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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES  
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UNITED STATES, )  
Petitioner, )  
v. ) No. 21-404  
WASHINGTON, ET AL., )  
Respondents. )  
- - - - -

Washington, D.C.

Monday, April 18, 2022

The above-entitled matter came on for oral argument before the Supreme Court of the United States at 10:00 a.m.

APPEARANCES:

MALCOLM L. STEWART, Deputy Solicitor General,  
Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf  
of the Petitioner.

TERA M. HEINTZ, Deputy Solicitor General, Olympia,  
Washington; on behalf of the Respondents.

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P R O C E E D I N G S

(10:00 a.m.)

CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We will hear argument first this morning in Case 21-404, United States versus Washington.

Mr. Stewart.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF MALCOLM L. STEWART

ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER

MR. STEWART: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please the Court:

First, this case is not moot. We acknowledge that Washington's recent enactment of SB 5890 makes it uncertain whether a decision invalidating HB 1723 will ultimately produce any financial benefit to the United States.

Under this Court's precedents, however, the case is not moot so long as there is a reasonable possibility that such a benefit will ensue. Respondents have not carried their heavy burden of negating that possibility.

Second, HB 1723 discriminates against the federal government and those with whom it deals. On its face, it is limited to a specific federal facility, and even within that facility, it applies only to workers engaged in the

1 performance of federal contractors -- contracts,  
2 not to state or purely private workers.

3 Third, HB 3170 -- I'm sorry, 40 U.S.C.  
4 3172(a) does not authorize that discriminatory  
5 treatment. Properly understood, Section 3172(a)  
6 authorizes Washington to apply evenhandedly to  
7 federal facilities the same workers'  
8 compensation laws that apply in other workplaces  
9 in the state. It does not authorize Washington  
10 to subject federal contractors at the Hanford  
11 facility to uniquely onerous burdens.

12 I welcome the Court's questions.

13 JUSTICE THOMAS: Mr. Stewart, could  
14 you give us a -- a more fulsome explanation of  
15 the financial interests of the United States in  
16 the case considering -- in the context of the  
17 mootness argument?

18 MR. STEWART: Well, before SB 5890 was  
19 passed, there was no question that the United  
20 States had a financial interest in the case.  
21 That is, even though the financial burdens would  
22 fall in the first instance on the federal  
23 contractors, the United States has entered into  
24 various arrangements whereby it would absorb  
25 those costs. And, most significantly, it's

1 entered into a memorandum of understanding with  
2 the state agency whereby it would act as a  
3 self-insurer and would pay any increased  
4 workers' compensation costs attributable to most  
5 of the federal contracts on the site.

6 And so the question for purposes of  
7 mootness is whether the enactment of SB 5890 has  
8 effectively divested the United States of that  
9 financial interest, and the Respondents have  
10 identified two possible reasons that that might  
11 be so.

12 First, they've said SB 5890 covers all  
13 of the workers who were previously covered by HB  
14 1723 and some more as well, and, therefore, it  
15 says, even if we were able to get the worker's  
16 claim under SB 1723 declared invalid or set  
17 aside, it wouldn't produce any financial benefit  
18 for the United States because the worker could  
19 all -- always re-file under SB 5890 and could  
20 obtain the same benefits on the same terms.

21 We think it's not a natural  
22 construction of the new statutory language to  
23 say that the coverage would be coextensive in  
24 that way. HB 1723 applied to all DOE Hanford  
25 facility workers at specified but broadly

1 defined locations within the Hanford site,  
2 without regard to the proximity of their work to  
3 the actual storage or treatment of hazardous  
4 waste.

5           And, by contrast, the crucial language  
6 in SB 5890 is "structures and their lands" where  
7 specified categories of waste are stored and  
8 disposed of. And the phrase "structures and  
9 their lands" is not self-defining, but you would  
10 imagine that the lands are areas outside the  
11 structure that are in fairly close proximity to  
12 the structure itself.

13           We've identified two types of  
14 structures. One is a waste treatment facility  
15 at the center of the site that is currently  
16 under construction, meaning that waste will  
17 ultimately be treated there, but that's not  
18 happening yet. And that -- workers at that  
19 facility would not naturally be said to be  
20 working on structures and their lands where  
21 wastes are being treated or disposed of.

22           The same thing applies to some of the  
23 Hanford office workers, who worked in structures  
24 where there are no -- were no hazardous waste.  
25 So we think that there's at least an open

1 question whether some of the workers who were  
2 covered by HB 1723 would be covered by SB 5890.

3 The second mootness argument that the  
4 state has made in its letter of last Monday was  
5 that under the effective date provision of SB  
6 5890, work -- that law will apply to all future  
7 stages in any pending controversy about a  
8 particular claimant's entitlement to benefits  
9 under the law.

10 And so, for example, if a claimant was  
11 denied benefits by DOE and then has an appeal  
12 pending to the state industrial board,  
13 Washington's view of the law now is that if the  
14 claimant is not covered by -- even if the claim  
15 was submitted before SB 90 was enacted, if the  
16 claimant was covered by HB 1723 but not under  
17 the new law, the claimant will not be entitled  
18 to benefits because the new law will govern not  
19 only new claims but additional stages in the  
20 processing of an existing claim.

21 And it's possible that the Washington  
22 courts will sustain that reading, but any  
23 claimant who was covered by the prior law and  
24 not by the new one can be expected to resist it.  
25 And so we think that there's at least a



1 reasonable possibility that the -- the courts  
2 would ultimately hold any claimant in that  
3 position would be entitled to benefits if HB  
4 1723 remains operative.

5           And so, to summarize, it was clear  
6 before the enactment of SB 5890 that the United  
7 States would suffer harm, financial harm, from  
8 this law, and the new developments that the  
9 state have -- has pointed to don't eliminate  
10 that possibility.

11           JUSTICE KAGAN: Do you think, if this  
12 was the position you were in when you had to  
13 make a decision to file for a petition for  
14 certiorari, you would have filed?

15           MR. STEWART: If -- if they had  
16 enacted the law between the time of the Ninth  
17 Circuit's decision and the time when a petition  
18 for certiorari had been due, we might not have  
19 filed. We might have filed but asked simply  
20 that the Court vacate the judgment below in  
21 light of the -- the reduced practical effect of  
22 the law even if we didn't think that the --

23           JUSTICE KAGAN: I guess that's what  
24 I'm asking. Isn't your real interest here to  
25 vacate the judgment below, you know, much more

1 than whatever residual possibility there are --  
2 there is that these claims will affect the  
3 government?

4 MR. STEWART: Well, we would certainly  
5 like to have the judgment below vacated, and we  
6 would also like for the Court to provide  
7 affirmative clarification as to the scope of  
8 3172(a). And, certainly, when -- when a case is  
9 not technically moot, but the Court is deciding  
10 is this a wise use of our resources to issue a  
11 merits ruling, the Court would typically take  
12 into account how likely is it that the legal  
13 principles involved will bear on the resolution  
14 of future cases. That's not a basis for finding  
15 the case not to be moot, but if it isn't moot,  
16 it's a basis for exercising the Court's  
17 discretionary powers.

18 The second thing I would say is we  
19 also have an interest and we think the Court has  
20 an interest in avoiding the sorts of  
21 post-certiorari maneuvers that it's referred to  
22 in the past. That is, if a state, before a cert  
23 petition was due, had amended the law in the way  
24 that it has, it would have effectively been  
25 giving up on the possibility of applying HB 1723

1 on into the future with its full coverage.

2 And the state was unwilling to make  
3 that sacrifice at the time whether -- when it  
4 was unclear whether this Court would grant  
5 review. And so we think that there is an  
6 interest in terms of the Court's sound  
7 management of its docket, again, if the case is  
8 not moot, in issuing a decision on the merits so  
9 that that sort of maneuver will be discouraged.

10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Mr. Stewart, I  
11 have to say I'm not quite sure I understand how  
12 3172 works. The question is whether or not, if  
13 the state owned the facilities, the workers'  
14 compensation law would still work the same way,  
15 right? That's where the antidiscrimination  
16 principle comes in?

17 MR. STEWART: Yes.

18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, how does  
19 that work? I mean, is there any doubt that if  
20 the state owned these facilities that they would  
21 apply the state workers' compensation rules to  
22 those -- to the -- the workers?

23 MR. STEWART: Well, the -- the  
24 language refers at the outset not to the state  
25 legislature but to the state authority charged

1 with enforcing and requiring compliance with the  
2 state workers' compensation laws, and, here,  
3 that's Washington's Department of Labor &  
4 Industries, which is referred to as L&I.

5 And then it says it can apply those  
6 laws in the same way and to the same extent to  
7 the federal -- to federal facilities as if the  
8 premises were under the exclusive jurisdiction  
9 of the state. And with respect to HB 1723, the  
10 presumptions of workplace causation that it  
11 adopts, these are not substantive rules that L&I  
12 could apply to any other facilities anywhere  
13 else within the State of Washington.

14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I'm sorry,  
15 could you break that down? I -- I know that's  
16 what it says, but I don't understand -- I don't  
17 understand why, if there weren't a federal  
18 facility here, but it was a state facility,  
19 would those workers be covered by state workers'  
20 compensation laws?

21 MR. STEWART: Yes, that's -- that's  
22 correct, and the state could have adopted a law  
23 that applied the HB 1723 presumptions throughout  
24 the state. And if -- if a state had done that,  
25 then 3172(a) would have authorized those

1 presumptions to be adopted at the federal  
2 facility.

3           But the -- the impetus behind the  
4 enactment of the statute was a decision of this  
5 Court in Murray in 1934 which said because a  
6 particular accident occurred on a federal  
7 enclave and because the Federal Enclave Doctrine  
8 said state laws enacted after the property was  
9 ceded to the federal government can't be applied  
10 to -- to the federal facility, the worker's  
11 survivor was not able to obtain survivor's  
12 benefits under the generally applicable state  
13 law.

14           And so what Congress decided to do was  
15 to pass a law that said whatever you are doing  
16 in the rest of the state you can do on the  
17 federal facility. And the way that the Court in  
18 Goodyear Atomic described it was to say, on its  
19 face, 3172(a) allows the worker -- it dictates  
20 the same treatment of workers at the federal  
21 facility that they would receive on --

22           JUSTICE KAGAN: I guess, I mean --

23           CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I'm -- I'm  
24 sorry, I was just going to say I didn't quite --  
25 I mean, you talked about what the impetus of it

1 is, but if you look at the language, it says, I  
2 mean, if this were a state facility, would the  
3 workers there be subject to the state workers'  
4 compensation laws?

5 MR. STEWART: I think you can do --  
6 yes. I think that you can do the comparison in  
7 either of two ways. You could ask if Hanford --  
8 well, if Hanford were operated by the state,  
9 then the state could do it.

10 But, if the question is what would the  
11 state authority be able to do on other land  
12 within Washington that was subject to the  
13 exclusive jurisdiction of the state, the answer  
14 to that question would be no, nothing in HB 1723  
15 authorizes L&I to apply these presumptions of  
16 workplace causation to land anywhere else in  
17 Washington.

18 And to the extent that the language is  
19 ambiguous, then reading it to --

20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You'll give me  
21 at least that?

22 MR. STEWART: I would -- yes, I'll  
23 give you that it's ambiguous. I -- I wouldn't  
24 acknowledge that their -- the other side's  
25 reading is as strong as ours because I think, if

1 you look at Goodyear Atomic, if you look at what  
2 precipitated this, if you look at kind of the  
3 distinctly disfavored nature of laws that  
4 discriminate against the federal government, it  
5 would really be a stretch to read this language  
6 to say that even though Washington is not doing  
7 this anywhere else in the state, it can do it at  
8 the Hanford facility because it would be able to  
9 do this if no question of intergovernmental  
10 immunity were posed.

11 JUSTICE KAGAN: But --

12 JUSTICE ALITO: I had the same problem  
13 as the Chief Justice, and I still don't  
14 understand the answer. I don't understand what  
15 the counterfactual is. This is the closest I  
16 could come, but this is probably off the mark,  
17 and you'll tell me why.

18 Imagine it's a state facility, it's  
19 owned by the state, but there are federal  
20 contractors working there. Is that the  
21 situation we have to imagine?

22 MR. STEWART: No. I think, when --  
23 when they talk about land under the exclusive  
24 jurisdiction of the state and -- the Court in  
25 Goodyear Atomic said, on its face, the federal

1 law requires the application of the same laws  
2 that would apply to purely private facilities  
3 within the same state, in that case, Ohio.

4           And so I think the relevant comparator  
5 is not what if we were looking at the same tract  
6 of land, the Hanford facility, but asking what  
7 could the state do if this were under its own  
8 exclusive jurisdiction. It's what rules could  
9 L&I apply to other tracts of land in Washington  
10 that are, in fact, within the exclusive  
11 jurisdiction of the state.

12           And that's -- it's consistent with the  
13 -- it may not be the only reading of the text,  
14 but it's consistent with the impetus for  
15 enactment of the law. It's consistent with the  
16 nondiscrimination principle. It's consistent  
17 with the Court's characterization of the effect  
18 of 3172(a) in Goodyear Atomic.

19           JUSTICE KAGAN: But then, I mean --

20           JUSTICE BARRETT: Mister --

21           JUSTICE KAGAN: -- all your stronger  
22 arguments, I think, are non-textual arguments.  
23 I mean, Goodyear -- Goodyear is a -- is a  
24 sentence in a case that was not about  
25 discrimination at all, so I think I'm going to



1 put that to one side at least.

2 You have very strong arguments about  
3 the impetus of the law and you have very strong  
4 arguments about, if this were read as the state  
5 wants it to be read, it would stretch quite  
6 broadly and -- and -- and -- and maybe just  
7 seems like not the kind of thing that Congress  
8 would do.

9 But, if you look at the text here, I  
10 mean, I'm sort of struggling to read it your  
11 way. It -- it -- as the Chief Justice says, it  
12 just says, if the state were in charge, could  
13 the state do it, and, obviously, the state  
14 could.

15 MR. STEWART: Well, again, the -- the  
16 law is -- is not directed at the state  
17 legislature. It doesn't talk about what the  
18 state legislature could enact. It's addressed  
19 to the state authority charged with enforcing  
20 and requiring compliance.

21 And so L&I's authority is limited to  
22 the enforcement of laws that actually exist, and  
23 so, if you ask what could L&I do on premises  
24 within the exclusive jurisdiction of the state,  
25 if the point of reference is other places within

1 the State of Washington outside the Hanford  
2 facility, it is -- it -- it could not apply  
3 presumptions of this sort because there's no  
4 state law that authorizes it to do so.

5 Even if you're talking about the  
6 circumstances in which you had a hypothetical  
7 Hanford facility that it was on the same tract  
8 of land but did not use federal contract  
9 workers, used exclusively state and private  
10 workers, L&I couldn't in any meaningful sense  
11 enforce the presumptions as they are set forth  
12 in HB 1723 because HB 1723 by its terms refers  
13 to DOE Hanford site workers.

14 Even within that site, it's limited to  
15 the federal contract workers on that site.

16 JUSTICE ALITO: To what extent does  
17 your argument depend on identifying it as a  
18 federal facility?

19 Suppose -- excuse me -- there is one  
20 facility in a state where the -- the risk is  
21 much higher than anyplace else in the state,  
22 and, therefore, there's a justification for  
23 flipping the causation requirement. And it just  
24 so happens that the only workers working on that  
25 site are federal workers, so the site is not

1 identified as a federal facility by name. It's  
2 identified based on the characteristics of the  
3 site that are thought to justify the change in  
4 the causation rule.

5 Would there be a problem there?

6 MR. STEWART: I think there would be a  
7 potential problem, but it's a much harder case.  
8 And one of the things we would like to know in  
9 that circumstance is, did the state single out  
10 that facility because it was a federal facility,  
11 or did it single it out because it truly  
12 believed that the risks there were higher than  
13 anywhere else?

14 And so, for --

15 JUSTICE ALITO: Yeah, okay, so it's --  
16 it comes down to a question of legislative  
17 intent?

18 MR. STEWART: I think, again, in those  
19 circumstances. For -- to -- to take another  
20 hypothetical, if a state imposed a -- a special  
21 tax, a higher corporate income tax on profits  
22 that private firms earned -- earn by producing  
23 and supplying military equipment.

24 Now a law like that might not refer  
25 specifically to the federal government, but it

1 would have an evident likelihood of  
2 discriminating against federal contractors  
3 because military equipment is most likely to be  
4 bought by the federal government.

5 Now, if a state legislature tweaked  
6 the definition of military equipment to ensure  
7 that it swept in a little bit of stuff that was  
8 typically bought by civilians, that shouldn't be  
9 good enough to save it. But we acknowledge that  
10 the law with respect to those types of statutes  
11 is underdeveloped. They pose much harder  
12 problems.

13 I think the reason that we have  
14 pursued this case so vigorously is that it  
15 seemed to us the easy case. It seemed to us a  
16 case in which there were two forms of explicit  
17 discrimination against the federal government.

18 JUSTICE BARRETT: On --

19 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: What --

20 JUSTICE BARRETT: I'm sorry. Well,  
21 this problem that Justice Alito is hypothesizing  
22 and your answer goes to the potential problems  
23 that you reserved in your breach -- brief with  
24 respect to the new law, right?

25 MR. STEWART: Yes.

1                   JUSTICE BARRETT:  As if you're  
2     treating -- and it's not a question of  
3     legislative intent, right?  It's a question of  
4     looking at the facial classification and saying  
5     are the desk workers at this site subject to any  
6     greater risk than, say, firefighters or miners?  
7     And it's -- it's a question of identifying the  
8     relevant categories of risk?

9                   MR. STEWART:  That -- that would be  
10    important, but it might also turn on legislative  
11    intent.  For example, in -- in the equal  
12    protection area, even where it is necessary that  
13    a plaintiff show intentional discrimination, I  
14    was subject to adverse treatment because of my  
15    race or sex, a plaintiff can sometimes make that  
16    showing by establishing that the state adopted a  
17    facial -- facially neutral criterion but adopted  
18    it because it correlated with race or sex.

19                   And that, I think, is rarely  
20    successful, but it is commonly understood to be  
21    an available method of proof even in equal  
22    protection cases where the plaintiff has to show  
23    intentional discrimination.

24                   So I think at least part of the  
25    inquiry with respect to SB 5890 would be did the

1 state single out this particular category of  
2 workers because it understood that the large  
3 majority of them would be federal contract  
4 workers, or did it enact the law because it was  
5 concerned with the dangers imposed by these  
6 occupations without regard to the identity of  
7 the -- the entity that would ultimately bear the  
8 financial loss.

9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Counsel, you have  
10 a presumption in your favor, the presumption  
11 that a waiver has to clearly and unambiguously  
12 waive governmental immunity. As my colleagues  
13 have pointed out, the language here is a waiver  
14 of immunity, but there is some ambiguity as to  
15 what the extent of that waiver is.

16 And so, given that your -- that your  
17 opposing counsel points to a number of statutes  
18 that very clearly say you can't discriminate  
19 against the federal facility or federal  
20 employees, they have very express language about  
21 being treated equally, which this statute  
22 doesn't, why doesn't that show us, if it's an  
23 ambiguity as to the scope, that the scope is as  
24 broad as the language supports?

25 MR. STEWART: Well, first, I think the

1 general rule -- and this is not just with  
2 respect to intergovernmental immunity. It  
3 applies to immunities from suit generally under  
4 decisions like FAA versus Cooper. The general  
5 rule is even when Congress has clearly  
6 manifested its intention to waive immunity to  
7 some degree, disputes about the scope of that  
8 waiver are themselves subject to the clear  
9 statement requirement.

10           The second thing is we do think that  
11 Congress manifested an intent to import a  
12 principle of nondiscrimination into the statute.  
13 That is, it defined what the state agency can do  
14 on federal facilities with respect to what -- by  
15 reference to what the state agency could do on  
16 premises within the exclusive jurisdiction of  
17 the state. And so we think it's natural to say  
18 that was importing the nondiscrimination  
19 requirement that has always been central to the  
20 Court's intergovernmental immunity decisions.

21           The third thing I would say is we went  
22 for 80 years after this statute was enacted  
23 before any state appears to have read it to  
24 authorize the sort of targeting of federal  
25 facilities that Washington has done here. And

1 so, if the law were truly ambiguous or if the  
2 better reading of the law were as the state  
3 represents, we would have expected states to  
4 explore their options before that time.

5 The fourth --

6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but, I  
7 mean, maybe it has to do with the fact that  
8 there aren't very many places like Hanford,  
9 right, where you have a situation where  
10 basically anybody there is certainly subject to  
11 great concern, unlike other places.

12 I mean, is -- are there analogous  
13 places in the rest of the country where a state  
14 might be concerned about the workers'  
15 compensation regime --

16 MR. STEWART: I mean --

17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- because  
18 it's a particularly hazardous environment that  
19 -- that people have been working in?

20 MR. STEWART: -- I don't know of  
21 specific analogues to Hanford. Now Congress has  
22 enacted a statute of its own, the EEOICPA, which  
23 is not Hanford-specific, but it's specific to  
24 workers in the atomic weapons sector. It -- it  
25 encompasses people like some of the Hanford



1 workers. It also encompasses people engaged in  
2 uranium milling or mining. So there certainly  
3 are other workplaces within the country that --  
4 where workers are subject to some of the same  
5 dangers.

6 But the -- the whole point of the  
7 antidiscrimination principle is that in  
8 circumstances where it's apparent that the  
9 federal government is going to be fitting the  
10 bill, states may often feel a temptation to kind  
11 of benefit some class of their own residents to  
12 an exorbitant degree with the understanding that  
13 they won't be -- the state itself won't be  
14 required to absorb the costs.

15 The last thing I would say about  
16 Goodyear Atomic -- and I agree with you, Justice  
17 Kagan, that the point at issue in that case was  
18 not whether a discriminatory state law would  
19 pass constitutional review. Nevertheless, the  
20 fact that this was this Court's instinctive  
21 reaction to what the language meant should tell  
22 you that it's at least a plausible reading.

23 And I'd also point out that Congress  
24 re-codified the provision with some minor  
25 changes in the interval within -- between

1 Goodyear Atomic and the present, suggesting that  
2 Congress was satisfied to read the statute as  
3 imposing a non-discrimination requirement.

4 JUSTICE KAGAN: What -- what do you  
5 think this statute would have to look like for  
6 it to mean what the State of Washington says  
7 this one means?

8 MR. STEWART: I mean, I think it would  
9 have to say something like the state legislature  
10 and/or the state authority can impose on  
11 facility -- federal facilities or facilities  
12 within the exclusive jurisdiction of the  
13 government whatever workers' compensation laws  
14 they choose, and to make doubly sure, it might  
15 say without regard to principles of  
16 intergovernmental immunity.

17 And I think that's another textual  
18 point, that under the state's view of the law,  
19 it's really not clear what work the -- the  
20 language about "in the same way and to the  
21 extent" as if the premises were within the  
22 exclusive jurisdiction --

23 JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean --

24 MR. STEWART: -- of the state to do  
25 it.

1 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- when you said  
2 especially, you know, to be double sure, it has  
3 to refer to a waiver of immunity, I mean, do you  
4 think that the statute basically, given the  
5 breadth of this -- of -- of what the State of  
6 Washington is saying here, that there has to be  
7 an express waiver of immunity?

8 MR. STEWART: Well, I think, with  
9 regard to antidiscrimination in particular, that  
10 is, it's relatively commonplace for the United  
11 States to engage in the sort of waiver that we  
12 think it engaged in here, namely, a -- an  
13 authorization for the state to apply -- apply  
14 certain of its own laws evenhandedly to federal  
15 facilities, it requires some express  
16 congressional authorization, but it's not  
17 especially unusual.

18 We don't know of any analogue to a  
19 hypothetical version of 3172(a) that would tell  
20 the state: You can impose discriminatory  
21 workers' compensation laws on federal  
22 facilities.

23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,  
24 counsel.

25 Justice Thomas, anything?

1 Justice Breyer?

2 Justice Alito?

3 Justice Sotomayor, anything?

4 Justice --

5 JUSTICE BARRETT: I do have one.

6 Mr. Stewart, I just want to make sure  
7 that I understand the textual hook because it's  
8 been pointed out the statute's not a model of  
9 clarity, but I guess, for one, I do see a  
10 textual hook for your argument, and I want to be  
11 sure that I'm correctly understanding it.

12 You say that 3172 is aimed at the  
13 executive essentially, not at the legislature.  
14 And you get that from this language that says  
15 state authority charged with enforcing and  
16 requiring appliance -- compliance with, in the  
17 beginning, and then awards of the authority may  
18 apply the laws of all land -- to all land and  
19 premises in the state which the federal  
20 government controls.

21 So yours isn't completely unmoored  
22 from the statute and rooted in purposes, right?

23 MR. STEWART: Yes. I mean, I think --  
24 I think what -- what it is saying is the state  
25 authority here, L&I, can apply whatever

1 substantive body -- can apply to the federal  
2 facility whatever substantive body of worker  
3 compensation rules it could apply in the other  
4 parts of Washington that are within the  
5 exclusive jurisdiction of the state.

6 JUSTICE BARRETT: So the limitation --  
7 so your position is that if there's an otherwise  
8 existing extant body of generally applicable  
9 law, the Washington agency charged with  
10 enforcing that law can apply that extant body of  
11 law to federal facilities and that that's what  
12 3172 authorizes by that language that I just  
13 quoted?

14 MR. STEWART: Yes. And the only  
15 clarification I would make is, when we say  
16 "extant," certainly, Washington could update its  
17 state laws even after 3172(a) was enacted.

18 It's not like the Federal Enclave  
19 Doctrine, where you look at a certain point in  
20 time and you ask --

21 JUSTICE BARRETT: Right.

22 MR. STEWART: -- what state laws were  
23 in effect there. But so long as it does that on  
24 an even-handed basis, the Washington  
25 administrative agency can apply to the federal

1 facility the same laws it is authorized to apply  
2 in the rest of the state.

3 JUSTICE BARRETT: Thank you.

4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,  
5 counsel.

6 MR. STEWART: Thank you, Mr. Chief  
7 Justice.

8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Ms. Heintz.

9 ORAL ARGUMENT OF TERA M. HEINTZ  
10 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS

11 MS. HEINTZ: Mr. Chief Justice, and  
12 may it please the Court:

13 To protect workers on federal projects  
14 like the Hanford cleanup, Congress passed a  
15 waiver statute that allows states to regulate  
16 federal contractors using all the same tools we  
17 can use as to any private actor.

18 That waiver allowed Washington's  
19 former law that is challenged here. But,  
20 ultimately, this Court need not decide this  
21 issue because this case is moot.

22 The federal government is asking you  
23 to issue a constitutional ruling invalidating a  
24 state law that no longer exists and that has no  
25 ongoing effect.

1                   This Court should decline and should  
2                   instead vacate the decisions below and remand  
3                   for further proceedings.

4                   The government concedes that there is  
5                   no prospective relief that this Court can grant  
6                   as to Washington's former law because the state  
7                   has already eliminated the provisions that are  
8                   challenged here.

9                   The only reason the government argues  
10                  that there is still a live controversy is  
11                  because it assumes that invalidating  
12                  Washington's former law could still impact the  
13                  small number of pending claims that were  
14                  initially filed under the old law.

15                  That is incorrect. Washington's  
16                  presumption statute applies retroactively, so  
17                  the revised law will govern any pending claims  
18                  for benefits initially filed under the former  
19                  law, even those cases on appeal.

20                  The government speculates that there  
21                  may be individuals whose pending claims were  
22                  filed under the old law and that would not be  
23                  covered under Washington's revised statute. But  
24                  even if that were true, those claims would now  
25                  be rejected under Washington's revised statute.

1                   Thus, if this Court were to reach the  
2 merits and either uphold or invalidate  
3 Washington's former law, it will have absolutely  
4 no effect on any workers' right to benefits or  
5 the government's finances. This case is moot.

6                   I welcome the Court's questions.

7                   JUSTICE THOMAS: Counsel, wouldn't  
8 your case be much stronger if what you just said  
9 had been found to be the case by the Supreme  
10 Court of Washington?

11                   MS. HEINTZ: Your Honor, what I did  
12 say has been found at least in principle by the  
13 Washington State Supreme Court.

14                   JUSTICE THOMAS: No, I mean in the  
15 context of the statutes that we're talking  
16 about.

17                   MS. HEINTZ: Certainly. If the  
18 Supreme Court had issued a ruling directly on  
19 point in this case, it would be stronger. But  
20 what we're asking this Court to acknowledge is  
21 settled principles of Washington and federal law  
22 that when a statute is retroactive -- and the  
23 statute here is expressly retroactive -- when it  
24 is retroactive, then courts have an obligation  
25 to the legislature or Congress to honor that



1 retroactive intent and to apply that law to all  
2 pending cases, even if it ultimately changes the  
3 outcome.

4 JUSTICE THOMAS: But do -- do you  
5 think a -- a -- a -- someone who has benefitted  
6 from the old law and who would like their  
7 benefits updated for changed circumstances would  
8 agree with you, or would they rather simply  
9 pursue their case under the law -- under the old  
10 law, which was the basis for their benefits in  
11 the first -- in the first instance?

12 MS. HEINTZ: Your Honor, I have two  
13 points.

14 First, a -- a worker that had  
15 previously had a claim under the old law would  
16 not have a vested right to fight a retroactive  
17 application of the new law until there has been  
18 a final judgment.

19 Once there's a final judgment, then  
20 there's a due process right that is vested and  
21 there can be an argument by the worker. But, as  
22 to all pending claims, there is no such vested  
23 right, and so there is no argument by the worker  
24 that the law cannot retroactively apply to those  
25 claims.

1           As to the closed claims -- and there's  
2 about 160 of those claims -- approximately,  
3 sorry, 140 of those claims -- those claims have  
4 been adjudicated now to final judgment. The  
5 federal government had every opportunity to  
6 challenge the constitutionality of the old law  
7 in those cases. It chose not to do so, and  
8 those claims are now final.

9           So there is no ability by the federal  
10 government to relitigate the constitutionality  
11 of the old law in those cases. There is a small  
12 exception under Washington law that allows a  
13 worker to reopen only the amount of the benefits  
14 or the need for additional medical services, but  
15 that does not allow relitigation of the  
16 determination that they suffered an occupational  
17 injury.

18           Res judicata would still bar  
19 relitigation and the federal government  
20 challenging the underlying statute so that if  
21 this Court issues a constitutional ruling, it  
22 will have no impact either on the pending claims  
23 or on the claims that are already closed, which  
24 is a closed universe of only 200 claims total,  
25 66 which are pending and approximately 140 that

1 are closed.

2 JUSTICE THOMAS: Thank you.

3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, I mean,  
4 your argument depends upon a prediction about  
5 what the Washington State Supreme Court is going  
6 to do.

7 MS. HEINTZ: Yes, Your Honor, to some  
8 extent, but this is settled law. We're not  
9 asking you to accept our opinion on the issue.  
10 The Supreme -- State Supreme Court has been very  
11 clear in Estate of Hemberton, and it follows  
12 settled federal law on this issue that when  
13 legislation is enacted and it is intended and  
14 explicitly retroactive, the courts have an  
15 obligation to the legislature to apply that law  
16 retroactively.

17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but we  
18 have pretty rigorous standards when,  
19 particularly after a grant of certiorari, the  
20 respondent undertakes certain efforts to moot  
21 out the case. It has to be -- I forget what our  
22 language is -- you know, beyond any doubt or  
23 something like that.

24 And I think, as you just candidly  
25 acknowledged, there are a number of cases where

1 the issue would still be alive, and however  
2 confident you are about your prediction of your  
3 state supreme court, you know, sometimes  
4 predictions don't pan out. Courts do unusual  
5 things.

6 MS. HEINTZ: Understood.

7 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So isn't that  
8 -- isn't that enough of a continuation of the  
9 impact of the controversy given the rigorous  
10 nature of our standards?

11 I mean, I -- I don't -- I don't want  
12 to suggest that the legislature is engaging in  
13 some kind of a gambit, but maybe it was a  
14 sincere effort to make our workload better, but  
15 it -- it -- it is not totally -- the case is not  
16 totally out of, you know, any significance at  
17 all, I don't think.

18 MS. HEINTZ: Your Honor, I would have  
19 two responses.

20 First, I would just point out that  
21 Washington's legislature is just a part-time  
22 legislature. They only meet for a couple of  
23 months each year. And so, since the last time  
24 the legislature met and the legislation --  
25 legislative session that started earlier this

1 year, there have been a number of significant  
2 events that have crystallized and narrowed the  
3 federal government's complaints -- claims. And  
4 so the state legislature was responding in good  
5 faith to those developments and -- and trying to  
6 ensure the continuity of benefits.

7 But, as to your other question, Your  
8 Honor -- my apologies, your other question was  
9 about the state --

10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Don't expect  
11 me to remember it.

12 (Laughter.)

13 MS. HEINTZ: When the state  
14 legislature acts here or about the retroactive  
15 application.

16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Right.

17 MS. HEINTZ: This is a much more  
18 attenuated case than this Court considered in  
19 the New York State Rifle Association.

20 Here, there is no claim of a live  
21 controversy in the case-in-chief. The federal  
22 government only sought an invalidation and a  
23 declaratory judgment. They asserted no damages  
24 here. They're not claiming they can assert  
25 damages. So they're talking about potential

1 collateral consequences in other cases that are  
2 based on a number -- a series of speculative  
3 events that might occur in the future.

4           If a office worker tries to reopen  
5 their case, if the Washington courts determine  
6 that there is no -- that the statute -- the new  
7 statute and the old statute are not coextensive,  
8 if that office worker's claim falls within the  
9 gap of the coverage, if Washington courts do not  
10 apply res judicata to preclude relitigation of  
11 their claims, then maybe there might be some  
12 ongoing application.

13           But that is not the type of live case  
14 or controversy and present controversy that this  
15 Court has ever held as sufficient for Article  
16 III purposes.

17           JUSTICE BARRETT: Counsel, if you say  
18 it's so clear, I mean, I thought the government  
19 made what I thought was a decent point in its  
20 letter response. You didn't identify this  
21 retroactivity argument until your fourth  
22 submission regarding mootness. And if it was  
23 that clear, why did you wait so long to make it?

24           MS. HEINTZ: Yes, Your Honor. And the  
25 state sincerely regrets that and wishes that we

1 had raised that issue sooner.

2 To be clear, the state understood  
3 immediately that this statute was retroactive.  
4 What took a little longer to understand and  
5 which we learned in the course of implementing  
6 the law was that the state courts would apply  
7 this retroactive legislation to all pending  
8 claims on appeal, even if it means changing the  
9 outcome of the litigation.

10 And that was an oversight, but there  
11 is no uncertainty in the state of that law.  
12 That is settled Washington law. It follows  
13 settled federal law. There is no real ambiguity  
14 about the application of that law.

15 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, one of the  
16 arguments you make in your briefing is that even  
17 if we find that this does not raise to our very  
18 high bar of mootness that we should vacate this  
19 case. And I want to know whether you found any  
20 precedent for us to do something like that at  
21 this stage.

22 MS. HEINTZ: Well, Your Honor, there  
23 is certainly precedent that the Court has broad  
24 jurisdiction to -- to decide the issues that  
25 sort of merit this Court's consideration. And I

1 think particularly where, as here, it would  
2 require invalidating the laws of a sovereign  
3 state, there are factors that would suggest that  
4 this Court, even if it doesn't find it moot,  
5 certainly finds that the stakes have been  
6 substantially decreased, and it does not warrant  
7 invalidating a state statute.

8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I -- I --

9 MS. HEINTZ: Part --

10 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- I understand the  
11 argument that we might dismiss the case if -- if  
12 it's not moot but -- but for some reason no  
13 longer of great significance. And I -- I think  
14 that was your response to Justice Kagan.

15 But you're asking us to vacate a  
16 judgment, and if it isn't moot and it isn't  
17 wrong, on what authority could we do so?

18 MS. HEINTZ: Because that is what the  
19 Court has done in the past when there's been a  
20 change of the legislative scheme. That is the  
21 reason that the case has been mooted out. So --

22 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, moot --  
23 mootness, yes.

24 MS. HEINTZ: Yeah. Oh --

25 JUSTICE GORSUCH: But I think Justice



1 Kagan's question -- and this is -- this is why  
2 I'm -- I'm popping up -- is I think Justice  
3 Kagan's question, if I understand it correctly,  
4 is suppose it isn't moot. Suppose we have a  
5 live controversy, small though it may be, some  
6 still live, all right, and suppose we think the  
7 judgment below is correct.

8 How can we vacate it?

9 MS. HEINTZ: The Court would have -- I  
10 don't know the -- the grounds on which this  
11 Court would vacate it.

12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Neither do I.  
13 That's why I'm asking you.

14 (Laughter.)

15 MS. HEINTZ: Understood. Understood,  
16 Your Honor.

17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. All right.  
18 If you don't know the answer to that question,  
19 good. That makes me feel better because I don't  
20 either. All right.

21 MS. HEINTZ: Thank --

22 JUSTICE BREYER: Can I ask you, what  
23 they say -- and, look, there are -- we assume  
24 this new law sweeps back and avoids this  
25 problem, okay? But they say there are 66

1 people, maybe there are a few more, a few less,  
2 there's 66 people who worked at Hanford. They  
3 sued under the own -- old law. They got  
4 compensated under the Washington statute and  
5 those are on appeal.

6 And you say do not worry because, as  
7 to those 66 cases, this new law will come along,  
8 and since it says it's retroactive, it will  
9 apply to them too, and they'll follow that and  
10 the thing will be wiped out.

11 All right. But they say: Read the  
12 new law and read the old law. The old law  
13 applies where there is -- what is it? It's --  
14 it's -- it's geographically defined the area  
15 where it applies, it's Hanford's decision,  
16 geographic areas which collectively span  
17 hundreds of miles. The new law applies to  
18 workers who work at any structure and its lands.

19 So, when I read that, I think maybe  
20 there are several federal workers who are busy  
21 on a river at Hanford cleaning out muskrat nets  
22 -- nests, okay, and they are nowhere near a  
23 structure where particular forms of waste are  
24 disposed of, except -- except by the muskrats,  
25 which have nothing to do with this, okay?

1                   So they say: Well, how do we know  
2 they're going to be wiped out? And you say:  
3 Well, because there's clear Washington law on  
4 that subject.

5                   I would be willing to bet that there  
6 isn't clear law on the geographical scope of  
7 muskrat nets -- nests in the State of  
8 Washington. So, when I read that, I thought: I  
9 don't know. And, therefore, I couldn't.

10                   Now that's my problem with your  
11 argument, and if it's a real problem, well, then  
12 I can't really say it's moot.

13                   MS. HEINTZ: I understand, Your Honor,  
14 and there are actually two separate mootness  
15 arguments here. The much more straightforward  
16 argument is that because this law applies  
17 retroactively, whether or not the worker who has  
18 a pending claim, whether they can continue to  
19 assert that claim under the new law will be  
20 determined solely by application of that new  
21 law.

22                   It requires no reference to the old  
23 law at all. You just have to look at the  
24 geographic scope of the new law. If they have a  
25 claim --

1 JUSTICE BREYER: These claims they  
2 already got. They were paid. And the  
3 government wants its money back.

4 MS. HEINTZ: Yes, Your Honor, but the  
5 retroactive application means that it says, oh,  
6 the new law didn't -- the old law doesn't exist.  
7 And so, if they have a claim under the new law,  
8 they can proceed. If they don't, they -- they  
9 can't.

10 JUSTICE BREYER: Oh, I get it. Okay.

11 MS. HEINTZ: Yeah.

12 JUSTICE BREYER: So your point is  
13 Washington law is absolutely clear. This is a  
14 situation, it said, retroactive in the new law.  
15 So even if you won in 14 courts in -- because  
16 they're stacked up there in Washington, and  
17 you're now at Court Number 13 and, yeah, you  
18 won, you won, you won, bad luck, the  
19 government's going to come in and we will say in  
20 -- the government will say only the new law  
21 applies; it doesn't matter whether you're  
22 working on muskrat nests or any -- either you  
23 were or you weren't. And if you were, then bad  
24 luck. And if you weren't -- okay.

25 MS. HEINTZ: Exactly.

1 JUSTICE BREYER: And the authority for  
2 that under Washington law is?

3 MS. HEINTZ: Estate of Hemberton,  
4 which follows the Pluit case.

5 JUSTICE BREYER: Okay. Look at --

6 MS. HEINTZ: And that is settled law,  
7 and it's settled in multiple different cases.

8 JUSTICE BREYER: Got it.

9 MS. HEINTZ: So these are two separate  
10 mootness arguments.

11 JUSTICE ALITO: I -- I appreciate your  
12 concern that we not exceed our Article III  
13 jurisdiction and decide something that's not a  
14 live case or controversy. But, other than that  
15 abstract concern, why do you care? If this old  
16 law is void, dead, has no effect, why are you  
17 fighting so hard to prevent us from considering  
18 its status?

19 MS. HEINTZ: Your Honor, I mean, the  
20 state has an interest in ensuring that this  
21 Court address live cases or controversies. And  
22 -- and we do still believe that the way -- the  
23 old law fell within the scope of the waiver.  
24 It's just no longer a live case or controversy.

25 But, as acknowledged, the waiver

1 language is very broad. It uses the term  
2 "exclusive jurisdiction of the state." That  
3 language does not really permit distinguishing  
4 between different types of intergovernmental  
5 immunity, as -- as would be suggested by the  
6 government.

7 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, do you think it  
8 allows -- it allows a state to single out a  
9 federal facility by name?

10 MS. HEINTZ: Your Honor, it could do  
11 that -- if the state could do that with respect  
12 to a private actor, which we think the state  
13 could, then it is permitted by -- under this  
14 waiver provision.

15 And I would just note that at the time  
16 that this waiver statute was initially passed in  
17 1936, states had already adopted workers'  
18 compensation schemes that chose -- that treated  
19 different employers differently based on their  
20 circumstances.

21 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, the state could  
22 single out a private facility, and that -- the  
23 only -- what would be the defense against that?  
24 A rational basis economic -- equal protection  
25 review. That's it. So, basically, you think

1 that this means nothing.

2 MS. HEINTZ: I think that this waiver  
3 permits differential treatment of the federal  
4 government because it permits everything that  
5 the state could do with respect to a private  
6 actor.

7 JUSTICE KAGAN: And it could do that  
8 --

9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Why --

10 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- with respect to  
11 federal employees, yes, not just employees of  
12 contractors?

13 MS. HEINTZ: No, Your Honor. The  
14 federal employees are governed by a separate  
15 federal statute, the Federal Employee  
16 Compensation Act, which has a preemption  
17 provision. So this statute, even from the time  
18 it was first passed, only ever applied to  
19 federal contractors, which are private  
20 employers. And so Congress understood that at  
21 the time --

22 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, but if you look  
23 at the language of this statute and if you take  
24 it to be as broad as you say the language is,  
25 why wouldn't -- why would preemption principles

1 apply?

2 MS. HEINTZ: Your Honor, because  
3 preemption -- I have two responses, but, first,  
4 preemption applies even under the state's  
5 exclusive jurisdiction. So what you're looking  
6 at is what the state could do with respect to a  
7 private actor on state land.

8 Even in those situations, the state  
9 cannot conflict with federal law. It is still  
10 bound to ensure that it doesn't interfere or  
11 conflict with federal law. It would similarly  
12 -- those preemption principles would apply under  
13 this.

14 And so, as this Court recognized in  
15 North Dakota v. United States, preemption and  
16 intergovernmental immunity are two separate  
17 obstacles or barriers to state limit --  
18 regulation of federal contractors.

19 JUSTICE BARRETT: I don't understand  
20 where it is that the state has exclusive state  
21 jurisdiction. Maybe I'm just being dense about  
22 this, but it seems to me like the Supremacy  
23 Clause stretches everywhere.

24 So you just said in response to  
25 Justice Kagan that preemption wouldn't apply if



1 it was the state's exclusive jurisdiction.  
2 Wouldn't that presuppose that Congress had  
3 already waived some sort of immunity or already  
4 said we just cede our authority over this  
5 particular piece of territory to the state?

6 MS. HEINTZ: Your Honor, preemption  
7 principles would apply. So this does not waive  
8 preemption. This waives only intergovernmental  
9 immunity and territorial jurisdiction, and those  
10 are incidents of federal jurisdiction.

11 But even in the state's exclusive  
12 jurisdiction, when it's regulating a private  
13 actor on state land, it is still bound to comply  
14 with other federal statutes. So --

15 JUSTICE BARRETT: But the state  
16 doesn't have exclusive jurisdiction, right,  
17 except insofar as Congress may allow it to?

18 MS. HEINTZ: Right, Your Honor, and so  
19 the "exclusive jurisdiction of the state," that  
20 term is reference to a virtual control that  
21 generally occurs with state regulation of  
22 private actors on state land.

23 There is still, like, constitutional  
24 limitations and limitations of federal statutes  
25 that apply in those situations, but territorial

1 limitations and limitations of intergovernmental  
2 immunity would not apply.

3 JUSTICE BREYER: Well, how could --

4 JUSTICE BARRETT: But you're saying  
5 that this would be so -- that -- that -- that  
6 the federal government was so deferential to the  
7 states here that if we read the waiver as you  
8 propose, Congress is essentially saying to the  
9 states you can impose whatever rules of workers'  
10 compensation liability you want.

11 So, here, you could say it was strict  
12 -- strict liability because this was a really  
13 hazardous site, and so, if there's any kind of  
14 injury suffered by a federal contractor on this  
15 site, you know, there might be an award of a  
16 million dollars, that would be fine.

17 MS. HEINTZ: It would depend on if the  
18 state could do that with a private regulator.

19 JUSTICE BARRETT: Let's say it could.

20 MS. HEINTZ: Yes. So, in that  
21 circumstance, this doctrine would not provide a  
22 limitation. If there was a conflict with some  
23 other federal statute -- and there are often  
24 federal statutes at play when you're talking  
25 about significant federal functions or federal

1 enclaves. There's all kinds of statutes that  
2 would be at play.

3           If there was a conflict with one of  
4 those federal statutes, then that would still be  
5 a limitation. But intergovernmental immunity  
6 would not be that limitation. And Congress was  
7 just making the determination that states could  
8 use the full authority that they have over any  
9 private or -- or state actor or employee and  
10 apply the same rules that they would apply in  
11 those circumstances --

12           JUSTICE BREYER: Yeah, but there is a  
13 different --

14           MS. HEINTZ: -- to the private --

15           JUSTICE BREYER: -- I mean, that is  
16 exactly the question that is bothering me. I  
17 mean, one day in the legislature a group of  
18 federal employees from Hanford show up and they  
19 say: You know, it's tough being a federal  
20 employee. People in the state make much more  
21 money. We have more dangerous jobs. And the  
22 state laws generally are pretty fair to their  
23 workers, but try working for the federal  
24 government. This is supposed to strike a chord  
25 of agreement.

1           So they say: Now you can't do much  
2 for us because you're a state legislature, but  
3 I'll tell you one thing you can do. What you  
4 could do for you is you give us, if we're hurt,  
5 and define hurt very broadly, please, so that if  
6 we're even hurt a little bit, we get millions.

7           Now we've got to watch that number  
8 because -- but -- but, really, it's high. And  
9 you know the wonderful thing? If you make  
10 private employers pay this in the State of  
11 Washington, they are voters, so you have to  
12 worry about them.

13           And if the government pays for it in  
14 the state, well, that's a problem, you're going  
15 to have to raise taxes. But do you know who's  
16 paying for this one? The feds. The feds will  
17 pay, the taxpayers in the other states. So  
18 let's go and really hit the ceiling and we'll  
19 really pay a lot of money and we won't have to  
20 pay for it.

21           Okay. I know projects like that. I  
22 won't say which they are, but there we are.

23           Now, to me, did I think Congress  
24 intended that? Hmm. It's going to take quite a  
25 lot of doing before I think they wanted that

1 result. Now that's -- that's where I am. So  
2 what do you think?

3 MS. HEINTZ: Understood, Your Honor.  
4 Congress has the ultimate political check here.  
5 They can always amend this statute, but they  
6 used very broad language. They used the term  
7 "exclusive jurisdiction of the state."

8 They knew it was very broad language.  
9 That exact term was used in Merrick v. Garland  
10 -- Garrick, so the case that they were  
11 responding to used exactly that same type of  
12 language. They understood that they were  
13 granting a broad authority.

14 If they don't like the policy later,  
15 they can amend the statute. But that is not a  
16 basis to ignore the plain terms of this  
17 language, which allows a state to treat the  
18 premises as if it were under the exclusive  
19 jurisdiction of the state.

20 JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. Heintz, I think  
21 the question was really a question of, like, you  
22 know, maybe you're right about the text, but why  
23 would Congress have done that? I mean, we can't  
24 really believe that that's what Congress meant  
25 to do.

1           And if you take all the other statutes  
2       which you gave us and you said, look, the text  
3       is different, and you're right, the text is  
4       different.

5           But, at the same time, we know that  
6       Congress has a kind of modus operandi with  
7       respect to this, and it basically always says  
8       whatever you do elsewhere you can do for  
9       facilities like Hanford.

10          It doesn't say, you know, whatever you  
11       could dream of doing elsewhere but actually  
12       wouldn't you could do to federal facilities.  
13       And I think that that's what Justice Breyer is  
14       asking. Like, what sensible Congress would have  
15       written the statute the way you say it ought to  
16       be read?

17          MS. HEINTZ: Well, there number -- are  
18       a number of points, Your Honor. They were  
19       regulating primarily private employers, and so  
20       they could have reasonably assumed that those  
21       private employers who act as federal contractors  
22       did have some say in the legislative process,  
23       which is evident here too. The -- the federal  
24       contractors did participate in the state  
25       legislative process.

1           And, second, Congress could very well  
2 conclude that the type of workers' compensation  
3 schemes that had already been enacted by the  
4 states, which allows distinguishing between  
5 different employers based on the specific risks  
6 of that employer, based on their specific safety  
7 profiles, based on all of the distinctive  
8 features of that employer, that that should  
9 apply with as much force to these private  
10 entities that were governed by this waiver.

11           And -- and that's a very reasonable  
12 decision. Maybe Congress did not anticipate  
13 that it would be taken this far, but we're not  
14 really doing anything differently than what was  
15 permitted before in that Hanford is a unique  
16 site. It is the most toxic workplace in  
17 America.

18           There -- you know, the employees there  
19 are around 56 million gallons of toxic and  
20 radiological hazard waste and they have unique  
21 exposures. And -- and another thing is that  
22 they can't always prove what they were exposed  
23 to, and that's one of the other unique dangers  
24 here.

25           And so Congress could very well have

1 concluded that the federal contractors, these  
2 private employees -- employers could take care  
3 of themselves and that there was every reason to  
4 allow states to regulate these private employers  
5 based on their specific circumstances.

6 JUSTICE BARRETT: Ms. Heintz, what do  
7 you have to say to the government's language or  
8 focus on the language that makes it seem like  
9 this is aimed not at the legislature -- and by  
10 "it," I mean 3172 -- is aimed not at state  
11 legislatures but at the state bodies who enforce  
12 otherwise generally applicable laws?

13 MS. HEINTZ: So the argument seems  
14 primarily directed towards the word "apply."  
15 And I think that argument --

16 JUSTICE BARRETT: Well, I think  
17 enforcing and requiring compliance was too,  
18 right?

19 MS. HEINTZ: Yes. But that language  
20 presupposes there's a statute that's already  
21 been enacted. And the federal government  
22 doesn't argue that this language freezes the  
23 laws in place as of 1936, which would be the  
24 consequence, I think, of not permitting states  
25 to enact new laws.



1 JUSTICE BARRETT: I guess I don't  
2 understand why that position would freeze the  
3 law. I agree with you, and the government, Mr.  
4 Stewart, said that that's not their position,  
5 and I don't see how it could be.

6 But, if the statute is aimed at the  
7 state authority charged with enforcing and  
8 requiring compliance with, that description  
9 seems to fit, you know, the executive agency.

10 MS. HEINTZ: Because, at the time that  
11 this law was enacted, there was a broad  
12 prohibition on any form of regulation of the  
13 federal government or those with which it dealt.

14 And so, if Congress intended at that  
15 time for this language to prohibit state  
16 legislators from doing anything, then they --  
17 then this would have very little meaning. It  
18 would only have applied to the laws that were  
19 existing at the time. It could --

20 JUSTICE BARRETT: So "apply," then  
21 address what you were getting ready to say about  
22 the word "apply."

23 MS. HEINTZ: That the word "apply"  
24 really does presuppose that there's been an  
25 enactment -- and -- of a law. And so what you

1 really need to do is see what kind of law can --  
2 can the states enact and then apply.

3 And, really, there's no -- the word --  
4 term "exclusive jurisdiction" does not allow for  
5 a distinction between different types of  
6 intergovernmental immunity.

7 This Court in Goodyear has already  
8 held that this is a waiver of intergovernmental  
9 immunity. It's a clear and unambiguous waiver  
10 at least as with respect to direct regulation.

11 And this language really doesn't allow  
12 you to distinguish between these different  
13 types. If the state can directly regulate under  
14 its exclusive jurisdiction, it can also, you  
15 know, remove all other incidents of federal  
16 jurisdiction, including all of intergovernmental  
17 immunity.

18 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I just want to make  
19 sure I understand your mootness argument. Sorry  
20 to circle back.

21 But your first point as I take it is  
22 that in this case, the government only sought a  
23 declaratory judgment and injunction, and there's  
24 nothing to declare and there's nothing to enjoin  
25 because the statute's gone, point one.

1 MS. HEINTZ: Yes.

2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Point two, with  
3 respect to the ongoing other cases, you're  
4 confident you're representing to the Court that  
5 Washington state courts will retroactively apply  
6 the new law and not the old law?

7 MS. HEINTZ: Yes, Your Honor.

8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. And, number  
9 three, if you're wrong about that, the  
10 government can raise its arguments there?

11 MS. HEINTZ: Yes, Your Honor.

12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And number four,  
13 that with the closed cases, they're just closed  
14 and the government lost its chance to make those  
15 arguments because they're final judgments?

16 MS. HEINTZ: Yes, Your Honor.

17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: All right. I got  
18 it. Thank you.

19 MS. HEINTZ: Thank you.

20 JUSTICE KAGAN: Do you think there's  
21 any way of certifying this issue to the  
22 Washington Supreme Court about what they will  
23 do?

24 MS. HEINTZ: I understand that that  
25 has happened before in the past. It -- it --

1 it's been a long time, but I -- I believe there  
2 is a -- a procedure available to do that, yes.

3 I don't think it's necessary. The  
4 state law is very clear on this point. The  
5 federal government is not really challenging  
6 that law. They're not challenging the actual  
7 language of the statute, which applies  
8 retroactively.

9 They're raising sort of an inchoate  
10 uncertainty, but that isn't sufficient, I think,  
11 in a -- to present a live case or controversy,  
12 particularly when that alleged uncertainty deals  
13 with a collateral case, not this case-in-chief.

14 Here, there is no ongoing violation.  
15 There are no damages. And so, in this case,  
16 there is no reasonable likelihood of an ongoing  
17 effect.

18 JUSTICE ALITO: But what if your  
19 prediction turns out to be wrong?

20 MS. HEINTZ: Then the federal  
21 government can raise that issue in the cases,  
22 the 66 live cases.

23 JUSTICE ALITO: Yeah. And then what?

24 MS. HEINTZ: And then -- and then the  
25 arguments will be made. But, in that context,

1 the state will also be arguing, as would the  
2 federal government, this does apply  
3 retroactively.

4 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, no, play it all  
5 out. So they raise it, and the state court says  
6 no, the prediction was wrong. Then what?

7 MS. HEINTZ: Then it would -- at least  
8 at that point, you will know there's a live case  
9 or controversy.

10 JUSTICE ALITO: Yeah. And then what?  
11 They have to file a new cert petition?

12 MS. HEINTZ: If the state courts  
13 decide similarly, given the history in this  
14 case. It could happen. But I think there is no  
15 reasonable likelihood of that happening, that  
16 these -- these -- again, multiple levels of  
17 speculation that are built in, because even in  
18 the context where there's no retroactive  
19 application, we still have our argument that the  
20 statutes are coextensive.

21 And even if the courts reject that,  
22 that particular worker's claim needs to fall in  
23 the gap of that coverage. We're talking a  
24 closed universe of a very small number of  
25 claims. So there are multiple layers in which

1 this gets resolved based on state law grounds  
2 that never have to reach the invalidity of the  
3 underlying statute.

4 And so, given all of that layer of  
5 speculation, it really isn't sufficient to  
6 establish a live case or controversy in this  
7 case.

8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,  
9 counsel.

10 Justice Thomas?

11 Justice Breyer, anything further?

12 Justice Alito, Anything?

13 Justice Gorsuch? Nothing?

14 Thank you, counsel.

15 MS. HEINTZ: Thank you.

16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Rebuttal,  
17 Mr. Stewart?

18 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF MALCOLM L. STEWART

19 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER

20 MR. STEWART: Thank you, Mr. Chief  
21 Justice.

22 First, Respondents have said -- have  
23 characterized our challenge as focusing on the  
24 potential collateral consequences of HB 1723.  
25 But, when we sought declaratory and injunctive

1 relief at the outset against enforcement and  
2 application of HB 1723, that is a law that is  
3 applied and enforced in the context of  
4 individual benefits determinations.

5           And so the very thing we were asking  
6 for was an order saying don't apply and enforce  
7 these unique standards in determining individual  
8 claimants' entitlement to benefits. And our  
9 position is there is still a sufficient  
10 possibility that this will wind up happening,  
11 that the case is not moot.

12           The second thing is that, Justice  
13 Kagan, you referred to the possibility of  
14 certification. And, certainly, there is a  
15 process by which this Court can certify state  
16 law questions to the -- the state supreme court.  
17 It's often done when the Court feels that it  
18 needs to know what state law dictates before it  
19 can resolve the federal question.

20           I've never known of it being done to  
21 inform the Court's determination whether a case  
22 is moot, and I think that's partly because cases  
23 like Mission Products really set the -- the  
24 applicable framework. Mission Products says the  
25 very existence of substantial uncertainty is a

1 basis for finding the Court not to be moot. It  
2 is often the case that when the Court grants  
3 cert on -- on a precise question, the ultimate  
4 practical consequences of its ruling are not  
5 clear because those depend on subsequent  
6 determinations as to other questions. That  
7 doesn't make the case moot.

8           The third thing, Justice Gorsuch, you  
9 asked about what would the authority be to  
10 vacate. We -- we think that the Court has  
11 recognized a -- a broad authority to vacate  
12 based on the principles of equity. Often, when  
13 the Court has vacated judgments below, it's done  
14 so in summary orders, and, therefore, the -- the  
15 legal principles have not been fleshed out as  
16 much as they could be.

17           But we would also say, if there is  
18 doubt about the Court's authority to vacate, the  
19 Court certainly shouldn't leave the judgment  
20 intact. It would really create dismal  
21 incentives to tell a state that if you can  
22 reduce the practical significance of the  
23 question presented enough for the Court to DIG  
24 but not enough for the court case to be moot,  
25 you can preserve your favorable judgment.



1           The fourth thing, just as a point of  
2 clarification, Justice Kagan, you asked about  
3 federal employees. Section 3172(c) says that  
4 the authorization doesn't disturb Section 8101  
5 of Title 5, and that's the Federal Employees'  
6 Compensation Act. It's apparent on the face of  
7 3172 that this doesn't affect federal employees.  
8 It affects only federal contract workers.

9           But the reason that the Court has  
10 always framed the antidiscrimination principle  
11 as no discrimination against the federal  
12 government or those with whom it deals is that  
13 it's often predictable that when there is  
14 discrimination against federal contractors, the  
15 costs of that discrimination will ultimately be  
16 borne by the United States.

17           And the last thing, in response to  
18 Justice Breyer's question, our complaint here is  
19 not that Washington is treated -- treating the  
20 workers too generously. If Washington wanted to  
21 spend its own funds to benefit a class of  
22 Washington residents that it believed had not  
23 been treated as well as they should have by the  
24 federal government, its authority to spend state  
25 treasury funds wouldn't be impacted by

1 principles of intergovernmental immunity.

2           The problem here is that Washington  
3 has decided that the United States should be  
4 doing more for this class of Washington  
5 residents, but it's not within the power of a  
6 single state to determine how much the federal  
7 government should be doing to solve a national  
8 problem.

9           Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.

10           CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,  
11 counsel. The case is submitted.

12           (Whereupon, at 11:03 a.m., the case  
13 was submitted.)

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