: I'm fully aware of the 1984 ministry of love, ministry of -- of peace problem. 13 14 But this -- your argument, it seems to me, has no 15 principled distinction from the case that I put. 16 MR. LECKAR: I think I can help you with 17 that. We're not asking to make the police less 18 efficient than they were before GPS came into effect. We're simply saying that the use of GPS has grave --19 20 grave threats of abuse to privacy; that people have an expectation, Justice Kennedy, that their neighbor is not 21 going to use their car to track them. People have an --22 23 under Rakas -- and I refer the Court to footnote 12 in 24 the Rakas case. Antoine Jones had control of that car. 25 Control of that -- of the vehicle meant that he had a 35

1 reasonable expectation that society is prepared to view 2 as objectively reasonable. The government --3 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But he -- he wouldn't be 4 protected against a surveillance camera that could get 5 information. And is this really different in kind from the surveillance camera? 6 7 MR. LECKAR: Yes. First of all, you have a physical invasion. That's Bond v. United States. You 8 9 have an invasion of his possessory interest, placement 10 on the car. Physical invasion of a possessory interest, Justice Ginsburg, is more significant. It has always 11 12 been viewed by this Court as more invasive than mere 13 video -- mere visual surveillance. 14 And even with a camera, it depends on the 15 type of the video camera. We're not saying that the 16 police are prohibited from having individual video cameras or several video cameras to surveil people. 17 18 What we're saying here is this device, this device that enables limitless, pervasive, indiscriminate --19 20 JUSTICE KAGAN: What is the difference 21 really? I'm told -- maybe this is wrong, but I'm told 22 that if somebody goes to London, almost every place that person goes there's a camera taking pictures, so that 23 24 the police can put together snapshots of where everybody 25 is all the time. So, why is this different from that?

1	MR. LECKAR: It's pretty scary. I wouldn't
2	want to live in London under those circumstances.
3	JUSTICE SCALIA: Well, it must be
4	unconstitutional if it's scary.
5	(Laughter.)
6	JUSTICE SCALIA: I mean, what is it, the
7	scary provision of what article?
8	JUSTICE BREYER: And, in fact, those cameras
9	in London actually enabled them, if you watched, I got
10	the impression, to track the bomber who was going to
11	blow up the airport in Glasgow and to stop him before he
12	did. So, there are many people who will say that that
13	kind of surveillance is worthwhile, and there are others
14	like you who will say, no, that's a bad thing. But that
15	isn't the issue exactly in front of us.
16	MR. LECKAR: That's correct, Your Honor.
17	What we have here is a physical
18	JUSTICE BREYER: And what Justice Kagan
19	wanted to know is why not.
20	MR. LECKAR: Because you have a physical
21	invasion of property.
22	JUSTICE BREYER: Oh, my goodness. Sorry, I
23	just had that expression because I'm reading: "The
24	existence of a physical trespass is only marginally
25	relevant to the question of whether the Fourth Amendment $37$
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has been violated, however, for an actual trespass is 1 neither necessary nor sufficient to establish a 2 3 constitutional violation." That's Karo. 4 So, you can talk if you'd like. It's your 5 hour. But I would really be very interested in hearing you on the assumption that the real issue here is 6 whether this is reasonable. 7 MR. LECKAR: It's not, Your Honor. This is 8 not a Karo case. First of all, in Karo the installation 9 10 was essentially consented to. You took -- the package came in by virtue of somebody who was working for the 11 12 government. So, the installation was not unlike this case -- was unlike this case, where it was surreptitious 13 14 and directly engaged in by a government agent. JUSTICE KENNEDY: But you're --15 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Counsel --JUSTICE KENNEDY: You're mixing -- you're 17 mixing two things. You're the one that -- I thought 18 your position was that the initial trespass is not 19 important. That's the narrow way to decide the issue. 20 You don't want us to do that. So, now we ask you about 21 Karo, and you say, oh, well, there was a trespass. So, 22 23 that's -- that's not -- that's not a responsive answer. 24 MR. LECKAR: Well, but technology, as you observed, Justice Kennedy, is dramatically different  $\frac{38}{38}$ 25

1 with GPS than was present in Karo.

2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But it's going to be 3 dramatically different in the next step. There are now 4 satellites that look down and can hone in on your home 5 on a block in a neighborhood. I don't see that far in б the future when those cameras are going to be able to 7 show you the entire world and let you track somebody on 8 the camera from place to place. 9 MR. LECKAR: Well --10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So, if -- give us a theory. Is that okay for the police to access those 11 cameras and look at you moving from place to place? And 12 13 if that's okay, then why is this not okay? What is your 14 theory of your case? 15 MR. LECKAR: Our theory, Justice Sotomayor, 16 with respect to video camera, if they're targeting an 17 individual -- this presents a grave question. It's a 18 question that need not be resolved given this case. But if the Court wanted to address that question, once the 19 20 police target somebody, they want to engage in 21 individualized targeting for use of a pervasive network 22 of cameras, and GPS is like a million cameras. That's 23 the -- the New York Court of Appeals pointed that out, 24 and this --25 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I think there's about 28 39

1 satellites up there, but okay.

2 MR. LECKAR: All right. It's 28 cameras, 3 but the equivalent of a camera tracking you every street 4 corner you're on everywhere. Once you have 5 individualized suspicion like that, if a court wanted to 6 deal with it, I believe you would have to have a 7 warrant.

JUSTICE SCALIA: Mr. Leckar, your -- all of 8 this discussion -- you're going into it, but the 9 10 questioning leads you into it -- it seems to me leaps 11 over the difficult part of your case. The issue before 12 us is not -- not in the abstract whether this police 13 conduct is unreasonable. The unreasonableness 14 requirement or the unreasonableness prohibition does not 15 take effect unless there has been a search. And our 16 cases have said that there's no search when -- when you 17 are in public and where everything that you do is open to -- to the view of people. That's the hard question 18 in the case, not whether this is unreasonable. 19 That's 20 not what the Fourth Amendment says, the police can't do anything that's unreasonable. They can do a lot of 21 22 stuff that's unreasonable without violating the Fourth 23 Amendment, and the -- the protection against that is the 24 legislature.

25

But you have to establish, if you're going 40

1 to go with Katz, that there has been an invasion of --2 of privacy when all that -- all that this is showing is 3 where the car is going on the public streets, where the 4 police could have had round-the-clock surveillance on this individual for a whole month or for 2 months or for 5 3 months, and that would not have violated anything, б 7 would it? 8 MR. LECKAR: No. 9 JUSTICE SCALIA: Why? Because there's no 10 invasion of privacy. So, why is this an invasion of 11 privacy? 12 MR. LECKAR: Because it is -- it is a complete robotic substitute. It's not a -- it's not a 13 14 tail. And interestingly enough, Your Honor. The 15 government only cited in its brief one instance of a 16 24-hour surveillance for all of 2 days. What you have 17 here, Justice Scalia, is -- I'm going to refer to your 18 dissent. 19 JUSTICE SCALIA: A hundred times zero equals 20 zero. If -- if there is no invasion of privacy for 1 day, there's no invasion of privacy for a hundred days. 21 22 Now, it may be unreasonable police conduct, and we can 23 handle that with laws. But if there's no invasion of 24 privacy, no matter how many days you do it, there's no 25 invasion of privacy.

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1	MR. LECKAR: Justice Scalia, what I'm
2	going to refer to your dissent along with Justice Breyer
3	in Bond v. United States. A GPS in your car is like
4	or anybody's car, is like without a warrant, is like
5	having an it makes you unable to get rid of an
б	uninvited stranger. That's what it is. Now, what
7	JUSTICE SCALIA: So is a tail. So is a tail
8	when the police surveil surveil you for for a
9	month.
10	MR. LECKAR: The question we have to answer
11	in this case, Justice Scalia, is this: A tail if
12	they can if they want a tail, if they want to commit
13	the resources, that's fine. But what a GPS does, it
14	involves it allows the government to engage in
15	unlimited surveillance through a machine, through a
16	machine robotically. Nobody is even involved monitoring
17	it. The record in this case showed that many times the
18	police officers just let let the machine go on.
19	JUSTICE ALITO: Well, where would you draw
20	the line? Suppose that the GPS was used only to track
21	somebody's movements for 1 day or for 12 hours or for 3
22	hours. Would that be all right?
23	MR. LECKAR: Our position, Justice Alito, is
24	no circumstances should a GPS be allowed to be put on
25	somebody's car. But we recognize 42

JUSTICE ALITO: Put aside -- put aside the
 trespass question.

3 MR. LECKAR: I'm not addressing it purely as 4 a trespass. Our view is the -- the use of a GPS as a 5 search in and of itself should be -- is -- should be viewed as unreasonable. But if the Court were б uncomfortable with that, if the Court had concerns with 7 that, we suggested in our brief some -- some 8 possibilities: one day, one trip, one person per day or 9 10 trip, or perhaps when you use it exactly as a beeper, 11 when you follow it, when you actually physically follow 12 it. JUSTICE ALITO: Well, that sounds like a 13 14 legislative line. But what is the difference between 15 following somebody for 12 hours, let's say, and monitoring their movements on a GPS for 12 hours? You 16 would say that the latter -- your first argument is 17 there's a problem with the latter but not with the 18 19 former. But what would the reason for that be? 20 MR. LECKAR: Because it's an unreasonable invasion of privacy, Your Honor. 21 22 JUSTICE ALITO: What -- what is the 23 difference in terms of one's privacy whether you're 24 followed by a police officer for 12 hours and you don't 25 see the officer or whether you're monitored by GPS for 43

1 12 hours?

2 MR. LECKAR: Because -- because what you 3 have here is society does not expect that the police, 4 the human element, would be taken out of -- would be 5 taken out of the surveillance factor.

JUSTICE ALITO: You know, I don't know what
society expects, and I think it's changing. Technology
is changing people's expectations of privacy.

Suppose we look forward 10 years, and maybe 9 10 10 years from now 90 percent of the population will be 11 using social networking sites, and they will have on 12 average 500 friends, and they will have allowed their 13 friends to monitor their location 24 hours a day, 365 14 days a year, through the use of their cell phones. Then 15 -- what would the expectation of privacy be then? 16 MR. LECKAR: Well, the use of a cell phone, 17 there are two ways of looking at it. As Justice Kennedy 18 observed in Quon, cell phones are becoming so ubiquitous, there may be privacy interests. 19 20 Our view is that currently the use of a cell phone, that's a voluntary act. People nowadays 21

22 understand that there are ways to monitor by way of a

23 cell phone.

24 But I started my oral argument with this 25 basic precept, Justice Alito: This case does not 44

require us to decide those issues of emerging
technology. It's a simple case at the core: Should the
police be allowed surreptitiously to put these machines
on people's cars and either -- call it a seizure, call
it a search, call it a search and seizure in the words
of Katz, or call it a Fourth Amendment violation.

JUSTICE ALITO: Well, that -- maybe that's a good way to decide the case. But I just wonder, would Mr. Jones or anybody else be really upset if they found that the police had sneaked up to their car and put an inert device the size of a credit card on the underside of the car? What would they say about that, other than the fact that the police are wasting money doing this?

MR. LECKAR: If it were nothing more than a note, say, or even a bumper sticker like you get at South of the Border, probably nothing, but this --

JUSTICE ALITO: You don't even see it. It's just a little wafer. They put it under the car. It does nothing.

20 MR. LECKAR: It's a little wafer that's got 21 an enormous capacity. Look at the --

JUSTICE ALITO: No, but this one does nothing, and you -- so you would go -- you would sue -you would bring a trespass action.

25 MR. LECKAR: No, heavens, no, Your Honor. 45

If it did nothing, first, it wouldn't be a Fourth
 Amendment problem.

JUSTICE ALITO: So, what's you're concerned about is not this little thing that's put on your car. It's not this invasion of your property interest. It's the monitoring that takes place.

7 MR. LECKAR: The monitoring makes it meaningful. Putting it on enables them to make --8 JUSTICE KAGAN: But to ask Justice Alito's 9 10 question in a different way, suppose that the police 11 could do this without ever committing the trespass. 12 Suppose that in the future all cars are going to have 13 GPS tracking systems, and the police could essentially 14 hack into such a system without committing the trespass. 15 Would the constitutional issue we face be any different? 16 MR. LECKAR: If, as I assume, that's because 17 of manufacturers doing it, or because Congress has 18 legislated it, Justice Kagan? Under either circumstance, people would know. They would know that 19 20 their privacy rights have been taken away. Whether that would be possible to be -- to go through Congress, I 21 22 seriously doubt, but people would know. 23 In this particular case, Antoine Jones had 24 no idea whatsoever that his possessory interest in that 25 property was about to be deprived by the government in a

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1 meaningful way to allow them to get information they 2 couldn't have otherwise have gotten.

Justice Alito, what happens here, GPS 3 4 produces unique data. When you and I drive down the 5 street, we don't emit GPS data. What makes GPS data meaningful is the act -- is the use and placement of the б 7 GPS device, that was in this case, in this case, unconsented to by Antoine Jones, unknowingly. And the 8 government knew that. That's why they went and did it 9 10 surreptitiously, because they couldn't get it any other 11 way.

12 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Lots of communities have, 13 including Washington, cameras on -- at intersections on 14 stop lights. Suppose the police suspected someone of 15 criminal activity, and they had a computer capacity to 16 take pictures of all the intersections that he drove through at different times of day, and they checked his 17 18 movements and his routes for 5 days. Would that be 19 lawful?

20 MR. LECKAR: I think that would be 21 allowable, Your Honor. I don't think --

JUSTICE KENNEDY: You think it would be? MR. LECKAR: I think that would be permissible, Your Honor. First of all, you don't have an invasion of -- you don't have a physical intrusion, 47

1	unlike this case. People nowadays
2	JUSTICE KENNEDY: You have you have a
3	targeted invasion. It's over a period of time. It's
4	over a long it's over a wide space, and it seems to
5	me that it seems to me you have to answer my question
6	"yes" to be consistent with what you've said earlier.
7	MR. LECKAR: No, Your Honor. As I said
8	earlier, that you can have an you can have an
9	occasional video camera out there. People understand
10	nowadays that there may be video cameras out in public
11	space. The but we don't have any society does not
12	expect view it as reasonable to have the equivalent
13	of a million video cameras following you everywhere you
14	go.
15	A few video cameras, people know. They've
16	cropped they've cropped up, and they've been
17	accepted. But this is a horse of an entirely different
18	color. This is a small device that enables the
19	government to get information of a vast amount of
20	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: What an
21	MR. LECKAR: The camera is one site, one
22	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: What an unworkable rule
23	with no tethered to no principle.
24	MR. LECKAR: I'm sorry.
25	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: What an unworkable rule 48

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1 tethered to no principle. A thousand video cameras may 2 or may not be okay, depending on how large the city is? 3 MR. LECKAR: No, Justice Sotomayor. I think 4 the workable rule and the simplest rule that should be 5 adopted is this: I think the Court should say to the 6 law enforcement agency you came here looking for a rule; we're going to give you a rule. If you want to use GPS 7 devices, get a warrant, absent exigent circumstances or 8 9 another recognized exception to the Fourth Amendment; 10 because of their capacity for -- to collect data that 11 you couldn't realistically get, because of the 12 vanishingly low cost, because of their pervasive nature, 13 that you should get a warrant any time -- you must get a 14 warrant any time you're going to attach a GPS to a citizen's effect or to a citizen's person. 15 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, that gets back 17 to Justice Scalia's question, which is you've got to 18 determine that there has been a search first before you impose the warrant requirement. And it seems to me that 19 20 your -- the warrant requirement applies only with 21 respect to searches, right? 22 MR. LECKAR: And seizures. 23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Okay. And seizures. 24 So, while it might seem like a good idea to impose the 25 requirement on this particular technological device, you 49

1 still have to establish that it's a search. 2 MR. LECKAR: But if you know, if you the 3 police agents know -- this is the deliberative process. 4 These devices aren't used for just quick one-off 5 surveillance. They're used to track people over time, as witness this case, every 10 seconds of the day for 28 6 7 days. 8 If you know you're going to do that and you know, Justice Roberts, that this device -- this device 9 10 has an amazingly invasive power and capacity. If you 11 know you're going to do that and you're a law 12 enforcement agent, then you do what they did originally. 13 You get a warrant. 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Now, we pushed your 15 -- we pushed your friend to the limits of his theory. 16 Your theory, I take it, would apply if you're going to 17 do it for 3 minutes, right? Where's the car? You push 18 a button; it's 3 minutes. You say that's still a Fourth Amendment violation? 19 20 MR. LECKAR: Yes --21 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Okay. Well, then don't talk to me about how long they're going to be 22 23 doing it or all the information. We have to test the 24 validity of your theory on the proposition that it 25 violates the Fourth Amendment to do this for 3 minutes. 50

MR. LECKAR: I -- I think it does, Your Honor, because of the -- society does not expect -society views it as objectively reasonable not to expect --

5 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You have said that 6 several times. How do we tell? I mean, I don't know 7 what society expects. I suppose if you ask people do you think it's a violation of privacy for the police to 8 do this for no reason for a month, maybe they'd come out 9 10 one way. If you asked the people do you think the police have to have probable cause before they monitor 11 12 for 5 minutes the movements of somebody they think is going to set off a huge bomb, maybe you get a different 13 14 answer.

MR. LECKAR: You look to -- you look to the common law. You look to well-established case law. You look to statutes in several jurisdictions. I think there are seven or eight that said this sort of practice should be prohibited.

JUSTICE SCALIA: Excellent. Yes. Of course, a legislature can take care of this, whether or not there is an invasion of privacy. And they can pick 5 days out of the air. You can't do it for any more than 5 days, or you can't do it to more than -- than 50 people at a time. They can take care of all of that

1 stuff.

We can't do that in a decision under the --under the Fourth Amendment.

4 MR. LECKAR: We have --

5 JUSTICE SCALIA: Why isn't this precisely 6 the kind of a problem that you should rely upon 7 legislatures to take care of?

8 MR. LECKAR: That's the same -- that's the same -- same problem that the United States advanced 9 10 before this Court in the United States v. District 11 Court; give it to Congress. And what this Court there 12 did, it held a Fourth Amendment violation so far as 13 domestic security is concerned and gave Congress 14 suggestions. In this particular case, I could probably 15 give you 535 reasons why not to go to Congress --16 (Laughter.)

17 MR. LECKAR: -- but let me suggest 18 something, Justice Scalia. What happened was the United States has adopted a shifting position. They came to 19 20 this Court, and they said we want a workable rule; give us a workable rule. You either overrule the D.C. 21 Circuit, which you should not do, or give us a workable 22 23 rule. Now they've said in their brief, oh, let's take 24 it to the legislature. They can't have it both ways. 25 JUSTICE BREYER: Can you take it to Congress 52

1 the other way? I mean, can you say that a general search of this kind is not constitutional under the 2 3 Fourth Amendment, but should Congress pick out a subset 4 thereof, say, the -- terrorism or where there is 5 reasonable cause or like the FISA court or special 6 courts to issue special kinds of warrants, that that's a 7 different question which we could decide at a later 8 time? 9 That's a negative way of -- I mean, that way 10 favors you in the result, but I've -- I've been looking 11 for -- if there is a way of going to Congress to create 12 the situations where they can do it, rather than the 13 situations where they can't. 14 MR. LECKAR: Justice Breyer, that was 15 exactly what Congress -- what happened when the foreign 16 intelligence surveillance courts were created. You hit 17 it right on the nail. All this Court has to do is 18 decide the narrow question before it, which I've articulated several times. 19 20 JUSTICE SCALIA: I don't see why it's any of Congress's business if it's a -- if it's a purely 21 intrastate operation. Congress can control police 22 23 practices that don't violate the Fourth Amendment 24 throughout the country? I mean, maybe interstate, 25 interstate beepers and interstate tracking devices, yes, 53

1 but so long as you track within -- within the State 2 isn't that okay?

3 MR. LECKAR: No, Your Honor. First of all, 4 let me refer to Chief -- to Justice Frankfurter's 5 comments a long time ago in Watts v. Indiana: Justices 6 are not ignorant of the law, of what they know to be 7 true as men and women.

But other legislatures will follow Congress. 8 But what we have here -- what we have here is a live 9 10 case or controversy in which Antoine Jones' control of his vehicle was usurped and his car was converted into 11 12 an electronic GPS transceiver serving the government. 13 So, that case is here, and it -- it needs to 14 be decided. One doesn't need to address technologies 15 that aren't here before the Court today. You could; we 16 could venture down that road. We could discuss drone 17 surveillance. We could discuss balloon surveillance and 18 other types of surveillance. But we don't have to.

19 It's a narrow --

JUSTICE ALITO: There was a warrant -- there was a warrant in this case. This is a puzzling aspect of the case to me, and maybe there -- it's irrelevant for present purposes. There was a warrant, and the two violations are violations of a statute and a rule, neither of which may carry an exclusionary rule sanction

with them or an exclusionary rule penalty with them. 1 2 It's not clear at all that there as a 3 violation of the Fourth Amendment. So, it's a little 4 strange that we're deciding whether a warrantless search 5 here would have been unconstitutional, when there was a 6 warrant. 7 MR. LECKAR: They had the choice. They could have easily -- they could have gone back to the 8 9 district judge and said -- given the district judge 10 reasons --11 JUSTICE ALITO: No, that's not my point. 12 The point is that the violation of the 10-day rule and 13 the violation of the statutory prohibition on -- or 14 maybe it's in the rule -- the prohibition on the judge 15 in the District ordering the installation only in the 16 District are not Fourth Amendment requirements. 17 MR. LECKAR: No. That's correct, Your 18 Honor, but what we have -- what we have here is a warrantless intrusion. When -- when the warrant --19 20 JUSTICE ALITO: Not a warrantless intrusion; 21 there was a warrant. 22 MR. LECKAR: But the warrant was not in effect. At the -- at the time the -- the GPS was 23 24 placed, Justice Alito, there was no warrant. There's a 25 case this Court decided in the --55

1 JUSTICE GINSBURG: I think that's conceded 2 by both sides, and that's accepted by both sides. The 3 warrant expired. There was no warrant. The government 4 certainly could have gone back and said, judge, we 5 didn't make it; we need a little more time; give us 10 6 more days. 7 MR. LECKAR: They could -- they could conceivably gone back there and explained to the 8 district judge why they couldn't have installed it in 9 10 that period of time. The --11 JUSTICE ALITO: I think if you look at the 12 lower court case law, you will find that a violation of the 10-day rule is not necessarily a violation of the 13 14 Fourth Amendment. And --15 MR. LECKAR: I understand that. 16 JUSTICE ALITO: -- it doesn't vitiate the warrant. The warrant doesn't necessarily dissolve or 17 18 evaporate when the 10 days expire. 19 MR. LECKAR: Your --20 JUSTICE ALITO: Maybe those cases are wrong. 21 MR. LECKAR: There's a 1920 Supreme Court decision decided during the Prohibition era that 22 specifically said that when a warrant expires, there is 23 24 no warrant. When the 10-day rule in that case had 25 expired, there's no warrant. We have a warrantless 56

1	intrusion here. The government didn't have to do a
2	warrantless intrusion. I ask
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
4	MR. LECKAR: the Court to affirm.
5	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Mr. Dreeben, 5
б	minutes.
7	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF MICHAEL R. DREEBEN
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
9	MR. DREEBEN: Mr. Chief Justice, advancing
10	technology cuts in two directions. Technological
11	advances can make the police more efficient at what they
12	do through some of the examples that were discussed
13	today: cameras, airplanes, beepers, GPS. At the same
14	time, technology and how it's used can change our
15	expectations of privacy in the ways that Justice Alito
16	was alluding to. Today perhaps GPS can be portrayed as
17	a 1984-type invasion, but as people use GPS in their
18	lives and for other purposes, our expectations of
19	privacy surrounding our location may also change. For
20	that
21	JUSTICE KAGAN: Mr. Dreeben, that that
22	seems too much to me. I mean, if you think about this,
23	and you think about a little robotic device following
24	you around 24 hours a day anyplace you go that's not
25	your home, reporting in all your movements to the $57$

police, to investigative authorities, the notion that we don't have an expectation of privacy in that, the notion that we don't think that our privacy interests would be violated by this robotic device, I'm -- I'm not sure how one can say that.

6 MR. DREEBEN: Justice Kagan, I think the 7 Court should decide that case when it comes to it. This 8 was my fundamental point: This case does not involve 9 universal surveillance of every member of this Court or 10 every member of the society. It involves limited 11 surveillance of somebody who was suspected of drug 12 activity --

13 JUSTICE KENNEDY: You probably haven't had 14 the opportunity to go on a vacation. A hypothetical. 15 Suppose exactly these facts, only the police aren't 16 involved. A neighbor does it to another neighbor in 17 order to see where that neighbor is going, and when he 18 finds out, he tells his wife and other neighbors. Do you think that in most States, that would be an invasion 19 20 of privacy?

21 MR. DREEBEN: I'm willing to assume that it 22 might be, Justice Kennedy, but I don't think that this 23 Court measures the metes and bounds of the Fourth 24 Amendment by State law invasions of privacy. The Court 25 has --

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1	JUSTICE KENNEDY: We measure it by
2	expectations of privacy under the Katz test if that
3	may or may not be controlling.
4	MR. DREEBEN: Yes, but in Greenwood, the
5	Court dealt with a case where California had outlawed
б	taking somebody's garbage, and this Court said that did
7	not define an expectation of privacy for purposes of the
8	Fourth Amendment
9	JUSTICE KENNEDY: It found that there was no
10	expectation of privacy.
11	MR. DREEBEN: Correct.
12	JUSTICE KENNEDY: I am asking you about this
13	case, whether there would be an expectation of
14	privacy
15	MR. DREEBEN: Oh
16	JUSTICE KENNEDY: as a general matter
17	under tort law.
18	MR. DREEBEN: No, I don't think so. And
19	and the fact that something may be a tort for a private
20	person doesn't mean that it's a problem for the police
21	to do it. For example, in the Dow Chemical case, where
22	the police used EPA in that case actually used
23	cameras to surveil an industrial plant. There was a
24	claim that it would have violated trade secret law for
25	anybody else to do that. And the Court accepted that 59

and said tort law doesn't define the boundaries of the
 Fourth Amendment.

3 In Knotts, the Court was very careful to 4 reserve the possibility of 24-hour surveillance of every 5 citizen in their persons and in their residences, saying we haven't seen that kind of abuse. If that kind of б 7 abuse comes up, the legislature is the best-equipped to deal with it, if in fact our society regards that as an 8 unreasonable restriction on --9 10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Do you have any idea of 11 how many GPS devices are being used by Federal Government agencies and State law enforcement officials? 12 13 MR. DREEBEN: The Federal Government I can

14 speak to, and it's in the low thousands annually. It's 15 not a massive universal use of an investigative 16 technique. The FBI requires that there be some 17 reasonable basis for using GPS before it installs it. 18 And as a result, this is a technique that basically 19 supplements visual surveillance rather than supplanting 20 it all together.

There was visual surveillance that was directed at Respondent. The GPS allowed it to be more effective. As Justice Kennedy and, I think, Justice Scalia's hypotheticals illustrated, Respondent is essentially conceding that around-the-clock visual

surveillance through teams of agents would not have
 invaded any expectation of privacy.

3 This Court said in Knotts that police 4 efficiency has never been equated with police 5 unconstitutionality. The fact that GPS makes it more б efficient for the police to put a tail on somebody invades no additional expectation of privacy that they 7 otherwise would have had. The technology doesn't make 8 something private that was previously public. When we 9 10 go out in our cars, our cars have driver's licenses that 11 we carry. We have license plates on the car. These are 12 for the purpose of identification --

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You don't seriously argue that there isn't a possessory interest in who puts something on your car and who -- like a -- a sign of some sort.

MR. DREEBEN: Oh, I think there would probably be some sort of State law possessory interests -- Mr. Chief Justice, may I finish? But there is no seizure for the very reason that Justice Breyer described under the Katz case. This Court has said that trespass is neither necessary nor sufficient to create a Fourth Amendment violation.

24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,25 Mr. Dreeben, counsel.

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1	The case is submitted.
2	(Whereupon at 11:10 a.m., the case in the
3	above-entitled matter was submitted.)
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