1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	x
3	NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS :
4	BOARD, :
5	Petitioner : No. 15-1251
6	v. :
7	SW GENERAL, INC., DBA :
8	SOUTHWEST AMBULANCE, :
9	Respondent. :
10	X
11	Washington, D.C.
12	Monday, November 7, 2016
13	
14	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
15	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
16	at 10:04 a.m.
17	APPEARANCES:
18	IAN H. GERSHENGORN, ESQ., Acting Solicitor General,
19	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
20	the Petitioner.
21	SHAY DVORETZKY, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of the
22	Respondent.
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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 (10:04 a.m.) 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear argument this morning in Case 15-1251, National Labor Relations 4 Board v. Southwest General, Incorporated. 5 6 Mr. Acting Assistant Attorney General. 7 ORAL ARGUMENT OF IAN H. GERSHENGORN ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER 8 9 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Mr. Chief Justice, and 10 may it please the Court: 11 The Vacancy Reform Act's limitation on an 12 individual serving as both the nominee and as the acting 13 official for a single office applies only to someone who is currently the first assistant in that office and is 14 acting pursuant to the automatic service rule set forth 15 16 in Subsection 3345(a)(1). 17 Both the GAO and OLC adopted that 18 interpretation of the Act shortly after its passage. 19 And in the nearly two decades from passage of the Act 20 until the D.C. Circuit decision here, Presidents of both parties have made scores of nominations and designations 21 22 based on that interpretation of the text without 23 recorded objection from even a single Senator or staff 24 member. 25 JUSTICE KAGAN: General Gershengorn, can I

4

1	ask: As you read this statute, suppose you just took
2	out these words "notwithstanding Section" "Subsection
3	(a)(1)." What would then the effect of the statute be?
4	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, I
5	think that our textual argument would be much more
6	difficult, and the effect of the statute would be
7	effectively to override (a)(1), (a)(2), and (a)(3).
8	The "notwithstanding" clause really is the
9	anchor of our textual interpretation. But its strength,
10	I think, comes not only from its text, but also how it
11	fits so well with both the history, structure,
12	contemporaneous interpretation, and practice.
13	JUSTICE KAGAN: But just focusing on text
14	for a minute.
15	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Sure.
16	JUSTICE KAGAN: If that's true, if the
17	entire textual argument really does rest on the
18	"notwithstanding Subsection (a)(1)" I mean, typically
19	when you have a "notwithstanding" clause, it means, you
20	know, take away Subsection (a)(1), not, you know, close
21	your eyes to Subsection (a)(1). But it doesn't do
22	anything more than that.
23	So why do you think it should be taken to do
24	something more than that in this case?
25	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Your Honor, we think

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that because it's a routine application of the expressio unius canon in the context of the "notwithstanding" clause. And so we think it has power for at least three reasons.

First -- and we're on pages 82A and 82 --5 6 83A of the government's brief -- the -- the expressio 7 unius implication is very strong here, because if you read the statute on page 82A, (a) (1) sets out the first 8 9 assistant rule, (a)(2) sets out the -- the PAS rule for 10 a Senate-confirmed official, and (a)(3) then sets out 11 the act -- the career official or the agency with -agency official with substantial service. 12

The very next words in the statute are notwithstanding Subsection (a)(1)." So after (a)(1), (a)(2), and (a)(3), Congress said, "Notwithstanding only (a)(1)."

17 We think the expressio unius counter is particularly powerfully, because Congress could have 18 19 said, if we're -- we wanted to do a respondens se, 20 notwithstanding subsection (a), but it did not do that. 21 And it's particularly powerful as well, because the 22 "notwithstanding" clause, as Your Honor suggests, is one 23 that Congress uses all the time. Congress will say, notwithstanding any other provision in the code, 24 25 notwithstanding any other section of the --

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1	JUSTICE KAGAN: But can I give you a hypo?
2	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Sure.
3	JUSTICE KAGAN: So the hypo is, I'm at a
4	restaurant, and I I'm talking to my waiter, and I
5	place three orders. I say, number 1, I'll have the
6	house salad. Number two, I'll have the steak. Number
7	three, I'll have the fruit cup. And then I tell the
8	waiter, notwithstanding order number three, I can't eat
9	anything with strawberries.
10	So on your theory, the waiter could bring me
11	a house salad with strawberries in it, and that seems to
12	me a quite odd interpretation of what's a pretty clear
13	instruction: No strawberries.
14	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, I
15	think this really is fundamentally different for a
16	number of reasons.
17	First of all, we have before us, in contrast
18	to your your waiter hypothetical, we have before us
19	the very history of this clause which suggests an
20	interpretation very much in line with the government's
21	interpretation.
22	JUSTICE KAGAN: So I I take it, you know,
23	you have some arguments, some strong arguments on on
24	history and on practice, but, you know, again, I'm just
25	sort of isn't that just a peculiar way to understand

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1 the, you know, notwithstanding order number three, no
2 strawberries?

3 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So I don't think it is, Your Honor, and I -- I -- in a footnote, the -- if, 4 for example, you had been a routine -- a regular member 5 6 of that restaurant -- regular diner at that restaurant 7 and had always understood that you couldn't have strawberries with only one of those things, then the 8 9 waiter would be justified in interpreting it 10 differently, and we have that contemporaneous practice here. 11

But given Your Honor's textural point only for the moment, I do think that's exactly what this Court held in Preseault, in -- in -- where there was a "notwithstanding" clause, that said, notwithstanding the provisions of the Act, funds -- that you have to rely on advance appropriations, and this Court said, no, that doesn't override the existence of the Tucker Act.

I point the Court as well to the case cited in our brief, SEC v. Mount Vernon Memorial Park, which is a situation extremely similar to this, if I could just take a sec on that because I think it will help. That was an interpretation of the Investment Company Act, and it said, "An investment company is an issuer who meets one of the following: (a)(1), (a)(2), and

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1 (a)(3)."

2	And for (a)(3), there was something called a
3	(b)(1) limitation, and it said "Notwithstanding (a)(3),
4	an issuer is" "you're not an issuer unless you're in
5	the business of issuing securities." And what the Court
6	said was that the issuer who fell within that
7	limitation, the same (b)(1) limitation, nonetheless was
8	an investment company under (a)(2) precisely because the
9	introductory limitation was limited to notwithstanding
10	(a)(3), and that case is cited in our brief. I think
11	Shomberg is the same.
12	Our point, Your Honor, is not that it is
13	inevitably that way. The expressio unius canon is
14	never is is a canon. It's an aid to
15	interpretation, and it may be that, for example, in your
16	restaurant hypo, that would be a it would be clear
17	from context. But here we really do think that all of
18	the other aids to statutory
19	JUSTICE ALITO: Isn't there another
20	explanation for why the "notwithstanding" clause of
21	(b)(1) refers only to (a)(1)? If it without that,
22	there would be a direct conflict between (b)(1) and
23	(a)(1) because (a)(1) says "shall," the first assistant
24	shall perform. Whereas (a)(2) and (a)(3) say that the
25	President may do certain things. So there isn't the

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1 same kind of direct conflict between the remainder of 2 (b)(1) and (a)(2) and (a)(3) as there is with respect to 3 (a)(1).

4 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, that 5 is the argument that respondents make, and we simply 6 disagree with that. We think there is a direct conflict 7 between (a)(2), which says the President may appoint this person as an acting, and (b)(1), which says the 8 9 President may not appoint -- appoint a person as an 10 acting when that person is also the nominee.

11 That (b)(2) is a very -- is a designation 12 and delegation of power to the President to make a 13 designation, and it is every bit as broad as the -- as 14 the (a)(1) example.

15 JUSTICE ALITO: But it's not quite the same 16 kind of conflict. To -- to pick up on Justice Kagan's 17 restaurant scenario and modifying it a bit, if she -- if 18 she were to say, or if I were to say to the waiter, "You 19 may bring me the soup of the day, but you may not bring 20 me soup that contains shellfish because I'm allergic to it," there wouldn't be a conflict of the same sort, 21 22 would there, between those two statements? 23 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, I do

think that there -- I do think there would be, and I 24 25 think in particular, even apart from the restaurant hypo

1 itself, the whole purpose of (a)(2) is to give the 2 President the power to make a designation when he 3 believes there's a superior official serving elsewhere 4 in the government. That grant of power is every much 5 restricted by (b)(1) as (a)(1) absent the introductory clause. The -- the (b)(1) says the President may do 6 7 this. (b)(2) says in some circumstances he may not do this, and that is precisely the kind of conflict that 8 9 Congress was getting at.

But even if you thought the text had some ambiguity here, I really do think that the other aids to statutory construction which this Court's have looked to -- this Court has looked to -- over and over, really do work in our favor and really not at all in Respondent's favor here.

16 The -- principally, if one looks at the 17 contemporaneous interpretation and consistent practice, 18 what one sees is the sponsor of the legislation 19 identified precisely the government's interpretation. 20 Both GAO and OLC adopted that interpretation. 21 President --22 JUSTICE GINSBURG: You went into detail

22 SUSFICE GINSBORG: Four went finto detail 23 without any elaboration. It's just a question, and 24 here's the answer, and there's no reason for the answer 25 from OLC. As far as GAO is concerned, they didn't say

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1	precisely what happens with category two and three.
2	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, I
3	think so, two points a number of points, but two
4	responding directly to both of those.
5	With respect to OLC, our point is not that
6	this Court should defer to it or defer to the reasoning
7	in it. Our point our point is, from the very
8	beginning, from the moment the statute was passed,
9	Congress was aware of the interpretation the Executive
10	Branch was putting on it and raised no objection.
11	And with respect to GAO, the GAO letter I
12	think is quite significant because GAO recall under
13	Section 3349 is the Congressionally-designated watchdog
14	for the Vacancies Act, and when GAO issued its letter,
15	which I I respectfully disagree, Your Honor, I think
16	the GAO letter is quite clear.
17	If you look at it, what it says is there are
18	four ways to make an acting appointment, and for
19	number 1, (a)(1), it says "And you can't be the
20	nominee."
21	For the other three, it does not have that,
22	and the whole point of that letter was to give guidance
23	to Congress. So that letter was circulated not just to
24	the Senate majority and minority committees, but to the
25	Office of Presidential Personnel, to the White House

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1 counsel's office, to OPM and OMB.

2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, I think you're 3 putting a significant burden on Congress to sort of speak up. There's sort of an estoppel against Congress. 4 5 If they don't speak up in every instance where they think some prerogative or interpretation is -- is being 6 7 misapplied or prerogative taken away from them, then 8 there can -- deemed to have acquiesced in it. And this 9 is a context in which that might be particularly 10 inappropriate, because maybe the particular appointment contravenes your -- your theory. 11 12 But a significant number of people in 13 Congress want to see that vacancy filled, you know, 14 under -- even though it contravenes these more general provisions, and that might not be a particular battle 15 16 they want to fight at that time. I -- I think it's a 17 very serious burden to impose on the Legislative Branch. GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, if --18 19 we're not imposing a burden on the Branch, but we are 20 asking you not to turn a blind eye to what really 21 happened in this context. 22 What lead up to the Vacancy Reform Act 23 was -- was decades of Congress raising exactly the kind of objections that one would expect. There were 24

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oversight hearings. There were GAO letters. There were

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1 congressional research reports. There were letters back
2 and forth to the Attorney General complaining about the
3 way the Justice Department and the Executive Branch was
4 handling the vacancies, and -- and ignoring the
5 Vacancies Act.

6 Then what we have is an interpretation --7 then what we have is the Vacancies Reform Act and an 8 interpretation set out by the author of the very 9 provision we're talking about, Senator Thompson, and 10 opened discussion by GAO, the watchdog of the Vacancies 11 Act, designated by Congress and by OLC, and then 12 silence. So we're not putting a burden --

JUSTICE GINSBURG: But you have on the other side -- was it Senator Thompson, you have Senator Byrd who seemed to be putting on it the construction that Respondents do.

GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, I think that actually Senator Byrd is quite -- is quite vague about that and omits the "notwithstanding" language.

But even if you thought that was sort of a draw, I would note that Senator Byrd, who again was not shy and had weighed in on these Vacancies Act issues, never raised an objection when the -- when Presidents across three administrations continued it into --

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1	JUSTICE KENNEDY: I'm sorry. I think it
2	should be noted that, you know, it's one thing to
3	consult legislative history to understand the the
4	whole context in which the the Congress was acting,
5	but it's quite another thing to rely on an isolated
6	statement and later contradicted by by another
7	Senator, and even for those who at times find
8	legislative history helpful, I think this is where it's
9	at its weakest and most unpersuasive.
10	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Your Honor, I
11	disagree I don't I don't disagree with Your Honor.
12	It is merely one, though, of a consistent stream given
13	the OLC and GAO opinion.
14	So I really would like to get back to the
15	Chief Justice's point, if I could. It is not at all an
16	estoppel by Congress. It is the reason why this
17	Court has put should put particular weight on this
18	silence here is because it reflects a contemporaneous
19	and uniform interpretation of Congress' understanding of
20	how its own powers are being are or are not being
21	infringed.
22	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: How is that I'm
23	sorry.
24	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: And given the past
25	history

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1 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: How is that not -how is that not an estoppel? 2 3 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: It's not an estoppel, Your Honor. What it is, is further evidence that the 4 interpretation of the plain language that we're putting 5 6 forward is correct. The language supports it. The --7 everybody understood and has acted for 20 years on that 8 assumption. 9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Sounds like the 10 point I was trying to make, is: You are putting weight on the fact that they didn't do anything. And you say 11 you've got other arguments, too, and I appreciate that, 12 13 but what did they do, then? 14 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Absolutely, Your Honor. No, I am putting weight on what they didn't do. 15 16 To me, it is very much the dog that didn't bark. 17 Congress had been barking quite loudly and vociferously for decades on this very issue. And then it adopted a 18 19 statute that was interpreted by its own watchdog in a 20 certain way, and then the barking stopped. And it seems to me this Court is really ignoring reality to not -- to 21 22 not see that that has important weight. 23 JUSTICE KENNEDY: What would be the consequences if we affirm? Your brief didn't list a 24 25 great parade of horribles. It seems to me that our

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1	system is quite capable of accommodating the
2	Respondent's argument. And on that point, eight judges
3	have looked at this, and every one of them has come to
4	the conclusion that the Respondent's reached.
5	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, I
6	believe there are important consequences.
7	So, first, Congress understood that there
8	are often important positions that don't have first
9	assistants to take over. To cite one at page 11A of the
10	chart, there's an appointment of Linton Brooks, who was
11	a who was named as the director in the National
12	Nuclear Security Administration. They're the folks that
13	oversee nuclear counterterrorism.
14	When the Senate-confirmed director of that
15	agency left, there was no first assistant, and the
16	President, President Bush, put in Linton Brooks both as
17	nominee and to act to take over.
18	So Congress was well aware that there often
19	weren't first assistants around.
20	JUSTICE KAGAN: Can I ask you about the
21	consequences going backward?
22	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Yes.
23	JUSTICE KAGAN: Your brief did not talk
24	about this, but do you think that if we find against
25	you, that that subjects to some uncertainty actions that

1 these 100-plus officials took?

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2 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Yes, Your Honor. 3 JUSTICE KAGAN: If so, what actions? 4 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, it 5 does -- and that's the second point to Justice Kennedy's 6 question. 7 It does subject the past officials to substantial uncertainty. In truth, we don't know 8 9 exactly the extent of it, because we don't know when we'll have defenses of waiver. We don't know when we 10 might, for some things, be able to ratify. But there's 11 12 no doubt that there are significant reliance interests that the Executive Branch --13 14 JUSTICE GINSBURG: What did Judge Henderson say about that? This is not going to be a floodgate 15 16 situation, because you would have to raise it. Here, it 17 was raised before the ALJ. And for these other cases

19 possibility of making, very late in the day, an argument 20 that you didn't make before.

where the vacancy was long filled, there would be no

GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, I'm in a tough position, because I don't want to argue too hard against defenses that we're going to want to assert later. But I do think what Judge Henderson was talking about in particular was the NLRB situation, which is a

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different situation, because there are particular hearings and the NLRB has an ability to ratify that other agencies don't.

JUSTICE KAGAN: Suppose you didn't have 4 5 those defenses, because, you know, I'm not sure why you 6 would necessarily, given that the statute says they're 7 void ab initio if people take it as against these procedures. So if you didn't have those defenses, as 8 9 you look down the list of these officials, what kinds of 10 actions are you most worried about being unsettled? 11 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, we 12 have, for example, Adam Szubin, who was the 13 Undersecretary For Terrorism and Financial Crimes. He does the terror-sponsored designations in the Treasury 14 Department. We have the deputy attorney general. We 15 16 have the head of OPM. These are people who issue -- may 17 issue regulations, who make designations, who make important decisions in the Executive Branch. 18

19 It is, I think -- the reliance interests of 20 the Executive Branch are quite strong here. This is a 21 situation -- and we have put very senior officials in 22 place at the -- with the understanding that what they 23 were doing based on -- that what they were doing was 24 lawful at the time based on the -- based on the language 25 of the statute and the interpretation provided on it.

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1 JUSTICE KAGAN: Can I just press you a 2 little bit? 3 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Sure. JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, those are all very 4 5 important positions that you named, but it's not 6 absolutely clear to me that those -- that there are 7 categories of decisions that those people take that we 8 should be worried about. And if there are, I would like 9 to know about those categories of decisions. 10 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, I can't list them chapter and verse. But I do think the 11 kinds of things we're worried about are rulemakings by 12 13 the heads of agencies, the -- particular designations by -- by the senior officials, and decisions on 14 litigation and other things that may be subject to 15 16 challenge. 17 We have not gone back and catalogued all of the potential ramifications, but we do think that with 18 19 over 100 officials over the course of 20 years, the 20 effects of this are really quite significant. 21 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Does that 100 include or 22 exclude military officers? Do you know? 23 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: It is not including military officers, Your Honor. These are -- these are 24 25 the acting officials in the Executive Branch, but I

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1 don't think they're military officials. 2 The interpretation that the -- that the 3 Court is putting forward -- if I could make a couple of points on the structure and why we really don't think 4 that this is -- that this is the right way to reason and 5 why our way makes sense -- we think what's reflected in 6 7 the Vacancies Act is a judgment by Congress that before 8 an individual serves as both the acting and the nominee, 9 that there be one of two protections: that the 10 individual either have been Senate-confirmed before, or that they meet a length-of-service requirement. 11 12 So in (a)(2), what one sees is that that's 13 in a prior Senate confirmation. In (a)(3), it's a 14 length of service. And if one looks at (c)(1), which addresses Senate-confirmed officials whose terms have 15 16 expired, again, it's Senate confirmation. 17 The entire purpose of (b)(1) is to extend those protections to first assistants. So what (b) (1) 18 19 does is, for first assistants, it puts on a 20 length-of-service requirement. And then in (b)(2), it 21 exempts from that length-of-service requirement what --22 the very individuals who have received prior Senate 23 confirmation. The package works as a seamless whole. 24 Congress was not putting on a 25 first-assistant requirement on a PAS appointee from

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1 elsewhere in the government, and it was not putting on a 2 first-assistant requirement on a career agency official 3 moved into an acting position. What it was doing was making sure that first assistants who were both nominees 4 5 and the acting had -- had one of the two protections. 6 It's also consistent with the way the 7 legislative history is, and the drafting history, with 8 respect -- I think this is very important -- to the PAS 9 positions. It had been the President's prerogative 10 expressly under the Vacancies Act, back to 1968, to take a PAS officer and put him into an acting position and 11 12 then still be able to nominate him. The first draft of 13 the bill preserved that.

So after all of the rancor, after all of the unhappiness of the Vacancies Act, the first draft of the bill allowed an acting officer to come in automatically under (a)(1), whereas a PAS under (a)(2), and the (b)(1) restriction, only applied to (a)(1). There's no dispute.

And so then what happened? Then there was an objection that the bill didn't give enough authority to the President, and so changes were made to give the President more authority. And what Respondents would have you believe is that Congress overturned sub silentio, without a single complaint, 130 years of

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1 Executive Branch practice. 2 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, why do you -- why and how do you think that that change was made, then? 3 4 Because the change clearly was made. In the initial draft, it obviously applied only to first assistants; 5 and then in the final draft, not so obvious at all. 6 7 And, you know, I agree with you there's no explanation, but there is a change. 8 9 Are you suggesting it was, you know, just a 10 mistake that somehow happened? GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Absolutely not, Your 11 12 Honor. And if you'll bear with me, I can explain that. 13 The initial draft of (a)(1) required a -provided that the person be a first assistant to the 14 officer. And (b)(1) read as it does. 15 16 When Congress -- Congress changed that to allow the appointment of officers who were not -- who 17 were -- after the officer dies, and so they changed it 18 19 to first assistant to the office. The significance of 20 that is that somebody could be appointed first assistant 21 even after the vacancy arose. That was a very big 22 If Your Honor looks at page 19A of the -- of change. 23 the Appendix to the petition where the bill is set out, the original bill, the way the bill read, it -- it put 24 the restriction only on the person who was serving at 25

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the time of the vacancy. So if the -- if Congress had left (b)(1) the way it was, it would have created a very odd situation where at the current serving first assistant would be subject to (b)(1), and the after put in, that someone put in later, was not subject to (b)(1).

7 So what did Congress do? Congress changed it so that the limitation applied to all first 8 9 assistants. But then it added "notwithstanding" (a) (1), 10 and that is the critical thing. So in other words, Congress did it, made this change to (b) (1), precisely 11 12 to deal with the after-appointed first assistants, and 13 then it added the "notwithstanding" clause to say notwithstanding only (a) (1). And so it does seem to me, 14 Your Honor, that it was a very important change. 15

And I think if Your Honor chases -- chases through the legislative history and looks at 19A and way the provision works, you will see that that was the reason -- that that was the reason for the change.

JUSTICE GINSBURG: If you -- if your -- if your interpretation is the correct one, what is your answer to the horrible that appears in the -- in the Respondent's brief at 33 to 34? They say if you read the statute the way the government does, then you could have somebody in there who has never been read --

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1 approved by Congress, by the Senate. You could have 2 someone there upwards of, they calculate, 630 days. 3 GENERAL GERSHENGORN: So, Your Honor, the 4 response to that is there's no doubt that someone can serve for that length of time, and that Congress 5 understood that. That's the consequence of the time 6 7 limits in the Vacancies Act. 8 What Respondents are arguing is that should 9 only be true for first assistants but should not be true 10 for -- for individuals that the President appoints under -- designates under (a) (2) and (a) (3). And it's 11 12 that irrationality that we think the statute -- it's 13 that difference that we think the statute just doesn't 14 justify. 15 So just to be clear: It is -- it is crystal 16 clear under both Respondent's view and our view that an 17 individual can serve for a very long period of time. That's the consequence of the -- of the 210-day --18 19 210-day period and the various ways you can extend it. 20 The question before you, though, is whether 21 it makes sense that Congress decided only the first 22 assistants could do that. But there are real reasons to 23 doubt that. (A)(2) and (a)(3) were put in precisely to give the President himself -- and it could only be the 24

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President; it's not delegable -- the chance to choose a

1	superior a superior officer, a better a better
2	placed, the more talented officer than the first
3	assistant. It seems very odd in that situation to say
4	that the 1100-day scale, or however many days, could
5	only served by the first assistant but not by someone
6	chosen by the President for that very reason under
7	(a)(2) and (a)(3).
8	If I could reserve the balance of my time.
9	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
10	Mr. Gershengorn.
11	Mr. Dvoretzky.
12	ORAL ARGUMENT OF SHAY DVORETZKY
13	ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT
14	MR. DVORETZKY: Mr. Chief Justice, and may
15	it please the Court:
16	Four features of the FVRA's text and
17	drafting history compel our interpretation.
18	First, Congress used the broad terms "a
19	person" and "this section."
20	Second, "notwithstanding" is a term of
21	expansion. It does not contract the broad meaning of
22	"person" and "section."
23	Third, the government's interpretation makes
24	Subsection (b)(2) superfluous in multiple ways.
25	And fourth, at the time that Congress added

(b)(2), it deleted language from the initial draft of
 (b)(1) that expressly limited the provision to first
 assistants. The revised language encompasses all acting
 officers.

JUSTICE KENNEDY: I -- I agree that "person" and "section" are very strong arguments for you. Suppose what the statute said is "notwithstanding (a)(1) and (a)(2)"? And what -- what would then be your argument with respect to whether or not it affected (a)(3)?

MR. DVORETZKY: I still think in that circumstance that "person" and "section" would apply to (a)(3). But the reason that that would be a different case is that there is no meaningful distinction between (a)(2) and (a)(3) and the role that they play in the statute.

17 There is a meaningful distinction between (a) (1) on the one hand and (a) (2) and (a) (3) on the 18 other hand. And it makes sense because of that 19 20 distinction that Congress would single out just (a) (1). 21 JUSTICE KAGAN: I don't get that, 22 Mr. Dvoretzky. And maybe this follows the government's 23 line of thought, but, you know, I've been -- the (a)(1) says, "The first assistant shall be the acting officer." 24 25 And then (b)(1) says, no, she may not be. Right? And

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1 (a) (2) and (a) (3) doesn't use the words "shall," but it 2 says, the President may appoint any of these people. And then (b) comes along and says, no, the President 3 can't appoint some subset of them. 4 5 So the basic conflict seems to me to be the 6 same in both cases, which is that the second clause says 7 not so fast, not with respect to those people. 8 MR. DVORETZKY: Justice Kagan, the 9 difference is that (a)(1) is a self-executing provision. 10 It automatically places the first assistant into the vacant office, and (b)(1) then takes the person out. 11 (A) (2) and (a) (3) are grants of discretion that has to 12 13 be understood side by side with --14 JUSTICE KAGAN: But those grants of discretion are very broad, and then (b)(1) again takes 15 16 the person out, takes the person out of the grant of 17 discretion, just as it takes the person out of the self-executing provision before them. 18 19 MR. DVORETZKY: They -- they are broad only 20 if read in isolation, but they can't be read in 21 isolation as a statutory matter. And oftentimes, the 22 President doesn't read them in isolation as a practical 23 matter. 24 In other words, there is no way to avoid the 25 conflict created between (a) (1) and (b) (1) because

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(a) (1) puts the person in the job and (b) (1) takes them
 out.

If the President, however, simply reads (a)(2) and (a)(3) together with (b)(1), then he knows what the limitations are on his discretion, and he can avoid that ripping out. It's that ripping out of the nominee from acting service that creates a particularly stark conflict that Congress sought to address through the "notwithstanding" (a)(1) clause.

10 JUSTICE KAGAN: I have to say, I find it a little bit odd to think of this drafter thinking of the 11 12 kind of distinction you're making. Say, well, this is 13 self-executing and this is not self-executing. It's only a broad grant of discretion. And then not 14 realizing that just by virtue of saying "notwithstanding 15 16 (a) (1), " the statute creates -- raises this question 17 about, well, you've said (a)(1) but not (a)(2) or (a) (3). What does that mean? 18

I mean, that seems just like a very strange drafter to me, somebody who is so in the weeds that they can't figure out that pretty obvious objection to what they're doing.

23 MR. DVORETZKY: Well, perhaps one way to 24 think of it, and this goes back to your first question 25 of the argument, what if you had a statute that didn't

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have any "notwithstanding" clause at all at the beginning of (b)(1)? In that situation it would be clear that "person" and "section" would make (b)(1) applicable to (a)(2) and (a)(3).

5 There would be a question in that situation, 6 though, whether (b)(1) also applied to (a)(1), first of 7 all, because of the starkness of the conflict between (a) (1) and (b) (1), and second of all, the government 8 9 argues that the general versus specific canon would 10 apply there, but it wouldn't necessarily because the general versus specific canon is typically invoked in 11 12 order to avoid superfluity where you have one general 13 provision and a specific provision that would be 14 meaningless if not read as an exception to the general. 15 Here, however, in -- in the hypothetical 16 statute without the "notwithstanding" clause, you 17 wouldn't have superfluity concern because (b) (1) would apply to (a)(2) and (a)(3). And so you'd be left with a 18 particular question, not about (2) and (3), but just 19 20 about (1). And so it makes sense that Congress singled 21 out (1) because of the particular role that it's playing 22 in the statute.

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So what about (c)(1)? Isn't, under your reading, it -- it will never be in effect?

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1	MR. DVORETZKY: No. No, Your Honor. First
2	of all, the officials under (c)(1) are not acting
3	officials. They are receiving term extensions. The
4	language of (c)(1) talks about those individuals
5	continuing to serve in the office.
6	(a)(1) through (3) all talk about performing
7	the functions and duties of the office temporarily in an
8	acting capacity. The legislative history likewise talks
9	about three categories of acting officials, and it
10	consistently talks about (a)(1), (2), and (3). And so
11	(c)(1) is just functioning separately. That's just a
12	different thing.
13	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So why aren't (a)(2) and
14	(a)(3) functioning separately from (a)(1)? If if
15	(c)(1) can function separately, and that was the thought
16	of the drafters, why don't we carry it to its logical
17	conclusion? (a)(1) is separate from they are written
18	almost identically. "The Presidents may direct," "may
19	appoint," may they are all sort of exceptions to the
20	rule.
21	MR. DVORETZKY: The reason that (c)(1)
22	functions separately is that it describes the work that
23	the official is doing in a different way. It describes
24	continuing to serve in the office. (a)(1) through
25	(a)(3) all describe the work that the official is doing

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1 in the same parallel way, performing the functions and 2 duties of the office temporarily in an acting capacity. 3 That's why the three categories of acting officials are (a) (1) to (a) (3), but (c), by its text, is just doing 4 something different. 5 JUSTICE BREYER: Why -- why -- the thing --6 I'd like to go back to the Solicitor General's last 7 point, and that's where I'm having -- I have a puzzle. 8 9 I'd like to hear what you have to say. 10 I mean, for the purposes of this question, I'm assuming all the text, which sounds to me, if a 11 person came from Mars, that's what he would expect a 12 13 legal argument to be like. 14 The -- the number's all over had the place, and I will also assume that for every chef salad there 15 16 is a countervailing strawberry shortcake; all right? 17 So -- so everything balances out. Assume. Now, it seems to me that this exception here 18 19 is saying this. We have the Secretary of the Treasury. 20 He has five assistants. Each is a presidential appointee. One day, secretary -- Assistant Secretary of 21 22 the Treasury number two dies, and now the President can 23 fill that role with any one of three people on an acting basis: His first assistant, some other assistant 24 25 secretary or deputy in the treasury department, or a

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1 GS-18. 2 Have I got it right so far? 3 MR. DVORETZKY: Yes, Your Honor. 4 JUSTICE BREYER: I'm using examples. All 5 right. 6 Now, what this statute as you read it would 7 seem to say, if you appoint whichever one you choose, put any one of those three people in, go ahead, do it. 8 9 Now, if you nominate those, one of those three to a 10 presidential position roughly, they are out. All of 11 them are out. Oh, wait. There's one exception. The 12 first assistant is not out if he served for 90 days as 13 first assistant. 14 Have I got the statute right? 15 MR. DVORETZKY: Yes, Your Honor. 16 JUSTICE BREYER: Okay. I would just wonder, 17 were I from Mars, what's the point of such a statute? 18 (Laughter.) JUSTICE BREYER: Why is it you're perfectly 19 20 willing to have stay there and do the acting job the first assistant, if he served 90 days before, but you're 21 22 not willing to have served the acting job this guy who 23 was a GS-18 in the same department, or the person who was an assistant secretary of the Treasury, number two. 24 25 Why? I can't think of an answer given your

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1 interpretation.

I can think of an answer given their interpretation. I say what they were worried about on their interpretation were our friends number two and number three, the GS-18 and the Assistant Secretary number two. They can continue to serve, on their interpretation.

8 Hey, why did they do this? The name of that 9 explanation is called Bill Lann Lee. Because that was 10 the problem that gave rise to the statute, and on their 11 interpretation they passed some words that solved that 12 problem. So there we are.

13 I get an explanation for his, assuming that 14 you like purposes more than you like numbers. I get an explanation on his, and I don't get an explanation on 15 16 yours. So that's what I would like you to respond to. 17 MR. DVORETZKY: So I'd like to respond, first of all, to why it makes sense to treat first 18 19 assistants differently, and second of all, to Bill Lann Lee and how that is relevant to the statute. 20 21 The legislative history explains in multiple 22 places that first assistants are particularly 23 well-suited to be the acting official because they represent continuity and regularity in the office. 24

25 We know from (b)(1) that Congress was

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concerned with at least some acting service by nominees.
And the reason that it created an exception for first
assistants, even as nominees, is that they are the least
likely to represent change in the agency. It's just the
deputy being pushed up one spot, and that's continuity
and regularity.

7 On the other hand, particularly when Congress added for the first time in the FVRA this 8 9 category of GS-15s, potentially thousands of employees 10 within an agency, there's no accountability there to Congress and there are potentially much greater concerns 11 12 about those individuals serving as acting officials 13 while the nominee. The facts of this case illustrate 14 that concern.

15 The President designated Mr. Solomon to 16 serve as the acting general counsel. Some months later 17 he nominated Mr. Solomon. Perhaps emboldened by the 18 nomination, Mr. Solomon then took some very 19 controversial actions that led the Senate promptly to 20 make clear to the President that this individual was not 21 going to be confirmed.

Rather than at that point finding a new nominee, the President allowed Mr. Solomon to continue serving even -- even after the nomination had been returned by the Senate, waited four months before

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1 renominating the same individual, and then only a few 2 months later after that, finally came up with a nominee 3 that the Senate approved.

In the meantime, Mr. Solomon served, even
though the Senate quite clearly did not consent to him,
served in the job for -- for over three years.

7 And so it is that kind of concern about 8 GS-15s that's fundamentally different from a first 9 assistant who represents continuity and regularity in 10 the office.

JUSTICE GINSBURG: If -- if Mr. Solomon had been confirmed, you -- you say that that would be all right, even -- even with the erroneous nomination of him while he was acting.

15 But -- so he's confirmed for the permanent 16 office. Yet, under your reading, everything that he did 17 while he was acting is invalidated; is that right? MR. DVORETZKY: Well, it's not necessarily 18 19 invalidated. It's subject to the defenses that the D.C. 20 Circuit identified at the end of its opinion, but under our reading of the statute, when he was nominated, he 21 22 needed to step aside and he couldn't serve as the 23 permanent official until the Senate confirmed him. 24 JUSTICE GINSBURG: So his confirmation would 25 be irrelevant to what happens to what was done prior to

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1 the confirmation? 2 MR. DVORETZKY: That's right. His 3 confirmation does not in effect ratify the actions that he took when, in our view, he was improperly serving as 4 an acting official. 5 JUSTICE GINSBURG: If -- there's one other 6 7 peculiarity of this. This is why I mentioned the 90 days, but a first assistant who is also what they 8 9 call a PAS, presidentially-appointed, 10 Senatorial-confirmed, such a first assistant without any 90 days can simultaneously be acting; and a nominee. 11 But why couldn't the people in category two, that is 12 13 people who are presidentially-appointed, 14 Senatorially-confirmed in other agencies, why wouldn't the same -- why wouldn't they be treated the same way if 15 16 the stress is on having someone that the Senate wants 17 approved? MR. DVORETZKY: Because Senate confirmation 18 19 for one position is not fungible with Senate 20 confirmation for another. When you're talking about a Senate-confirmed first assistant, that again is a 21 22 combination of Senate confirmation and somebody who's in 23 a first assistant position representing continuity and regularity in the position. 24 25 Somebody who is confirmed for a completely

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unrelated Senate position is much more of an end-run around the Senate's advice-and-consent role for the vacant office, and the legislative history includes examples -- includes discussion of Congress' concern about PAS officials who are being moved around from one position to the other.

7 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You -- you want to
8 respond to Justice Breyer's point about Mr. Lee?
9 MR. DVORETZKY: I do want to get back to the
10 point about Mr. Lee.

11 The concern about Mr. Lee was not just that 12 he was brought in from the outside at the last minute, 13 which is what the government emphasizes. If that were 14 the concern, Congress could have imposed a restriction 15 on short-serving first assistants as acting officials.

16 Instead, what Congress imposed was a 17 restriction on acting officials -- acting officials who are also the nominee, and there's no reason to think 18 19 that Congress' concern about nominees serving as acting 20 officials was limited just to first assistants. The 21 text doesn't support that concern, and as the example of 22 Mr. Solomon's own service illustrates, in practice, 23 Congress can have very serious concerns about people 24 outside of the -- the first assistant category serving 25 as the acting official while also the nominees.

And -- and that's a vivid illustration of the example in our brief of somebody who can serve almost an entire presidential -- presidential term as the permanent -- as the acting official, even though Congress has made clear that the individual is not somebody that -- that the Senate will consent to as the permanent nominee.

JUSTICE KAGAN: Can I ask Mr. Dvoretzky
about the post-enactment history? Because, you know,
we're generally reluctant to demand that Congress
objects to things.

12 But on the other hand, the -- the history 13 here is so strong. All of these appointments, 100-plus of them, in a time when Congress and the President -- I 14 mean, this is -- this has been a time where there's been 15 16 a lot of partisan bickering over appointments, and you 17 would think that in that context, if anybody had thought that this statute could be read differently, we would 18 19 have heard about it, and yet we hear absolutely nothing. 20 So how do you explain that? 21 MR. DVORETZKY: Several points in response 22 to that. 23 First, just identifying these FVRA violations is not an easy thing to do. It took the 24 government months of study to do it, and it's an arcane 25

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1 technical issue. 2 Second of all, even if Congress had 3 identified the violations, what was it supposed to do about them? If the nominee is somebody that the Senate 4 wants to approve, there's no point in rejecting them 5 based on their past improper service. That's not what 6 the FVRA requires. And doing so would only prolong the 7 8 vacancy with another acting official that Congress 9 hadn't approved. 10 If Congress doesn't approve of the nominee, odds are it has a reason for doing so that is much more 11 12 of a headline issue than the FVRA. The FVRA does not 13 make the front page of the Washington Post. It's other 14 objections. 15 JUSTICE KAGAN: I don't know. Wouldn't you 16 say something like I don't like this nominee, and 17 anyway, it's illegal for the President to make this 18 nomination? 19 MR. DVORETZKY: You might add that, but it 20 would be a gratuitous addition to what is really the 21 fundamental concern with the nominee. 22 JUSTICE KAGAN: Seems like it gives it some 23 real extra oomph, right? 24 (Laughter.) 25 JUSTICE KAGAN: It's not just -- it's not

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1 just a matter of my preferences versus the government's 2 preferences. Now the President's preference is illegal. 3 It's off the board. Congress has said he can't do it. 4 Who wouldn't say that in that circumstance? MR. DVORETZKY: Somebody who then was going 5 6 to be pressed and had to explain the technicalities of 7 why the appointment was illegal. 8 (Laughter.) 9 JUSTICE BREYER: You -- you have been -- and 10 I understand -- you've been concerned about instances in which there is controversy over appointment. But there 11 are thousands of jobs in the government where they have 12 13 to run departments where there's no controversy, you 14 know. 15 And people leave, or they die, or something 16 happens; there's a vacancy. And the main institutional 17 imperative is keep the job being done. Keep the office working. So an obvious person is to say Mr. First 18 19 Assistant, you carry on. Okay? And maybe you bring in 20 somebody from next door. And maybe you look for a GS-18 21 in the department. You know, the quy next door has a 22 presidential appointment. So you put him in the job. 23 That's all. No problem. 24 And why all of a sudden Congress would, in

25 these thousands of instances where there's no problem,

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1 or hundreds anyway, Congress would say, if you decide to 2 appoint him permanently, you have to take him 3 immediately out of the acting position, and there's more disruption in the department. Why would anyone want to 4 5 do that? 6 Now, I could see they might want to do it 7 with the first assistant where it's a runaround, and they have an idea that it's a runaround when he hasn't 8 9 served as first assistant for more than 90 days. Then 10 you might say, well, why him? Maybe they were just trying to get this controversial guy in. 11 12 In other words, as -- as an administrator in 13 noncontroversial matters, I can understand their 14 interpretation more easily. But you will tell me that I'm wrong because? 15 16 MR. DVORETZKY: The -- the first assistant 17 restriction in (b)(1) reflects that Congress clearly was concerned about some acting officials who are also the 18 19 permanent nominee. Congress saw that as a particular 20 affront to its advice and consent role, and that 21 exemplifies a lot of the problems that led to the 22 enactment of the FVRA in which the Presidents --23 Presidents of both parties were putting in their 24 ultimate choice for a position long term without Senate 25 confirmation.

1 There's no reason to think that that concern 2 is limited only to first assistants coming in from the 3 outside. Those concerns are equally applicable to any of the thousands of GS-15 employee within an agency. 4 And it's not surprising that, in the same set of 5 revisions when Congress added (a)(3), it made -- made 6 7 those GS-15s eligible to serve, that it also thought, well, perhaps this has the potential for mischief. 8 9 Perhaps this has the potential to allow just as much of an end -- of a runaround of our advice-and-consent role 10 as the first assistants. 11 12 Likewise, with respect to the PAS officials,

13 it's true that PAS officials had previously been able to 14 serve as both permanent nominees and acting officials, 15 but the FVRA rethought this entire area of vacancies. 16 And it's not surprising that, while -- while Congress 17 was also prohibiting GS-15s, this new category from 18 serving as acting officials while nominees, that it also 19 swept in the (a)(2)s as well.

There's also a practical point about how this actually operates. Much of the time, over 30 percent of the time, the President nominates and designates, either at the same time, or -- or the President nominates first and designates second after apparently becoming impatient with the confirmation 42

1 process.

And so, Justice Breyer, your hypothetical -your hypothetical was asking why does it make sense to take the official out of the job once they are nominated? Often that doesn't even happen. Often the President is nominating the person and then making them the acting official later. So you're not taking the person out of the job.

9 Moreover, our interpretation of the statute 10 removes one person from the pool of acting officials. There -- there is not -- this is not a situation where 11 we are taking out the thousands of GS-15s or PAS 12 13 officials. There are lots of people available to serve. We're taking out the one person that reflects the 14 biggest affront to Congress' advice-and-consent role if 15 16 allowed to serve while also nominating.

17 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And defeating the 18 efficient running of the department at the same time, 19 because if the person has been running the department, 20 now you're going to put it through a second dislocation 21 of having that person removed and somebody else step in. 22 MR. DVORETZKY: Again, in practice, over a 23 third of the time, that doesn't happen. It's also something that the --24

25 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: It hasn't happened

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1 because no one's read it the way you have and 2 invalidated that person's actions so far. 3 MR. DVORETZKY: Well, no. What I mean is if you look at the government's chart, a third of the time, 4 even if you applied our interpretation, it would not 5 result in the nominee being taken out of acting service 6 7 because the nominee isn't even put into acting service 8 until later or at the same time as the nomination. 9 Moreover, the President --10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The Senate is taking a long time to confirm, even when they're not objecting. 11 12 MR. DVORETZKY: So in -- in this particular 13 case, after Mr. Solomon had served for some two-and-a-half years, when the President put up a 14 permanent nominee, the Senate confirmed him in a matter 15 16 of months. And so the Senate doesn't always take a long 17 time. 18 Moreover, the Senate has confirmed 19 approximately 85 percent of PAS officials during the 20 current President's administration. And so the Senate is confirming these officials. What the FVRA requires 21 22 is that the official not do the job without Senate 23 confirmation because that would recreate the very problems that the FVRA was intended to combat in the 24 25 first place.

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1	There's a limited exception for long-serving
2	or Senate-confirmed first assistants, but that makes
3	policy sense because of the continuity and the
4	regularity that they bring to the job.
5	I'd like to address the the question that
6	was raised earlier about the consequences of ruling in
7	our favor retroactively in terms of past decisions.
8	No court has considered the "no force and
9	effect" language. But what I can tell you is that the
10	government has been shoring up a defense that would be
11	tied to the language in 3348 about the functions and
12	duties of a particular office. The only actions that
13	have no force and effect are those that are taken in the
14	performance of a function and duty of a vacant office.
15	In response to a Senate inquiry about a
16	deputy EPA administrator who had been serving for two
17	years, the EPA took the position that that individual
18	had not taken any actions whatsoever that were actually
19	tied to the functions or duties of the vacant office.
20	On the GAO website, there are approximately
21	two dozen reports of time violations over the years of
22	the FVRA. And the GAO reports that agencies had
23	reported to it that none of those two dozen individuals
24	who served in violation of the FVRA took any actions
25	that were tied to the functions and duties of the

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1 office. And so the government is already shoring up 2 arguments for why the "no force and effect" language 3 would not undo actions taken by these improperly pointed officials. 4 5 With respect to the GAO, the -- the Acting Solicitor General referred to the GAO as a watchdog --6 7 JUSTICE KAGAN: The way you described that, you sound a bit skeptical of those defenses. 8 9 (Laughter.) 10 MR. DVORETZKY: Well, skeptical only in the sense that they're not at issue in this case, and they 11 haven't been litigated. But if it were, if ruling in 12 13 our favor were going to lead the sky to fall, you would expect the government to -- to tell you that. And not 14 only has the government not told you that, but the --15 16 the surrounding context shows that the government thinks

17 it has pretty good arguments for why.

18 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So you say that you can 19 bring those cases, too?

20 MR. DVORETZKY: I'm sorry?

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Telling us -- so that -you can bring those cases, too, or for other people to bring them? They're in a real catch-22 situation. MR. DVORETZKY: The fact is, though, it's their burden to show the consequences of their actions.

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1 And the government's track record on this shows just the 2 opposite; shows that these officials supposedly are not doing anything that would actually be invalidated. 3 JUSTICE GINSBURG: So is Mr. Solomon's case 4 atypical, the general counsel to the NLRB? 5 6 MR. DVORETZKY: Well, it's atypical in the 7 sense that it is, under 3348(e), the "no force and effect" language doesn't apply to the general counsel of 8 the NLRB. It's -- the -- his actions are only voidable 9 10 rather than void, and that's why the D.C. Circuit looked to the harmless error doctrine and the de facto officer 11 doctrine as additional defenses. 12

But even in a case where the "no force and effect" language did apply, again on the government's theory, challengers would have to show that the actions were -- that the actions that were taken were ones that could only have been taken by an individual in the vacant office. And the government doesn't believe that that happens very much.

20 With respect to the cases that the 21 government cites for the first time in its reply brief, 22 none of those are on point. The Preseault case, the --23 the operative language there was "under this act." 24 That's what made clear that the particular provision 25 there applied only to the statute at issue and not

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1 separately to the Tucker Act.

2	The Mount Vernon case out of the Ninth
3	Circuit, interpreting the "notwithstanding" clause
4	the the language in the "notwithstanding" clause
5	there to apply to all of (a) would have created
6	superfluity which is not the case here. To the
7	contrary, here the government's interpretation makes
8	(b)(2) superfluous.
9	Congress specifically added (b)(2) when it
10	expanded (b)(1) to apply to more than just first
11	assistants, and if (b) if (b)(1) did not apply to all
12	of (a) in the first place, there would be no need under
13	(b)(2) to create an exception for Senate-confirmed first
14	assistants. Those Senate-confirmed individuals could
15	serve under (a)(2), anyway. So the only reason that
16	Congress would have had to add that (b)(2) was because
17	(b)(1), pursuant to these the changes to the
18	statutory language otherwise applied to all of (a).
19	The government argues in its reply brief
20	that (b)(2) serves the serves a purpose because it
21	saves the President from having to designate someone
22	under (b)(2). That's not a plausible account that
23	Congress would have gone to all the trouble of adding
24	(b)(2) solely to achieve that goal.
0 F	And and another Tripulal nations to the

25 And -- and, again, I would return to the

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1 core language here, which is "person" and "section." 2 Those are broad inclusive terms. If Congress had meant to accomplish what the government argues that this 3 4 statute is accomplishing --5 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Wasn't that the argument, is that language, "person" and "this section," were in 6 7 the prior bill, where it -- it applied only to first --8 What do you call it? 9 MR. DVORETZKY: Only to first assistants. 10 JUSTICE GINSBURG: -- first assistants? 11 MR. DVORETZKY: Because -- because the --12 that's true, but the language in the prior bill had an 13 old version of (b)(1) -- this is, again, at 19A of the cert petition -- that made clear that the only persons 14 we were talking about were persons who are serving as 15 16 first assistants. There was immediate qualifying 17 language that made clear and narrowed what "person" 18 meant. 19 Congress specifically deleted that language 20 and it added a new (b)(2) that would be unnecessary if (b) (1) applied only -- if (a) (1) applied -- I'm sorry --21

22 if (b)(1) applied only to (a)(1).

If Congress had simply meant to achieve in the draft what the government ascribes to it, the edits could have been much simpler. It could have simply

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1	changed 180 days to 90 days in order to shorten the
2	the required period of acting service, and it could have
3	edited the existing (b)(1) to say, such person serves in
4	the position of first assistant to the office of such
5	officer. It made much broader changes.
6	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
7	Four minutes, Mr. Gershengorn.
8	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF IAN H. GERSHENGORN
9	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
10	GENERAL GERSHENGORN: Thank you, Mr. Chief
11	Justice. I'd like to make a number of points.
12	First, Justice Kagan, your account of what
13	would have happened in Congress had there been any
14	reason to believe there was a problem with the Executive
15	was doing is exactly right, and we know that because
16	after the D.C. Circuit ruled, in fact, what you said
17	would happen is what happened.
18	Senators started raising objections to the
19	President's nominees, arguing that they were serving
20	illegally. That's what happened in the years prior to
21	the Act, and that's what happened as soon as the D.C.
22	Circuit ruled. That in-between period, I submit, is
23	very significant.
24	Justice Sotomayor, you raised Section
25	(c)(1). I think you're exactly right. What their

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reading of the statute does is read the notwithstanding (a)(1) to mean notwithstanding (a)(1) -- to mean that it applies to (a)(1), (a)(2), and (a)(3), but not (c)(1). I think that's a very odd thing to express with the term

Justice Breyer, you were asking about why it would make sense to treat the (a)(2) and (a)(3) differently, and I think you're exactly right. It does not.

"notwithstanding (a)(1)."

10 What Respondent said was there needs to be accountability to Congress. Congress put in that 11 12 accountability. It said that these individuals under 13 (a) (2) and (a) (3) need to be personally designated by 14 the President. It cannot be delegated. That is the kind of responsibility that when Congress puts that in 15 16 the President, this -- it's not surprising then that 17 those folks should be able to serve while they are nominated because they have gotten not only a Senate 18 19 confirmation or long-standing agency service, but the 20 personal approval of the President.

21 Counsel tried to distinguish the cases that 22 we raised. I think they are worth raising because it 23 does change, I think, the way this -- this Court has 24 read the "notwithstanding" clause the way we say it. 25 Preseault is a perfect example. It said,

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notwithstanding this Act, but Congress then didn't read the remainder of clause to provide -- to apply to the whole code. It limited to the Act, which was what was specified in the "notwithstanding" clause. We think that that's what this Court should do here.

6 And then finally I'd like to address this, 7 the treatment of PAS officers, which I think is really important. What Respondent said was, oh, Congress swept 8 9 in (a)(2) as well. With that blithe assertion, he 10 attributes to Congress the intent to overturn 130 years of practice that had raised no complaint. There is no 11 12 evidence anywhere in the congressional record that 13 Congress was concerned about Senate-confirmed officials 14 also -- who were also nominated, and it was not reflected in the initial draft. The idea that Congress 15 16 blithely did that and swept in (a) (2), I think is just 17 not supported by the record.

And I'm sorry. One more point. One final 18 19 point. Justice Ginsburg, I think you're exactly right 20 on the person/section point, which Justice Kennedy also 21 had raised. That language was in the prior bill. There 22 is no doubt that the provision it was in applied -applied in addition to only -- applied only to first 23 assistants. And our point is that "person" and 24 25 "section," of course it's broad. But all that does is

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1 set up the conflict. Congress understood that. 2 So how did it resolve the conflict? Not in the most natural way under -- that Respondent would have 3 this Court understand, by saying, notwithstanding 4 Subsection (a), which would have taken out all of the 5 6 problem. Instead it said, notwithstanding 7 Subsection (a) (1). And the idea that Congress did that 8 because there was no conflict between (a)(2) and (a)(3)9 and -- and (b)(1) just doesn't hold water. 10 Finally, on that point -- I know that's my third finally, and I apologize, Your Honor. But the --11 it does seem that the notwithstanding (a) (1) doesn't do 12 13 any work in their reading. If Congress had just said (a) (1), and then had had (b) (1) without the 14 "notwithstanding" clause, this Court would have 15 16 understood (b)(1) to be a limitation on (a)(1)'s 17 authority without a doubt. And so what "notwithstanding (a) (1) " does is specify the order of operations, to 18 19 specify the provision that is overridden. And this 20 Court should give that -- that congressional decision 21 respect. 22 Thank you. 23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel. 24 The case is submitted. (Whereupon, at 11:05 a.m., the case in the 25

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