

ACC NCR Congressional Investigations

Learning Best Practices From Missteps April 26, 2023





Sources of Authority for Congressional Investigations



- Investigations are part of the law-making power of Congress as conferred by the Constitution
 - Fact-finding by investigation is part of the power to make laws
 - McGrain v. Daugherty, 273 US 135, 173–74 (1927) ("the power of inquiry—with process to enforce it—is an essential and appropriate auxiliary to the legislative function")
 - <u>Eastland v. U.S. Servicemen's Fund</u>, 421 US 491, 504 (1975) ("[t]he scope of Congress's power of inquiry...is as penetrating and far reaching as the potential power to enact and appropriate under the Constitution")
 - Out there may be limits:
 - Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP, 140 S.Ct. 2019, 2031–32 (2020) ("a congressional subpoena is valid only if it is related to, and in furtherance of, a legitimate task of the Congress[,] ... serve[s] a valid legislative purpose, ... concern[s] a subject on which legislation could be had, ... [and is] not issue[d] for ... the purpose of law enforcement") (citations omitted)

Congress Investigates Through its Committees



- House and Senate committees have wide latitude to conduct investigations
- Committees have the authority to demand documents and testimony by subpoena
- Each committee has its own rules governing these authorities
- House rules (Rule X: Organization of Committees) on jurisdiction can be very important

Congressional Enforcement Powers



- Congress has the authority to enforce its subpoenas
 - Congress can ask the Department of Justice to prosecute criminal contempt violations to enforce its orders, e.g., <u>U.S. v. Bannon</u>
 - More commonly, Congress can seek enforcement through civil proceedings in US District Court, e.g.
 Comm. on the Judiciary v. Harriet Miers, Comm. on the Judiciary v. McGahn
 - The process of seeking enforcement can take time and, in the Senate, requires a special vote, e.g., <u>S.</u>
 Rept. 114-214
 - Individuals and entities can file a request for an injunction or motion to quash, e.g., Meadows v. Pelosi
 - Congress also has an arrest power, which has not been used in this century, e.g., McGrain v. Daugherty
 - For further information on Congressional sources of authority, see <u>CRS Survey</u> of House and Senate Rules on Subpoenas
 - See also CRS's "<u>Congress's Contempt Power and the Enforcement of Congressional Subpoenas</u>: Law, History, Practice, and Procedure, History, Practice, and Procedure" and Todd Garvey's <u>testimony</u> before the Committee on the Judiciary

Limits of Congressional Authority



There are some limits on the Congressional Investigatory Power:

- 5th Amendment, e.g., Martin Shkreli
- Attorney-Client Privilege, e.g., Eastman v. Thompson
- Scope of Subpoena, e.g., Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP, Bragg v. Jordan

Limits of Congressional Authority: 5th Amendment,



Limits of Congressional Authority: 5th Amendment

- The 5th amendment protections against self-incrimination remain in play during Congressional investigations, 5th Amendment
- Strategic considerations come into play when considering whether to invoke the right, including:
 - Public and media perception
 - Degree of risk of incrimination

Limits of Congressional Authority: Attorney-Client Privilege

- Historically, Congress has viewed its investigative powers as not limited by common law privileges.
- However, recent Supreme Court dicta suggests it might be:
 - "[R]recipients have long been understood to retain common law and constitutional privileges with respect to certain materials, such as attorney client communications and governmental communications protected by executive privilege." <u>Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP</u>
- The district court considering John Eastman's challenge to the January 6
 Committee subpoena agreed and upheld Eastman's privilege claim as to certain documents. Eastman v. Thompson

Limits of Congressional Authority: Scope of Subpoena

- Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP, set out several key limitations to the validity of a subpoena. A subpoena must:
 - Be related to, and in furtherance of, a legitimate task of the Congress
 - Serve a valid legislative purpose
 - Concern a subject on which legislation could be had
 - Not be issued for the purpose of law enforcement
- Current events are testing the role of the judiciary in overseeing the scope of subpoenas:
 - o "It is not the role of the federal judiciary to dictate what legislation Congress may consider or how it should conduct its deliberations in that connection." Bragg v. Jordan

Case Study from Congressional Investigation of Government COVID Response





Why Does Congress Conduct Investigations?







Why Does Congress Conduct Investigations?



- Developing facts to support a particular political or policy agenda
- Shaming or embarrassing a company or industry in an effort to change its behavior
- Assessing a federal agency's or officials' management of a program
- Establishing a record to support changes to a federal program
- Exposing criminal or civil wrongdoing
- Garnering public or media attention (usually in support of one of the above)

Congressional Investigations Require Special Considerations ACC



- Investigation
 - No judge to oversee, limited rules of procedure; no guarantee of privileges or confidentiality
- Public Relations
 - Press release announcing launch of investigation; ongoing coordination with journalists and other interested committees or members, e.g., Comer Launches Investigation
- Policy/Political Considerations
 - Policy implications of the investigation? Are there opportunities to engage with supportive members?
- Legal Considerations
 - Committee coordination with plaintiffs, prosecutors, and investors
 - Litigation/enforcement arising from information made public by an investigation

Forms of Congressional Requests—Informal to Formal



- Request for a staff or member briefing
- Letter from member of congress acting in their own capacity (not tied to committee), e.g., <u>Warren Letter to Circle CEO</u>
- Letter from chairman and/or ranking member requesting information and/or documents, e.g., <u>Letter from Chairman Comer to FDA</u>
- Subpoena from chairman (or chairman and ranking member), e.g., <u>Chairman</u>
 <u>Jordan to Pomerantz</u> (letter accompanying subpoena)
 - o less common as an initial step

So You Get a Request for Information and Documents... What do you do?



- Acknowledge inquiry quickly and respectfully
- Assemble response team with internal and external experts
- Develop a plan for responding to the inquiry
 - What are your goals?
 - What is the committee really after?
 - What are your options?
 - Can you work behind the scenes?
- Consider public relations from the start

You Don't Win Congressional Hearings







Be Prepared







Know Your Audience







Anticipate the Tough Questions







Be Respectful and Polite









Interaction with Other Witnesses





Is Sheltering in Place a Strategy? Can You Do Anything Now to Protect Your Client?





Know Your Way Around







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