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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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