SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

IN IUE	SUPREME COURT OF THE	UNITED STATES
		_
UNITED STATES	POSTAL SERVICE,)
ET AL.,)
	Petitioners,)
V) No. 24-351
LEBENE KONAN,)
	Respondent.)

Pages: 1 through 73

Place: Washington, D.C.

Date: October 8, 2025

HERITAGE REPORTING CORPORATION

Official Reporters
1150 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 305
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 628-4888
www.hrcreporters.com

1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE U	NITED STATES
2		
3	UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE,)
4	ET AL.,)
5	Petitioners,)
6	V.) No. 24-351
7	LEBENE KONAN,)
8	Respondent.)
9		
10		
11	Washington, D.C.	
12	Wednesday, October 8	, 2025
13		
14	The above-entitled matter	came on for
15	oral argument before the Supreme	Court of the
16	United States at 11:50 a.m.	
17		
18	APPEARANCES:	
19	FREDERICK LIU, Assistant to the	Solicitor General,
20	Department of Justice, Washi	ngton, D.C.; on behalf
21	of the Petitioners.	
22	EASHA ANAND, ESQUIRE, Menlo Park	, California; on
23	behalf of the Respondent.	
24		
25		

1	CONTENTS	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	PAGE:
3	FREDERICK LIU, ESQ.	
4	On behalf of the Petitioners	3
5	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	
6	EASHA ANAND, ESQ.	
7	On behalf of the Respondent	41
8	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF:	
9	FREDERICK LIU, ESQ.	
10	On behalf of the Petitioners	68
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(11:50 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear
4	argument next in Case 24-351, United States
5	Postal Service versus Konan.
6	Mr. Liu.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF FREDERICK LIU
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
9	MR. LIU: Mr. Chief Justice, and may
10	it please the Court:
11	The postal exception to the Federal
12	Tort Claims Act preserves the United States'
13	immunity for any claim arising out of the loss,
14	miscarriage, or negligent transmission of mail.
15	Respondent alleges that her mail didn't reach
16	its destination because postal employees
17	intentionally withheld the mail and returned it
18	to sender.
19	That allegation falls within the
20	postal exception for two reasons. First,
21	Respondent alleges a miscarriage of mail. When
22	Congress enacted the FTCA in 1946,
23	"miscarriage" had a specific meaning in the
24	mail context. It meant the failure of
25	something sent to arrive or to be carried

- 1 properly. Indeed, pre-FTCA decisions used
- 2 "miscarriage" to describe the facts alleged
- 3 here, mail that wasn't delivered because it was
- 4 intentionally returned to sender.
- 5 Second, Respondent alleges the loss of
- 6 mail. Her own complaint uses the word "loss,"
- 7 and she doesn't dispute that she alleges a loss
- 8 for purposes of the FTCA's sovereign immunity
- 9 waiver. There's no reason to give "loss" a
- 10 different meaning in the postal exception. In
- 11 fact, the presumption of consistent usage,
- 12 contemporaneous dictionaries, and pre-FTCA
- decisions all support reading "loss" to have
- 14 the same meaning.
- Respondent's claims, therefore,
- satisfy two out of the postal exception's three
- 17 prongs, which is no surprise given that "loss"
- and "miscarriage" were understood to be
- 19 overlapping terms when Congress enacted the
- 20 FTCA. Respondent's contrary view that her
- 21 claims satisfy none of the exception's prongs
- 22 can't be reconciled with that historical
- 23 understanding or with Congress's
- 24 belt-and-suspenders approach to protecting
- 25 postal operations from disruptive damages

- 1 suits.
- 2 I welcome the Court's questions.
- JUSTICE THOMAS: Mr. Liu, what would
- 4 we -- what should we do if we find ourselves in
- 5 equipoise on this?
- 6 MR. LIU: Well, I -- I would hope
- 7 because -- I would hope that the -- there were
- 8 enough votes that there was a judgment as to
- 9 whether the facts here fall within the
- 10 exception, even if there's some disagreement
- 11 about which particular prong it fell in, and
- that that bottom-line judgment would control
- 13 the disposition.
- 14 JUSTICE THOMAS: Do we give any
- special weight because this is a waiver of
- 16 sovereign immunity?
- 17 MR. LIU: Well, this Court in Dolan
- 18 rejected the notion that the exception should
- 19 be interpreted differently because it
- 20 implicates a waiver of sovereign immunity. We
- 21 haven't taken issue with that here.
- We do think, if there is a tie-breaker
- 23 sort of canon at play, it is the canon that
- 24 rules that govern jurisdictional issues -- and
- 25 sovereign immunity, of course, is a

- 1 jurisdictional issue -- that those rules should
- 2 be made as simple as possible.
- And, in our view, we've submitted the
- 4 most simple rule. It's simply the rule this
- 5 Court articulated on page 4 -- 489 of Dolan,
- 6 which is that injuries arising directly or
- 7 consequentially from the mail not arriving at
- 8 all or from the mail arriving late or damaged
- 9 or to the wrong address, fails to get to the
- 10 right address, that those are the types of
- injuries that are covered and it doesn't extend
- 12 any further.
- 13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But a loss
- doesn't typically convey -- I mean,
- 15 technically, I suppose it can -- malfeasance
- 16 involved. I mean, if I say I lost my car,
- people aren't going to think somebody stole his
- 18 car. They're going to think I forgot where it
- 19 was or -- or something like -- like that. In
- other words, it doesn't say something bad has
- 21 happened other than, you know, your own, you
- 22 know, fact of paying attention to something.
- 23 If somebody said I lost my -- I lost
- 24 the mail, I -- I would not think necessarily --
- I wouldn't think right away somebody stole it.

1 MR. LIU: Well, our -- our submission, 2 Mr. Chief Justice, isn't that "loss" 3 necessarily encompasses malfeasance or 4 intentionally conduct -- intentional misconduct, just that it can refer to it. 5 And -- and we know it can refer to --6 7 to both intentional or unintentional conduct because, for one thing, Congress used it that 8 9 way. In Section 1346(b)(1), which is the 10 FTCA's principal provision, the provision that 11 Respondent has to get through just to be able 12 to assert a claim, Congress used the phrase "loss of property" and then made clear that 13 14 those losses encompass deprivations caused 15 intentionally or negligently by federal 16 employees. 17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: But, Mr. Liu, if you 18 agree that "loss" doesn't generally refer to 19 intentional actions and, as the Chief Justice said, generally doesn't refer to them, but we 20 21 all admit it can, what do we do with negligent 2.2 transmission? Why bother with that if loss 23 covers that? There's a lot of surplusage in --24 in your reading of this statute.

Heritage Reporting Corporation

MR. LIU: So --

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Not just with "loss" 2 but with "miscarriage" too for that matter. 3 help me out. 4 MR. LIU: So -- yeah. So I'm happy to go through it. With respect to your specific 5 6 question about any overlap between "loss" and 7 "negligent transmission," we don't think there's any overlap there. We think "loss" 8 9 covers any deprivation, outright deprivation, 10 of mail, just I didn't get the mail, and 11 "negligent transmission" covers I did get the 12 mail, but I got it late or I got it damaged. 13 So we don't think there's any overlap there. 14 You're right that there is overlap in 15 other parts of -- of --16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Like "miscarriage." 17 MR. LIU: "Miscarriage." And --18 and -- and we think what Congress presumably 19 was thinking --20 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Maybe with "negligent transmission" too if transmission 21 22 might include something more than it -- it 23 arrived, if it means it didn't arrive through 24 negligence, it wasn't fully transmitted 25 properly.

```
1
               MR. LIU: That's why we need --
 2
               JUSTICE GORSUCH: So there's --
 3
      there's -- there is still surplusage there too,
 4
      honestly, I think, but -- but certainly with
 5
      "miscarriage."
              MR. LIU: Well, the -- the way I
 6
 7
      would --
               JUSTICE GORSUCH: And -- and if we
 8
 9
     have any presumptions about statutory
10
      interpretation, it's generally to try and give
11
      effect to each of these words, right?
12
               MR. LIU: That -- that's right, but I
13
      think, in this case, you know, the Court has
14
      said that's not the be all/end all. And I
15
     think, in this case, it would be wrong to apply
16
      the -- the surplusage canon here because we
17
     know what the historical meanings of these
18
     words were in 1946. Judicial decisions like
19
      the opinion by -- by Judge Cardozo on the New
20
      York Court of Appeals used these change -- used
21
      some of these terms interchangeably.
2.2
               JUSTICE GORSUCH: All right.
23
              MR. LIU: He referred --
24
               JUSTICE GORSUCH: I'll let you go with
25
      this one then. If we're going to go back to
```

- 1 1946 --
- 2 MR. LIU: Yeah.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- there was a big
- distinction between, gosh, I mean, boy, between
- 5 "miscarriage" and "detention," right? And this
- 6 doesn't strike me as a miscarriage case in
- 7 1946. This strikes me as a detention case in
- 8 1946. If we're going to play -- go back -- and
- 9 I'm -- we should.
- 10 MR. LIU: Yeah.
- 11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: It was an important
- 12 case, but this doesn't strike me as
- 13 miscarriage. If we're going to go to 1946
- 14 under your regulations, it's -- it's a
- 15 detention case.
- MR. LIU: Well, two responses to that.
- 17 I think, just as a definitional matter, there's
- 18 a difference between "miscarriage" and
- 19 "detention." Miscarriage implies that
- something bad happened to the mail. Detention
- 21 might be a perfectly appropriate thing to do to
- the mail.
- 23 But the second point I'd make -- and
- 24 this goes to the historical usage -- is that
- there are cases, and we cite them on page 7 of

- 1 our reply brief, where mail getting stuck at
- 2 the post office, i.e., being detained at the
- 3 post office, is referred to a miscarriage.
- 4 That's the Cardozo case. There, the mail got
- 5 stuck behind a radiator at the post office.
- 6 And the way Judge Cardozo described it was that
- 7 the -- the checks in the mail had miscarried
- 8 for that reason.
- 9 JUSTICE JACKSON: So --
- 10 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Mr. Liu, Justice
- 11 Gorsuch raises an important point about the
- 12 surplusage. On the other hand, I guess
- 13 Congress often drafts things to be redundant
- 14 and overlap, and ordinary people communicate
- that way, particularly when they're giving
- 16 instructions to. So both, you know, Congress
- 17 would much rather have overlap than leave a
- 18 hole.
- 19 MR. LIU: Exactly. And I think there
- 20 are two strong --
- 21 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But how do we
- 22 know -- but, at the same time, we do have the
- 23 surplusage --
- MR. LIU: Right.
- 25 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- canon. I mean,

- 1 the Eskridge book says it's often unrealistic.
- 2 The Scalia book says, you know, sometimes
- 3 drafters do repeat themselves and do include
- 4 words that add nothing of substance. And I
- 5 think that's right, but how do we tell --
- 6 MR. LIU: Yeah. I -- I --
- 7 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- which is which?
- 8 MR. LIU: -- I think, here, there are
- 9 three clues as to why Congress embraced a
- 10 belt-and-suspenders approach. One is the
- 11 historical ordinary meaning and understanding
- 12 of these terms.
- 13 If you look at the dictionaries and
- 14 the dictionaries that existed in 1946, these
- are overlapping terms, and Congress included
- 16 them in this statute anyway.
- 17 The second point I would point to is
- 18 the way -- the way Congress approached the
- 19 intentional tort exception, which is in
- 20 2680(h).
- 21 There, Congress used overlapping
- 22 terms. It included both "deceit" and
- 23 "misrepresentation," even though, as this Court
- 24 pointed out, in page -- Footnote 16 of
- 25 Neustadt, deceit encompassed all kinds of

- 1 misrepresentation. That was the understanding
- 2 in the Restatement (First) of Torts.
- 3 And the last thing I'd point to is
- 4 the importance that Congress attached to the
- 5 postal exception. This was not an afterthought
- 6 exception. This was an exception that was in
- 7 the earliest drafts of the FTCA. It's the very
- 8 second exception listed. And you can
- 9 understand why, in 1946, when writing a letter
- 10 was the only way to communicate in writing,
- 11 that Congress would have wanted to protect that
- 12 postal function.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Counsel, let's
- 14 assume that your definition of "miscarriage" --
- 15 because this is what I'm assuming -- you define
- it as a failure to carry the mail properly.
- 17 Then "loss" to me and "negligent transmission"
- 18 are redundant and useless.
- 19 Congress knew in the customs duties --
- 20 custom-handling exception, which we looked at
- in Kosak, how to write a very broad exception
- that covered everything, intentional and
- unintentional conduct, but it didn't. It chose
- 24 very particular words here.
- 25 And so let me give you some examples

- 1 I'm troubled by, why they would have imagined
- 2 that intentional malfeasance would be accepted
- 3 by this.
- 4 By the way, I think intentional
- 5 malfeasance often will be covered by a
- 6 different exception in the FTCA.
- 7 In some -- in many, some are
- 8 discretionary. In others, they're outside the
- 9 scope of employment. There's a lot of other
- 10 exceptions that cover a lot of the intentional
- 11 misconduct.
- 12 But I'm troubled by this: A postal
- worker refuses to deliver any mail-in ballots
- 14 from a county he associates with a certain
- political view, or, on Election Day, the postal
- 16 worker postmarks some ballots but not others
- because he's favoring one side or another.
- This is a miscarriage, isn't it?
- 19 MR. LIU: Yes.
- 20 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Okay. So that's
- 21 exempted.
- 22 What about when a postal employee
- writes harassing messages on an individual's
- 24 piece of mail every day that he delivers it?
- MR. LIU: I don't --

- 1 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You are a thief.
- 2 You're a baby killer. Whatever other harassing
- 3 messages you want.
- 4 That's a miscarriage. He's not
- 5 carrying the mail properly.
- 6 MR. LIU: I'm struggling with that
- 7 because the -- there's -- there's not really
- 8 anything bad that's happened to the mail in the
- 9 sense that the mail is getting there on time.
- 10 It's getting there. The contents are -- are
- 11 not damaged. It's getting to the right
- 12 address.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But he's not
- 14 carrying it properly, is he?
- 15 MR. LIU: Well, I -- I -- I
- 16 think, when -- when it's being carried
- 17 properly, it's referring to the duty that --
- 18 the duty of carriage that the post office has
- 19 to both the sender and the recipient.
- 20 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And -- and that
- includes not letting the mail intentionally be
- 22 damaged. You've got to --
- 23 MR. LIU: Yeah, I think that -- I
- 24 think that would be the key question --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: All right. How

- 1 about when -- how about a postal --
- 2 MR. LIU: -- in that hypothetical,
- 3 whether you could count that as damage.
- 4 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: How about when a
- 5 postal employee refuses to take a person's mail
- 6 in a rural community. There's a post office
- 7 there. There's -- he's supposed to do it. But
- 8 he forces her to drive 30 minutes one way to a
- 9 post office who will take her mail.
- 10 MR. LIU: If -- if it's a situation
- 11 where the sender has dropped off the mail and
- 12 the post office --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: No, don't -- don't
- 14 qualify it. He just doesn't like this person,
- 15 refuses --
- MR. LIU: Oh. No, no, we don't -- if
- 17 the mail hasn't entered the mail system --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, it's there.
- 19 MR. LIU: No.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But he's refusing
- 21 to take it to her. That's a miscarriage
- according to your definition.
- 23 MR. LIU: I don't think so because I
- 24 think this implicates the line that this Court
- 25 drew --

1	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Counsel, you're
2	fighting the hypotheticals because you
3	recognize, I think, that inherent in using the
4	word "negligent transmission" there is a sense
5	that Congress is using this as a verb to start
6	with and that Congress is looking at these
7	situations in their generally accepted terms.
8	As Justice Gorsuch said, generally, we think of
9	loss as negligence.
LO	Miscarriage, in all the cases you
L1	cite, they all involved non-intentional conduct
L2	except for one, which was a case 50 years
L3	before which really didn't have to do with
L4	miscarriage. It was a claim between newspapers
L5	or a newspaper claiming that the post office
L6	should have selected it to transmit a message
L7	and not someone else. And so, even in that
L8	case, it wasn't really a miscarriage of the
L9	advertisement. It was a failure-to-deal case.
20	So I guess I'm having a problem with
21	your starting proposition, which is that these
22	terms have to encompass both intentional and
23	unin or negligent conduct.
24	MR. LIU: Yeah. So, with the
) E	unintentional unintentional line I would

- 1 make three quick points.
- 2 One is that if you look at the
- 3 traditional legal authorities, we look at the
- 4 evidence of common usage at the time of 1946,
- 5 none of those authorities draw a line between
- 6 intentional and unintentional.
- 7 That's true of the dictionaries.
- 8 That's true of the decisions. We cite on
- 9 page 9 a number of decisions that use
- 10 "miscarriage" intentionally, to refer to
- 11 intentional conduct.
- 12 Later in our reply brief, we have
- 13 examples of --
- 14 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: If all of those
- 15 cases could be distinguished, do you lose?
- 16 MR. LIU: I don't think so. I mean,
- 17 you know, we cite a decision involving loss
- that involves a postal employee stealing the
- 19 mail. I can't think of anything more willful
- 20 than that.
- 21 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, that would
- 22 be outside the scope of his duties, so that
- 23 would be exempted under a different exception.
- MR. LIU: Well, but I think it still
- goes to what the ordinary meaning of "loss" was

- 1 at the time. Maybe another part of the FTCA
- would kick it out, but our point is that "loss"
- 3 had a settled historical meaning and it covered
- 4 intentional conduct.
- 5 JUSTICE KAGAN: So, Mr. Liu, I mean,
- 6 this is "loss" in a particular context. So
- 7 there are three things, basically, that the
- 8 Postal Service can do to your letters that
- 9 we're not going to allow you to sue about.
- 10 So here are the three things.
- 11 They can negligently transmit your
- 12 letters, and we're not going to allow you to
- 13 sue about that.
- Or they can lose your letters, lose
- 15 your letters there, definitely not intentional.
- 16 It's like you lost your keys, you lost your
- pen, they lost your letters. We're not going
- 18 to allow you to sue about that.
- 19 And then there's this "miscarriage"
- 20 word that's stuck in the middle of them that's
- 21 kind of like, ooh, what does that mean? They
- 22 miscarried your letters. It seems kind of a
- 23 weird word.
- 24 But I think I agree with you when you
- said these are supposed to be overlapping and

- 1 there's -- it's not a big deal if there's some
- 2 redundancy here. I think that this is -- if
- 3 you look at this statement, it's kind of words
- 4 are known by the company they keep.
- 5 On one side, they're losing your
- 6 letters. On the other side, they're
- 7 negligently transmitting your letters. And on
- 8 the other side, they're miscarrying your
- 9 letters. And miscarrying basically has the
- 10 same kind of meaning, which is they did
- 11 something mistakenly with respect to your
- 12 letters. And that's the way that seems most
- 13 natural to me to read this sentence.
- MR. LIU: And I would say a few things
- in response.
- 16 One is I think that noscitur intuition
- 17 works only if you -- as I think your premise of
- 18 your question did -- buy in that "loss" refers
- only to unintentional conduct. We think that
- 20 contradicts the meaning of "loss" in the FTCA's
- 21 sovereign immunity waiver, and there's
- 22 really --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Yeah, I don't think
- that that's an argument that works because, if
- you look at the sovereign immunity waiver, it's

- 1 using "loss" in an entirely different way and
- 2 context. It says the district court shall have
- 3 jurisdiction over claims for injury or loss of
- 4 property or personal injury or death.
- 5 So there, "loss" is functioning as
- 6 just like one of a number of different kinds of
- 7 harms that a person can suffer and bring suit
- 8 about.
- 9 But this is, like, losing your mail.
- 10 That's what this is about. And when you lose
- 11 your mail, you don't, like, destroy your mail
- or tear up your mail or purposefully put them
- in the trash chute. You lost your mail. They
- 14 lost your mail. The Postal Service lost your
- 15 mail. Sorry, you can't sue about that.
- 16 MR. LIU: But I -- I -- I think -- I
- 17 think that setup reveals one of the debates, is
- 18 who -- who lost what. I think it is quite
- 19 natural to say that Respondent lost her mail.
- 20 Indeed, she uses that same phrase --
- 21 phraseology in her --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Oh, this has got to
- 23 be, Mr. Liu, that the post office is doing
- these things. The post office is negligently
- transmitting, the post office is miscarrying,

- 1 and the post office is losing your mail. And
- 2 notwithstanding that the post office did all
- 3 those things to you, you can't sue.
- 4 MR. LIU: I -- I don't think -- I
- 5 don't think there's a reason to shift
- 6 perspective from the waiver to the exception.
- 7 I think --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: You're -- you're --
- 9 these are three parallel terms. You're
- shifting perspective from "loss" as opposed to
- "miscarriage" or "negligently" -- or "negligent
- 12 transmission." These three terms are the terms
- 13 that have to be read in parallel form. The
- 14 post office is doing these three things to your
- mail, and you can't sue about any of them.
- 16 MR. LIU: Well, Your Honor, I think
- 17 the better way to read them is that these are
- three harms, just as in the waiver, "loss" --
- 19 "loss" is paired with injury in the waiver.
- 20 "Loss" is paired here with two other types of
- 21 more specific terms that describe injury to
- 22 mail, i.e., "miscarriage" and "negligent
- 23 transmission."
- Your Honor suggested that if you
- translated them into verbs, there's some

- 1 parallel structure. That's actually not true.
- 2 I mean, no one in 1946 would have said the
- 3 government miscarried the mail. The mail never
- 4 took the government or the postal worker as its
- 5 subject. The mail -- when "miscarry" is used
- 6 as a verb, it takes the mail as its subject.
- 7 JUSTICE JACKSON: Okay. But, Mr. --
- 8 MR. LIU: And that's -- and that's
- 9 because, for -- for a reason Respondent points
- out on Footnote 19 of her brief, "miscarriage"
- is an intransitive verb. Just as you wouldn't
- 12 say the government arrived the mail --
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Mr. --
- MR. LIU: -- so too you wouldn't say
- 15 the government miscarried it.
- 16 JUSTICE JACKSON: I'm sorry. Go
- 17 ahead.
- 18 MR. LIU: And so there really is
- 19 nothing to be gained from trying to convert
- 20 these nouns into verbs. There is no single --
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Okay.
- 22 MR. LIU: -- consistent way you can do
- 23 it.
- 24 JUSTICE JACKSON: So, if I accept --
- 25 if I accept that textual reading and I also

- 1 even start by accepting your argument that the
- 2 Postal Service -- or the postal exception
- 3 immunizes intentionally caused losses and
- 4 miscarriages, those harms happening to people
- 5 could be intentional -- let's say I start
- 6 there.
- 7 MR. LIU: Right.
- 8 JUSTICE JACKSON: I quess I don't
- 9 understand why all of Ms. Konan's claims here
- 10 would be immunized under that exception. She
- 11 has four claims here --
- 12 MR. LIU: Correct.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: -- only potentially
- one of which it seems to me even relates to the
- failure of her mail to arrive as the gravamen
- of her claim. The way we think about torts is
- 17 people are bringing claims alleging that
- 18 wrongful conduct or, you know, negligent
- 19 conduct by the defendant is a breach of duty of
- 20 care that has harmed them or breached --
- 21 breached a duty that harmed them.
- 22 And I guess what I'm suggesting is
- that she's got claims here that really aren't
- about the loss of the mail, right? So they're
- 25 not key to the failure of her mail to arrive.

- 1 So the intentional infliction of emotional
- distress claim, for example, seems related to
- 3 her claim that postal employees carried out a
- 4 campaign of racial harassment with respect to
- 5 how they treated her mail.
- And, yes, we have the "my mail never
- 7 arrived" as an allegation, but that's not her
- 8 claim when it comes to intentional infliction
- 9 of emotional distress. So I'm wondering why,
- 10 even if you're right, she doesn't get to go
- 11 forward on at least that claim.
- 12 MR. LIU: So we think this is an issue
- 13 that can be left on remand. Our -- the
- 14 principle we're trying to vindicate here is
- 15 simply the legal standard.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Mm.
- 17 MR. LIU: And I don't think the Court
- 18 really needs to --
- 19 JUSTICE JACKSON: So you're not saying
- 20 that Postal Service knocks out her IIED claim?
- MR. LIU: We're not asking the Court
- 22 to decide that.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Okay.
- MR. LIU: I think that's an issue that
- 25 can be left for remand. On remand, we will

1 make that argument. 2 JUSTICE JACKSON: Okay. 3 MR. LIU: And we'll also make the argument that Respondent has forfeited any --4 any contention that all her claims --5 6 JUSTICE JACKSON: All right. So going 7 to the -- going to the particular argument of the -- a claim -- assuming she has a claim in 8 9 her complaint that actually is about the mail not arriving, as opposed to her IIED claim or 10 11 her tortious interference claim -- those seem 12 like they're talking about other things -- I 13 quess I go back to Justice Sotomayor's 14 suggestion that your argument indicates that 15 Congress would -- would have intended to 16 immunize a Postal Service worker who tears up a 17 person's rent check or, you know, Social 18 Security check in front of them on their porch 19 right there intentionally. So it didn't -- you 20 know, it doesn't get delivered. And you're saying, yes, that's in the exception? 21 MR. LIU: Yeah. And I don't think 2.2 23 that should come as a surprise. Congress

immunized all sorts of intentional conduct in

the FTCA's exceptions. So, in the intentional

24

- 1 tort exception, it immunized assault and
- 2 battery and misrepresentation.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Yeah, but there has
- 4 to be a reason that makes sense. And so
- 5 they -- the whole thing is Congress -- the FTCA
- 6 is Congress authorizing tort claims to be
- 7 brought against the government. This is an
- 8 exception. And so the exception kind of has to
- 9 make sense.
- 10 MR. LIU: Yeah.
- 11 JUSTICE JACKSON: And I guess what I'm
- 12 trying to figure out is why Congress would
- 13 have -- we understand why Congress would have
- wanted to immunize negligent loss of the mail,
- 15 miscarriage. First of all, that happens all
- 16 the time.
- 17 MR. LIU: Right.
- 18 JUSTICE JACKSON: And you could
- 19 imagine a rational Congress saying we just
- 20 can't run a post office if everybody whose
- 21 mail, you know, catalogue didn't get delivered
- 22 can sue us, so we're not going to allow that.
- 23 That makes perfect sense.
- What is hard to get one's mind around
- is, in a statute in which Congress was

- 1 authorizing tort liability, that a classic
- 2 scenario in which the mail is actually being
- 3 intentionally damaged, lost, not delivered,
- 4 they also meant --
- 5 MR. LIU: Yeah.
- 6 JUSTICE JACKSON: -- to take that off
- 7 the table.
- 8 MR. LIU: So two -- two points. One
- 9 is that Respondent's rule is so broad in how it
- 10 determine -- how it identifies intentional that
- it would encompass not just the willfully
- 12 malicious hypos that Your Honor gave but also
- 13 routine application of postal regulations.
- Every day, the Postal Service
- intentionally withholds mail either because it
- 16 can't identify the addressee, because it thinks
- 17 a residence is vacant, because it thinks the
- 18 mail --
- 19 JUSTICE JACKSON: I understand, but
- 20 the question is how do -- which -- which
- overbroad rule are we going to go with? You're
- 22 saying, because that's the case, we should
- 23 allow the tear-up scenario to occur, that
- 24 Congress could have wanted that. And I
- 25 don't -- I guess I don't understand why we --

```
1
               MR. LIU: Well, that -- that gets to
 2
      my next point --
 3
               JUSTICE JACKSON: Yeah.
               MR. LIU: -- which I think, as to the
 4
      egregiously willful conduct, Congress -- if I
 5
 6
      may finish, Mr. Chief Justice -- Congress made
7
      the same judgment in the postal exception as it
      did in -- in the intentional tort exception and
 8
 9
      indeed some of the other exceptions that --
10
      that are far broader than the postal exception,
11
      which is that these damages suits aren't a good
12
      way for identifying who the bad actors are.
13
               It may well be that there are
14
      allegations that something willfully wrong
15
      happened. We're going to want to present
16
      evidence to refute that. It's going to be
17
      burdensome to the post -- Postal Service and --
18
      and -- and to other parts of the government.
19
      And Congress didn't think this was the right
20
      way to go about identifying those cases.
21
               CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
2.2
      counsel.
23
               Justice Thomas?
               Justice Alito?
24
25
               JUSTICE ALITO: Well, as for the
```

1 possible reason for immunizing intentional 2 conduct, the answer that I took from your brief 3 was that allowing that would open the door to too many lawsuits, and it would undermine the 4 immunization for the negligent transmission of 5 6 the mail. So I don't get my Christmas cards 7 until three weeks after Christmas, and I can't 8 sue on the ground that it's negligent, but if I 9 say, well, the -- the delivery person doesn't like me for one reason or another, it was 10 intentional, and then I'm in -- I'm in court. 11 12 MR. LIU: Yeah, no, that -- that's 13 I mean, we're talking about over 300 14 million pieces of mail delivered a day. We get 15 over 300,000 complaints about the conduct of 16 letter carriers a year. If -- if even 17 1 percent of those complaints results in a lawsuit, the number of suits that the Postal 18 19 Service faces each year is going to quadruple. 20 And as Your Honor's question suggests, 21 things like intent are easy to allege and hard 2.2 to disprove. It may well be at the end of the 23 day we're going to be able to show that some 24 alleged instance of intentional misconduct was,

indeed, just a mistake. But, at that point,

- we've defeated the purpose of having an
- 2 immunity from suit, which was to relieve the
- 3 Postal Service of the burden of having to take
- 4 postal -- postal workers away from their
- 5 day-to-day jobs and force them to become
- 6 witnesses in court.
- 7 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 8 Sotomayor?
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Counsel, you are
- 10 forgetting, however, that there's a requirement
- of good-faith allegations. Merely saying
- someone dislikes me is not enough, correct?
- 13 MR. LIU: That's right, and I think --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Now, putting that
- 15 aside, so much else is -- as I pointed out,
- would be exempted by other provisions, correct?
- 17 MR. LIU: I -- I don't think a lot
- 18 of -- any of the other provisions is really
- 19 going to address this problem, especially
- 20 the -- the -- Congress's preference for these
- 21 suits to be -- for this immunity to be an
- 22 immunity from suit.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I go back to they
- 24 could have said very simply anything having to
- do with mail delivery is out. But they used

- 1 something different than they did in customs.
- 2 MR. LIU: Oh, but, to be clear, our
- 3 position isn't that the exception should be
- 4 read any broad -- more broadly than the Court
- 5 read it in Dolan. Dolan -- the Court in Dolan
- 6 limited the exception.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: No, no. But --
- 8 but what else wouldn't be covered? Even in
- 9 Dolan, I'm not sure how, accepting your
- 10 definition of "miscarriage," we could have
- 11 ruled the way we did and placed any limitation,
- 12 because placing a package on the porch, not
- near the door, or on a step is a failure to
- 14 properly carry the mail. You're supposed to
- deliver to the recipients and not to a porch
- 16 step.
- 17 MR. LIU: No. We -- we read Dolan
- 18 to -- to say that these three terms -- and the
- 19 Court described them as harms on page 490 --
- 20 these three harms are harms in the sense that
- 21 they are bad things that happen to the mail.
- 22 And I think the -- what the line the
- 23 Court was drawing in Dolan is that if you're
- 24 alleging a bad thing that happens to someone
- around the mail or just to something else,

1 you're outside the scope of the exception. But what's clearly within the exception are bad things that happen to mail. It doesn't arrive 3 or it arrives, but it's damaged or it's late. 4 And all we're saying is that's our 5 6 simple rule. There's no more fine-grained 7 analysis about why the mail didn't get there. 8 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Yeah. Thank you. 9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Kagan? Justice Gorsuch? 10 11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Briefly, not to 12 belabor the point, Mr. Liu, but just following 13 up on Justice Sotomayor's point. 14 Would these three terms as you read 15 them cover the waterfront of anything having to 16 do with deliver the mail so the government is 17 effectively totally immunized, intentional, 18 non-intentional actions in the delivery of the 19 mail? 20 MR. LIU: It would immunize us only as 21 to bad things that happen to the mail --2.2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And --23 MR. LIU: -- not as to auto accidents --24

JUSTICE GORSUCH: No, I understand

- 1 your Dolan point, but putting aside the Dolan
- 2 point, in the -- in the delivery of mail, it
- 3 would immunize everything?
- 4 MR. LIU: Correct.
- 5 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay.
- 6 MR. LIU: So long as we're not
- 7 including in delivery what the Court rejected
- 8 in Dolan.
- 9 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Dolan, yeah, okay.
- Isn't it an odd way to do it, though,
- 11 to have three terms rather than just to say
- 12 that?
- MR. LIU: I don't think so because
- 14 these were the terms that was in the vocabulary
- in 1946. And if you compare the terms here to
- the terms of the -- of the waiver, all Congress
- is doing is coming up with two words,
- "miscarriage" and "negligent transmission,"
- 19 to -- to describe injury to mail. It's covered
- loss of mail by using the word -- same word,
- 21 "loss" and now it --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: I understand the
- 23 point. Thank you. Appreciate it.
- 24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 25 Kavanaugh?

1 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: On Dolan, it's got 2 a pretty straightforward sentence summarizing 3 what it thought the rule would be. I mean, what -- deviating from that, what do you --4 response? Should we -- what -- what concerns 5 would you have about deviating from what the 6 7 Court said in 2006? MR. LIU: Well, I think it would be a 8 9 sea change in how the government has approached 10 the postal exception from the very outset. 11 The -- the way the Court described it in Dolan 12 was to capture bad things that happen to mail 13 and to leave the United States open to 14 liability for other things, including 15 slip-and-falls and auto accidents. 16 And when you look at the composition 17 of the cases that the Postal Service faces each year, it's about 900 cases. About 800 of them 18 19 are about auto accidents, and another 70 or so are about slip-and-falls, and then there's a 20 21 smaller category of other. 2.2 But I think, if you look at that 23 composition of cases, you would say the postal 24 exception is working exactly how Congress 25 intended. The main core function that I was

- 1 discussing with Justice Gorsuch is protected.
- 2 And these other types of injuries that aren't
- 3 about bad things happening to the mail are
- 4 allowed to go forward in these lawsuits.
- 5 I think, if you accept Respondent's
- 6 rule, which would be to disregard the rule
- 7 articulated in Dolan, we're into a universe, as
- 8 Justice Alito suggested, where we're going to
- 9 be faced with, I think, a ton of suits about
- 10 mail. And they're not all going to be bad
- 11 faith. They're going to be plaintiffs who
- 12 simply aren't in a position to know what
- happened to their mail and they're just not
- 14 going to give the government the benefit of the
- doubt. They're going to infer that their mail
- 16 didn't arrive because of a rude comment that
- 17 they heard or -- or what have you.
- 18 And that's going to lead to discovery,
- 19 a trial on what actually happened to that mail,
- which we think is going to be quite burdensome.
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Thank you.
- 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 23 Barrett?
- 24 Justice Jackson?
- 25 JUSTICE JACKSON: In the case -- in

- 1 the cases that you just described, though,
- 2 isn't that the work of Iqbal and Twombly in
- 3 terms of the government's response?
- I mean, there -- if a plaintiff is
- 5 just saying my mail -- the claim is my mail
- 6 didn't arrive, that was harmful to me, I'm
- 7 suing the post office, that seems to be
- 8 heartland postal exception. I don't think
- 9 anybody disagrees with that.
- 10 But, if there's some allegation about
- intent with respect to the mail's not arriving,
- 12 I would think there would have to be plausible
- 13 allegations that there was some intent on the
- 14 part of the post office and it would -- the
- delivering person and surely the government
- 16 would not concede to go to trial over that
- issue just because the person says in their
- 18 complaint my post -- postal worker intended not
- 19 to deliver it to me.
- 20 MR. LIU: That -- that -- that's true.
- 21 We -- we -- we certainly would file a motion to
- 22 dismiss.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: So the real, like,
- worry is in these, I would assume, rare cases.
- I mean, I can't imagine that the postal workers

- 1 are, you know, actually actively, intentionally
- 2 withholding people's mail on a regular basis.
- 3 So I just don't know how many cases we're
- 4 talking about here.
- 5 MR. LIU: Well, that -- that's part of
- 6 the point I was making before. As a matter of
- 7 routine, the Postal Service intentionally
- 8 hold -- withholds people's mail for all sorts
- 9 of legitimate reasons.
- 10 JUSTICE JACKSON: Well, that's an easy
- 11 defense then. I mean, there it is. And it's
- 12 not intentional in the sense of a harm.
- MR. LIU: It's an easy defense --
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Yeah.
- MR. LIU: -- once we've had discovery.
- 16 It's not an easy defense when we're trying to
- 17 fight off a complaint because, from the
- 18 outside, that intentional withholding can
- 19 easily be mistaken for something else.
- 20 JUSTICE JACKSON: All right. Let me
- 21 ask you about a hypothetical because I -- I'm
- looking at your "miscarriage" definition and
- 23 you define "miscarriage" as the fail -- failure
- of a mail -- the mail to arrive and you say
- 25 even intentionally caused failures to arrive

- 1 would be covered.
- 2 So let's say we have a mother who
- 3 regularly writes her son who's in the military,
- 4 and a postal employee maliciously,
- 5 intentionally, and repeatedly returns her mail
- 6 as undeliverable and stamps Deceased on it.
- 7 Could she sue for intentional
- 8 infliction of emotional distress under those
- 9 circumstances? You're saying your case doesn't
- 10 cover intentional infliction of emotional
- 11 distress.
- 12 MR. LIU: Right. I -- I don't -- I --
- 13 I think the postal exception would deem that as
- 14 a miscarriage of mail. And, in fact, there are
- cases, believe it or not, from 1946 and before
- where an erroneous message is delivered like
- 17 deceased.
- 18 JUSTICE JACKSON: Yeah.
- MR. LIU: And the plaintiff wants to
- 20 recover consequential damages for that. And I
- 21 think that is -- that is the heartland of -- of
- 22 what --
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Even -- even though
- she also meets the elements of IIED under those
- 25 circumstances, that this is an extreme and

1	outrageous intentional act that causes her
2	emotional distress?
3	You're saying this would this
4	even though that's a separate claim, it's not
5	really about what happened to the mail, you're
6	saying that would be covered? That's what I'm
7	worried about with Ms. Konan.
8	MR. LIU: Right. Well, the the
9	this implicates a different part of the postal
10	exception. And the language of the postal
11	exception begins "any claim arising out of the
12	loss, miscarriage, or negligent transmission."
13	And if the damages, the injuries being
14	asserted, the emotional distress arises out
15	of
16	JUSTICE JACKSON: Yeah, but I think
17	you would have a Dolan problem if you did this.
18	We'll we'll we I I'll figure it
19	out. Thank you.
20	MR. LIU: Okay. Thank you.
21	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
22	counsel.
23	Ms. Anand.
24	

1	ORAL ARGUMENT OF EASHA ANAND
2	ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT
3	MS. ANAND: Mr. Chief Justice, and may
4	it please the Court:
5	Three things I want to highlight about
6	the government's presentation. First, they did
7	not dispute that no ordinary speaker of English
8	would ever say Rojas lost Ms. Konan's mail.
9	Now they point to 1346(b). That is
10	specifically worded differently. The question
11	there is did the government employee cause the
12	loss. That's not how 2680(b) is worded.
13	Second, the government has produced
14	exactly zero examples, no cases, no books, no
15	newspaper articles, of miscarriage of mail
16	being used by an everyday speaker of English to
17	describe wrongful conduct on the part of the
18	postal worker, that is, postal workers choosing
19	to put the package in the wrong place, not just
20	intentional in the sense of I put it on the
21	doorstep but didn't fall out of my bag, but I
22	thought it was at the right doorstep, right?
23	We've never said, the Fifth Circuit's
24	never said, no one has ever said that that is
25	not a miscarriage but in the sense of wrongful

- 1 which is our test for miscarriage.
- 2 Third, my friend didn't dispute that
- 3 on the government's reading, the term
- 4 "miscarriage" renders both the term "loss" and
- 5 the term "negligent transmission" entirely
- 6 superfluous.
- 7 So he says belt and suspenders. This
- 8 is like not just two terms that is some
- 9 overlap, but it's like belt and belt buckle,
- 10 they're two terms that are completely
- 11 overlapping. And even if we interpreted
- 12 statutes that way, the government story for why
- Congress would do this makes no sense, right?
- 14 If Congress is worried about
- 15 "miscarriage" somehow being underinclusive,
- it's worried about "miscarriage" only covering
- 17 the negligence stuff. All right? We give an
- 18 unbroken string of examples from Henry the
- 19 VIII, oh, negligence fit for a fool to fall by,
- 20 to romance novels to cases. Everyday speakers
- of English use "miscarriage" to refer to
- 22 negligent conduct.
- 23 And so, if you wanted a belt-and-
- 24 suspenders "miscarriage," the term you add in
- is not "negligent transmission." It's

- 1 something to do with wrongful conduct.
- I welcome the Court's questions.
- JUSTICE THOMAS: What do you do with
- 4 Mr. Liu's argument that the waiver of immunity
- 5 did not include things -- bad things that
- 6 happened to the mail? He said that generally.
- 7 And that Dolan, because it wasn't about bad
- 8 things happening to the mail, was outside the
- 9 waiver of immunity?
- 10 MS. ANAND: So I think that's just
- 11 a --
- 12 JUSTICE THOMAS: I'm sorry, was
- included in the waiver.
- MS. ANAND: I -- I understood.
- 15 JUSTICE THOMAS: Yeah.
- 16 MS. ANAND: Thank you, Justice Thomas.
- 17 So I think that's just an over-reading
- 18 of Dolan. So the sentence says -- that -- that
- 19 he points to says something like, as a general
- 20 rule, these sorts of damages don't lie. It's
- 21 using that hedging language because, again, as
- 22 a general rule, we're talking about good-faith
- 23 mistakes. We're not talking about the rare
- instance where a postal worker is using the
- 25 mail to effectuate harassment on somebody.

1	So I think even taking that sentence
2	of Dolan at face value, right, wrongful conduct
3	was not before the Court in Dolan, but even as
4	it was covering that, I think that's what the
5	phrase, the general rule is doing.
6	And I suppose I would say that feels
7	passing strange given the rest of the statute
8	and its emphasis on kind of specifically
9	carving out property-related torts. So, for
LO	instance, 2680(h), the so-called intentional
L1	tort exception, conspicuously omits conversion
L2	and trespass, the two property torts.
L3	And so I think what my friend on the
L4	other side is saying is no one in the federal
L5	government can engage in conversion and be
L6	exempt from and have the United States be
L7	exempt from liability except for postal
L8	workers.
L9	JUSTICE THOMAS: Is there a long
20	history of Federal Tort Claims Act suits about
21	the mail itself, delivery, non-delivery, loss?
22	MS. ANAND: So there are some cases.
23	We'll note that kind of in response to Justice
24	Jackson's question, most of those don't even
25	get into court under 1346(b). If you just say

- 1 my package doesn't show up, it gets kicked out
- of court because the -- you haven't even
- 3 plausibly alleged negligence, let alone
- 4 wrongful conduct, right?
- 5 JUSTICE THOMAS: But you would think
- 6 that, with 300 million pieces of mail per day,
- 7 you would have a significant number of suits
- 8 that do -- that do involve this level of harm.
- 9 MS. ANAND: So I think you may have
- 10 some number of suits that involve this level of
- 11 harm, meaning enough to prompt someone to go to
- 12 court and sue.
- JUSTICE THOMAS: Yeah.
- MS. ANAND: But not that involve
- 15 wrongful conduct within the scope of
- 16 employment, right? That's a very narrow needle
- 17 to thread. Think about what Ms. Konan alleged
- 18 here, right? Two years of non-delivery, not
- 19 just a one-off package. She has filed
- 20 administrative complaint after administrative
- 21 complaint. She can say, look, every single one
- of my neighbors is getting mail. She says,
- when you found out I owned this other property,
- 24 mail stopped getting delivered there. She's
- 25 got all this other kind of circumstantial

- 1 evidence that doesn't have to do with the mail
- 2 delivery.
- Those sorts of allegations, I think,
- 4 will be rare. And you know, remember, the
- 5 government came before you in Dolan and said,
- 6 if you rule for Petitioner, frivolous claims
- 7 will inundate the Postal Service. A decade
- 8 later, they're coming and saying, actually the
- 9 postal exception is working just as it should.
- 10 And so I'd be a little bit hesitant to believe
- 11 those claims.
- 12 JUSTICE BARRETT: Ms. Anand, I think
- 13 -- I -- I would really like to hear you address
- 14 the presumption of consistent usage point in
- the waiver and exception because I think that's
- 16 a harder argument for you because when you
- describe loss of property, loss of mail,
- 18 whatever, as the kind of damage that it can
- 19 cover intentional and negligent torts. Now,
- 20 you handled that in your brief, but I would
- 21 just like to hear you talk about it a little
- 22 bit more because I think that is one of the
- 23 hard parts of your argument.
- MS. ANAND: Sure. So we don't think
- 25 the presumption applies, and if it applies,

- 1 it's overcome.
- 2 So we don't think it applies because
- 3 that presumption is where two words are being
- 4 used in the same sense about the scope, right?
- 5 So "interest" in the Internal Revenue Code. If
- 6 it's talking about the stuff you get when you
- 7 leave your money in the bank, in both places it
- 8 must cover compound interest or in neither
- 9 place. But that doesn't mean that in the
- 10 Internal Revenue Code someone can't use
- "interest" to mean, you know, present interest
- in an estate, right? A claim or entitlement.
- 13 The presumption of consistent usage says if
- 14 both terms are being used in the same sense,
- 15 then they cover the same terrain.
- 16 Here we submit that it's clear that
- 17 "loss" in 1346(b) is being used in a different
- sense, the deprivation sense, than in 2680(b).
- 19 And our kind of three textual clues for that,
- the first is that in 1346(b), there's a
- 21 specific reference to wrongful conduct on the
- 22 part of the government employee.
- 23 Second, the sentence is structured
- 24 differently, right? It's asking, did the
- 25 government employee cause the plaintiff to lose

- 1 property, not just if the government employee
- 2 lost property.
- And, third, as the government itself
- 4 acknowledges on page 11 of its reply, "loss of
- 5 property" is something of a term of art. And
- 6 when used that way, loss of property, "loss"
- 7 invariably means deprivation.
- 8 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Your reading of
- 9 that sentence from Dolan to Justice Thomas I
- 10 thought was a bit aggressive on the -- on the
- 11 -- the general rule.
- MS. ANAND: Okay.
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: I mean, I -- the
- 14 Court was there specifically distinguishing the
- 15 general rule from the -- like, having a
- 16 case-by-case determination. I thought it was
- 17 articulating a general rule, but that would
- 18 apply across the board.
- 19 But -- but, more importantly, kind of
- 20 statutory stare decisis, even if that doesn't
- 21 formally apply, just we set forth the rule and
- 22 Congress hasn't changed it. And this would
- come, I think as a little bit of a surprise to
- Congress, which would probably have to address
- 25 it pretty quickly. Thoughts?

1 MS. ANAND: So -- so let me take each 2 in turn, Dolan and then why I don't think this 3 is a surprise to Congress. So, on Dolan, you know, that sentence 4 has a lot of hedging language, right? It also 5 6 says we think it more likely that Congress 7 intended to remain immunity. And so even if you think the Court was even contemplating 8 9 wrongful conduct, right, I think that that 10 hedging language does a lot of work. 11 And if you're going to take that 12 sentence in Dolan and say it was thinking of kind of all cases, I think you also have to 13 14 take the part of Dolan where they say loss is 15 destroyed or misplaced, and miscarriage is 16 delivery to the wrong address, neither of which 17 we fall into. 18 On the Congress-would-be-surprised point, you know, I don't think so. Again, 19 20 Congress specifically did not put conversion, 21 for instance, in the FTCA's waiver provision. 2.2 Every other kind of intentional tort, assault, 23 battery, libel, slander, all that stuff, 24 there's an exception for. There's no exception 25 for conversion.

1 And so I think Congress would actually 2 be surprised in the other direction if this 3 Court were to say conversion, liability if anyone else does it, but not if the Postal 4 Service does it. 5 6 JUSTICE JACKSON: So, Ms. Anand, I 7 guess I'd like to get your thoughts on the theory that I shared with Mr. Liu, which is 8 that in the context of a broad statute that is 9 authorizing tort claims against the government, 10 11 could it be that what Congress was actually 12 doing with the postal exception was just immunizing the Postal Service for liability for 13 14 a particular claim? 15 If your tort claim has as its gravamen 16 the loss, miscarriage, or negligent transmission of mail, I'm seeking damages 17 18 because that happened to my mail, that's out, 19 says Congress. This is my theory. 20 anything else that you are saying, even though 21 it involves perhaps as an allegation that those things happened, if your claim is not that, 2.2 23 then that's in. I kind of thought that's what Dolan 24 25 was doing because in Dolan, I guess, there was

- 1 an allegation that there was the negligent
- 2 transmission of mail in the sense that it was
- 3 put on the step in the wrong place, and if she
- 4 had just come in with no step -- you know, and
- 5 just said the gravamen of my tort claim, the
- 6 reason why they breached a duty and did
- 7 something wrong, was because they negligently
- 8 transmitted my mail, maybe that's out.
- 9 But Dolan says no, her claim was
- 10 really a slip-and-fall claim. It's a different
- 11 kind of tort. And so if that's the theory, I'm
- 12 asking you, is Ms. Konan's four -- she has four
- 13 claims. Are they all making the kind of "I'm
- 14 suing you because you've lost, miscarried or
- 15 negligently transmitted my mail" claim?
- MS. ANAND: No, Your Honor. Three of
- the four certainly aren't. Conversion maybe,
- 18 though as I've explained I think it -- it's a
- 19 very weird result if you say that conversion
- 20 falls out.
- 21 And, you know, as -- as we pointed out
- 22 at the BIO stage, that makes this a very
- 23 strange case to think about the meaning of loss
- and miscarriage because, again, the gravamen of
- 25 the harm here is, as you note, the kind of

- 1 campaign of racial harassment.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Which fits, it
- 3 seems, in the tort -- I mean, there are tort
- 4 elements here for intentional infliction of
- 5 emotional distress that is just the defendant
- 6 acted intentionally or recklessly, the conduct
- 7 was extreme and outrageous, and the actions
- 8 caused the plaintiff emotional -- severe
- 9 emotional distress.
- 10 MS. ANAND: That's right. And we
- 11 think so too with our nuisance claim and so too
- 12 with our intentional interference with
- 13 prospective economic relations.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Thank you.
- MS. ANAND: Now, I do want to say I
- 16 think that our conversion claim goes forward as
- well because, again, I think at the point where
- the government doesn't give you any examples of
- 19 an ordinary speaker of English -- I'm happy to
- 20 address the reply nine examples; Justice
- 21 Sotomayor, I don't even think Foster is such an
- 22 example, the one case you pointed to -- where
- they've given you no examples of an ordinary
- 24 speaker of English saying miscarriage of mail
- and meaning the postal worker did something

- 1 wrong, I -- I don't see how you can -- how you
- 2 can decide that our conversion claim doesn't go
- 3 forward as well.
- 4 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: If -- if
- 5 miscarriage is -- I'm sorry.
- 6 JUSTICE ALITO: Go ahead.
- 7 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Are you sure? No,
- 8 go ahead?
- 9 JUSTICE ALITO: All right. I wanted
- 10 to shift from "miscarriage" to "loss."
- "Miscarriage" is more a term of art.
- 12 But it's not clear to me why a claim
- arising out of the loss of property cannot
- 14 include intentional -- a loss that results from
- intentional conduct. That's just not the way
- 16 the term is normally used.
- 17 A claim arising out of a loss does not
- 18 have to involve property that has been lost in
- 19 the sense that it can't be found. It just
- 20 means that there's been a deprivation in the
- 21 value of the property. Right?
- I can submit -- suppose vandals set
- 23 my car on fire and I submit a claim to my
- 24 insurance company. That is a claim arising out
- of the loss of my car, even though I know where

- 1 my car is. It's in front of my house. But
- 2 it's a burned-out hulk, right?
- MS. ANAND: Yes, Your Honor. But we
- 4 would never say, this is Justice Kagan's point,
- 5 that the vandals lost your car, right? And
- 6 that's the way that this -- this sort of whole
- 7 statute is structured.
- JUSTICE ALITO: No, but it doesn't.
- 9 It says -- it doesn't talk about what somebody
- 10 has done. It talks about the consequences of
- 11 something, which is any claim arising out of
- 12 the loss.
- MS. ANAND: So I think that this is
- 14 sort of consistent throughout the statute.
- 15 It's not just that you would have to prove an
- assault happened in the abstract. You have to
- 17 prove the government assaulted you, right? And
- 18 so here it's, the government lost your mail.
- Now, even if you don't agree with
- 20 me on that, I think if you agree with me on
- 21 "miscarriage" that resolves the question.
- 22 So that is, even if in some settings
- 23 "loss" covers wrongful conduct, I don't think
- 24 we have any story for why Congress would say
- wrongful conduct not counted under miscarriage,

- 1 wrongful conduct not counted under negligent
- 2 transmission, but --
- JUSTICE ALITO: Well, that's your
- 4 surplusage argument. And, you know, the
- 5 surplusage canon is of value, but it's not the
- 6 way Congress always reads -- always writes
- 7 statutes. It's not the way people always talk.
- 8 So it's valuable, but it's worth only so much.
- 9 But I'm -- I'm really troubled by how
- 10 you extract from -- how you read into the
- 11 phrase "any claim arising out of a loss" to
- 12 exclude intentional conduct.
- MS. ANAND: So just to clarify, I just
- 14 want to make clear, that's not actually our
- 15 super-fluidity argument.
- 16 What I'm saying is, if you accept our
- 17 miscarriage mens rea argument then I think
- 18 you've got -- you either have to accept that
- 19 loss is limited to negligent conduct or you've
- 20 got a situation where, okay, postal worker
- 21 takes a hammer to a package. Scenario 1, he
- just breaks off the handle of the mug.
- 23 Scenario 2, he totally shatters the mug.
- Scenario 1, the government says that's
- not a loss, he just broke off the handle of the

1 mug, and so it's one or the other two terms. 2 So wrongful conduct and so, therefore, 3 it's not immunized from any liability. JUSTICE ALITO: That's a --4 MS. ANAND: And then --5 JUSTICE ALITO: -- different -- that's 6 7 a different question about whether the loss of the mail means the loss of all value of the 8 mail or a diminution in the value of the mail. 9 10 MS. ANAND: That's right. But 11 Congress could not have wanted liability to 12 turn on that fine a distinction. 13 And if you say loss, but only loss 14 covers wrongful conduct, right, miscarriage, 15 negligent transmission exclude wrongful conduct, then at that point what we are saying 16 17 is Congress wanted liability to turn, in a case involving wrongful conduct, on this kind of 18 19 fine distinction, between destruction, loss, wrongful conduct covered, and diminution, not 20 21 loss, wrongful conduct not covered. 2.2 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Assume --23 JUSTICE ALITO: Go ahead. If -- if 24 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: 25 miscarriage does cover wrongful conduct, so

- 1 let's assume that which is contrary to what
- 2 you have been assuming, but assume miscarriage
- 3 covers intentional wrongful conduct, then your
- 4 arguments are?
- 5 MS. ANAND: So assuming, again,
- 6 contrary to --
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Yeah, I got -- my
- 8 --
- 9 MS. ANAND: -- the mountain of
- 10 evidence --
- 11 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: I'm reserving, and
- 12 you're not conceding anything. You're not
- 13 conceding anything. Yeah.
- 14 MS. ANAND: Then I think our fallback
- 15 position is that you have to think about --
- 16 basically argue Dolan, right? Dolan says
- 17 loss is destroyed or potentially misplaced.
- 18 Miscarriage is delivery to the wrong address.
- 19 We are neither of those two. So we
- 20 are some kind of transmission error.
- 21 At common law this would be called
- 22 a willful refusal to transmit or a wrongful
- transmission. We give you case cites for that.
- 24 Congress conspicuously doesn't include
- 25 willful refusal to transmit in this list. It's

- 1 only negligent transmission.
- 2 So I think we still win, but I think
- 3 if you decide for us that miscarriage only is
- 4 limited to negligent conduct, you don't have to
- 5 get into the kind of fine distinctions between
- 6 the three terms.
- 7 If I may make one other point about
- 8 the kind of structure of the FTCA.
- 9 So the FTCA's exemptions are divided
- 10 into kind of two categories.
- 11 Some are very broad, right? Any
- 12 activities of the Tennessee Value Authority,
- 13 fiscal operations of the Treasury, that sort of
- 14 thing.
- The others list specific actions often
- with a mens rea, right? So 2680(a), you know,
- executing a statute with due care, 2680(h),
- 18 battery but not negligent touching.
- This one, 2680(b), as Dolan said is,
- 20 clearly in the latter mold, right? It's not
- 21 saying any activities of USPS, any failings in
- 22 the postal obligation, any mail handling
- 23 activities. It's not doing that.
- It's listing three specific terms
- 25 pegged to a mens rea the way the other

- 1 provisions do throughout the FTCA.
- 2 JUSTICE BARRETT: Can I ask you a
- 3 question about Mr. Liu's point that
- 4 "miscarriage" wasn't used as a verb at the time
- 5 the statute was enacted?
- 6 You know, Justice Kagan said, well,
- 7 you know, you can lose the mail, you can
- 8 negligently transmit the mail if you're the
- 9 postal worker, or you can miscarry the mail, as
- in, you know, misdirect it to the wrong place.
- 11 And one of the responses that Mr. Liu
- had to that point was, well, miscarry wouldn't
- 13 have been used as a verb. It was this term of
- 14 art.
- What's your response to that? Because
- 16 I do think it matters whether you view these
- words as something that happens to the
- 18 recipient or something that was done by the
- 19 postal worker.
- 20 MS. ANAND: Right. So I'll say -- so
- 21 I'll answer your mis- -- the miscarry question,
- then I want to say one more word about that.
- So he's right that, in general, it was
- seen as intransitive, but the Webster's First
- 25 and Webster's Second dictionaries we point to

- 1 note that it was sometimes used transitively.
- 2 So you could say -- I mean, in fact,
- 3 Dolan says mail is miscarried if it goes to the
- 4 wrong place.
- 5 I'm not sure it matters a ton. You
- 6 can kind of rephrase the question to get at the
- 7 agent in a different way. You can say did the
- 8 letter miscarry by Rojas? Was the mail lost by
- 9 Rojas? And I think you're still in the same
- 10 place.
- 11 And I think whatever you think about
- "miscarriage," it has to be clear that all the
- other nouns throughout the exceptions are not
- just, did this happen, it's did the government
- 15 employee do this, right?
- We give the example of assault. You
- 17 would never -- you don't come into court and
- 18 say, like, there was an assault. You have to
- 19 say the government employee assaulted someone.
- 20 And so we think the same thing is true of loss.
- 21 Again, if you don't buy that argument,
- 22 I think the two other ways to think about the
- 23 "loss" term, the first is sort of what we say
- in our brief, which is that typically loss is
- 25 thought of as unintentional.

1 And whether it's insurance contracts 2 or cases or 1346(b) itself, people usually specify intentional loss or loss caused by 3 wrongful conduct when they meant to change that 4 default. 5 And second, again, if you buy our 6 7 miscarriage mens rea argument, there's just 8 no good reason why Congress is saying one term encompasses wrongful conduct and the other two 9 10 don't, particularly where, as Mr. Liu noted, there's some redundancy and certainly some 11 12 overlap among the terms. I can -- if I can make one other point 13 14 about consistent usage, and then I'll turn it 15 over to seriatim questioning. 16 In 1346(b), Congress is using "loss" 17 in just a fundamentally different sense than it 18 is in 2680(b). We know that because of the 19 three textual clues that I gave you. 20 And as a result, I don't think that 21 the presumption of consistent usage even 2.2 attaches, because it's only about where two 23 terms are both being used to mean, for 24 instance, deprive and deprive, the same source 25 of deprivations count.

1	It doesn't say that any time a term
2	is used it must be used in the same sense.
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
4	counsel.
5	Justice Thomas?
6	Justice Alito?
7	JUSTICE ALITO: Do you want to say
8	something in response to Mr. Liu's point
9	about the consequences of adopting your
LO	interpretation, which is, that it is going to
L1	be very easy for people who are unhappy with
L2	the delivery of mail to claim that they are not
L3	getting their letters because of intentional
L4	conduct as opposed to negligent conduct?
L5	Is that going to be hard for people
L6	to plead consistent with Rule 11?
L7	I mean, a lot of people may think that
L8	it's that what's happening is intentional.
L9	I don't get my mail because I didn't give the
20	mail carrier a tip at Christmas, or I have a
21	big dog that ran up to the door and scared
22	scared the mail carrier on one point, or I
23	I I point I complained to the mail
24	carrier that he or she was putting my
25	neighbor's mail in my mailbox or putting my

- 1 mail in the mailbox of my neighbor's or she --
- 2 she or he looked askance at my holiday
- decorations, or there's some characteristic
- 4 about me that the mail carrier doesn't like.
- Is that going to be hard?
- 6 And what will the consequences be if
- 7 all these suits are filed and they have to be
- 8 litigated?
- 9 Is the cost of the first class letter
- 10 going to be \$3 now?
- 11 MS. ANAND: So I do think that's going
- 12 to be hard. So, remember, even alleging
- 13 negligent conduct is tricky here because if all
- 14 you have is my package didn't show up, you're
- 15 going to get kicked out of court. Certainly
- 16 alleging wrongful conduct -- and so, again,
- 17 we're not just -- I just want to clarify
- 18 because I think Mr. Liu's presentation may have
- 19 muddled these two things.
- 20 We're not saying intentional just in
- 21 the sense of, like, it didn't fall out of the
- 22 bag. We're saying wrongful, as in you knew you
- 23 were putting it in the wrong place.
- I do think that the Igbal standard
- 25 makes that quite tough. And that's

- 1 particularly tough, given the other FTCA
- 2 guardrails, right? So still has to be within
- 3 the scope of the employment, 2680(a), right,
- 4 basically says kind of mistakes of law or
- 5 anything that gives the government employee
- 6 discretion doesn't count.
- 7 And if there's some conduct left that
- 8 makes it into court, we know Congress did not
- 9 want to immunize USPS wholesale or even all
- 10 failings in the postal obligation. It knew how
- 11 to do that. It did that with the majority of
- the other exceptions and didn't do so here.
- 13 JUSTICE ALITO: All right. Thank you.
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 15 Sotomayor?
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: No. Thank you.
- 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Kagan?
- Justice Gorsuch?
- 19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Very quickly, I
- 20 promise.
- MS. ANAND: Yep.
- 22 JUSTICE GORSUCH: So there are various
- 23 grades of mens rea.
- MS. ANAND: Yes.
- 25 JUSTICE GORSUCH: You knew this was

- 1 coming, didn't you? 2 MS. ANAND: Uh-huh. 3 JUSTICE GORSUCH: All right. So you say this is negligence. Reckless? Knowing? 4 Thoughts? 5 6 MS. ANAND: Right. So this is a 7 general problem with the FTCA. 1346(b) carves 8 the world into negligent and wrongful, right? 9 This is written before restatement second, before the model penal code. People didn't 10 11 really think of recklessness as a different 12 mens rea. 13 What courts have said for purposes of 14 1346(b), right, no one said: Well, Congress 15 said negligent, and they said wrongful, so I 16 quess reckless conduct is out. What they've 17 said is at the time, you know, tort law equated 18 recklessness with gross negligence, which is a 19 species of negligence, and so recklessness kind 20 of falls under the negligence bucket.
- I will be candid, I haven't seen
- 22 litigation over reckless conduct and whether or
- 23 not it counts as miscarriage, but I would
- assume it would operate the same way; that is,
- 25 I think miscarriage covers a bunch -- covers

- 1 good faith mistakes, even if they are, like,
- 2 really bad mistakes.
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Just to follow up
- 4 quickly on Justice Alito's question, if you
- 5 allege that you exchanged words with your mail
- 6 -- mail carrier at one point, and so you're
- 7 alleging that he intentionally mis-delivered or
- 8 did not deliver the mail; is that enough?
- 9 MS. ANAND: I certainly don't think if
- 10 it's a -- first of all, I don't think the
- one-off package gets into court because no one
- is going to pay a \$400 filing fee and hire a
- lawyer if it's, like, one package that just
- 14 gets --
- 15 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, say it's a
- 16 consistent slowness. You're alleging your mail
- is delivered slowly because you exchanged words
- 18 with your mail carrier one time.
- 19 MS. ANAND: I think it depends on the
- 20 extent. I think if it's a -- if it's two years
- 21 and you can say every single one of my
- 22 neighbors gets their mail faster than I do, I
- do think you get past the pleading stage.
- 24 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: How about if it's
- 25 just a week?

MS. ANAND: You know, I -- I think the 1 2 Igbal standard is fuzzy. I would suspect a 3 week is probably not long enough. And, remember, this is not just allegations because 4 this goes to jurisdiction. 5 6 You know, the way that all the other 7 exceptions that turn on mens rea work is that, 8 you know, the government can demand at a very 9 early stage some sort of proof. It's not just you allege and you get into court. You can do 10 11 jurisdictional --12 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: The proof will be 13 I had a negative conversation with my nail --14 mail carrier. You're not going to know -- and 15 that my mail was delivered more slowly or some 16 important piece was not delivered at all. 17 That's all you got, but that's all you can 18 Is that enough? Get discovery? have. 19 MS. ANAND: I don't think one week 20 would be long enough. But, again, I think what 21 Dolan said in response to precisely this 2.2 argument, right, frivolous claims are going to 23 inundate the Postal Service. Dolan says the ordinary protections against frivolous 24 25 litigation must suffice.

1	And it turns out in the decade since,
2	there hasn't been a problem with a flood of
3	claims, contrary to the government's
4	prediction.
5	JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Thank you.
6	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
7	Barrett?
8	JUSTICE BARRETT: No.
9	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
LO	Jackson?
L1	Thank you, counsel.
L2	Rebuttal, Mr. Liu?
L3	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF FREDERICK LIU
L4	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
L5	MR. LIU: Thank you, Mr. Chief
L6	Justice.
L7	Just a few quick points. First, on
L8	miscarriage, we've pointed to dictionary
L9	definitions in pre-FTCA cases that show what
20	the ordinary meaning of "miscarriage" was. The
21	meaning was broad enough to encompass any time
22	the failed the mail failed to arrive.
23	I think the burden is really on
24	Respondent to point to something that justifies
) E	giving miggarriage a nervoyer modding then

- 1 those historical sources show. She hasn't
- 2 pointed to anything. I think the idea that
- 3 miscarriage somehow incorporated some sort of
- 4 model penal code-esque distinction between
- 5 negligence all the way to willfulness is just
- 6 wrong.
- 7 Any time the courts saw the mail not
- 8 arriving, they labeled it a miscarriage. And
- 9 that's how we think Congress used it in the
- 10 FTCA.
- 11 On loss, on consistent usage, I didn't
- 12 hear any reasons to give loss a different
- meaning in the postal exception than in the
- 14 sovereign immunity waiver. I think the main
- 15 reasons my friend pointed to was that there is
- language in the waiver that doesn't appear in
- the postal exception, but that's built in to
- 18 the presumption of consistent usage.
- 19 The -- the presumption has work to do,
- only when the word, as it appears in provision
- 21 A, is clarified by language in provision A, but
- that language doesn't appear in provision B.
- 23 If that language did appear in provision B, you
- 24 wouldn't have to apply the presumption of
- 25 consistent usage. This is a heartland

- 1 application of that presumption.
- 2 And the next point on loss has to do
- 3 with this -- this whole business of converting
- 4 the -- the words Congress used into -- into
- 5 verbs. The words work perfectly well as nouns.
- 6 They describe the consequences that certain
- 7 negligent or wrongful acts can have.
- For miscarriage, it captures the
- 9 consequence of the mail not arriving, arriving
- 10 late, arriving damaged. Negligent
- 11 transmission, the mail arriving late or
- damaged. There's just no one consistent way to
- take Congress's language and convert it into
- 14 verbs.
- 15 And it's for the reason that Justice
- 16 Barrett mentioned, you can't just convert all
- these nouns into did the government X the mail.
- 18 It doesn't work with miscarry because miscarry
- 19 wasn't used in that way. If you said that to a
- listener in 1946, they wouldn't know what you
- 21 were talking about.
- Judge Cardozo's example in Heinrich is
- 23 a good example. It talks about checks being
- lost in the mail, and it says the checks
- 25 miscarried. And so there's no one way to redo

1 Congress's language to make sense as nouns. I think what that tells us is just 2 3 adhere to the -- the -- the language Congress It used nouns; treat it as nouns. And 4 if you treat "loss" as a noun, there's no 5 6 reason to give it a different meaning than the 7 way Congress used it as a noun in the -- in the -- in the sovereign immunity waiver. 8 9 Finally, just a couple points on my 10 friend's approach to the exception as a whole. 11 This whole set -- separate ambit approach we 12 think is misquided. The way I would think 13 about Congress's thinking when it wrote the 14 provision was it had -- it wanted to cover loss 15 or injury to mail. Loss or injury is the --16 the wording of the -- of the waiver. 17 And so when it got to the exception, 18 loss is a perfectly good word to use when 19 describing something that happens to mail. 20 thought we can -- we can describe injury using even more precise terms, because there are 21 2.2 words in our lexicon that describe bad things 23 that happen to mail. So it picked up 24 "miscarriage" and "negligent transmission."

Does this mean that miscarry -- they

72

- 1 could have -- after written the three terms,
- just gone back and erased "loss" and "negligent
- 3 transmission"? I mean, maybe if they were
- 4 really confident in how courts would interpret
- 5 the language, but by including "loss" and
- 6 "miscarriage" in addition to -- "loss" and
- 7 "negligent transmission" in addition to
- 8 "miscarriage," Congress guarded against three
- 9 arguments that they were worried might have
- 10 narrowed the scope of the exception.
- 11 One is the very argument Respondent is
- making in this case; that miscarriage should be
- limited to mail going to the wrong place.
- 14 Another argument that they wanted to
- guard against, presumably, is the argument that
- 16 the Fifth Circuit accepted, which is that
- miscarriage is limited to instances where there
- is some preceding carriage or some preceding
- 19 attempt at carriage.
- 20 And the third argument they wanted to
- 21 guard against was the idea that by including
- 22 "miscarriage," the only types of injuries to
- 23 mail that they were including were intentional
- ones. And so let's use "negligent"
- 25 transmission" as well.

73

1	I think our our position gives a
2	coherent reading to the postal exception that
3	avoids the deluge of suits that Congress was
4	trying to avoid by putting the exception in the
5	statute in the first place. And for all those
6	reasons, we would ask the Court to reverse.
7	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
8	counsel. The case is submitted.
9	(Whereupon, at 12:57 p.m., the case
10	was submitted.)
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

\$ **\$10.000** [1] **38:**13 1 [1] 30:9 **10** [2] **59**:24 **89**:13 **10:04** [2] **1:**16 **4:**2 100-meter [2] 90:11 92:1 105 [2] 90:13 91:4 105-meter [1] 92:2 11:48 [1] 118:22 115 [1] 3:14 133 [1] 23:1 14 [3] 41:21 43:8 116:11 14-day [1] 107:14 16 [1] 115:18 2 **2** [7] **29**:19 **31**:19,20 **32**:18 93:20,23 94:4 2.5 [1] 32:18 20 [3] 44:12 80:15.15 2005 [2] 28:19 66:25 2020 [1] 15:23 2025 [1] 1:12 24-568 [1] 4:4 3 [1] 32:22 30 [2] 79:19,23 4 [2] 3:4 48:5 4:00 [1] 47:18 43 [1] 56:12 5 **5** [2] **32**:23 **48**:3 50 [1] 83:19 50.00000 [1] 103:11 500 [1] 117:25 **51** [2] **10**:23 **11**:15 56 [2] 3:8 56:12 **59** [1] **11:**4 6 **60** [6] **10**:22,25 **11**:4,15 **56**: 11 83:20 65 [1] 78:3 68 [1] 95:8 69 [1] 95:8 7 [2] 23:20 25:14 70 [1] 56:10 75 [1] 3:11 8 **8** [1] **1:**12 80 [1] 103:12 85 [2] 59:7.25 85a [1] 116:5 9 97th [1] 91:3

17.20

3 75:16

access [1] 5:11

act [1] 79:25

acts [1] 80:2

ad [1] 8:8

8 108:20

adopt [1] 92:22

ads [1] 8:9

114:17

Α

a.m [3] 1:16 4:2 118:22 ability [3] 74:19 81:24 98: able [8] 7:8,9 31:24 49:9,18 **62**:4 **91**:16 **93**:22 above-entitled [1] 1:14 absent [1] 30:25 abstract [4] 10:15 12:3 20: abstraction [1] 12:3 absurdity [1] 30:6 accept [2] 64:17 113:5 acceptance [1] 111:9 accepted [2] 64:10 115:2 accompanied [1] 12:5 according [1] 98:3 accounts [1] 64:15 accurate [2] 52:25 78:25 acknowledging [1] 5:18 ACLU [1] 105:21 across [3] 82:11 84:22 111: activities [3] 101:5 105:18. activity [2] 7:5 51:9 actual [1] 59:20 actually [38] 5:4 6:19,22 7: 7,22 **10:**5 **11:**23 **12:**12,24 **13:**4,11,18 **16:**4 **18:**5,13 20:9,10,15 33:20 36:8 41: 7 43:16 45:7 49:25 61:22 69:5.21 73:6 87:4 90:13 91:17 93:6 94:15 101:6 107:11 109:12 113:8 115: add [3] 38:7 39:13 41:13 addition [1] 87:5 additional [6] 6:23 7:10 47: 23 52:2 106:21 108:13 address [4] 5:21 61:10 75: addressed [1] 14:10 addresses [1] 69:25 adequately [1] 102:11 adjectives [1] 60:18 administrative [1] 39:1 adopting [1] 46:5 advance [3] 57:21 86:25 advantage [3] 7:10 67:4,6 advantages [1] 18:6 adverse [1] 89:23 advertisement [1] 14:17 advisor [1] 79:14 advisors [2] 80:19 100:4

advisory [1] 93:12 affect [8] 8:14 10:13 22:3 **57**:5 **69**:2 **70**:19 **74**:4 **88**:8 affected [2] 7:6 24:21 affidavit [2] 8:11 109:9 affidavits [3] 8:9 20:9 47: afterwards [1] 111:7 ago [2] 19:4 25:14 agree [6] 17:6 37:25 96:7 **108**:15 **111**:5.11 agreed [1] 24:1 Ah [1] 39:25 aha [1] 73:10 ahead [4] 62:9,13 90:2 99: aimed [1] 57:11 AL [2] 1:3.7 albeit [1] 27:17 Alexandria [1] 2:2 Alito [38] 26:23.24 27:11 28: 11.22 29:5 30:11.19 33:25 66:23 67:19.20 68:2 89:25 90:2.25 91:10.12.15.20.22 **92:**9,19 **99:**5,8 **100:**6,12,22 **101**:24 **102**:2,15,24 **103**:6, 10 **104**:5 **109**:19,20 **110**:20 allegation [5] 37:18 88:3, 23 89:2 98:19 allegations [9] 14:6 31:2,8 **38**:19 **66**:11 **70**:15 **98**:17, 18 100:7 allege [4] 31:13 89:5 93:23 114.17 alleged [4] 7:11 27:4 67:1 115:1 allegedly [1] 73:1 alleges [3] 10:14 12:4 72: alleging [2] 76:23 81:4 Alliance [1] 105:1 allow [5] 13:16,22 28:20 35: 17 68:9 allowed [1] 68:15 almost [7] 29:22 33:4 38: 18 45:18 54:15 64:7 65:25 already [4] 33:10,15 49:23 **107**:16 Alternative [1] 47:9 amicus [5] 2:6 3:7 44:12 **56:**23 **105:**21 amount [7] 8:10 12:11 64: 17,18 93:18 96:11,12 analogous [1] 63:13 analogy [3] 9:8 41:10 45:8 analysis [1] 100:8 analytical [1] 15:5 ancient [1] 23:16 Anderson [1] 31:23 announced [1] 86:25 announcement [1] 87:11 another [3] 38:16 94:23 answer [11] 20:18 27:12

41:11 **50**:16 **61**:2 **66**:6 **73**: 19 96:24 101:9.10.11 answered [1] 24:12 answers [4] 40:21 57:14 **67:8 73:18** ante [5] 61:5 66:19 70:1,4 74:2 anybody [2] 8:15 90:15 anybody's [1] 47:19 anvtime [1] 7:3 anvwav [1] 108:4 APPEARANCES [1] 2:1 Appendix [1] 116:6 application [1] 46:22 applied [3] 59:15 75:21 106:3 applies [1] 55:15 apply [9] 15:13 24:15 34:8 **46:**25 **55:**11,13,19,21 **90:** appreciate [4] 83:12.12 95: 6 113:19 appropriately [1] 95:7 arbitrary [1] 26:13 area [2] 34:6 47:2 areas [1] 46:6 aren't [1] 33:12 argue [4] 6:22 49:9 51:6 75: argued [2] 46:9 64:16 arguing [2] 64:8 100:7 argument [22] 1:15 3:2,5,9, 12 **4**:4.8 **9**:14.24.25 **11**:7 30:21 41:17 49:17 50:9 53: 25 **56**:22 **58**:6 **59**:8.9 **75**:4 **115:**10 arguments [3] 25:2 26:25 **46**:3 around [1] 28:4 arriving [1] 44:22 Article [6] 18:9 63:15 76: 18.22 **117:**4.6 articulated [2] 32:12 48:22 articulates [1] 66:15 articulating [1] 49:21 articulation [1] 63:20 artificial [1] 45:21 artificiality [1] 22:18 asserting [1] 70:8 assertion [2] 91:14,25 assertions [2] 70:11 77:13 assess [1] 74:10 Assistant [1] 2:4 associated [1] 109:4 assume [3] 18:23 29:14 86: 19 assuming [2] 51:24 52:1 attached [3] 77:10 82:10. 12 attention [3] 82:19 98:12 **106**:10 attorneys [1] 109:13 authority [2] 44:11 86:24

automatic [1] 19:7

available [5] 79:3 81:10 95: 19 100:17 114:7 avenues [1] 113:9 avoid [5] 41:13 101:17 105: 5 109:3 110:10 avoided [2] 76:21 117:7 avoiding [1] 61:2 avoids [1] 13:20 aware [1] 98:13 away [4] 31:15 73:15 96:21, 24 В back [14] 8:6 9:10 22:12.25 23:1.16 65:5.11 83:9 92:6 94:19 95:19 97:20.22 background [1] 100:9 bad [1] 23:24 baked [1] 41:18 ballot [20] 5:5 22:23 24:9 32:20 39:17 41:20 44:8 54: 9 66:1,2 69:13 83:7 85:22 89:13 95:23 98:19 99:20 114:9 118:15,17 ballot-counting [7] 57:10. 17.20 **58**:12 **59**:13 **61**:5 **97**: ballot-receipt [1] 61:12 ballots [48] 4:12.19.19 5:21 **15**:7 **17**:20 **18**:10.16 **20**:2 25:9 30:14 35:18 39:20 43: 9,10,11 44:10,22 49:12 50: 13 **51**:4 **55**:5 **56**:2,6 **57**:3,5 **59**:20 **61**:6,22 **62**:6 **65**:24 **69**:2 **71**:19 **73**:9 **86**:22 **87**: 1,13,18 88:23 99:23 107: 14.21 108:5 109:21 112:21 **115**:25 **116**:10.24 balls [1] 80:21 bank [1] 104:12 bar [2] 19:10.11 bare [1] 5:22 BARRETT [9] 14:21 22:1, 14 **46**:1,2 **47**:8,12 **72**:17 based [13] 9:13 52:6,7 57: 15 67:3 70:16 85:10 86:18 94:18 99:1 101:13 110:5, basic [2] 57:19 74:6 basically [3] 16:13 34:8 **101**:13 basis [2] 47:5 54:6 bat [1] 23:10 battle [4] 30:23 31:3,6,17 battleground [2] 68:12 70: become [1] 72:5 becomes [1] 9:16 bed [1] 81:22 bedfellows [2] 32:1,3 beforehand [1] 28:13

98 [6] 29:19 52:6 56:4,9 74:

beginning [1] 13:17

behalf [8] 2:3,9 3:4,11,14 4:

114:2.3 118:13

Official - Subject to Final Review

9 **75**:5 **115**:11 believe [2] 24:25 27:5 bell [1] 101:5 below [5] 4:25 9:12,15 53: 25.75.9 benefit [7] 6:22 7:1 21:13 70:22,25 86:20 87:20 bespoke [4] 46:13,19 90:3 94:10 best [2] 17:4 80:25 better [9] 5:17 7:7.8.8.9 27: 3 76:5 98:17 99:16 between [7] 14:6 32:17.19. 21 48:15 86:3 89:4 bid [1] 39:4 big [1] 108:5 binary [2] 32:6 56:17 bit [9] 13:23 17:10 19:23 68: 7 **94**:25 **96**:5 **112**:5 **113**:1, Blackacre [1] 22:12 Blacker [2] 23:2 37:1 blanket [2] 75:14 92:22 blends [1] 15:17 blue [2] 26:11.14 BOARD [2] 1:6 4:5 body [1] 29:9 **BOST** [30] **1:**3 **4:**5,20,24 **5:** 25 7:11 10:11 12:24 16:21 17:3 18:14 20:11 21:7 22: 21 38:21 75:21 76:7,9 79: 18 80:9 81:11 89:12 94:18 95:3 99:19 100:16 102:6 108:1 109:25 117:5 Bost's [5] 15:8 76:1 106:5 111:23 116:13 both [4] 21:18 34:3 64:6 81: 21 bothering [1] 12:4 bottom [1] 112:24 bottom-line [1] 32:5 boy [2] 28:2 37:12 break [2] 66:20,21 breakdown [1] 28:15 breaks [1] 80:16 brief [8] 9:20 10:4 28:25 58: 17 **75**:25 **96**:21.24 **105**:21 briefing [1] 9:21 briefly 3 27:18 52:16 108: briefs [3] 28:1 44:13 46:21 bring [10] 15:12 40:5,6 51: 7 **53:**5 **56:**10,13 **80:**13,14 106:10 broad [2] 18:3 78:14 broadcasting [1] 41:6 broader [1] 14:17 broadest [2] 48:21 78:15 broken [1] 67:1 broker-dealer [3] 8:3 21 26:10 broker-dealers [7] 7:18. 19,21 **8:**23,24 **33:**13 **47:**17 brokerage [1] 48:2

brought [5] 23:3 30:7 38: 10 70:7 80:9 bucket [1] 40:23 bucks [1] 117:25 bullet [1] 74:24 bunch [1] 94:3 burden [3] 13:6 82:14 96: 17 burdens [1] 77:21 Burgess [1] 115:19 buying [1] 59:2 bystander [1] 118:14 bystanders [2] 5:5 57:9

C called [1] 82:19 came [1] 1:14 campaign [16] 4:22 5:23, 23 8:8 21:16 25:10 38:20 43:18 44:1,2 80:19 104:10 105:20 106:24 107:3,8 candidate [109] 6:9,11,17 8:4 9:3 11:8,14 12:9 15:20 16:22 17:4,13 18:23,24 19: 8 21:13.14 22:23 24:15.24 **25**:7.7 **27**:18 **29**:21.23 **31**: 20 34:11.23 35:15 37:1.11 38:4 41:22.22 45:22.23.23 **49**:11.15 **51**:3.14 **52**:5.23 53:13 56:4,11,11,12,13 57: 11 **58:**7,10,11,14 **59:**3,15, 17,21 **61:**4 **63:**3,23 **66:**3 69:25 70:14 71:12,15,22 72:6,13 74:17,19,21 75:14 **78:**4,16 **79:**6,12,17 **80:**2 85:22 86:1 87:14 88:8,12 **89:**5,9,12,19,21 **93:**2,2,22 95:20 98:25 99:12.14.14. 15.18.25 **100**:10 **103**:8.15 **104**:1 **106**:8 **113**:6 **114**:16 115:20 118:14 candidate's [10] 54:8 56:9 59:18 66:4 74:15 78:2 84: 1 87:8 93:17 106:9 candidates [46] 5:2,11,18 **9:2 10:21,24 14:18 18:11**, 11 20:12 23:25 24:6 26:21 **27:**8,9 **33:**9 **34:**15,18 **38:** 18 40:23 48:16,24 49:4,20 **57**:2,9,15 **62**:25 **67**:11,20 69:1 71:4 72:3.21.22 75: 10.17 80:15 86:19 87:7 92: 23 96:8 98:22 99:12 114:1. candidates' [1] 57:12 capricious [1] 26:13 car [2] 42:18 82:24 care [7] 6:17 8:1 43:9,10 53:6 56:16 74:15 careful [1] 46:7 cares [3] 6:12 52:24 53:1

cars [1] 42:4

Case [45] 4:4 8:7.8 12:20

16:18 18:4 23:3.17 27:13

28:4.10 29:17 31:12.15 32: 10 33:6 37:12 38:9 40:23 **43**:14 **54**:13 **56**:10,13 **57**: 18 66:8 72:4,11,12 77:12 **78**:20 **79**:15 **81**:4 **83**:12 **85**: 25 88:22 89:19 90:4 93:21 98:13,15 100:12 111:3 118:7.21.22 cases [42] 13:25 15:24 25: 4 27:19 28:8 34:22 35:17 **36:**19 **37:**22 **38:**7.25 **39:**1. 6.8.14 **40**:5 **41**:4 **62**:2 **64**: 15 **69**:8 **73**:22 **76**:23 **77**:8. 17 **79**:4 **82**:12 **84**:7,23 **85**: 9 86:3,6,8,11 90:19 92:7 93:13 103:24 104:24,25 **111:**21 **115:**17 **118:**3 cast [5] 18:16 39:17 57:4 88:23 96:2 cause [3] 30:14 75:12.14 CBS [1] 41:7 certain [5] 35:2,3 116:18, 19 118:3 certainly [8] 10:12 26:19 **27**:16 **37**:25 **83**:16 **100**:2 **102**:13 **113**:21 certainty [3] 55:21 81:8 97: certify [2] 43:7,8 challenge [25] 8:25 11:16 **13**:17 **14**:19 **15**:12 **23**:13, 22,23 38:5,11 40:7 47:5 **48**:17 **57**:2 **63**:6 **68**:10 **72**: 3 **75:**11 **91:**16.18.23 **93:**3 97:4 7 115:22 challenged [8] 27:22 40: 13 63:7 68:13 74:1 86:9 109:5 112:9 challenges [5] 35:23 61: 12 **98**:14 **111**:15 **113**:10 challenging [4] 15:21 23:4 35:17 78:16 chamber [1] 58:19 chance [10] 29:22 37:12,13 **52**:6 **60**:24 **65**:1 **67**:22 **69**: 23 84:1 85:23 chances [1] 63:24 change [21] 21:15 23:5,13 26:11 29:24 38:22 39:2.19 **45**:11 **47**:3.6 **65**:15 **75**:13 93:16,23 103:20 104:3 **112**:16,17,21 **116**:10 changed [1] 92:14 changes [4] 7:4 26:6 45: 11 113:7 changing [1] 39:5 chaos [4] 75:15 92:25 97:1, Charles [1] 81:21 Chicago [1] 2:8 CHIEF [44] 4:3.10 24:10.19 **25**:11 **26**:23 **29**:6 **33**:18 **37**: 4 40:18.21 41:11 45:25 48: 19 56:19.25 58:25 59:22

60:5,16 67:17 68:3 71:8 **72**:16 **75**:1,6 **77**:22,24 **80**: 7 **81**:16,19 **82**:6,16,21 **83**: 15 **96**:6,8 **109**:14,17 **110**: 21 112:2 115:7,12 118:19 choice [2] 39:12 96:25 circle [1] 64:8 Circuit [8] 9:21 36:22 48: 14 15 16 **76**:6 **98**:14 **102**:8 Circuit's [1] 109:8 circumstance [9] 87:10. 13.15 88:11.12 89:10 90: 18 97:4.10 circumstances [5] 103:15, 19,25 **104:**2 **114:**16 citizens [1] 55:20 claim [2] 35:22 88:13 claims [1] 112:15 Clapper [10] 44:17 51:15 **52**:14 **55**:1,10,19 **64**:1 **104**: 25 108:23.24 clarifying [1] 107:1 classic [5] 5:24 21:19 22:2. 12.15 cleaner [1] 28:9 clear [3] 21:8 27:2 94:6 clearly [1] 21:11 **CLEMENT** [99] **2:2 3:**3,13 **4**:7,8,10 **6**:4,7,24 **7**:3 **8**:1, 19 **9**:6,8,9,18 **11**:13,24 **12**: 18 **13**:4,15 **14**:21,24 **15**:3, 11 **16**:1,8 **17**:25 **19**:18 **20**: 14,17 **21:**1,5,18,24 **22:**1,9, 15 **24**:17,25 **25**:18,23 **26**:3 **27**:11 **28**:18.24 **29**:8 **30**:1. 4 **31:**5.12 **32:**2.9.16 **33:**20 34:17 35:6 36:2 37:24 39: 7,24 **40**:6,9,16 **41**:12,15 **42**: 1,5,12,15,19,22 **43:**2,22 **46:** 18 **47**:11,13 **49**:22 **50**:15, 18,24 52:15,19 53:20,23 **54**:4,7,18,20 **55**:17 **56**:8 61:19 63:20 64:16 101:3 **115**:9,10,12 **117**:24 Clement's [1] 78:14 clients [2] 55:24 109:2 clients' [1] 29:16 close [15] 8:15 16:23 25 48: 3.5 **50**:2 **57**:25 **75**:22 **77**:4. 9 78:8 79:4 97:8 99:10 104:11 closest [2] 5:12 16:15 cognizable [15] 22:8 76:5, 21,25 87:7 98:2 101:18 102:4,20,23 103:22 105:7 **110**:11 **113**:23 **114**:1 colloquy [3] 25:25 37:7 40: 21 colorful [1] 108:22 come [24] 7:19 12:23 16:20 **17:**2 **19:**15.17 **29:**24 **31:**4 35:11 38:21 39:16 43:20 **47**:23 **53**:22 **75**:22 **94**:2,7,

12 100:12 107:8 112:10

comes [9] 11:12 12:16 31: 6 **38**:2 **50**:4 **60**:6 **72**:9 **89**: 18 97:13 coming [5] 7:21 18:2,14 48: 4 70:1 committee [1] 115:21 committing [1] 109:16 common [3] 10:20 24:5 84: common-sense [2] 26:4 38.3 commonsense [1] 118:13 community [2] 87:9 89:24 company [1] 47:2 comparator [1] 29:3 Compared [2] 20:24 90:21 competing [3] 14:14 16:20 competition [4] 90:7,12 92:12 14 competitive [10] 6:6 7:2 20:21.23 27:2.17 70:21 72: 10 90:19 103:18 competitor [1] 90:22 competitors [2] 92:11,16 complain [1] 94:13 complaining [1] 116:3 complaint [12] 12:21 27:4, 22 66:11,15 70:12 94:24 **95**:3 **100**:10 **116**:2,4,5 complements [1] 118:2 completely [2] 44:16 87: compliance [1] 53:11 complicated [2] 6:2 36:22 component [1] 89:17 comports [2] 57:18 74:6 conceivable [1] 77:19 concern [4] 15:18 50:19, 21 79:2 concerned [2] 11:7 85:7 concerns [1] 61:19 concession [2] 76:8 112:6 conclusion [1] 5:1 conclusory [1] 76:12 concrete [12] 5:19 30:8 57: 12 **58**:23 **59**:18 **61**:1 3 **66**: 5 **67**:10 **70**:24 **76**:2 **114**:6 conduct [4] 51:19 63:6,24 74.1 conducted [1] 53:10 confused [1] 117:17 Congressman [29] 4:20, 23 5:25 7:11 10:11 12:24 15:8 16:21 17:3 18:14 20: 11 21:7 22:21 38:21 75:21 79:18 80:9 81:11 94:17 95: 3 99:19 100:16 102:6 106: 5 108:9 109:25 111:23 116:13 117:5 connected [1] 43:15 consequence [1] 103:18 consequences [3] 103:5,

7 **114:**6 considering [1] 40:22 consistent [3] 84:7 103:23 110:2 contend [1] 4:14 contest [1] 14:13 contested [1] 62:2 context [23] 5:13 13:14 15: 14 **26**:18 **46**:23.25 **49**:8 **51**: 23 **58**:20 **59**:13 **60**:8 9 **61**: 24 62:1.10 65:22.23 72:7 **74:2 85:**1.5 **90:**5 **117:**23 contexts [5] 22:19 24:6 36: 4 46:14 90:6 continue [3] 14:12 101:4 108:2 continuing [1] 107:9 contract [2] 39:11 115:15 contracting [2] 38:25 39:3 contribute [1] 12:12 contributors [1] 12:14 controlling [1] 4:14 convince [1] 115:21 convinced [1] 46:10 Cook [1] 117:6 core [4] 105:18 106:5.8.9 correct [4] 10:5 29:25 30:1 107:4 correctly [1] 111:18 corresponds [1] 10:19 cost [7] 4:19 21:16 45:17 67:12 72:14 76:17 108:6 costs [7] 7:9 52:2 57:16 **101**:6.7 **107**:17 **117**:8 couldn't [4] 12:8 27:3 101: 23 110:16 counsel [8] 24:11 56:20 63: 18 67:16 75:2 109:15 115: 8 118:20 count [10] 44:10 56:2 86: 17 **87**:1,12,18,22 **107**:21 111.6 117.22 counted [13] 5:22 15:9 20: 2 **25**:9 **50**:13 **51**:4 **55**:6 **56**: 7 62:6 65:1 78:23 88:24 115:25 countering [1] 110:1 counting [21] 4:18 27:6 35: 18 **52**:10.12 **66**:19 **70**:17 **71**:18 **86**:22 **107**:7.12.14. 17 108:3,3,14,17 109:21 **110**:1 **112**:21 **113**:14 country [2] 32:4 78:5 counts [7] 4:12 13:11 22:7 **23**:1 **66**:2 **83**:1 **117**:16 county [1] 29:2 couple [6] 15:4 19:4 34:23 **35**:12 **79**:1 **85**:16 coupled [1] 103:3 course [12] 23:11.21 27:25 36:13 37:2 38:4 47:5 81:6 89:11 102:5 109:25 116: COURT [53] 1:1,15 4:11,24

9:12 15:16,22 18:24,25 23: 9,15 27:13,14 28:2 35:12, 22,25 38:9,14 57:1 60:9 62:24 69:14 73:22 75:7,17 **76**:19 **77**:10,12,17 **78**:11 79:10 81:12 82:9 83:2 84: 8,15 86:1,7,11 87:5 89:19 90:18.20 92:6 94:3 96:9 97:13 98:12 101:12 15 111:20 118:5 Court's [16] 5:1 6:3 13:25 **58**:2.13 **59**:11 **60**:7.14 **63**: 2 77:3 82:19 84:7.23 93: 13 98:12 104:24 courthouse [1] 33:14 courts [11] 5:9,15 15:13 18: 9 57:24 75:16 81:5 83:25 93:10 115:2 116:21 Crawford [2] 23:16 36:11 cream [1] 39:21 create [4] 69:19 90:3 92:23. 25 created [2] 36:22 94:25 credible [2] 60:11.18 credit [1] 89:8 credited [2] 4:17 81:13 crucial [1] 113:2 cruel [1] 38:18 Cruz [1] 38:8 crystal [1] 80:21 curiae [3] 2:6 3:8 56:23 curious [1] 33:19 current [1] 49:23 customers [2] 8:22 47:23 cut [1] 93:19 cutting [1] 93:17 cycles [3] 81:14 83:7 100: 20

D

D.C [2] 1:11 2:5 damage [1] 87:8 dangerous [1] 5:8 dash [1] 90:11 data [8] 28:19 29:1 79:8,13 80:5,11,14 99:11 Davis [1] 37:16 Day [10] 4:13 44:25 47:24 **78**:22 **96**:1,1 **104**:11 **107**: 23 116:9 117:16 davs [3] 41:21 43:8 116:11 deadline [7] 41:20 83:7 89: 14 95:23 98:20 99:21 100: deadlines [3] 61:12 62:8, deal [3] 8:23 66:11 72:2 dealing [2] 9:2 79:16 dealt [1] 14:1 debate [2] 18:9 117:10 decades [1] 86:2 **December** [1] 61:16 decide [4] 16:14 43:15 49: 6 **86**:16

decided [2] 8:7 107:21 decides [2] 50:1 52:8 deciding [2] 78:20 116:18 decision [3] 5:7 109:9 110: decisions [1] 109:7 decisive [1] 39:17 declaration [20] 6:10 10:9. 10.14 12:4.21 21:8 50:4 **76**:9 **77**:14 **82**:20 **83**:5 **92**: 7 94:20 95:9.22.24 99:2 111:23 116:22 declarations [2] 14:6 21: declare [1] 86:18 decrease [2] 8:11 11:10 decreases [1] 12:9 deemed [3] 58:15,16 60:9 deeply [1] 6:12 defeat [3] 6:15 51:25 113: defendant's [1] 63:23 defending [1] 27:14 deficiency [1] 31:1 definitely [1] 71:15 delighted [2] 32:2 54:20 Democrat [1] 64:25 Democratic [7] 18:11 23: 19,22,24 27:8 69:14 111:9 Democrats [7] 29:19 31: 14 33:21 35:3,8,11 36:14 demonstrate [1] 101:16 denies [1] 11:25 denying [1] 5:10 Department [1] 2:5 depends [2] 80:23 82:22 deprived [1] 9:4 describe [3] 76:13 77:15 described [2] 79:11 89:20 describes [1] 85:25 describing [1] 87:11 description [1] 78:25 desire [2] 32:13 76:1

67:24 **71**:3.15 **72**:8 **73**:13. 20 **85**:25 **90**:22 directed [1] 45:4 directly [7] 10:16 35:9 41:7 **53:**3 **55:**22 **86:**9,21 disadvantage [15] 17:18, 22 **19**:17 **20**:23,25 **34**:12 **64**:13,18,22 **66**:7,16,18 **67**: 14 92:4 117:14 disadvantaged [1] 90:23 disagree [1] 95:5 disagreement [1] 93:4 disappointed [1] 11:21 disaster [1] 78:1 disenfranchised [1] 62: disfavored [1] 34:4 dismiss [3] 14:7 21:21 31: dismissed [1] 31:11 dispatches [1] 23:21 disputes [6] 5:12,14 13:21 **75:**17 **93:**9.11 disregard [1] 87:2 dissent [1] 54:23 distinction [2] 25:21 89:4 distinguished [1] 86:2 distinguishes [1] 88:21 distortion [1] 44:19 district [4] 27:13 29:14 30: 20 116:13 district-by-district [1] 23: districts [2] 16:16 29:18 divert [1] 93:7 diverted [1] 109:1 DNC [6] 33:25 34:2 69:5 70: 7 **71**:1 **115**:16 doctor [1] 19:4 doctrinal [1] 73:19 doctrine [3] 13:19 17:17 **49**:23 Diamond [3] 42:20 47:9 65: doing [2] 38:1 109:3 done [8] 14:7 18:18 27:3, 23 28:7 31:8 35:13 61:9 doors [1] 47:18 down [8] 38:2 54:25 69:13 76:22 80:15.15 105:11 **118**:13 downstream [1] 53:3 dozen [2] 12:25 78:4 draw [1] 25:19

20 42:23 48:9 50:8 54:8.

6 **96**:5 **98**:17 **113**:12 **116**:

differently [2] 45:2 100:13

diminished [4] 95:15 102:

direct [22] 8:5 41:23 42:6

45:15 **51:**22 **58:**11.14.21

62:25 **63:**4.10.12 **65:**8.11

14 **117**:1,1 **118**:11,12

difficult [2] 26:18 27:19

diluted [1] 53:16

21 103:16 113:22

11 **69**:17 **71**:1.12 **88**:24 **90**:

drawn [1] 30:22 due [1] 117:2 during [1] 107:14 duties [1] 109:13

E

each [1] 86:17 earlier [4] 16:5 44:20 45:17 early [2] 47:22 50:2 easier [2] 77:8 116:25 easy [9] 22:11 62:16 69:9 70:11 91:18 93:1 95:2 114: 4 115.2 effect [4] 45:15 46:4 62:3 **117:**14 effectively [1] 57:25 effects [1] 46:15 efforts [1] 76:25 eight [5] 81:14 83:6 90:9 95:22 100:20 Eighth [1] 48:15 either [5] 22:6 65:2 80:21 109:22 115:23 elect [2] 61:20 98:21 elected [3] 89:6.16 99:15 Election [119] 4:13.20 5:3. 12.13.14 **6:**9.13 **9:**13 **10:**11. 22 13:17.18.24 14:19.23 16:25 18:17 20:2 22:23 26: 22 29:2 30:15 32:22 37:10, 13 38:6,12,23 43:5 44:25, 25 **45**:13,16 **49**:3,5,13,16 50:14 51:25 56:15 57:4,19, 22 59:19,21 61:7 63:25 66: 3 68:10,11 69:3,22 70:5,8, 17 71:19 72:14.21.23 74:6 **75**:12,15 **76**:7,11 **77**:5 **78**: 8.17.22 **79:**3.19.23 **81:**14 82:2 83:6 84:2.3.16.24 85: 4 86:16.24 87:6.19 89:7.13. 22 93:1.3.5 95:14 96:1 97: 8 98:3 99:11 100:20 102:3, 7,10,13,16 104:1,7,11 107: 23 111:8 112:14,23 113:8, 11 114:5,17,19 116:7,9,16, 18 **117:**20 **118:**15 election's [1] 57:6 **ELECTIONS** [19] 1:6 4:6 6: 19 24:8 32:4 43:16 53:10 59:24 61:13 74:2 75:11 77: 9 82:25 93:7 95:22 96:12 97:16 106:6 117:21 electoral [32] 5:20 9:23 10: 2,7 17:18,22 22:7 26:18 43:4 46:25 48:17 64:12,18, 21 65:22,22 66:7,15,18 67: 4,6,14 **68**:20 **69**:11 **70**:13 71:7 78:12 84:20 95:10 114:6 115:24 117:14 electors [5] 23:4,6,8,12,14 eliminate [1] 48:14 enacted [1] 28:14 end [6] 45:18 94:5 95:25

difference [17] 32:17.19.21

33:1 56:4 14 14 58:4 60:2

5 **61**:22 **73**:10 **92**:3 **94**:5

103:10 112:23 113:8

differences [1] 32:25

details [1] 31:13

62:17 66:3

determination [1] 117:4

determinative [1] 117:20

determine [4] 57:10 59:16

determined [1] 57:21

determining [1] 11:22

developed [1] **75**:9

developing [1] 29:9

Dewey [1] 81:20

dictated [1] 93:13

die [1] 19:20

104:11 **111**:10 **117**:15 ends [2] 44:25 45:17 energy [1] 93:8 enforced [1] 98:20 enforcement [2] 60:11,12 engage [3] 58:22 60:25 108:13 engaged [1] 108:12 English [1] 68:16 enough [15] 9:17 14:7 17: 12 18:18 24:17.23 25:1.3 27:23 43:12 74:20 78:18 82:7 94:14 112:10 ensuring [2] 57:19 62:3 enterprise [1] 26:6 entire [1] 63:19 entirely [4] 18:22 55:22 93: 5 **94**:23 entitle [1] 51:6 environment [1] 53:2 equally [1] 65:3 equivalent [1] 117:6 error [4] 8:14.16 12:10 113: especially [3] 5:20 13:12 **65**:23 **ESQ** [4] **3:**3,6,10,13 **ESQUIRE** [1] 2:2 essence [2] 40:24 41:8 essentially [4] 44:16 109: 13 **116**:11 **117**:4 establish [10] 11:3 13:7 73: 5 **79**:12 **85**:10 **98**:24 25 103:16 105:4 110:4 established [3] 73:12 102: 6.12 ET [2] 1:3.7 ethicist [2] 109:10,10 evaluating [1] 4:17 Evans [1] 81:21 even [36] 7:14 8:13 16:15 18:6 20:6 26:8 27:21 29:3 30:13,15,17 35:14 47:4,13 **53**:5,15 **55**:12,14 **56**:12 **58**: 19 59:25 60:10,23,23 65: 18 **70**:22 **74**:24 **79**:14 **81**: 11 **89**:6 **93**:4 **107**:11 **112**: 12 113:7 114:18 19 event [1] 100:25 events [1] 12:2 eventually [1] 32:23 everybody [7] 36:10 52:24 53:1,5,6,9 69:21 everybody's [2] 33:7,8 everything [6] 20:5 22:19 26:10,14 52:7 69:20 evidence [4] 12:22 76:14 79:5 91:9 ex [5] 61:5 66:19 70:1,4 74: exactly [5] 16:10 73:11 93: 12 96:16 114:24 example [9] 19:3 52:5,14 **58**:17,18 **70**:22 **86**:15 **98**:

18 **100**:19 examples [1] 88:5 excellent [1] 46:9 except [1] 41:12 excited [1] 116:8 exclude [1] 67:3 excuse [1] 12:10 exercise [1] 77:18 exist [1] 51:18 expect [2] 7:18 27:13 expend [1] 67:11 expended [1] 110:10 expenditure [8] 55:7 101: 13,16 105:3,5,19 107:25 109:23 expenditures [1] 110:19 expenses [1] 44:15 expensive [2] 5:23 44:4 experience [3] 99:18 100: 4.9 experienced [3] 79:17 95: 20 99:13 expert [7] 12:23 16:24 17:3 20:8 30:25 31:6 99:12 expertise [2] 79:13 80:18 experts [5] 14:14 16:20 30: 24 31:3.18 explain [1] 100:18 explained [1] 109:10 explanation [2] 76:10 95: explode [1] 82:24 explored [1] 48:25 extend [3] 101:7 104:13 107:12 extended [2] 107:4 108:17 extent [1] 67:6 extra [10] 4:22 41:21 45:16 **51**:4 **52**:9 **53**:21 **73**:9 **104**: 9.22 112:20

faced [1] 15:23 facial [1] 31:1 facially [1] 31:1 fact [22] 6:8 10:1 20:1,3,4 25:8 29:10 36:17 52:24 58: 20 60:24 68:9.25 70:16 73: 24 74:12.18 90:16 95:20 102:8.25 103:1 fact-specific [2] 92:8 96: factor [1] 74:22 facts [3] 30:18 82:15 83:11 fail [1] 77:14 failed [3] 77:1 101:22 110: fails [1] 75:24 failure [1] 29:16 fair [1] 41:17

fairly [3] 34:1 91:18 93:18

extreme [3] 87:13 88:12

F

114.16

eye [1] 23:11

fall [1] 83:2 fallback [1] 25:2 far [1] 35:24 fare [1] 67:21 fares [1] 76:5 fashion [1] 46:13 favor [3] 31:2 46:17 99:22 favorable [1] 102:17 favorite [1] 34:4 FEC [1] 37:16 federal [14] 4:15 5:8.14 32: 20 40:11 53:11 75:16 83: 25 84:15 87:25 93:9 96:9 109:5 116:20 feeds [1] 67:7 feel [1] 69:18 fellow's [1] 39:4 few [2] 97:2 115:13 field [1] 104:12 Fifth [1] 98:13 fight [2] 46:20 108:8 figure [2] 16:6 88:20 filed [1] 49:13 files [1] 100:10 final [4] 28:12 56:17 75:13 101:5 Finally [1] 76:16 finals [1] 90:10 financial [3] 10:17 12:6,16 find [3] 39:6.7 90:12 finds [2] 15:22.22 fine [2] 11:20 69:20 finish [2] 117:9 118:10 first [14] 4:4 8:20.20 31:6 45:12 51:18 52:16 20 57:8 **75**:9 **79**:5 **92**:25 **111**:6 **115**: fit [2] 60:18 71:2 five [2] 24:2 96:11 flood [1] 33:14 flow [1] 65:9 flows [3] 63:5 67:25 73:25 focus [1] 50:9 follow-up [1] 105:16 follows [1] 20:5 Footnote [3] 23:20 24:3 25: force [7] 22:19 46:3 61:6. 23.23 62:1 94:2 forced [8] 58:22 60:25 61: 14 **69:1 70:**1.18 **72:**8.13 forces [1] 47:17 foreign [1] 55:24 forever [3] 28:8 35:18,19 forgone [1] 9:14 form [1] 32:11 formulation [1] 44:17 fortiori [1] 71:22 forward [1] 69:15 found [5] 62:8.11 97:9 98: 16 **101**:12 four [1] 92:11

front [1] 28:1 fuel [3] 41:5 42:17 65:18 function [2] 51:1.2 fund [2] 114:11.11 fund-raising [1] 114:12 funding [2] 37:16 114:11 funneled [1] 15:2 further [3] 25:5 108:13 109: **Furthermore** [1] **57:**23 future [8] 60:22 64:4 76:23. 25 81:5 85:13 101:22 105: **future-injury** [1] **110**:15 G gamble [10] 61:1,2 67:7,9 69:1 70:2,18 72:9,13 73:1 gamble/harm [1] 72:20 game [4] 39:5 58:21,22 69: gather [1] 71:13 General [6] 2:4.8 7:14 10: 20 33:3 78:14 generalized [10] 5:6 8:17 26:20 32:14 33:4,7 50:11, 14,21 51:7 generally [4] 14:1 27:7,8 gets [5] 41:21 54:25 67:6 68:12,25 getting [8] 32:19,21,22 35: 21 67:13 83:16 104:18 give [10] 5:25 29:10 30:25 32:5.6 74:20 83:3 84:10 90:8 117:25 aiven [1] 66:10 gives [1] 51:5 giving [3] 83:21 84:6 88:5 Gord [1] 62:23 gored [2] 50:20 51:2 GORSUCH [33] 20:13,17 21:3,17,23 37:5,6 38:24 39:18 40:4,8,14,22 71:9 79:21 81:18 83:8.11.14 84: 9.14.25 85:4.12.15 86:4.14 87:3.17 88:2.14.22 110:24 Got [8] 29:5 31:23 32:24 44: 2 59:4 74:25 116:23 117: gotten [1] 36:22 govern [4] 14:19 49:7 70: 17 75:11 governing [3] 57:3 65:23 **71:**16 government [7] 7:4 26:6 **38:**25 **39:**3 **55:**4 **112:**25 117:24

government's [2] 48:4 61:

fraught [1] 78:11

friend [2] 9:22 29:1

free [1] 109:25

grateful [1] 20:20 great [1] 108:5 greater [1] 64:17 grievance [11] 5:6 32:14 **33:**4,7 **49:**10,12 **50:**11,11, 14.22 51:8 grievances [1] 26:20 arounds [2] 36:1 69:9 quarantee [1] 60:22 quess [16] 11:6 24:22 47: 19 **49**:1.1 **68**:22 **71**:20 **72**: 19 **78**:15 **92**:5 **95**:6 **97**:2. 19 **106**:25 **108**:1 **112**:19 guy [1] 60:19 Н

half [2] 45:11.12 half-mile [1] 45:10 hand [2] 19:9 39:19 handful [3] 26:21 33:11 103:21 handled [1] 54:24 happen [7] 52:12 55:5 56:1 **64:**9 **65:**6 **93:**3.14 happened [1] 13:24 happening [7] 51:9 58:24 107:5.20 108:1.4.6 happens [3] 78:6 80:1.17 happy [1] 40:15 hard [3] 47:4 68:17 98:24 harder [2] 36:3 39:22 hardest [1] 18:4 hardly [1] 68:11 harm [71] 6:6 7:2 11:2,2,11, 20 12:1,16 13:9 30:8,17 32:11.15 51:2.6 52:3.11.21 **55**:9,11 **63**:5,8,24 **64**:2 **65**: 2.8 **67**:10.25 **68**:18 **69**:11. 15 **73**:5.17.21.25 **74**:5 **76**: 12.15.20.25 **77:**6.11.15.16. 20 81:7.8 85:13 86:13 87: 7 88:13,19,20 89:17 90:24 94:12 95:12 98:2,7 99:24 101:17,22,25 102:21,23 103:22 110:11,16 112:8 113:3,24 harmed [9] 11:9,23 51:14 69:21,22 96:14 112:17 113:6 115:23 harmless [1] 93:5 harmonizes [1] 74:5 harms [12] 12:6 56:5 76:4 93:24 94:7 98:4 112:8.9. 22 114:1,15,23 hear [3] 4:3 84:5 85:25 heavy [1] 48:3 hedging [1] 19:22 held [1] 86:11 help [3] 18:10 42:10 83:16

framework [1] 38:6

helped [1] 7:22

helps [2] 27:8 42:5

helpful [3] 79:9 108:23 113:

Hi [3] 17:12 24:15.23 high [3] 19:11 93:16,19 higher [1] 116:24 highly [2] 7:4 26:5 hill [1] 19:21 Hippocratic [1] 105:1 hire [1] 104:9 historical [2] 103:24,25 history [7] 22:5,25 23:16 36:8 66:24 76:2 114:2 hold [2] 75:17 118:16 home [1] 47:21 Honor [3] 8:20 9:19 81:2 Honor's [1] 108:15 hopes [1] 78:4 hotly [1] 62:2 hour [1] 47:24 House [2] 61:13 97:15 however [3] 31:22 88:6 90: Hughes [1] 81:21 hundred [3] 10:24 48:2 86: hurt [5] 7:12 21:9 70:13 91: 4 116:25 hurts [2] 26:7 27:7 hypothetical [8] 50:8 58: 18 **60**:17,23 **74**:24 **86**:24 88:21 90:9 hypotheticals [2] 24:13 **85**:16

ID [3] 23:17,23 36:14 idea [10] 6:16 11:7 16:19 48:23 49:19 51:15 83:3 97: 20 113:3.5 ideal [2] 18:1 111:16 identified [2] 52:22 76:24 identify [1] 51:20 identifying [1] 51:1 ianorina [1] **64:**6 **III** [4] **18**:9 **76**:18 **117**:4,6 III's [1] 76:22 illegal [2] 15:23 30:14 illegally [2] 15:8 88:23 illegitimate 3 87:16 89:7 114:20 illegitimately [1] 89:16 ILLINOIS [13] 1:6 2:8 4:5. 12.18 12:25 37:11 43:6 50: 1 **56**:1 **85**:20 **87**:25 **110**:2 imaginary [1] 60:13 imagine [4] 47:16 62:16 85: 19 **91:**25 immediacy [1] 25:17 immediately [5] 63:5 65:8 67:25 73:25 84:2 imminent [3] 52:1 55:10, impact [2] 89:23 97:17 impair [1] 98:20 implement [1] 32:13

implicate [3] 55:23 111:4

improperly [1] 11:25 incidentally [1] 43:3 include [3] 98:2.4.16 included [1] 98:18 including [1] 53:11 incomplete [1] 76:12 inconsistent [1] 19:6 inconvenience [1] 47:14 increased [2] 8:9 21:15 incumbent [2] 116:23 117: incur [2] 7:8 57:16 indefinite [1] 63:15 Indiana [4] 23:17,18,22 36: 13 indicate [1] 63:3 indirect [1] 65:15 indistinguishable [1] 55: individual [1] 91:1 individuals [1] 34:14 industries [1] 10:18 industry [2] 7:16 46:24 infallible [1] 81:25 influence [2] 84:3.19 information [9] 79:11 80:8 81:10,12,20 95:18 100:1,3, injects [1] 5:8 iniured [1] 22:22 injuries [10] 9:25 10:17,18 21:19 22:2 45:19 52:13 89: 20 114:12 117:22 injury [65] 5:24 9:12 10:2,6, 15 **18**:21 **19**:25 **20**:3,4 **22**: 6,8,11,16,20 **25**:8 **27**:2,17, 17 **30**:13,16 **36**:16 **37**:14 39:22 43:12,17 45:20,22 **46**:8 **48**:7 **51**:16,24,25 **52**: 21,22 53:12,18 54:17,21 **55**:3.18 **64**:5 **70**:21 **76**:2. 14,18,23 77:2 81:5 90:5,7, 16 95:1 101:1.8.22 102:14. 25 103:1 104:5 105:6.11 **117:**25 **118:**1.2.4 injury's [1] 43:19 inquiry [4] 6:1 28:3 34:14 94.9 instead [3] 30:13 39:20 45: insubstantial [1] 29:21 interest [8] 5:19 33:17 57: 12 **58**:23 **59**:18 **61**:1 **66**:5 118.17 interesting [1] 32:1 interests [1] 62:5 interrupt [1] 85:2 intuition [1] 38:3 invalid [2] 70:9 97:9

112:12

implicates [1] **61**:3

important [2] 109:22 116:1

impossible [2] 29:22 66:

invocation [1] 75:23 involved [1] 78:12 involves [1] 90:4 ironically [1] 53:23 irrelevant [2] 17:10 104:7 lsn't [23] 12:7 50:12,25 51: 2 52:2 55:3,12 59:23 60: 18 61:11 68:13,21 74:16 78:17,17 79:7 88:11 94:13 101:2 102:25 104:18 110: 6,7 issue [10] 9:16 12:19 27:1

issue [10] 9:16 12:19 27:1 28:9 29:13 54:24,25 57:5 60:21 97:7

issues [3] **15**:1 **16**:14 **33**: 17

itself [10] 55:3 57:14 76:21 84:3,19 101:18 102:22 105:6 110:11 113:23

J

JACKSON [38] 11:1,17 12: 7 13:2,5 48:20,21 50:7,17, 23,25 52:18 53:15,21 54:2, 5.16.19 **55:**9 **56:**3.18 **72:**18. 19 **73**:4 **74**:8.14.25 **96**:22 **105**:13 **106**:22.25 **107**:16 112:4.5 113:18 114:22.25 115:6 JANE [3] 2:8 3:10 75:4 Janus [1] 85:20 John [1] 31:23 Judge [2] 24:7 54:23 judgment [4] 14:14 18:8 31:7,16 judicial [3] 5:10 28:17,21 jump [1] 78:13 Justice [289] 2:5 4:3.10 6:4. 21.25 7:24 8:2 9:1.7.10 11: 1.17 **12:**7 **13:**2.5 **14:**20.21. 22.25 15:10.15 16:2 17:6 18:20 19:18 20:13.17.19 21:3,17,23 22:1,14 23:20 **24:**1,10,19 **25:**6,11,12,13, 22,24 26:2,23,23,24 27:11 28:11,22 29:5,6,6,8 30:3,5, 11,19 31:10,25 32:8 33:18, 18,19,25 35:5,20 36:12 37: 3,4,4,6,7 38:24 39:18 40:4, 8.14.18.18.20.21.22 **41:**14. 18.24 **42:**3.8.10.14.17.20 **43**:1.13 **45**:24.25.25 **46**:2. 12.12 47:8.12 48:19.19.21. 25 **50**:7.17.23.25 **52**:4.18 **53**:15,21 **54**:2,5,16,19 **55**:9 **56:**3,18,19,25 **58:**3,8,25 **59**: 22 60:5,16 61:8 62:7 63:9, 13,17,18 64:11,24 65:10, 14 66:6,10,14,23,23 67:15, 17,18,19,20 68:2,3,3,5,6 **69:**4 **70:**3 **71:**5,8,8,10,11, 17,20,24 72:1,15,16,16,18, 19 **73:**4 **74:**8.14.25 **75:**1.6

12 81:16,18,19 82:6,16,21 **83**:8,11,14,15 **84**:9,14,25 85:4,12,14,15 86:4,14 87:3, 17 **88:**2,14,15,18,22 **89:**1, 25 **90**:1,2,25 **91**:10,12,15, 20,22 **92**:9,19 **93**:15,25 **94**: 21 96:3,6,8,20,22,23 97:12, 15 **98**:6,9 **99**:3,5,6,8,9 **100**: 6.12.22 **101:**24 **102:**2.15. 24 **103**:6.10 **104**:4.5 **105**: 12.13.15 106:13.16.22.23. 25 **107**:16 **108**:20 **109**:14. 17,17,19,20 **110:**20,21,21, 23,24,25 111:1,2 112:1,2,2, 4,5,6,13 **113:**18 **114:**22,25, 25 **115**:6,7,13 **118**:19 Justice's [1] 80:7 justiciability [1] 23:10

K

KAGAN [29] 17:6 18:20 19: 18 25:6 33:18,19 35:5,20 37:3 42:10 46:13 64:11 68: 5,6 69:4 70:3 71:5,24 72:1 85:14 90:1 93:15,25 94:21 96:3 110:23 112:6,13 115:

Kagan's [1] 20:19 KAVANAUGH [53] 14:20, 22,25 15:10,15 16:2 40:19, 20 41:14,24 42:3,8,14,17, 20 43:1,13 45:24 48:25 61: 8 62:7 63:9,13,17 71:10,11, 17,20 72:15 79:22 80:12 88:15,18 89:1 96:20,23 97: 12,15 98:6,9 99:3,6,9 104: 4 105:12,15 106:13,16,23 108:20 110:25 111:1 112:

Keene [8] 63:22 79:8.10 81:

13 87:5 89:18 114:3.14

keep [7] 35:18,18 44:2 83:9 95:19 98:9 116:4 kicked [1] 35:25 kind [25] 12:19 16:9,21 17: 14,21 21:12,19 22:6 26:4 29:3 34:10 36:10 42:7 43: 18 44:16,18,19 48:18 49: 10 53:18 59:2 70:21 87:24 113:5,24 kinds [7] 35:24 37:22 61:

12 68:15 69:17 86:5 114: 23 knowledge [1] 99:20 known [2] 16:5 95:25

L

Lance [2] 33:6 54:13 landslide [1] 17:5 language [2] 30:18 64:7 last [9] 31:5 41:5 42:18 44: 7,23 45:11 47:23 82:3 96: 11 late [4] 20:10 44:22 80:16,

late-arriving [8] 18:10 43: 9,10 44:10 55:5 56:2 99: 23 116:10 late-breaking [1] 20:10 Laughter [2] 40:17 42:13 law [25] 4:15 11:25 14:10 19:6 20:24.24 23:23 29:9 32:10.10.13 39:12 46:6 53: 8.11 **57**:19 **59**:14 **73**:1 **74**: 6 **85**:19 **86**:9 **98**:14 **109**:5 110:2 117:23 law's [1] 59:16 lawfully [1] 53:10 laws [9] 36:14 57:3,10,10 **59:**14 **68:**10 **87:**25 **88:**1,4 lawsuit [1] 115:4 lawyer [1] 46:9 lawyers [2] 108:25 109:11 League [2] 44:11 105:22 least [2] 4:20 24:2 leave [1] 104:12 left [1] 104:12

10 legality [1] 111:6 legally [13] 76:5,21,24 98:1 101:18 102:4,20,22 103:21 105:7 110:11 113:23 114:

legal [3] 30:18 108:21 109:

less [8] 13:13 30:9 44:11 45:3,4 64:19 102:17,17 lesser [1] 64:17 level [4] 7:15 14:11 53:6 98:

lies [1] 117:2 likelihood [3] 17:15 61:21 104:6

likely [4] **34**:11 **45**:4 **69**:21 **104**:3

Likewise [1] 37:16 limit [3] 33:12,20 57:25 limited [4] 33:10,15 79:7 80:10 limits [1] 25:25

line [2] 70:23 112:24

lines [1] 90:8 list [1] 38:7 litigate [1] 93:8 litigated [1] 13:21 litigation [7] 14:5,12 15:1 61:24 70:6 97:3 113:14 little [14] 11:6 13:23 17:10

little [14] 11:6 13:23 17:10 19:22 20:3 38:18 45:5,21 68:7 94:24 96:5 112:5 113:

live [2] 17:25 58:20 lived [1] 95:21 lives [1] 118:16 locked [1] 31:21 long [7] 4:15 32:24 48:13 57:4 66:24 73:8 86:2 longer [3] 5:23 44:1,3 look [14] 11:22 42:5 48:1

77:4,22,23,24 79:21,22 80:

77:25 78:15 82:13.15 96: 19 **99:**23 **101:**3 **103:**24 109:8 116:2,22 looked [1] 86:4 looking [3] 51:12 59:6 82:4 looks [1] 61:15 loosening [1] 27:6 lose [18] 19:13 30:15 38:23 **39**:4 **40**:2 **47**:21 **55**:13 **56**: 6 **58**:7 **60**:19 **72**:24 **74**:19 **80**:1 **84**:19 **87**:21 **91**:3 **95**: 14 102:7 loser [1] 32:7 losers [1] 92:13 loses [1] 80:3 losing [19] 9:13 10:11 15: 20 29:23 30:9 51:5 55:14 **73**:3,6,7 **76**:7 **79**:25 **80**:3 98:2 102:3,9,13,16 114:5 loss [9] 6:18 22:7 57:8 76: 11 83:17 87:6 89:22 95:10 **117:**15 lost [6] 4:25 37:10 112:14 16 **113**:11 **115**:17 lot [21] 17:23 23:9 24:12 27: 3,5 30:12 33:23 35:16 36: 3 40:2 46:2 50:19 61:23 80:8 81:10,17,20 85:21 96: 21 100:16 113:9 lots [2] 40:11 49:24 lousy [1] 16:22 Lujan [1] 25:13

М

made [3] 21:8 25:14 43:14 madness [1] 117:2 mail [5] 50:5.6 60:1.1 107: mail-in [4] 4:12 17:20 45:4 **50:**3 mailing [1] 60:1 maior [2] 58:1 62:4 makers [1] 42:18 malpractice [5] 44:13 101: 4 105:23 108:21 118:9 manufacturers [1] 65:19 many [6] 15:24 31:22 33:13 **54**:15 **96**:1 **99**:14 maps [1] 6:18 margin [39] 4:21 6:14,15 7: 13 8:6.14.16 9:16 10:13.14 **11:**9.10 **12:**10.10.16 **15:**6 17:9 21:9 22:6 37:19 45:6 59:7 75:24 82:3.4 93:24 **94:**4 **95:**15 **102:**18,22,25 103:4,16,20 112:16,17 113: 6,12,22 margins [2] 45:3 56:14 market [1] 7:23 marry [2] 35:11 36:5 massive [1] 47:14 material [1] 38:22 matter [10] 1:14 7:14 9:25

10:20 15:6 33:3 56:9 58:9

matters [2] 95:21 103:18 McPherson [3] 23:2 27:20 36:25 mean [72] 6:9,24 12:8,18 **13**:23 **15**:3 **18**:2,20 **19**:2, 25 21:5,7 22:10,21 25:4 26:18 30:2 31:8 32:23 33: 23 34:13.17 36:12 37:24 38:7 45:8 47:9.15 50:20 51:10 52:25 53:23 56:5 59: monitoring 3 44:9 108: 3.8.23 60:2.20 61:17 62:15 **68**:9,11,22 **69**:18 **70**:4,5 **72:**21 **85:**14,24,25 **87:**24 88:16 89:25 91:6,24 95:5 99:17 100:23 101:11 103: 8,24 106:7 107:5,10,19 **108**:7,8,8,10 **113**:21 **117**:3, Meaning [1] 64:24 meaningful [2] 30:8,10 means [4] 4:23 58:22.23 107:11 measured [1] 92:16 Medicine [1] 105:1 Meese [11] 63:22 79:8.10 81:13 87:5 89:18 98:3 100: 3 114:3,14 117:17 meet [2] 73:23 109:2 meets [2] 86:15 89:11 mentioned [2] 97:1 110:12 mere [5] 5:5 57:9 76:13 77: 16 95:12 merely [2] 77:19 81:9 merits [1] 4:16 message [1] 106:11 meter [1] 91:3 meters [1] 90:14 metric [6] 11:19 77:11.13 82:10,12 111:25 MICHAEL [4] 1:3 2:4 3:6 56:22 Michigan [1] 23:6 Michigan's [1] 23:4 middle [2] 78:10 84:16 might [28] 11:21 15:13 16: 4 32:18.20 41:12.20 42:10 47:18 53:5.6 56:13 63:9 **64**:9.19.19 **84**:3.18.19 **85**: 17 94:4,4 99:11 102:7 106: 9 112:20.21 113:13 mile [3] 45:9.11.12 mind [2] 14:5 116:4 mine-run [1] 82:11 minimum [2] 5:22 104:16 minor [4] 5:11 67:21 85:22 106:9 minority [1] 114:7 minute [1] 37:8 misperceiving [1] 5:2 misreading [1] 5:1 mission [3] 106:5.8.9 Mississippi's [1] 98:19

mistake [1] 54:22

60:25 103:12

mitigate [2] 57:16 67:12 Mm-hmm [2] 25:22 83:13 monetary [3] 43:17,19 104: money [16] 38:12 44:24 45: 1,3,4,6 47:9 52:9 56:1 101: 6,7 **104:**15,17,22 **106:**18 118·8 monitor [3] 106:19 108:3 110:1 14 109:21 months [3] 78:20,21 87:19 moral [1] 55:21 morning [1] 4:4 most [6] 19:1 26:25 35:23 **36**:10 **45**:15 **78**:11 mostly [2] 47:8 70:7 motion [3] 14:7 21:21 31: motivated [1] 48:23 Ms [69] **75**:3.6 **77**:7 **78**:24 80:6 81:1 82:5.9.18 83:4.8. 10.13 84:4.12.21 85:3.8.13. 14,24 86:7,23 87:4,23 88: 10,17,25 89:3 90:17 91:6, 11,14,17,21,24 92:18,21 **93**:21 **94**:15 **95**:5 **96**:16 **97**: 11,14,19 98:7,11 99:17 100:11,15 101:11,25 102:5, 19 103:2,8,14 104:23 105: 25 **106**:14 **107**:10 **108**:7 **109**:16.24 **111**:12 **113**:17. 19 **114**:24 **115**:5 much [9] 19:19 33:16 36:8 37:17.17 41:2 44:20 80:19 99:20 multiple [2] 38:1 102:9 Murthy [1] 64:3 must [1] 4:17 myself [1] 28:13

name [4] 18:17 20:12 22: 24 54:9 name's [1] 118:15 namely [1] 18:6 names [2] 5:4 24:8 narrow [2] 57:18 72:2 narrowly [1] 48:12 national [1] 115:21 nature [4] 11:9 46:23 74:10 116:3 near [1] 64:4 neatly [1] 71:2 necessarily [4] 11:12 12: 15 **55**:11 **97**:20 necessary [4] 73:16 79:15 105:5 106:20 need [15] 6:1 7:14 11:3 12: 2 28:7 40:10 41:2 43:14 47:25 62:24 72:2 81:11 90: 24 91:8 97:24 needlessly [1] 5:8

needs [7] 29:12 61:20 73: 11 **77**:12 **83**:17 **86**:12 **105**: negatively [1] 35:9 network [1] 41:6 never [14] 35:22 40:12 55: 19 **60**:14 **64**:10 **70**:10 **77**: 10 **82**:12 **86**:4 **97**:18 **100**: 14 106:6.12 116:15 new [16] 7:6.17.20 8:21 17: 17.19 28:14 56:6 68:17 69: 10.19.22 70:8.12 94:11 96: newer [1] 99:25 next [5] 12:12 32:20,22 61: 15 **107**:23 nightmare [2] 16:10,15 nine [1] 78:21 nobody [5] 35:25 39:15 40: 4.6 89:8 non-speculative [1] 13:9 None [3] 18:18 41:7 60:17 nothing [2] 10:5 30:20 notice [2] 28:17.21 NOTZ [72] 2:8 3:10 75:3.4. 6 **77**:7 **78**:24 **80**:6 **81**:1 **82**: 5,9,18 **83:**4,8,10,13 **84:**4, 12,21 85:3,8,13,14,24 86:7, 23 87:4,23 88:10,17,25 89: 3 90:17 91:6,11,14,17,21, 24 92:18,21 93:21 94:15 **95**:5 **96**:16 **97**:11,14,19 **98**: 7,11 **99:**17 **100:**11,15 **101:** 11,25 102:5,19 103:2,8,14 **104**:23 **105**:25 **106**:14 **107**: 10 **108**:7 **109**:16.24 **111**:12 113:17.19 114:24 115:5 November [1] 61:15 number [7] 37:19 83:1.21 **84:**6,9,10 **87:**1

object [25] 41:1,3,9,19,23, 25 **42**:6,9,14,24 **48**:24 **49**:4 **58**:11,14,21 **63**:4,11,14 **65**: 8,12 71:3,15 72:8 73:13,20 objects [5] 40:24 41:16 63: 1 65:16 67:25 observation [1] 108:16 obtain [1] 104:1 obvious [4] 34:19 36:11 104:17.19 obviously [7] 6:9 21:20 25: 24 42:22 46:20 48:11 54: occur [1] 44:21 October [1] 1:12 odds [1] 73:2 off-ramps [1] 48:11 offended [1] 53:6 office [1] 57:13 officials [5] 75:15 86:16 93: 1.6 116:16 often [4] 34:23 66:21 80:3.

Okay [14] 25:11 28:11,22 **41**:14 **73**:10 **80**:12,13 **83**: 17 84:9 86:14,14 88:14 93: 25 112.7 old [3] 17:18 21:14 68:19 old-school [1] 22:16 Oldham [1] 24:7 Olympics [1] 90:11 once [1] 111:2 One [52] 9:19 15:5 17:7 19: 24 20:9 21:7 22:10 24:21 **25**:3,4 **28**:12 **29**:1,2,2,11 **34:**25 **39:**13 **41:**13,19 **44:** 17 45:14,17 48:12,22 49:8 54:6 59:4 67:5 76:8 78:19 **79:**12,13,16 **84:**13 **85:**19 86:8 88:9 89:21 91:7,8 92: 13 105:15 106:16 111:1 **112**:12 **114**:4 **115**:19 **116**: 4 14 **117**:9 17 **118**:10 one's [1] 16:22 one-in-a-hundred [1] 60: ones [5] 5:4 24:6 53:4.14 **87:**2 only [20] 5:1,7 26:20 28:6 **41**:24 **42**:1 **55**:6 **56**:5 **57**:6 **62:**3 **66:**1 **76:**20 **79:**2,3 **80:** 24 86:17,25 97:22 112:22 117:14 open [1] 35:19 opening [4] 24:14,20 61: 18 **113**:9 operate [4] 6:19 26:12 35: 9 43:16 operates [2] 43:19 56:16 operating [2] 47:7 48:1 opinion [3] 23:10 24:7 46: 16 opinions [1] 93:12 opponent [1] 37:17 opportunity [1] 49:6 opposed [5] 12:13 34:15 **51**:7 **78**:13,22 opposite [1] 33:5 oral [7] 1:15 3:2,5,9 4:8 56: 22 75:4 order [4] 11:3 17:1 77:5 94: ordinarily [1] 11:2 ordinary [2] 46:22 105:18 organizational [1] 106:2 other [33] 9:22 12:22 14:25 19:9 20:15 36:7 39:18 42: 11 **43**:3 **44**:18 **46**:6 **53**:17 54:12 70:9 75:18 76:22 78: 1 **85**:9 **87**:2.25 **88**:4.5 **89**: 22 90:6 91:2 100:2 103:18 **104**:19 **106**:7,8 **114**:6,12 118:1 others [1] 91:5

otherwise [4] 101:21 105:

9 110:14 113:10

ought [1] 26:12 out [28] 9:19 14:23 15:19 **16**:2,6,7,11 **18**:21 **21**:4 **30**: 19 **35**:25 **38**:9 **39**:1 **43**:18 46:13 59:4 62:12 63:20 69: 8 **70**:6 **77**:10,25 **88**:20 **97**: 4 98:13 100:13 106:18 115:16 outcome [14] 6:13 9:23 10: 2 7 **37**:18 **56**:17 **57**:6 **59**: 21 61:7 69:2 70:19 74:4 **104**:3 **117**:19 outcomes [1] 60:22 outsider [1] 26:9 over [6] 4:24 15:1 40:2 78: 6,6 113:14 overcounting [1] 88:6 overseas [1] 109:2 own [2] 116:6 118:15 ox [1] 50:20

Ρ

PAGE [5] 3:2 44:12 95:8 **115:**18,18 paper [5] 26:11,15 39:21, 21 109:21 paradigm [1] 71:3 part [16] 19:1 31:6 60:21,21 65:16.19 67:7.9.9 73:5.7 84:11 105:17.19 106:23 **117:**10 participated [2] 81:15 83: particular [12] 19:20 26:22 43:21 46:14 47:2 49:11 51: 5 **74**:14 **90**:5 **97**:5,6 **100**:9 particularize [1] 51:21 particularized [6] 5:19 33: 16 **49**:14.20 **50**:10 **67**:10 particularly [3] 32:15 35:1 particulars [1] 100:24 parties [11] 29:19 32:17 33: 24 34:15 46:20 58:1 62:4 67:21 69:7 75:9 86:10 partisan [1] 28:15 partly [1] 66:18 party [20] 5:11 20:9 23:19, 22 31:22 32:24 34:22 35: 14 37:1 68:13.15 69:10.14 71:12.21 72:5 85:22 98:15 106:9 114:8 partv's [1] 98:21 pass [1] 43:20 passed [1] 68:12 past [2] 16:19 60:21 patterns [1] 31:15 PAUL [5] 2:2 3:3,13 4:8 **115:**10 pay [4] 4:21 64:17,19,19 paying [1] 44:6 people [22] 6:19 7:6 12:11 13:16 20:11 23:12 27:5 30: 7 33:11,16 42:11,11 43:3

Offici 47:21 49:6 50:19 65:2,16 94:2 108:2 113:11 116:2 percent [35] 10:22,23,24, 25 11:4,4,15,15 29:19 30:9 31:19,20 32:18,18,22,23 52:6 56:4,9,10,11,12,12 59: 7,25 74:17,20 78:3 83:19, 20 93:20,23 94:4 103:11, 12 percentage [1] 31:23 perfect [2] 51:11 80:21 perfectly [2] 69:9 118:7 perhaps [1] 89:5 period [5] 101:7 107:12,15 108:16 112:15 person [3] 53:2 60:25 112:

108:16 112:15 person [3] 53:2 60:25 112: 13 person's [1] 61:3 personal [1] 99:20 perspective [1] 61:11 petition [2] 115:18 116:6 Petitioner [3] 6:5 13:6 62: 19 Petitioners [16] 1:4 2:3,7

Petitioners [16] 1:4 2:3,7 3:4,8,14 4:9,14 53:24 55: 20 56:24 75:9 76:6,24 106: 1 115:11 Petitioners' [4] 4:16 75:13

76:4,16 **phrase** [3] **17**:16 **88**:7 **108**:

22 pick [1] 5:16 Pierce [1] 41:6

pitch [1] 24:20 place [1] 35:19 places [1] 78:5 plain [1] 68:16

plaintiff [23] 13:8 29:11,13 63:4 64:4 65:7 72:5 73:20 75:19 79:6 81:4 82:14 85:

9 **86**:10,12 **90**:21 **96**:17 **101**:15,21 **105**:2,4 **110**:4,

plausibility [3] **64**:10 **74**: 11 **91**:7

plausible [3] **30:**21 **91:**14, 25

plausibly 69 89:5 93:22 95: 14 103:9,16 114:17 play 69 14:23 15:19 16:7

43:18 62:12 97:4 plays [1] 70:6

plead [4] 17:21 27:12,21 28:7

pleading [4] **16**:19 **27**:14, 16 **29**:17 pleadings [1] **30**:24

please [3] 4:11 57:1 75:7 pled [1] 27:16 pocketbook [23] 5:24 9:25

10:6 22:11,20,22 **27:**17 **45:** 19,20,22 **47:**12 **48:6 51:**23 **54:**17,21 **76:**17 **101:**1,8 **102:**14 **115:**23 **117:**22,25

118:2
point [32] 7:24 8:20 9:11,19
16:11,17 25:15,15,19 29:2
39:1 42:23 43:18 44:18 52:
16,20 55:6 77:10 79:9 80:
6,24 81:9 95:8 97:22 98:
11 100:15 108:11,21,24
115:14 117:9 118:1
pointed [2] 30:19 37:11
points [2] 46:13 115:13

policy (2) 75:16 93:4 policy-based (1) 93:9 political (10) 5:9,16 43:24 44:13 79:14 98:15 100:4 101:3 105:23 118:8

politics [1] 78:12 poll [4] 44:9 95:24 101:4 118:8

polling 8 52:2 79:8,13 80: 5,10,14 99:11 100:4 polls 8 19:13 45:7 50:2 52:7 80:5 94:3 96:10 106:

pollution [2] **53**:3,7 poorly [1] **39**:9 posed [1] **57**:17 posited [1] **112**:13

position [15] 5:15 29:25 78: 25 93:10 96:17 97:18 99: 16 101:14 109:25 110:3 111:19 112:21 115:20 116:

17,21 procedure possibility 6175:23 76:11, 14 77:16 89:23 95:12 procedure possible 513 13:21 18: 14 25:20 procedure procedure

post [1] 107:7 post-election [14] 15:2,14, 18,22 36:20 61:15,24 62:1,

10 97:3,6,21 111:15 113:9 postmarked [2] 107:8,23 potential [5] 11:10 51:24

67:14 78:1 90:21 potentially [2] 85:6 104:15 pour [1] 5:3

practical [5] 38:16 44:18 46:3 56:9 62:3 practically [1] 113:4

practice [1] 88:4 pre-election [5] 15:24 36: 21 61:14 68:10 87:11 pre-enforcement [2] 60:7

73:22 precautions [2] **76**:18 **109**:

precedents [4] 5:2 58:13 59:11 63:2

precinct [1] 86:17 predict [1] 81:24 predictable [1] 34:1 prediction [2] 81:6,7

prefer [4] 11:14 13:11 18: 13 68:19 preference [3] 11:4,18 12: premise [3] 11:14 56:16 65:5 prepared [1] 95:22

prepared [1] 95:22 present [2] 77:1 91:8 present-injury [1] 110:17 presentation [1] 63:19 President [1] 81:23 presidential [5] 23:4.5.7.

12,14 presumably [2] 91:24 97:

pretty 5 14:16 16:23 38: 15 46:7 115:2

prevail [1] 106:4 prevent [2] 35:21 58:24 previous [1] 116:7 primary [1] 118:4 principle [2] 26:4 111:5

prior [2] 70:7 82:6

probability 8 **58**:15 **60**:14 **73**:24 **83**:17,19 **86**:5 **93**:17, 19

probably [10] 38:10 42:2 87:24 88:11 91:18 98:12 103:15 108:9 111:16 114: 7

problem [9] 32:8 40:1 58:5 68:8,23,24 94:16,17 95:17 problematic [1] 35:1 problems [1] 92:24 procedural [3] 25:16 39:2

46:8 procedural/substantive

proceeded [2] 106:1,14 proceeding [3] 16:18 69: 20 108:11

process 5 43:4 45:2 70: 13 84:20 89:7

producers [2] 41:5 42:18 produces [1] 92:15 producing [1] 111:7 prognosticate [1] 57:24 prognostication [1] 80:23 prognostications [1] 84:1 prognosticators [1] 5:10

promise [4] 85:18 prompting [4] 55:25 promulgated [4] 7:17 proof [4] 66:25

proposition [4] **24:**3 **34:**20 **105:**2 **118:**13

prospect [1] 20:8 prospective [1] 38:11 prospects [1] 115:24 protect [1] 62:5 prove [1] 87:21

proven [1] 81:25 provide [1] 38:5 provides [1] 95:13

provisional [2] 107:14 108: 4 provisions [1] 40:12 prudent [1] 110:8 public [4] 111:8 114:10,11, 11

pull [1] 60:6 purpose [3] 59:16 65:25 66:1

purposes [3] 33:22 108:10 113:4 pursue [1] 27:9

push [2] 65:4 97:19 put [17] 6:10 12:23 30:18 34:11 38:17 59:1 60:14 70: 23 72:22 73:2,2 75:25 93: 10 115:20 116:16,20 118: 16

puts [4] **17**:17,21 **19**:16 **92**: 3

O

qualify [1] 90:10 qualifying [1] 114:10 question [28] 9:15 14:4 17: 8 20:22 23:18 24:22 28:12 33:22 35:5 50:12 55:7 57: 13 59:11 66:7 80:7 84:11 90:5 104:4 107:1 108:8,9, 25 109:6 110:6,7,9 111:1 113:20

questions [7] 6:3 41:19 58: 2 62:20,20 77:3 84:5 quibble [2] 41:13 63:9 quickly [1] 85:18 quite [4] 19:5 25:19 54:24 94:6 quote [1] 111:10

R

quoted [1] 105:22

race [10] 45:10,10 57:11,24 **58**:4,4,9 **74**:4 **92**:1,2 races [3] 5:13 82:6 91:2 radically [1] 34:19 raise [1] 104:15 raised [2] 61:19 108:21 raising [1] 50:21 random [1] 86:20 rather [3] 10:16 11:15 75:8 re [2] 63:25 95:7 read [1] 9:20 readily [1] 92:15 ready [1] 105:24 real [6] 43:15 44:15 51:16, 25 97:7,8 real-world [2] 103:4.6 realistic [1] 74:10 realize [1] 39:25 reallocating [1] 104:14 really [24] 18:21 27:20 32: 14 34:10 36:22 43:3 48:18, 23 49:2,5,16 52:11 54:23, 25 59:3 71:4 72:12 74:16 100:5 103:7 104:7 107:17, 25 117:18

reason [16] 16:10,12 19:22

revenue [1] 8:10

reverse [1] 50:1

25:2 38:17 45:22 54:13 55: 18 **67**:10 **70**:9 **72**:1,5,6,12 **78**:19 **112**:11 reasonable [6] 44:16 55:8 **57**:16 **109**:7 **110**:7 **118**:7 reasons [6] 18:24 38:1 57: 7 71:23 79:1.4 REBUTTAL [4] 3:12 115:9, 10 13 receipt [5] 83:7 89:13 95: 23 98:19 99:21 receive [1] 8:10 received [1] 4:13 receives [1] 107:22 recent [1] 36:19 recently [1] 36:9 recipe [1] 111:7 recognized [1] 76:19 recognizes [1] 62:25 recommendation [1] 39: record [5] 51:13 75:8.21 82:18 96:19 recount [2] 104:1.3 redressability [2] 25:17 36:17 reduce [1] 4:21 reduced [2] 75:24 107:18 referring [3] 76:10 88:19 100:23 reflection [1] 8:17 reframing [1] 95:7 regime [2] 41:16 42:25 registered [2] 7:17 29:18 regular [1] 63:20 regulate [3] 43:2 86:9,21 regulated [6] 7:5.16 8:22 **26**:5 **41**:8 **46**:24 regulates [1] 86:10 regulation [17] 8:3,5 11:9 39:20 40:24 41:1,3 43:21 **47**:3 **63**:5 **73**:14 **86**:1 **107**: 3,6,11,20 112:9 regulations [7] 7:6 8:21 **26**:7 **40**:11 **45**:13 **47**:3 **63**: regulatory [4] 41:16 42:25 46:24 65:19 rejected [4] 19:2 54:1,6 77: related [2] 25:18 101:5 relation [1] 91:5 relative [6] 17:18 19:17 34: 12 **94**:7,12 **112**:9 relatively [1] 36:9 relevant [3] 11:19 22:25 99:19 reliable [1] 80:5 reliance [1] 76:4 relied [4] 62:22 81:14 99: 10 13 relief [2] 29:10.12 rely [3] 80:4 100:2 105:3 relying [1] 27:19

remaining [1] 55:6 remains [1] 10:4 remedy [6] 15:16,25 16:9 62:10,20 97:10 repackage [2] 77:1 110:17 repeat [1] 84:13 repeatedly [2] 40:25 76:6 reply [4] 9:19 10:4 28:25 49.2 Report [1] 117:6 reporters [1] 116:8 Republican [5] 18:10 27:7 **29**:18 **69**:16 **98**:21 Republicans [8] 20:16 31: 14 33:21 35:6,16,21 36:4 64:25 reputation [4] 87:8 88:16 89:24 114:21 reputational [10] 10:17 12: 5 **76**:11 **88**:13,19,20 **89**:17 98:5 103:17 114:15 require [7] 20:21,22 37:21, 25 57:23 61:25 109:22 required [6] 37:9.14 73:23 **81:**5 **101:**15 **113:**3 requirement [4] 18:22 20: 1 25:17 51:2 requirements [4] 75:18,20 **76**:23 **105**:10 requires [7] 5:18 32:10 77: 19 **85**:21 **100**:8 **111**:9.21 researched [1] 28:13 resisted [1] 83:21 resisting [2] 84:6 92:6 resolved [1] 97:21 resolves [1] 57:18 resolvina [2] 75:16 93:11 resource [2] 101:16 110: resource-expenditure 11 110 .5 resources [10] 44:7 55:7 67:12 101:13 104:14 105: 3 108:13 109:1,23 110:10 respect [8] 13:15 51:9 55: 17 **56**:8 **80**:19 **107**:2 **117**:3. 12 respectfully [1] 80:13 respects [2] 6:7 27:12 respond [2] 80:24 113:18 Respondents [4] 1:8 2:9 3:11 **75**:5 responding [1] 9:24 response [7] 10:3 19:23 **27**:24 **49**:1 **71**:24 **72**:1 **80**: rest [1] 44:9 result [10] 4:16 19:14 32:6 6 **55**:13 **56**:6 **73**:7 **74**:19 102:17 113:14 results [4] 60:22 111:8 116: 9.10

return [2] 36:24.25

reveal [1] 40:22

rid [3] 19:25 32:24 50:3 ride [1] 97:16 ridiculous [1] 116:17 rise [1] 98:4 risk [81] 6:6 7:1 9:13 10:10 **13**:9 **14**:2 **17**:15 **22**:7 **30**: 13.15 **51**:4.16 **52**:11 **55**:14 **57**:5,8,17 **58**:7,15,16,19,24 **59**:2,5,6,10,12,20,24 **60**:10 **61:**3.6 **63:**7 **64:**2.3.9 **65:**6. 7 67:13 70:24 72:23 73:2, 6,9 74:16 76:7,15 77:6,15, 20 79:25 80:2 81:7 82:11, 23,25 85:13 86:12 89:21 92:15 97:23 98:1 101:17, 25 102:3,7,9,12,16,16,20 **105**:6 **109**:4 **110**:10,16 111:22,24 114:4,5,9,10 risks [2] 5:10 10:11 RNC [11] 33:24 34:2 35:23 69:5 70:7 71:1 72:4.9 115: 16.17.18 road [4] 5:20 39:9 48:17 62: ROBERTS [34] 4:3 24:10, 19 25:11 26:23 29:6 33:18 37:4 40:18 45:25 48:19 56: 19 58:25 59:22 60:5,16 67: 17 **68**:3 **71**:8 **72**:16 **75**:1 77:22,24 81:16,19 82:6,16, 21 109:14,17 110:21 112:2 115:7 118:19 robust [1] 28:19 role [1] 5:9 rolls [1] 69:14 room [1] 13:22 roulette [4] 58:18 59:4 60: 23 74:23 round [1] 58:19 routinely [1] 115:1 row [1] 59:24 rule [89] 14:17 15:21 17:7, 17,18,19,21 18:1,2,3,14,20 **19**:7.14.16 **21**:9 **26**:17 **28**: 14,14,16,18 29:20,24 34: 10 **46**:19 **48**:11.13 **55**:10. 12.15.19 57:18 66:1.17 67: 2,3,6,7,21 68:11,17,25 69: 10,22,24 70:8,12 71:16 72: 2,14 73:8 74:3,5,5 75:12, 14 76:22 78:14,15,16 80: 22 84:24 86:22 90:4 92:11, 22 93:3,5,16 94:6,11,16,18 95:4,9 96:15 97:5,8,17 101:19,20 105:9 110:13,13 **111**:6 **112**:7 **117**:11,13,21 rules [50] 5:20 7:4.17.20.22 **13**:17 **14**:19 **16**:13 **21**:14, 15 **23**:5.13 **24**:15 **27**:6 **34**: 1.2.4.4.16 **35:**3.4.8.17.24 **38**:5 **39**:2,5,9 **46**:14,22 **47**: 6 48:17 57:17,20 58:12 61:

5 62:22 65:23,25 66:19 68:
19 69:17,19 70:16,18 71:4,
6 72:4 75:11 92:14
run [¹3] 12:24 22:20 25:4
45:12 48:13 76:1 79:23 85:
16 87:24,24 89:12 90:13
100:14
runner [¹] 91:1
runners [¹] 90:9
running [³] 21:16 79:19 93:
6
runs [²] 45:16 88:3
Russian [⁴] 58:18 59:3 60:
23 74:23
S
saddling [¹] 75:15

saddling [1] 75:15 safe [2] 116:18 117:5 same [16] 25:15,16,20 34:8 46:25 49:10,17 53:9,18 54: 6 64:25 68:21 75:18 84:23 **95**:17 **116**:21 sample [1] 86:20 sampling [1] 88:21 satisfied [2] 21:25 95:4 satisfy [4] 20:19 21:1,6 95: save [1] 47:20 saving [34] 8:15.16 11:19 **13**:3,5,10 **18**:15 **19**:24 **20**: 1 30:13 36:13 48:4 51:12, 13,19 64:7 65:5 66:1 71: 21,23,25 73:11,12,16 74:9, 12 78:2 84:16 96:3,5,13 108:2 112:25 113:1 says [21] 9:12,22 10:12 12: 24 **14**:18 **17**:19 **18**:14.22 20:9.15.23 39:15 44:13 50: 5 53:16 69:14 92:11 101:3 112:8 115:1 117:24 scale [1] 30:10 Scalia [1] 111:2 scenario [2] 16:10 58:10 scenarios [1] 16:15 scheme [3] 65:16,20 114: school [1] 39:12 schools [1] 41:6 score [1] 76:1 Scudder's [1] 54:23 search [1] 68:8 seat [2] 116:14 117:5 seats [3] 116:18.19.19 SEC [3] 7:17 8:21 47:17 second [10] 21:10 22:17 33:2 46:23 51:11 54:18 57 15 84:11 109:8 116:1 secure [1] 83:18 see [7] 12:15 18:6 39:22 51: 25 **64:**14 **70:**6 **108:**18 seeing [1] 71:12 seek [1] 29:24 seeks [2] 85:10 110:4 seem [4] 28:8 37:8 48:23

Seems [14] 9:14 19:5 26:9 37:14 58:5 59:1 81:23 93: 25 **94**:1.24 **112**:20 **113**:2 **117**:6 **118**:11 self-declared [1] 93:2 self-inflicted [2] 52:3.13 Senate [1] 38:9 send [2] 47:21 95:24 sense [12] 10:20 24:5 51: 10.11 65:24 68:7 92:20.22 **101**:20 **105**:8 **110**:13 **111**: sentences [2] 23:21 36:13 separate [3] 10:6 34:14 72: separates [1] 19:19 seriously [2] 32:21 100:6 set [1] 69:19 Seventh [4] 9:21 48:15 76: 6 102:8 several [1] 26:24 SG [1] 113:1 share [1] 50:19 she's [1] 45:23 **shifts** [1] **7:**23 short [3] 24:4 38:13 108:18 shoulder [1] 31:21 shouldn't [4] 19:11,12 49: 18 **54:**5 show [35] 10:1 13:8 14:2 **16**:25 **17**:8,9,11,11,14 **19**: 13 22:4 39:10.11 66:14 73: 17 77:14 79:6 86:12 90:12. 16.24 **91:**1.2 **94:**3.18.21.22 95:1 96:9.14 98:1 101:23 105:4 110:16 111:24 showing [6] 37:9 51:17 75: 22 77:20 105:10 116:24 shown [2] 32:12 83:18 shows [2] 76:3 80:14 shuffles [1] 5:12 shut [2] 47:17 69:13 side [7] 9:22 12:23 20:15 **65**:2 **69**:16 **76**:8 **86**:19 siaht [1] 4:25 signatures [1] 85:21 significantly [1] 112:14 silly [1] 40:12 similar [4] 25:14 61:4 71: 23 98:14 similarly [3] 38:24 54:3 69: simple [2] 48:18 118:13 simpler [1] 14:17 simplest [1] 48:13 simplicity [1] 36:25 simply [16] 5:17 7:16 9:24 14:18 24:23 62:23 77:15 79:7 80:6 97:25 100:15 **101**:21 **110**:3.14 **111**:22.24 since [1] 66:25 single [2] 75:12 95:25 situation [9] 43:20 47:16

61:4 69:25 73:17 74:15 89: 4 92:10 100:24 situations [1] 112:12 six [2] 59:4 78:20 sketching [1] 77:25 sleep [1] 40:2 slightly [1] 42:23 small [4] 32:25 58:15 87:1 93.18 smaller [5] 12:11.16 102: 17.25 103:4 Socialist [4] 31:22 32:16 37:11 85:20 Solicitor [2] 2:4.8 somebody [6] 11:25 40:13 **50:**20 **82:**1 **94:**7 **100:**13 someday [1] 40:16 somehow [1] 89:15 someone [5] 6:25 9:11 11: 23 64:19 112:9 sometimes [2] 79:24 80: sophistication [1] 43:25 sorry [8] 61:9 77:24 85:1 **98**:8,10 **99**:7 **105**:14 **106**: sort [35] 7:8,12,23 10:20 13: 13 **14**:10 **17**:7 **19**:9,20 **21**: 6 **22**:5 **25**:20,23 **26**:3 **27**: 21,22 39:8 41:18 51:15 64: 6 **68**:22 **73**:8,15 **79**:7 **81**:6 82:22 90:24 92:2 93:23 94: 24 95:7 106:1 108:21 112: 24 114.12 SOTOMAYOR [26] 7:24 8: 2 9:1,7,10 25:24 29:7.8 30: 3.5 **31**:10.25 **32**:8 **37**:7 **41**: 18 **63**:18 **64**:24 **65**:10.14 **66**:6,10,14,23 **67**:15 **68**:4 110:22 Sotomayor's [1] 52:4 sought [1] 76:20 Souter [1] 24:1 **spate** [1] **36**:19 special [5] 26:17 117:11, 13 21 118 17 specific [2] 52:22 92:10 specifically [4] 50:20 51:1 52:24 53:13 **speculate** [1] **12:**9 speculation [1] 13:23 speculative [8] 12:8 13:13 **55**:3,18,23 **59**:12 **60**:13 118:4 spend [13] 37:18 44:23 45: 1,2,4,5 **52:**9 **56:**1 **101:**10 104:17,21 118:5,7 Spending [1] 106:18 spent [1] 36:12 spillover [1] 46:15 spin [1] 21:4 split [2] 36:23 48:14 **stability** [1] **111:**9 staff [6] 4:22 44:2 104:9,22

105:24 106:19 stage [8] 12:20 14:5,8,11, 14 18:8 21:21 31:17 stand [3] 31:20,21 104:24 standard [8] 16:19 20:19 **30**:16 **34**:8 **89**:11 **91**:7 **116**: 24 118:11 standing [123] 4:18,24 5: 25 **6**:1 **8**:8,24 **11**:3,20 **13**:7, 19 **14:**10.18 **15:**12 **16:**13 **17**:1.16 **19**:2.4.6.8.25 **23**: 11.18.23 26:13 27:15 28:8 32:10 33:6.10 34:6 35:13 **36**:1,15 **37**:2 **38**:4 **39**:6,7, 15 40:13 46:6,14,22 48:16 **50**:9 **53**:4,25 **54**:14 **57**:2, 15,25 58:23 60:7,15 61:11, 13 63:21,23 65:15 67:3 68: 1 **69**:8 **70**:10 **71**:21,22 **72**: 7,10,11 75:10,14,18,22 76: 3.19 **77:**18 **78:**3.7 **79:**2.7. 12 **80**:22 **81**:4 **82**:8.11 **83**: 18 **84**:17,18 **85**:10,23 **86**: 20 87:22 89:19 90:4.19 92: 7,17,22 93:13,20 94:9,18, 22,22 96:18 97:7 98:16,24 99:16 101:12 104:18,20 **105**:4.10 **106**:2 **110**:4,15, 18 **111**:20 **113**:3 **115**:17 **117**:11,13 **118**:6 standing's [1] 36:21 start [4] 11:13,18 75:24 91: started [1] 104:5 starts [1] 44:19 STATE [13] 1:6 4:5 68:12 **70**:5 **85**:21 **107**:13.20 **116**: 12.14.15.16.20 **117:**12 State's [1] 116:6 statement [6] 8:18 9:22 **111**:14.17 **114**:13 **116**:7 statements [2] 76:13 99:1 STATES [7] 1:1,16 2:6 3:7 **56**:23 **75**:25 **116**:19 statewide [1] 23:6 statistically [1] 29:22 status [1] 68:20 stay [1] 116:11 stays [1] 28:9 steam [1] 91:3 step [1] 25:4 Stevens [2] 23:20 36:12 stick [1] 28:4 sticks [1] 28:9 still [12] 8:24 9:3 18:7 20:7 31:16 41:8 52:21 55:14 60: 20 70:23 74:17 106:4 straightforward [3] 4:25 38:15 101:2 strict [1] 73:23 strona [1] 43:14

stuff [3] 14:15 104:19 117:

submission [1] 24:14

submitted [4] 83:5 109:9 118:21.23 substantial [38] 14:2 17: 15,15 **30**:16,17 **32**:11 **58**: 16 59:10 60:10 63:7 64:2, 3,8 65:7 67:13 76:15 77:6, 11,20 81:7 82:10 85:11 86: 12 92:3 97:23 98:1 101:25 102:7.12.20 105:6 110:10. 16 **111:**22,24 **114:**5,9,10 substantiality [1] 14:11 substantially [2] 63:24 90: success [3] 71:7 84:2 86:5 successful [2] 79:17 89:8 successfully [4] 12:25 79: 18 83:6 89:12 sudden [1] 36:21 suddenly [1] 108:6 sue [9] 7:19 33:24 34:2,3, 15 **49**:24 **62**:4 **69**:23 **76**:3 sues [4] 15:21 33:24.25 34: suffer [2] 6:5 64:5 suffers [1] 95:16 suffices [1] 57:8 sufficient [7] 5:25 21:20 **27**:15 **31**:8 **52**:14 **77**:6 **100**: sufficiently [1] 18:12 suggest [2] 17:24 113:21 suggested [3] 33:25 68:16 89.15 suing [4] 7:22 17:13 24:16, suit [4] 51:7 53:5 68:7 69: suits [7] 30:7 33:15,23 68: 9.15 70:3.10 summarize [1] 114:23 summary [4] 14:13 18:8 31:7,16 Summers [1] 77:18 Sunday [2] 69:12,13 support [3] 8:18 76:3 115: supporting [3] 2:6 3:8 56: suppose [7] 7:3 14:13 39: 19 **90**:1.9 **93**:15 **97**:6 SUPREME [3] 1:1.15 27: surveillance [1] 109:4 sway [2] 59:20 61:7 sympathy [1] 19:10 system [1] 56:15 Т

T table [4] 38:17 80:10,13,14 tailored [1] 29:12 TALENT [34] 2:4 3:6 56:21, 22,25 58:8 59:9 60:4,20 61:17 62:15 63:12,15 64: 23 65:4.13,21 66:9.13,17

69:18 70:22

25 74:11

thoughts [3] 22:9 37:23 84:

threadbare [1] 116:3

threat [5] 60:11,12,19 73:

67:2.24 68:6.24 69:24 70: 14 **71**:6,14,18,25 **72**:25 **73**: 18 74:12.22 talked [5] 31:9 52:13 62:19 87:7 100:3 talks [1] 114:14 tally [2] 6:14 75:13 targeted [1] 71:7 targeting [2] 59:17 66:4 tasked [1] 93:6 taxpaver [1] 33:8 taxpayers [1] 54:15 teach [1] 58:13 Ted [1] 38:8 tells [1] 54:10 ten-time [1] 116:23 tend [1] 35:9 tenet [1] 74:6 tenets [1] 57:19 terms [5] 8:22 47:22 51:13 68:19 99:14 test [7] 59:10 60:6 61:21 82: 11 94:25 105:17 111:22 tests [1] 118:12 themselves [3] 34:23 36:5 72.22 theoretical [5] 40:1 43:17 **76**:13 **77**:16 **95**:12 theoretically [1] 111:12 theories [1] 118:12 theory [29] 4:16 15:8 18:7 **46:**5 **48:**22 **49:**15 **51:**11,13, 18.23.23 **52**:19 **60**:3 **72**:11. 20 74:18 76:17.19 77:1.2 95:1 101:22 105:11 106:2 3.15 110:5.15.18 there's [34] 10:7 14:2.4 15: 3.4 **16**:12 **17**:4 **19**:3 **22**:18 24:2 34:13 38:16,22 41:17 **42**:17 **51**:8,15,19 **52**:11 **54**: 10 55:14 58:6 61:19 65:6 **68**:11 **72**:23 **73**:9 **80**:2,8 **89**:3 **92**:12,13 **107**:16 **118**: therefore [3] 59:19 80:23 97.7 they'll [2] 18:16 68:18 they've [1] 96:11 thicket [1] 62:24 thinking [3] 45:8 62:13 81: 22 thinks [2] 21:8 95:13 third [3] 51:22 52:19 86:10 THOMAS [13] 6:4,21,25 25: 12,13,22 26:2 58:3,8 67:18 **77:**4,23 **109:**18 though [10] 7:25 20:18 22: 17 **53:**5.15 **55:**12.15 **58:**5

threaten [1] 117:15 three [4] 4:24 87:19 118:11, threshold [3] 60:14 73:24 **83**:23 throughout [1] 45:1 throw [1] 16:2 thrown [1] 69:8 thumb [1] 48:3 tight [2] 58:4,9 together [1] 44:2 tolls [1] 101:6 Tom [1] 81:20 tossed [1] 70:10 tossups [1] 116:19 total [4] 43:5,8 93:18,20 trace [1] 45:20 traceability [1] 36:18 track [1] 30:17 tradition [2] 22:5 76:2 trained [1] 92:1 translate [2] 47:15 48:6 translates [1] 10:16 TransUnion [2] 22:3 46:9 traveling [1] 109:1 treasure [1] 5:3 treated [2] 39:9 65:3 treats [1] 111:20 tried [2] 25:5 53:24 tries [1] 29:1 trivial [1] 26:9 true [3] 27:5 36:3 68:21 try [3] 27:10 50:15 104:10 trying [3] 16:6,17 88:19 tuned [1] 116:11 turn [4] 37:6 66:18 81:12 93:10 turnout [2] 30:20 60:1 turns [2] 102:15.19 twice [1] 99:15 two [40] 4:13,15,22 8:19 9: 18 **19:**23 **21:**6,19 **22:**2,9 23:21 25:1 36:12 44:1,3,7, 23 45:16 52:9 57:6,6 67:8 **73**:18 **78**:21 **79**:4,11 **82**:2 84:5.5 89:20 92:24 99:3.9 104:10.13.22 106:21 107:4. 24 117:18 two-week [1] 112:15 type [6] 73:23 81:12 87:13 **88:**10,12 **91:**8 types [2] 79:11 89:20

U

U.S [3] 55:20 61:13 90:10 ultimate [1] 6:17 ultimately [1] 38:2 uncomfortable [3] 5:15 18:13 20:8 under [21] 4:14 15:7 18:6 21:14 27:15 47:7 49:23 60: 2 67:21 77:13 83:7 89:6, 13 95:23 100:21 103:14,19, 25 106:2.14 114:19

undercounting [1] 88:5 underlying [1] 76:20 undermined [1] 49:19 understand [17] 11:11 13: 10 20:22,24 24:14 28:12 **52**:2,10 **72**:20 **80**:22 **86**:23 89:14 107:19 108:5 111:4, 17 112.19 understood [2] 107:5 111: 14 undertaken [1] 101:17 unique [3] 5:19 21:13 65: uniquely [1] 6:12 UNITED [6] 1:1,16 2:6 3:7 56:23 75:25 universe [2] 33:11,12 unknown [1] 66:21 unlawful [17] 4:18,19 18: 16 **20**:1 **25**:9 **43**:11 **49**:12 **50**:13 **51**:4,8,19 **53**:17 **62**: 8.11 **73**:1 **109**:4 **115**:24 unlawfully [1] 62:6 unless [2] 103:3,8 unseemly [4] 83:25 84:15 85:69 until [4] 36:9 38:12 78:8 101:5 untimely [1] 30:14 untold [1] 5:3 up [10] 4:13 35:11 36:5 45: 18 72:22 76:1 90:12 96:10 **104**:11 **113**:9 uphold [1] 113:2 urge [2] 9:20 36:24 uses [2] 82:10 95:16 using [2] 41:11 44:6

usual [1] 94:9

validity [3] 57:3.20 65:24 versus [13] 4:5 37:16.17 **63:**22 **79:**8,10 **81:**13 **87:**5 89:18 103:11 105:1 114:3, via [1] 93:12 viable [1] 102:14 victory [24] 4:21 6:14 7:13 8:7 9:16 10:13,15 11:11 **12:**11.17 **15:**7 **17:**9 **21:**9 37:20 59:7 75:24 87:15 95: 15 **102**:22 **103**:1.4.17 **113**: 22 114:20 videotapes [1] 91:2 view [4] 18:7 19:2,10 113: vindicate [1] 62:5 violating [1] 109:12 violation [1] 53:7 Virginia [1] 2:2 visited [1] 53:12 visits [1] 52:23 voluntarily [1] 72:22

vote [16] 6:14 9:5 10:22,23 **22**:6 **43**:5,8 **50**:5 **53**:16 **65**: 1 66:19 75:13 93:17,20 103:20 106:18 voted [2] 16:5 50:5 voter [11] 23:17,23 31:19 33:8 36:6,14 39:16 41:21 **50**:4 **53**:16 **54**:14 voters [22] 8:4 9:5 16:4 33: 5 34:24 35:10.12.13 39:15 **44:**12 **45:**5.6 **49:**5.9.16.16. 24 53:12 54:15 62:21 64: 25 **105**:22 votes [17] 16:3 18:16 20:10 **24**:2 **27**:6 **31**:23 **52**:25 **53**: 17,22 70:17 78:5,22 86:17 96:1 103:21 107:7,12 voting [9] 9:3 28:16 31:14 **35**:18 **50**:3 **53**:25 **65**:2 **69**:

W

13 94:6

wages [1] 47:20

wait [2] 38:11 101:24 waived [1] 9:23 waiver [1] 10:8 waives [1] 10:5 walk [3] 17:12 62:14 96:9 walking [2] 96:20.23 wanted [2] 98:11 109:3 wants [2] 12:23 116:20 Washington [2] 1:11 2:5 watchers [1] 95:24 watching [3] 44:9 101:4 **118:**8 water [1] 76:22 watered [1] 105:11 Watson [1] 98:13 way [29] 5:17 6:19 13:20,25 15:5 18:4 23:7 26:11 30:8 32:3 38:9 43:17 45:12 46: 25 48:2.24 49:20 50:16 51: 16 55:16 59:1 65:17 66:20, 21 83:24 92:15 93:24 97: 17 **117**:2 ways [5] 15:4 21:6 43:23 49:24 69:9 wealth [2] 95:18 100:1 Wednesday [1] 1:12 weeks [16] 4:13.15.22 44:1. 3.8.23 **45**:16 **52**:9 **82**:2 104:10,13,22 106:21 107:4 weird [1] 28:3 welcome [3] 6:3 58:2 77:3 what's-it-to-you [1] 61:2 whatever [10] 11:5 17:16 22:13 37:8 52:8 59:5 72:4 82:3,24 88:6 whatsoever [1] 67:22 Whereupon [1] 118:22 whether [25] 9:16 11:22 18: 9 20:18.20 24:22 33:9 34: 7,9 **39**:3 **47**:19 **55**:23 **57**:

24 59:12 62:20 64:16 70:2. 20 72:9 94:22 99:23 100:7 110:6,7,9 Whig [1] 32:24 White [2] 22:13 39:20 who's [4] 12:24 43:4 53:2 117:10 whole [5] 29:9 42:25 56:15 68:7 69:19 wholly [1] 60:13 whom [1] 30:7 will [25] 4:3 6:5.22 21:9 40: 4.6 **55**:5.13 **56**:2 **57**:25 **61**: 7 **62:**2 **64:**4,16 **66:**20,21 **68**:17 **72**:23 **74**:3 **79**:2 **86**: 20 88:23 93:19 97:17 114: win [28] 6:17 10:22 11:15 **13**:11 **17**:5,8 **18**:3 **31**:13 39:4,10 43:5 46:17 72:23 78:2,4 79:24 80:17 84:17 **87**:14.21 **103**:11.12.13 **106**: 5 **114**:18.18.19 **117**:15 winner [4] 32:6 43:7 86:18 **92**:12 winners [1] 5:16 winning [13] 13:12 29:23 37:13 52:6 57:12 59:18,19 **67**:23 **70**:24 **73**:3,6 **85**:23 104:7 wins [7] 11:8,8 12:11 51:12 **57:11 59:17 66:**3 without [2] 76:10 104:18 Women [2] 44:12 105:22 won [6] 37:10 59:24 82:3,7 96:11 112:16 wonder [2] 49:1.14 wondering [1] 34:6 wonders [1] 88:9 word [5] 41:13 95:11,16 97: 1 108:12 words [3] 14:25 76:9 78:1 work [2] 9:8 99:21 Worker [1] 32:17 Workers [3] 31:22 37:12 85:20 works [1] 99:21

yourself [2] 35:2 118:6 Ζ zero [3] 37:12.13 104:11

Heritage Reporting Corporation

year [3] 41:5 42:18 87:22

years [7] 19:4 23:1 25:14

48:2 78:21 79:19,23

world [4] 33:13 36:11 43:

worried [6] 7:21 46:16 48:

worry [4] 26:19 33:6 113:4

10 **54**:14 **97**:2 **112**:6

worst [2] 5:13 13:21

wrote [2] 95:8 111:2

15 **51**:18

116:13

write [1] 95:3

vards [1] 91:4

Yep [1] 87:3

writing [1] 46:16

volunteer [1] 44:7