

1 De Moines is, just as much -- just as much as San Juan,
2 lacks the authorization understate law to file a
3 Chapter 9 petition.

4 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But that's up to the
5 State. It's up to the State to make that decision.
6 Puerto Rico isn't given that option.

7 MR. MCGILL: Well, that -- that is, of
8 course, true. It is an act of Congress that does that,
9 but -- but there are numerous exclusions that are solely
10 by dint of federal law. In fact, the rest of 109(c) are
11 exclusions that have been enacted by Congress of
12 municipalities from Chapter 9 entirely.

13 JUSTICE BREYER: All right. So you're
14 saying is -- I take it you're -- that you say -- you
15 say -- you're just used to this. So you don't
16 understand that I'm not used to it. And the -- the --
17 you -- you go look at 903. There -- there are three
18 separate sentences. And you're saying that the -- the
19 first sentence and second and third are really separate
20 things. That number 2 and 3, which are numbered 1 and
21 2, have a big objective.

22 If I read the cases you cite, I will say
23 Congress intended something very clear. They didn't
24 want those States who weren't in Chapter 9. They didn't
25 want those States who were not in Chapter 9. They

1 didn't want them to make rules for bankruptcy of
2 municipalities, not binding rules, anyway. That was
3 their purpose.

4 And there's just no reason to think that
5 when they had the specific thing before, they wanted
6 somehow to let Puerto Rico and District of Columbia do
7 it, do what the States couldn't do.

8 MR. MCGILL: It would have been --

9 JUSTICE BREYER: And you say, well, there is
10 a good reason. They said the good reason is the States
11 can come in to 9, and they can't. And you say, well,
12 that isn't a good enough reason.

13 Is that where -- have I got this?

14 MR. MCGILL: Well, it -- it certainly would
15 have been a momentous change in -- in the policy of
16 preemption that had existed uninterrupted since 1946
17 that had been reaffirmed in 1976 and in 1978. This was
18 battleground legislation in 1976 and 1978. It was --
19 the House had rejected. It had moved to remove the
20 preemption provision. And the Senate --

21 JUSTICE BREYER: Referencing that, can you
22 give me one more thing? Give me your best either Law
23 Review article, treatise, legislative history, whatever
24 it is, that will -- that will show me that, in your
25 view, look, these are separate things. This -- the

1 first sentence was not meant to be just a gateway
2 into -- into 1 and 2, that -- that it was designed to do
3 what you say. What do I --

4 MR. MCGILL: I would look at this Court's
5 cases in *Iraq v. Beaty*, *Alaska v. United States*, and
6 *Whitridge*. *Whitridge* is -- is an older opinion, but I
7 think it's very telling here because *Whitridge* is a case
8 that comes -- addresses how you read a proviso that was
9 enacted years after the antecedent provision. And what
10 *Whitridge* says is you look to the purpose of the proviso
11 and make sure that your -- your construction is
12 consistent with the purpose of the proviso.

13 *Iraq v. Beaty* is, of course, a unanimous
14 decision of this Court. And *Alaska v. The United States*
15 is -- is another not unanimous opinion of this Court.
16 So I don't think it's -- I think it's entirely possible
17 to read section 903(1) as a general independent
18 standalone rule, and that certainly is how Congress
19 enacted it when it was first enacted in 1946.

20 I have elaborated already. I think 903
21 applies to every State in the sense that it demarcates
22 where Congress is not entering and where Congress is.
23 That is the role that 903 plays in this statutory
24 scheme.

25 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So you believe that the

1 States that don't permit their municipality to become
2 debtors are limited in what they can do by 903? In
3 other words, their -- their municipalities are not
4 debtors? Their sovereign powers have been cut off?
5 They cannot reorganize the debt except through
6 Chapter 9?

7 Then we're talking about a coercive
8 provision. We're saying you can't do anything about the
9 composition of your debt. If 98 percent of the
10 creditors want to reorganize their debt with you and
11 those 2 percent vultures are saying no, and a Court
12 would say it's not an impairment of a contract to redo
13 this debt because of the need, everything else that
14 we've said in the past, you're saying States can't do it
15 if -- if -- they can only do it under Chapter 9?

16 MR. MCGILL: You have, in your hypothetical,
17 Justice Sotomayor, I believe, supposed that the -- that
18 the composition does not violate the contract clause.
19 And the question then would be one of statutory
20 construction whether the composition you have
21 hypothesized fits within the term of 901.

22 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Assume -- I assume it
23 doesn't. Assuming. You're saying 903 intended to
24 preclude States, solvent States and solvent
25 municipalities, it -- it intended to stop States from

1 doing any reorganization of any debt, even if it doesn't
2 impair the contract clause, it can't do it until every
3 creditor approves, whether or not their municipality is
4 in Chapter 9 or not?

5 MR. MCGILL: Except under Chapter 9. And
6 what Congress --

7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: All right. And what's
8 not coercive about that? What's the choice for States
9 that Congress is giving?

10 MR. MCGILL: The -- the choice for States
11 for -- that -- is Chapter 9 or nothing. And the choice
12 for Puerto Rico and the District is come to Congress.
13 And what is going on right now --

14 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: It's like the Tenth
15 Amendment right of States to deal with their
16 municipalities consistent with the Constitution. Where
17 does that leave -- you can make uniform-bankruptcy laws,
18 but nothing about that permits you to impair the rights
19 of States so drastically?

20 MR. MCGILL: Well, the contract clause, I
21 think, stands as an independent bar to any -- to any
22 impairment of the obligation of contracts. It was
23 recognized at the time of beacons that States were
24 powerless to act in this area. That was -- that comes
25 right out of Bekins.

1 Now, what's going on today with respect to
2 Puerto Rico and D.C. is Congress is addressing right
3 now, across the street, how to deal with Puerto Rico's
4 fiscal crisis. That's -- that is what's going on.
5 Puerto --

6 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Isn't there also
7 legislation to put Puerto Rico back in Chapter 9?

8 MR. MCGILL: May -- may I answer?

9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yes.

10 MR. MCGILL: Yes, there is, Justice
11 Ginsburg, just like in -- Puerto Rico is -- Congress is
12 considering a range of options for Puerto Rico,
13 including Chapter 9, just as Congress considered a range
14 of options for the District of Columbia during its own
15 financial crisis in the 1990s, which resulted in a
16 financial control board rather than Chapter 9.

17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.

18 Mr. Landau, you have four minutes remaining.

19 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF CHRISTOPHER LANDAU

20 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

21 MR. LANDAU: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.

22 Very quickly, I'd like to make three basic
23 points.

24 First, I think we've seen an example of
25 selective textualism this morning. For their -- for

1 Respondents' argument to make any sense with respect to
2 the various Territories, they have to say that these
3 other Territories, such as the Virgin Islands and Guam,
4 are encompassed within the definition of the word
5 "State."

6 They just can't say that when Congress,
7 which had long-defined "State" to include all the
8 possessions and Territories, in 1984, in the very
9 provision that we are considering, said "State" includes
10 Puerto Rico and D.C. That is probably the clearest
11 expressio unius one can imagine. So for them to be
12 saying that, well, even though it said Puerto Rico and
13 D.C., it meant to include everything -- and again, Guam,
14 for instance, and the Virgin Islands, have also Triple A
15 tax-exempt bonds. So everything that is true for Puerto
16 Rico would be true of the Virgin Islands and -- and
17 Guam.

18 I guess the more fundamental point, though,
19 is when -- when you are asking them about how this --
20 their argument is, if you accept our position, then any
21 municipality that is not authorized to file under
22 Chapter 9 is also exempt from Chapter 9. They're trying
23 to talk about municipalities. But I think, as Justice
24 Ginsburg made the point, no, here we're talking about
25 States.

1 Massachusetts, for instance, always has the
2 power to authorize its municipalities to seek Chapter 9
3 relief. The door is open for Massachusetts, and -- as
4 it was for Michigan when Michigan, on the same day,
5 authorized Detroit to file for bankruptcy, and Detroit
6 in fact filed for bankruptcy. So the States that
7 haven't yet authorized just maybe haven't had a crisis
8 that requires them to do that.

9 But they are trying to say you have to
10 compare San Juan to Boston. Our point is, the relevant
11 comparison, since we're talking about the word "State,"
12 is you have to compare Puerto Rico to Massachusetts or
13 Michigan.

14 Unlike Massachusetts or Michigan, which have
15 the door -- excuse me -- the key to the doorway, to the
16 gateway in 109(c)(2), Puerto Rico categorically does
17 not. Thus, when you arrive at 903 -- and the word
18 "State" appears only three times in all of Chapter 9.
19 It appears twice in -- in Section 903, which is
20 reaffirming, saying this chapter, Chapter 9, does not
21 limit or impair the power of States to control their
22 municipalities.

23 So that makes no sense as applied to
24 jurisdictions like Puerto Rico that are categorically
25 excluded from coming through the gateway of 109(c)(2),

1 whereas it does make sense to apply that to the
2 Massachusettses of the world, regardless of whether to
3 date they have authorized their municipalities.

4 Finally, the last point I'd like to make is,
5 we've talked a lot about -- about legal principles, as
6 is appropriate, today. But this is also a
7 flesh-and-blood situation in Puerto Rico.

8 Puerto Rico enacted this Recovery Act
9 because it is facing a crisis in providing essential
10 services to its citizens. It is implausible at best to
11 think that Congress left -- by taking Puerto Rico out of
12 Chapter 9, meant to -- and that's all we knew. It took
13 Puerto Rico out of Chapter 9. To say that that
14 precludes Puerto Rico from dealing in any way with the
15 financial crisis for its public utilities, which in
16 this -- for its public utilities, which provide basic
17 services like electricity and water to its people --
18 that's the question: Whether people in a village in
19 Puerto Rico will be able to get clean water.

20 That -- this is something -- again, it's
21 fine to talk about the generalities of the law, but when
22 you're trying to think about congressional intent,
23 please don't lose sight of the fact -- of the
24 fundamental implausibility and the anomaly of saying,
25 when Congress took Puerto Rico out of Chapter 9, that it

1 meant to leave that Chapter 9 preemption provision in
2 place, and thus leave Puerto Rico in the dire situation
3 that led the Commonwealth to use its police powers to
4 enact this Recovery Act in the first place.

5 Thank you.

6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
7 The case is submitted.

8 (Whereupon, at 12:12 p.m., the case in the
9 above-entitled matter was submitted.)

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