

ORIGINAL

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT
PROCEEDINGS BEFORE
THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE
UNITED STATES

CAPTION: REPUBLIC OF ARGENTINA AND BANCO CENTRAL
de la REPUBLIC ARGENTINA, Petitioners V.
WELTOVER, INC., ET AL.

CASE NO: 91-763

PLACE: Washington, D.C.

DATE: April 1, 1992

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1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

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3 REPUBLIC OF ARGENTINA AND :

4 BANCO CENTRAL de la :

5 REPUBLICA ARGENTINA, :

6 Petitioners :

7 v. : No. 91-763

8 WELTOVER, INC., ET AL. :

9 - - - - - X

10 Washington, D.C.

11 Wednesday, April 1, 1992

12 The above-entitled matter came on for oral
13 argument before the Supreme Court of the United States at
14 11:03 a.m.

15 APPEARANCES:

16 RICHARD J. DAVIS, ESQ., New York, New York; on behalf of
17 the Petitioners.

18 RICHARD W. CUTLER, ESQ., New York, New York; on behalf of
19 the Respondents.

20 JEFFREY P. MINEAR, ESQ., Assistant to the Solicitor
21 General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on
22 behalf of the United States, as amicus curiae
23 supporting Respondents.

24

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1 PROCEEDINGS

2 (11:03 a.m.)

3 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument
4 next in No. 91-763, Republic of Argentina and Banco
5 Central v. Weltover, Inc., et al. Spectators are
6 admonished to refrain from talking while you're in the
7 courtroom. The Court remains in session.

8 Mr. Davis, you may proceed.

9 ORAL ARGUMENT OF RICHARD J. DAVIS

10 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

11 MR. DAVIS: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please
12 the Court:

13 The question we are addressing today involves
14 the availability of U.S. courts to dispute between two
15 Panamanian and one Swiss entity on the one hand, and the
16 Government of Argentina and its Central Bank on the other
17 hand. For this exception to apply two requirements must
18 be satisfied.

19 First it must be demonstrated that when the
20 Central Bank financed its own obligations to provide
21 dollars under a foreign exchange rate assurance program
22 through the issuance of bonds instead of supplying the
23 promised foreign exchange, that the Central Bank committed
24 a commercial as opposed to a sovereign act.

25 Second, it must be demonstrated that there is a

1 direct effect in the United States from failure to pay
2 these non-U.S. entities when no United States person
3 suffered any financial loss and the United States'
4 connection with the transaction is that under the bonds
5 New York became the place of payment after being selected
6 by these plaintiffs from four possible choices.

7 QUESTION: Mr. Davis, what is a Bonod? Is that
8 an acronym for something?

9 MR. DAVIS: It is the actual name that was given
10 to the instrument, Bonod as opposed to bond. For our
11 purposes it is a bond, it is just the official name of the
12 bond.

13 QUESTION: They just made up a whole new word?
14 It doesn't stand for anything, Bonod?

15 MR. DAVIS: It does not. It does not. It was
16 delivered by the Central Bank as one of two alternative
17 instruments. They had a Bonod and a promissory note in
18 1982 when the Central Bank's obligation had matured under
19 a program that it had implemented in 1981 to provide
20 foreign exchange at a fixed exchange rate.

21 This was part of the Central Bank's primary
22 functions because when we talk about the Argentine Central
23 Bank we are talking about a classic central bank in the
24 sense that it's explicitly prohibited from participating
25 in commercial enterprises, and one of its primary

1 responsibilities is the issuance, regulating the foreign
2 exchange markets, determining how foreign exchange should
3 be allocated, establishing foreign exchange rates and
4 policies, and providing counsel in those areas to the
5 Republic.

6 In 1981 the government, the Central Bank created
7 a program where for new and renewed loans it fixed through
8 a, use of a specified formula the exchange rate that would
9 be used when these various debts matured. It did this to
10 provide a cut off of credit to, foreign credit to
11 Argentina because of the rapid and unpredictable
12 devaluation of the Argentine currency.

13 When the Central Bank's obligation under this
14 1981 program matured and it was obligated to provide
15 dollars to, as the foreign exchange in connection with its
16 functioning as the government's responsible agent for
17 foreign exchange, it didn't have the necessary reserves
18 and thus what the Central Bank did is it issued two types
19 of instruments, the promissory note and the issue, the
20 instrument at issue in this case, the Bonod.

21 In considering the first issue, therefore,
22 whether the Central Bank's issuance of the Bonod was
23 commercial or sovereign, we have an instrument with the
24 following characteristics. One, it was issued by the
25 Central Bank. It did not finance the acquisition of any

1 goods. It in of itself raised no money. It financed, as
2 I said before, the Central Bank's own obligation under the
3 1981 foreign exchange rate program. And unlike the
4 promissory note which I referred to as the other
5 instrument that was issued roughly contemporaneously with
6 the Bonod, it contained no language purporting to submit
7 to jurisdiction anyplace.

8 QUESTION: If we're going to look that far
9 behind the surface of the Bonod, don't -- that its
10 ultimate objective was to finance foreign commercial
11 exchange in trading relationships between Argentina and
12 other parts of the world?

13 MR. DAVIS: But it was doing it not as -- you
14 know, sometimes some of the legislative history talks to
15 in terms of entering the commercial marketplace. It was
16 doing it by --

17 QUESTION: It was doing it so somebody else
18 could stay in the commercial marketplace.

19 MR. DAVIS: Yes, but it was doing it in
20 implementing a basic sovereign function, that is exchange
21 rate policy. The United States Government or other
22 governments may do, undertake a variety of actions which
23 facilitate on a broad base their citizens to participate
24 in markets.

25 QUESTION: Is anything that would fall within

1 that broad base therefore non-commercial in your view?

2 MR. DAVIS: Not, not anything, but I do think
3 that a kind of program that goes to where the courts have,
4 in looking at foreign exchange have recognized that the
5 regulation of foreign exchange markets are one of the core
6 official responsibilities that -- and if you look at this
7 transaction, what it was doing is it was obligated to, as
8 one of its responsibilities, to provide foreign exchange.
9 It came the time to provide the foreign exchange, it
10 lacked the necessary reserves, and what it did is it just
11 substituted the Bonod for the foreign exchange.

12 We would say if the government had issued the
13 foreign exchange that would be doing what the government
14 does, issuing the foreign exchange, provide the foreign
15 exchange. It couldn't do that. It issued the Bonod. We
16 think that the nature of that activity is still the same.

17 QUESTION: But it had issued the Bonod because
18 in effect it was trying to find a means, or it had
19 originally been trying to find a means of standing behind,
20 as it were, the private trading entities of the country,
21 and therefore it was, it had a rather more specific
22 purpose in a more specific temporal period of the market
23 than merely creating a foreign exchange structure in the
24 general sense.

25 MR. DAVIS: Well, no, I think it was, Justice

1 Souter, creating a foreign exchange structure. It wasn't,
2 as a private party might do, picking and choosing
3 transactions, valuating transactions. It was in a sense
4 in 1981 created an entitlement, if loans met certain
5 criteria you would get this future, this exchange rate at
6 a promised rate in the future. So I think it's that kind
7 of program which is really more what a sovereign would do
8 than what a private party would do.

9 QUESTION: Mr. Davis, it seems to me that all
10 you're saying is that its purpose was a governmental
11 purpose. You're describing the reason it was doing it and
12 so forth. But the statute explicitly says that the
13 character of the activity under the act, whether it is
14 commercial or not, will not be determined by reference to
15 its purpose. It seems to me you have a commercial
16 instrument here and we don't care what purpose it was
17 issued for.

18 MR. DAVIS: Well, we think that the reason we
19 think we are looking at the nature is because what we're
20 saying is that when the statute, as you point out, says
21 you should look at the nature of the activity, it's not
22 saying that you should look at the nature of some abstract
23 activity. It's saying you should look at the nature of
24 the specific activity. For us that doesn't mean that the
25 beginning and the end of the inquiry where you say it's

1 debt and therefore all debt is by nature commercial.

2 This debt was issued in terms of without
3 receiving any money in return. It was issued, you know,
4 not for raising money. It was issued without financing
5 goods, and it was issued for purpose of financing the own
6 obligation.

7 QUESTION: The question is whether it's a
8 commercial act, and you don't think it's a commercial act
9 to in effect guarantee to someone else the payment by
10 someone who is purchasing goods? If I come in for
11 whatever motive, for the government and I want my
12 businesses to flourish, I come in and act as a guarantor
13 in a commercial transaction, that is not a commercial act?

14 MR. DAVIS: I think it could be considered a
15 commercial act if it was guaranteeing. Under this program
16 it was not guaranteeing, because the normal credit
17 responsibility remained upon the private sector borrower.
18 What I mean by that is the private sector borrower was
19 still required to provide the pesos. All that the
20 government did was assume the responsibility for what its
21 sovereign function was, which was to issue the foreign
22 exchange.

23 QUESTION: Making the pesos worth something.

24 MR. DAVIS: Well, in terms --

25 QUESTION: I consider that guaranteeing.

1 MR. DAVIS: I consider it fulfilling the foreign
2 exchange responsibility. I also say --

3 QUESTION: You can call it that, but in fact
4 they are guaranteeing that these pesos are going to be
5 worth something in the international exchange.

6 MR. DAVIS: Through doing what the Central Bank
7 does. I also think that in addition to the fact that the
8 definition when it says look at the nature of activity we
9 believe doesn't require or support looking at the nature
10 of an abstract activity.

11 I think there are two other things that are
12 relevant in the legislative history. One is that there's
13 a lot of reference in the various briefs and some of the
14 cases is that the criteria is whether a private party
15 could do something. And when you read some of the cases
16 in the other briefs, if it could do something it is
17 automatically considered commercial. If you actually go
18 back to the legislative history that is cited, however, is
19 what it says is if a private party might do something,
20 then it could be considered commercial, not would
21 automatically. I think the language in the legislative
22 history in the House report would say in that
23 circumstances it could be, not automatic.

24 The other reference that is often used in terms
25 of the legislative history is borrowing money would be an

1 example of a commercial activity, and what we would say is
2 that the commercial activity, excuse me, that here that's
3 why we look not to some broad based rule, because we
4 understand that in the overwhelming percentage of the
5 cases the issuance of debt is going to be a commercial
6 act. We also understand that in a gray area you're going
7 to have a circumstance where parties can and do secure
8 waivers of sovereign immunity. That's going to be the
9 circumstances in reality.

10 What we're saying, however, is where you have an
11 instrument in which the Central Bank through the issuance
12 of the Bonods raised no money, financed no goods, no
13 acquisition of goods, and at the same time was financing
14 its own obligation to provide foreign exchange, that the
15 nature of that is a sovereign act and not a commercial
16 act.

17 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Davis, if we were to
18 disagree with you and conclude that jurisdiction was
19 appropriate here, do you suppose Argentina can still
20 assert on the merits an act of state defense in the
21 litigation?

22 MR. DAVIS: There would be an issue, and I think
23 there is some learning in the Second Circuit which we do
24 not necessarily subscribe to which would make it difficult
25 in the Allied Bank case. We do think that this was an

1 official act, this was an act of the state by the
2 government of Argentina. That could be one of the
3 defenses raised, but it would be, we would, at least in
4 terms of the Second Circuit, be faced with the Allied Bank
5 decision which would foreclose that in terms of our
6 argument until we got to this Court.

7 Before leaving the commercial activity aspect
8 and going to the second point, I just want to point out
9 sort of our analysis that I think is consistent with what
10 the courts have done when they have looked for example at
11 the contract cases, where they have said a contract of
12 employment, yes, that is something private parties do, but
13 if it's the employment of a diplomat in the United States,
14 that would be sovereign. If it's employment of somebody
15 else to perform a commercial function, then that would be
16 commercial. And they just don't look at the last act,
17 they look to see what the real nature is.

18 And we think that that's also the position the
19 Government took not in this case, the U.S. Government took
20 not in this case but took in the Izvestia case in the
21 Ninth Circuit in which it argued that you had to look
22 beyond the fact that Izvestia was a newspaper and look to
23 that its nature as the official organ.

24 But the second leg is also important in this
25 dispute because in enacting the Foreign Sovereign

1 Immunities Act it is also clear that the Congress didn't
2 want to convert our courts into international courts of
3 claims and allow disputes to be heard here by people with
4 no, where the plaintiffs had no meaningful connection with
5 the United States. It did this by creating the direct
6 effect nexus requirement which required some direct effect
7 in the United States from the sovereign's commercial act
8 even if it is determined to be commercial.

9 Now, the Government, the U.S. Government and the
10 respondents urge a test essentially which says that
11 anytime place of payment is in the United States and it's
12 a dollar transaction, that is sufficient. They
13 essentially urge a test which would say that if an
14 Algerian state enterprise purchased machinery from a
15 private Tunisian company next door, that, and they
16 happened to have dollar payment, therefore it provided for
17 a promissory note to be paid in the United States, that
18 U.S. courts should hear that dispute.

19 We believe that you need go no further than the
20 language of the statute which requires that the direct
21 effect be in the United States in order to determine that
22 this proposition is erroneous and that the proper approach
23 would require that the place of payment be in the United
24 States and that the plaintiff be a U.S. person. Because
25 where there's a great weight attributed by the amicus and

1 the respondents to this sole connection which is the place
2 of payment, and while they have built it, tried to build
3 it up in their briefs by talking in terms of that you
4 actually paid there, I think that is the attributes of a
5 place of payment is that you do pay there.

6 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Davis, I take it you take
7 the position that a foreign corporation can never sue
8 under the direct effects provision in the U.S.

9 MR. DAVIS: Well, I think that it would
10 require --

11 QUESTION: Is that right?

12 MR. DAVIS: I think it would require that the
13 transaction have many more connections with the United
14 States than mere place of payment, perhaps if --

15 QUESTION: Well, place of payment can be vitally
16 important, can it not?

17 MR. DAVIS: I think the place of payment can be
18 vitally important, but place of payment really is a
19 characteristic of the transaction. We don't think it
20 creates the effect. The effect is really some tangible
21 consequence, and the tangible consequence that I think
22 exists is somebody lost money in this circumstance. And
23 what was, the money was here lost by the two Panamanian
24 and the Swiss entities, and that that's just simply not a
25 direct effect in the United States.

1 We do think that perhaps if there had been some
2 additional activity, some negotiations in the United
3 States, that perhaps you might be in a closer case where
4 the direct effect could be satisfied, although obviously
5 if you reached a point where the loan agreement was
6 executed in the United States you probably would be
7 dealing with a different provision and not the direct
8 effect provision.

9 QUESTION: Mr. Davis, doesn't your argument sort
10 of make light of the fact that when there are transactions
11 between parties with governments whose currency is not
12 accepted as foreign exchange that the very fact of the
13 transactions taking place requires in effect an
14 enforceable term, such as the place of payment term, and a
15 means of enforcing that place of payment term where the
16 parties designate? In other words this isn't merely a
17 kind of incidental side issue in these transactions. I
18 would suppose that it is central to the very possibility
19 of a great many of these transactions.

20 And if you accept that as a premise, then do you
21 not find a much more substantial dimension to the effect,
22 i.e. the refusal of payment or the refusal of credit, in
23 the place designated?

24 MR. DAVIS: Well, I think that, Justice Souter,
25 you refer to two aspects of the place of payment. In one

1 you talked about the means of enforcing a right, and I
2 think those are two different things. That they're --
3 yes, place of payment is one provision and that is
4 considered important, and I think that that is done for
5 the convenience of the parties. I think when parties
6 focus on the means of enforcement they focus on provisions
7 that are very common in international instruments, that is
8 actual submissions to jurisdiction.

9 And indeed in this case you had two different
10 instruments that were issued. One is the promissory note
11 which is not the instrument which is, which these parties
12 held. That contained a submission to jurisdiction. You
13 have on the other hand the Bonod which contained no such
14 provision.

15 So I think that when the parties in
16 international lending transactions do want to focus on how
17 to enforce their rights and enforce their remedies, they
18 focus on choice of law provisions, which is not present in
19 this instrument, they focus on submissions to
20 jurisdiction. They don't focus on -- the place of payment
21 I think is more for commercial convenience.

22 QUESTION: Well, I'll grant you that up to a
23 point, but you're not claiming that the terms of the Bonod
24 are governed somehow by the terms of the note, are you?

25 MR. DAVIS: No, I'm just using that --

1 QUESTION: All right. So that the holder of the
2 Bonod is not, presumably, unless we were to come up with a
3 rule which you're not even asking for, the holders of the
4 Bonod would not look to the note in order to determine
5 what, what they may enforce and where they may enforce it.
6 And if the Bonod itself contains no submission to
7 jurisdiction, if it contains no term even governing the
8 point, isn't the most reasonable expectation commercially
9 that in fact it will be enforceable in the place
10 designated for payment?

11 MR. DAVIS: I don't necessarily think that's
12 correct, because if you look at the Bonod, I mean, it
13 references, you know, Argentine decrees and Argentine law,
14 and while the promissory note does not, you don't use it
15 to interpret the language of the Bonod, the fact of the
16 matter is that the instruments were made available at the
17 same time and that therefore parties could know that there
18 was another instrument which contained explicit
19 submissions. And I think also that it is just not unusual
20 in international lending transactions for parties to
21 understand that the vehicles for protection when they're
22 looking to where they can sue is, involves the submission
23 to jurisdiction.

24 QUESTION: If they can't sue in New York, where
25 do they have to go to sue?

1 MR. DAVIS: Well --

2 QUESTION: They go to Argentina, don't they?

3 MR. DAVIS: One possibility is Argentina. And
4 it may be, and I think this Court has frankly recognized
5 in the sovereign immunity context in the Argentine v. Hess
6 case, that there may be circumstances where they have no
7 remedy because they dealt with a sovereign and didn't
8 negotiate appropriate clauses --

9 QUESTION: Well you, in that case I take it you
10 would agree that there wouldn't be a very bustling market
11 in Bonods if everybody understood that you had to go to
12 Argentina to collect.

13 MR. DAVIS: Well, I think that in terms of the
14 market in Bonods it was, you know, an instrument that at
15 the time it was issued it was issued as, to go back to the
16 first point, really in substitute for foreign exchange. I
17 don't think --

18 QUESTION: Well, if we, if -- assume for the
19 sake of argument that we do not accept that point, so that
20 we are going to treat this essentially as a commercial
21 transaction. Wouldn't it then be true, as I said, that
22 there wouldn't be much of a market if one had to go to
23 Argentina for it, and therefore we ought to look to some
24 commercial expectation in determining whether in fact it
25 should be enforceable in the place designated for payment?

1 MR. DAVIS: Well, I think that whether there
2 would or would not be a commercial market in fact for an
3 instrument that doesn't contain submissions to
4 jurisdiction, I think doesn't determine the expectations
5 of the party.

6 QUESTION: It's a pretty good pointer, isn't it?

7 MR. DAVIS: Well, it's in terms of yes, I think
8 it makes it a less attractive instrument and which it is
9 the reason why there was much, a smaller percentage of
10 people took the Bonods than took the promissory notes.
11 But in terms of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act and
12 going back to the statute, I still don't think that it
13 would satisfy the direct effect requirement which is still
14 the issue. The issue is whether the direct effect
15 requirement is satisfied when a non-U.S. plaintiff,
16 because we --

17 QUESTION: Oh, well, I grant you that. Maybe I
18 have lost my point in my questions, but I mean my point
19 was in determining what should be treated as sufficiently
20 direct it seems to me we do have to look to these
21 commercial realities, if once we accept the proposition
22 that the transaction should be treated as a commercial one
23 rather than as an act of sovereignty.

24 MR. DAVIS: And we think, with respect, that the
25 commercial reality is that the parties seeking to secure

1 the protection of assured places to bring a lawsuit in
2 fact demand that as part of a transaction. And that was,
3 and in this circumstance that's not present in this
4 instrument.

5 QUESTION: They took their chances.

6 MR. DAVIS: They took, they took their chances
7 when the Bonod was accepted. I think that also that in
8 terms of the legislative history of this provision points
9 to the fact that it intended these nexus requirements,
10 which were designed again to prevent the United States
11 courts from becoming international courts of claims --

12 QUESTION: Mr. Davis, let me ask you a
13 provision, about a provision of the Bonods. They were not
14 in terms payable in New York, I take it?

15 MR. DAVIS: The Bonods?

16 QUESTION: Yes.

17 MR. DAVIS: They were payable in --

18 QUESTION: Payable in dollars.

19 MR. DAVIS: Payable in dollars.

20 QUESTION: Through transfer on the New York,
21 Frankfurt, London, or Zurich markets. Is that correct?

22 MR. DAVIS: Yes. And I think that that --

23 QUESTION: Does that amount to saying they are
24 payable in New York?

25 MR. DAVIS: I think for practical purposes, Mr.

1 Chief Justice, it does. And I think it was understood
2 that when it was payable on the New York market that there
3 would be some mechanism for payment. If you designated a,
4 meaning if the holder of the Bonod designated a bank in
5 New York or Zurich, that you would have an ability to
6 receive the funds in New York or Zurich.

7 QUESTION: And that was at the option of the
8 bond holder where the funds would be received?

9 MR. DAVIS: Yes, it was an option of the bond
10 holder.

11 With the Court's permission I would like to
12 reserve my remaining time.

13 QUESTION: Very well, Mr. Davis.

14 Mr. Cutler.

15 ORAL ARGUMENT OF RICHARD W. CUTLER

16 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS

17 MR. CUTLER: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
18 please the Court:

19 Our argument is the plain meaning of the Foreign
20 Sovereign Immunities Act. The statute says that a
21 commercial activity is to be judged by its nature, not its
22 purpose. In this case the petitioners issued negotiable
23 certificates of debt, and there is nothing uniquely
24 sovereign about going into debt. Private corporations do
25 it all the time, private parties do it all the time.

1 In this case the petitioners decided, for
2 whatever reason, to take the step into the commercial
3 marketplace and they gave up some of their sovereign
4 immunity. The petitioners' argument on that does raise
5 some rather troubling points. The first is, of course,
6 that it violates the plain language of the act.

7 The second is that petitioners talk about the
8 context of the Bonods. That is their word, that is not
9 mine. The context is really just a code word for purpose.
10 And one of the difficulties is that it wholly obliterates
11 the idea of restrictive sovereign immunity because every
12 sovereign is going to find some public purpose ultimately
13 to justify whatever acts it takes.

14 There is another possibility that is even more
15 disturbing, and that is once purpose becomes an issue the
16 petitioners' position is essentially mandating that U.S.
17 courts become evaluators of the authenticity and the
18 efficacy of foreign sovereigns' internal purposes. The
19 act says don't do it. Just look at the nature of the
20 activity. The nature of the, this activity was just like
21 anybody else issuing a promissory note, if you will, or
22 any kind of certificate of debt.

23 QUESTION: Every certificate of debt? What if,
24 what if the United States decides to give substantial
25 foreign aid to another country and we issue them, that

1 foreign country, a negotiable instrument?

2 MR. CUTLER: Your Honor, the answer to that
3 is --

4 QUESTION: That a commercial act?

5 MR. CUTLER: No, I would say that that is a
6 sovereign transaction. The distinction I was trying to
7 make was that the certificate of debt that Argentina and
8 its Central Bank were issuing here was just like an
9 ordinary commercial certificate of debt. It is not --

10 QUESTION: So you do look just beyond the face
11 of it to see whether it's a negotiable instrument however.
12 An instrument of debt you do look to what it's being given
13 for.

14 MR. CUTLER: Oh, yes, Your Honor. Our argument
15 has never been that because it is a contract it is
16 commercial. Our argument has been that it's a contract
17 for the repayment of borrowed money which can be held by
18 any private individual, and since it's negotiable the only
19 restriction Argentina put on it, that it would be that it
20 wasn't held by an Argentine citizen or by someone living
21 in Argentina.

22 The question of direct effect, Your Honor, is
23 simply a matter of the same analysis. What did the
24 petitioners do. Well, here they promised to pay in New
25 York. And if I may assist the Chief Justice in the

1 interest payments that the petitioners did make before
2 they defaulted on the bonds, they did wire funds to a New
3 York bank who then deposited them in the accounts of the
4 respondents. In at least one payment each of the
5 respondents was paid in the United States.

6 In this case payment, of course, was not just a
7 part of performance. It was all of performance. It was
8 100 percent of the executory performance of the
9 instruments, as a matter of fact. And the suggestion that
10 somehow our people have to get a waiver before there is a
11 connection with the United States again is simply an idea
12 that goes beyond restrictive foreign sovereign immunity.
13 The idea of sovereign immunity is that a sovereign may be
14 brought to U.S. court against its will because of the
15 nature of the instrument it issues, because of its
16 conduct, and of course because of the direct effect in the
17 United States.

18 The direct effect, we have said right from the
19 beginning, Your Honor, right from the district court on up
20 to here, was that there was a expectation of payment in
21 the United States, in New York City. The petitioners
22 promised that they'd do it. They didn't do it, and the
23 effect was felt right here. The example I believe that we
24 gave in our brief was that of a shipment of grain that had
25 to be delivered to New York City. In this case the cargo

1 was dollars, and the respondent -- and the petitioners
2 just didn't do it.

3 That effect in New York, I would make very clear
4 to the Court, was not a fortuitous effect. The
5 petitioners were the ones who named New York as a
6 potential place of payment at the option of the particular
7 bond holder. The petitioners keep reminding the Court in
8 the brief that the Bonods were not negotiated, that is the
9 terms of the Bonods were not negotiated, so that the
10 designation of New York as a place of payment was
11 petitioners' unilateral choice to make those Bonods look
12 as if they were worth something.

13 The effect was certainly foreseeable. In this
14 case the effect was exactly the petitioners' act. The
15 petitioners didn't want to pay the respondents in New York
16 and they didn't, and that's exactly what happened. The
17 respondents didn't get their money in New York. The
18 effect and the act are virtually identical.

19 And if there be any reason to have to repeat it
20 once more, the idea of the act to the effect, that line is
21 as straight as an arrow. And as far as we can see, Your
22 Honor, that's subject matter jurisdiction.

23 I would --

24 QUESTION: You know, that provision of the act
25 that refers to it being based upon an act outside the

1 territory of the United States in connection with a
2 commercial act -- and that act causes a direct effect in
3 the United States, that's what you're relying on there?
4 It doesn't seem to me that -- there's a whole line of
5 conflict of law cases that involve jurisdiction based upon
6 the effect of a statement. You'll find something more
7 than what you're describing --

8 MR. CUTLER: I don't know, Your Honor. I must
9 respectfully disagree, because in this case again it's not
10 as if Argentina just picked New York out of the blue.
11 There was a real purpose to New York, and there was a real
12 purpose to making the Bonods an acceptable method of going
13 on with debt. The purpose of naming New York, as Justice
14 O'Connor mentioned earlier, had to do in great part I am
15 sure with the act of state. Nobody was going to give up
16 the control of that debt to Argentina so that any kind of
17 currency regulation or any kind of exchange regulation
18 could make the bonds worthless with one stroke of the pen.

19 QUESTION: I wonder why you don't rely upon the
20 middle of the three bases for jurisdiction, that is on an
21 act performed in the United States in connection with a
22 commercial activity of the foreign state elsewhere. The
23 act of default occurred in New York, is what you told me?

24 MR. CUTLER: Yes, Your Honor.

25 QUESTION: Isn't the word act there broad enough

1 to include the act of default?

2 MR. CUTLER: I think it may be. As --

3 QUESTION: You don't ordinarily speak of a
4 default as having been performed, do you? I mean it seems
5 somehow more positive.

6 MR. CUTLER: I think, if I may answer Justice
7 Scalia's question first, I think, Your Honor, as an
8 advocate I may not be able to make that argument, although
9 we have thought of it. And that is I have not raised it
10 below and have not argued it below. On reflection I think
11 it is probably a very good argument, but I am not sure
12 that it would be appropriate for me to make it in this
13 Court at this time.

14 In response to the Chief Justice's question --

15 QUESTION: Well, my question becomes moot if
16 you --

17 (Laughter.)

18 MR. CUTLER: But I would say, Your Honor, in
19 terms of an act, because it does regard an act outside the
20 United States with a direct effect in the United States, I
21 think if you require a breach of contract to be some kind
22 of positive act that pretty much takes away all breaches
23 of contract. I mean, rarely I know -- I mean, someone can
24 deliver, I suppose, shoes, and there is an argument about
25 whether the shoes are up to the quality that was

1 originally in the agreement. But most of the time I think
2 breaches of contract are in fact somebody not doing
3 something, and it's the not doing something that's the
4 act.

5 And if there are no further questions from the
6 bench, I will retire at this time.

7 QUESTION: Very well, Mr. Cutler.

8 Mr. Minear, we'll hear from you.

9 ORAL ARGUMENT OF JEFFREY P. MINEAR

10 ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES

11 AS AMICUS CURIAE SUPPORTING RESPONDENTS

12 MR. MINEAR: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
13 please the Court:

14 We submit that Argentina is subject to suit
15 based on its failure to honor debt instruments that it
16 issued to private creditors and that are payable in the
17 United States. The initial question here is whether
18 Argentina has engaged in a commercial activity, and we
19 think there is little room to dispute that Argentina's
20 issuance of Bonods is just such an activity.

21 As Argentina acknowledges, a Bonod is a debt
22 instrument issued to private creditors that entitles the
23 holder to repayment of principal with interest. It does
24 not differ in its essential terms from a bond or debt
25 instrument that a business corporation might issue.

1 When Argentina issued its Bonods it borrowed
2 money in the international debt market and it thereby
3 engaged in a commercial activity. That conclusion is
4 especially compelling here where Argentina issued its
5 Bonods as substitutes for payment of preexisting private
6 commercial obligations.

7 At bottom Argentina really does not challenge
8 the commercial character of the debt instruments. Rather
9 it simply argues that it had a public purpose in issuing
10 them. As the lower courts correctly pointed out, however,
11 the Foreign Sovereign Immunity Act instructs that the
12 commercial character of an activity must be judged on the
13 basis of its nature rather than its purpose.

14 QUESTION: Mr. Minear, do you agree with, accept
15 the answer that Justice Scalia got that, to his question,
16 that if a Bonod or any instrument had been issued for
17 purposes of foreign aid that that could be considered when
18 we decide whether the act applies or not?

19 MR. MINEAR: We think that might well be a
20 commercial activity if it was, if the payment was made in
21 the form of a commercial debt instrument that obligated
22 the United States to pay money to a private creditor.

23 QUESTION: In other words you're saying that
24 that would be looking behind the instrument to the
25 purpose.

1 MR. MINEAR: No, I --

2 QUESTION: I'm sorry.

3 MR. MINEAR: I think I was saying that we look
4 to, instead to whether the United States issued a debt
5 instrument that is payable to a private party and that
6 requires payment of money. If the United States is --

7 QUESTION: But if it was payable --

8 MR. MINEAR: -- acting in the same manner as a
9 business corporation in issuing the debt instrument, we
10 think that we would be liable to suit.

11 QUESTION: So that you, in effect you don't look
12 to the purpose because you're answering the question based
13 on the identity of the payee.

14 MR. MINEAR: No, we're looking to the character
15 of the instrument in which the transaction takes place.
16 We're looking to the character of the activity.

17 QUESTION: Well, if I go out on the market and I
18 decide I want to buy a foreign debt instrument, do I know
19 that? Can I find that out without looking behind it?

20 MR. MINEAR: Well, you can look to the
21 instrument itself. And here, as I said, this instrument
22 was issued in the form of a bond, a traditional debt
23 instrument. And to the extent that Argentina went to the
24 commercial marketplace to obtain its funds, or in this
25 case actually to delay payment of funds, it's subject to

1 the rules of the commercial marketplace.

2 QUESTION: So you're saying if the government of
3 Argentina or any government wants to take advantage of the
4 Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act all it has got to do
5 really is to indicate on the face of the instrument the
6 context, if you will, in which the instrument is issued
7 and that will suffice. If they don't want to indicate
8 that, then it's going to be treated essentially as a
9 commercial instrument.

10 MR. MINEAR: Essentially that's -- I agree with
11 that.

12 QUESTION: Okay.

13 QUESTION: I'm not sure I understand your
14 distinction. Say -- I thought you were distinguishing the
15 foreign aid example on the basis of it depends who the
16 payee is. You said a private payee. But what if the
17 payee is the foreign government?

18 MR. MINEAR: Oh, in the case of a foreign
19 government, in that situation I should be clear that if
20 it's a, a sovereign to sovereign transaction, and I am
21 thinking in particular of currency swaps between --

22 QUESTION: Suppose I'm buying potatoes from the
23 Russian government and I pay them with a debt instrument.
24 Would that be a commercial transaction?

25 MR. MINEAR: That's likely to be a commercial

1 transaction there.

2 QUESTION: So it doesn't depend on whether it's
3 the government --

4 MR. MINEAR: No, I would say that we would draw
5 an exception, however, in a case -- for instance, the
6 central banks of various countries will engage in currency
7 swaps to maintain liquidity between their two central
8 banks. This transaction never takes place in the market.
9 It's simply a transaction that is conducted between two
10 sovereigns. It's more of the character of a treaty rather
11 than a commercial contract, and that is the example.

12 QUESTION: I'm not sure we all aren't getting
13 into purpose to some extent. I mean, it's a very well put
14 statute to say that it doesn't depend upon the purpose,
15 but I really wonder whether you don't have to get involved
16 somewhat in the purpose.

17 MR. MINEAR: In some situations --

18 QUESTION: The purpose here is commercial,
19 but --

20 MR. MINEAR: With all respect, Justice Scalia, I
21 think that in some cases it's true that it's difficult to
22 determine the nature and activity without some resort to
23 purpose, but I don't think that that is this case here.
24 In this case --

25 QUESTION: You're -- if I may interrupt you,

1 you're saying that the way to solve this problem that
2 Justice Scalia and I both seem to have is to say at least
3 don't look beyond the instrument itself.

4 MR. MINEAR: That's correct. That's correct.

5 QUESTION: If it says this is a potato note,
6 that's one thing. If it's payable to a foreign sovereign
7 and this is a foreign aid note, that's another thing. We
8 just stop at that point is what you're saying.

9 MR. MINEAR: With respect to debt instruments I
10 think that provides a very workable rule and it also
11 provides certainty in the marketplace.

12 Now once the Court has asserted that the
13 complaint here identifies a commercial activity the next
14 question is whether the commercial activity has a
15 sufficient nexus with the United States. The lower courts
16 concluded that Argentina's unilateral rescheduling of its
17 debt payments caused a direct effect in the United States
18 because the rescheduling resulted in Argentina breaching
19 its obligation to repay a debt that was legally obligated
20 to pay in this country.

21 QUESTION: Do you think nexus is the same as a
22 direct effect?

23 MR. MINEAR: No, I am using the word nexus in a
24 more general term of connection. There are actually three
25 types of connections that would subject a commercial

1 activity to suit. One, if it takes place in the United
2 States, two, if an act in connection with the activity
3 takes place in the United States, or three, if there is an
4 act outside the territory of the United States that has a
5 direct effect in the United States.

6 Now in this case the way that the respondents
7 have structured their complaint, and they are masters of
8 their complaint in this context, is that the commercial
9 activity is the issuance of the Bonods. The act outside
10 the territory of the United States is the rescheduling of
11 the debt payments. The direct effect in the United States
12 is the breach of the obligation to pay here.

13 Now, as the Justices alluded to earlier, this
14 could also conceivably fit into the second clause of the
15 provision, particularly if you're willing to look to the
16 legislative history and the House report that notes that
17 an omission can be treated as an act for purposes of the
18 second clause.

19 QUESTION: I promise you I didn't get it from
20 there.

21 (Laughter.)

22 MR. MINEAR: But in any event it's true that
23 these three clauses do overlap to some extent, and that's
24 true. But we think that this case fits squarely in the
25 third clause, without regard to whether it fits in the

1 first or second clause. Now -- and I think the reason for
2 this should be quite clear, that creditors lend money in
3 the expectation that they're going to be repaid, and the
4 choice of the place of payment is central to their
5 expectations. And simply put it is the place of
6 performance of the debtor's contractual obligation.

7 Now, when a debtor breaches its repayment
8 obligation it has a direct effect at the designated place
9 of performance because that is where the breach of the
10 contract takes place. Thus it is proper to conclude that
11 Argentina's breach of its obligation or of the Bonods has
12 a direct effect here in the United States, which was
13 designated by Argentina as the place of performance.

14 Now this is also consistent with conflict of law
15 principles if one were to look to the second restatement
16 or the first restatement of conflicts. Both of those
17 cases indicate that the applicable law would be determined
18 on the basis of the place of performance in the case of a
19 debt transaction. That would be section 195 of the second
20 restatement, and section 370 of the first restatement. So
21 it's hardly odd to suggest that the place of performance
22 shouldn't also not be the significant legal effect for
23 purposes of the FSIA and for purposes of determining
24 jurisdiction.

25 Moreover, this conclusion reflects the realities

1 of the international debt market where the party's choice
2 of place of payment determines the value and marketability
3 of the debt. An international debt has increased risk and
4 diminished value if it is payable at a location where
5 there is political upheaval, currency exchange
6 restrictions, or inadequate resources or mechanisms for
7 settling the debt.

8 In that case of the example that Mr. Davis gave
9 of a transaction between a Tunisian and Algerian
10 businessmen, they might well decide that the place of
11 payment should be in New York rather than in Tunis,
12 Algiers, or perhaps Tripoli, because that is the one place
13 where they can be certain that the rule of law would
14 govern their transaction.

15 And that we think is central to the United
16 States' interest in this case, the fact that the rule of
17 law does apply to commercial transactions carried out in
18 the United States.

19 Now, when a foreign state makes its debt
20 instruments payable in the United States, United States
21 currency, it is purposely availing itself of the stability
22 of the United States as a commercial forum. It should
23 therefore be subject to the forum's legal rules which
24 preserve that stability and the value of the debts that
25 are payable here.

1 QUESTION: But that too is kind of a nexus
2 argument that we might expect in another context, I think,
3 rather than its strictly an interpretation of this
4 statute, isn't it?

5 MR. MINEAR: Your Honor, I think that in terms
6 of the point that I am making here, that the, that this is
7 the policy that underlies the direct effects test and
8 underlies its application in this case.

9 QUESTION: Well, how do we know that?

10 MR. MINEAR: I think that we have to rely at
11 some level on what Congress was trying to achieve here,
12 which was to make sure that when a foreign nation enters
13 the commercial market it's subject to the same rules as
14 other parties would be. Now, other parties that made
15 debts payable in New York would be subject to New York
16 law.

17 QUESTION: Do you agree with the court of
18 appeals' observation that one of the purposes of Congress
19 in enacting this act was to make sure that New York City
20 kept its importance in the financial world?

21 MR. MINEAR: I would -- no, Your Honor. I would
22 not phrase it that way. But I would say that Congress
23 here was concerned that, in the fact that the rule of law
24 would apply to commercial transactions that have a
25 substantial connection with the United States. And in the

1 case of a transaction of a debt that is payable in the
2 United States that is a substantial connection. It is a
3 direct effect in the United States when such a transaction
4 is breached.

5 Now Argentina's approach, which would require a
6 court to ascertain the effect of a foreign state's breach
7 by examining where the creditor suffers its economic loss,
8 would produce an unpredictable and we think unworkable
9 standard for resolving the jurisdictional issue. That is
10 particularly true in the case of negotiable instruments.
11 Under Argentina's approach a foreign state would be unable
12 to assess its own immunity or its own amenability to suits
13 in this country at the time that it issued its debt
14 instrument and thereafter, after it is exchanged to other
15 persons hands.

16 In sum, we submit this case provides an
17 opportunity to state a clear rule applicable to a broad
18 category of cases, and the rule should be this. A foreign
19 state is not immune from suits in the courts of this
20 country if it breaches a contractual obligation to repay a
21 debt instrument that can be held by a private creditor and
22 is payable in the United States. That rule is not only
23 consistent with the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, but
24 it would also provide definitive guidance to foreign
25 states in structuring their debt offerings and determining

1 their amenability to suit in this country.

2 Unless there are further questions, thank you.

3 QUESTION: Very well, Mr. Minear.

4 Mr. Davis, you have 5 minutes remaining.

5 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF RICHARD J. DAVIS

6 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

7 MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice. I
8 think in terms of the direct effect test that the position
9 that has been articulated here in terms of the, by the
10 U.S. amicus, really confuses jurisdiction with choice of
11 law. This Court in a number of opinions has, when it
12 considered whether there would be jurisdiction, has made a
13 distinction and said that the fact that the operation of
14 the center of gravity or other tests would produce a
15 particular choice of law does not mean that there would be
16 jurisdiction.

17 QUESTION: Well, I think the Government's point
18 is sort of an a fortiori point. It's very rare that you
19 would have enough contact with the transaction to impose
20 your law upon it. That isn't have legislative
21 jurisdiction. But not have enough contact is simply have
22 adjudicated jurisdiction.

23 MR. DAVIS: Well, I think that, Justice Scalia,
24 if you look though at the way the courts have dealt with
25 place of payment cases, the general jurisdictional rule

1 under the long arm statutes and that Congress did
2 reference that it intended essentially to be treating
3 sovereigns similar to the way they would be treated under
4 long arm statutes under this provision, would be the place
5 of payment would not be sufficient to reach somebody under
6 a long arm statute for jurisdictional purposes.

7 And I think that in the various decisions of
8 this Court when it looked at the choice of law issue it
9 really said the choice of law question becomes significant
10 when the party, and this I think was referenced in the
11 Burger King decision, when the party agrees in the
12 contract to a choice of law, that's something that is when
13 it is more significant.

14 QUESTION: You say that place of payment is
15 usually not enough under long arm statutes?

16 MR. DAVIS: Yes.

17 QUESTION: If I make a contract that's payable
18 in a certain state I couldn't sue in that state? I
19 couldn't be sued in that state for failure --

20 MR. DAVIS: If that is the, if that's the only
21 connection. We have cited a number of cases where they
22 tend to require that there be some other action in the
23 forum state, and the only cases that were cited contrary
24 in the responsive briefs were cases where at least the
25 plaintiff was in the forum state providing some interest

1 for the forum state. But they generally require something
2 more than just simply place of payment.

3 QUESTION: Mr. Davis, your cases were all
4 domestic cases, were they not?

5 MR. DAVIS: Yes.

6 QUESTION: Do you think the analogy between
7 domestic cases and, domestic cases dealing with domestic
8 states and cases dealing with states and the international
9 foreign states in the international community really are a
10 good authority, because --

11 MR. DAVIS: Well -- excuse me.

12 QUESTION: Let me just tell you what I have in
13 the back of my mind. The fact is, at least when we're
14 dealing with a question of jurisdiction as between two
15 domestic states, we can assume that there is in fact going
16 to be a court somewhere that can deal with the issue, and
17 in a way which we will assume would be commercially
18 effective although you may have to travel to get there.
19 And it seems to me that the point of this transaction
20 indicates that that is an assumption that is not
21 necessarily to be made when we're dealing with, in
22 international transactions.

23 MR. DAVIS: Well, I think that in the
24 international context I would think it actually, Justice
25 Souter, would go the other way. Indeed in the majority

1 opinion of this Court in Asahi, in a constitutional
2 context when it felt there was a close case, the fact that
3 it was a foreign national, albeit not a government, that
4 would be brought into the United States was considered a
5 factor against jurisdiction. And the fact that it was a
6 foreign plaintiff, while maybe not decisive, was also
7 referenced specifically in that opinion as being a factor
8 against jurisdiction in the United States. So we think
9 that --

10 QUESTION: I guess it's safe to say you
11 certainly don't agree with the Second Circuit's reasoning
12 that the point of all of this is to keep New York in the
13 driver's seat?

14 MR. DAVIS: I certainly do not agree with that
15 reasoning. We think that that's not the kind of effect --
16 it may, you know, we have a question whether that's really
17 the effect anyway. But if, it certainly we would say is
18 not a direct effect within the contemplation of the
19 statute. And I think there's an opinion that was
20 originally written by Judge Weinfeld in the Verlinden case
21 when he, at the district court level, which I really think
22 very effectively presented that position in much more
23 articulate terms than I can.

24 Finally, in terms of the, just very briefly on
25 the notion that our test is unpredictable. We don't think

1 that the test we proposed which says basically that you
2 require that the place of payment and the party --

3 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Davis.

4 MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.

5 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: The case is submitted.

6 (Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the case in the
7 above-entitled matter was submitted.)

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CERTIFICATION

Alderson Reporting Company, Inc., hereby certifies that the attached pages represents and accurate transcription of electronic sound recording of the oral argument before the Supreme Court of The United States in the Matter of:

NO. 91-763 - REPUBLIC OF ARGENTINA AND BANCO CENTRAL de la

REPUBLIC ARGENTINA, Petitioners V. WELTOVER, INC., ET AL.

and that these attached pages constitutes the original transcript of the proceedings for the records of the court.

BY Ann-Marie Federico

(REPORTER)