SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF T	HE UNITED STATES
RICHARD DEVILLIER, ET AL.,)
Petitioners,)
v.) No. 22-913
TEXAS,)
Respondent.)

Pages: 1 through 88

Place: Washington, D.C.

Date: January 16, 2024

HERITAGE REPORTING CORPORATION

Official Reporters
1220 L Street, N.W., Suite 206
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 628-4888
www.hrccourtreporters.com

1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE	UNITED STATES
2		
3	RICHARD DEVILLIER, ET AL.,)
4	Petitioners,)
5	V.) No. 22-913
6	TEXAS,)
7	Respondent.)
8		
9		
10	Washington, D.C	
11	Tuesday, January 16	, 2024
12		
13	The above-entitled matte	r came on for oral
14	argument before the Supreme Cou	rt of the United
15	States at 11:10 a.m.	
16		
17	APPEARANCES:	
18	ROBERT J. McNAMARA, ESQUIRE, Ar	lington, Virginia; on
19	behalf of the Petitioners.	
20	AARON L. NIELSON, Solicitor Gen	eral, Austin, Texas; on
21	behalf of the Respondent.	
22	EDWIN S. KNEEDLER, Deputy Solic	eitor General,
23	Department of Justice, Wash	ington, D.C.; for the
24	United States, as amicus cu	riae, supporting the
25	Respondent.	

1	CONTENTS	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	PAGE:
3	ROBERT J. McNAMARA, ESQ.	
4	On behalf of the Petitioners	3
5	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	
6	AARON L. NIELSON, ESQ.	
7	On behalf of the Respondent	38
8	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	
9	EDWIN S. KNEEDLER, ESQ.	
10	For the United States, as amicus	
11	curiae, supporting the Respondent	68
12	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF:	
13	ROBERT J. McNAMARA, ESQ.	
14	On behalf of the Petitioners	86
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(11:10 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear
4	argument next in Case 22-913, Devillier versus
5	Texas.
6	Mr. McNamara.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF ROBERT J. McNAMARA
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
9	MR. McNAMARA: Mr. Chief Justice, and
10	may it please the Court:
11	The question presented in this case is
12	resolved by the text of the Fifth Amendment,
13	which, unlike any other provision of the
14	Constitution, imposes on the government a an
15	explicit duty to pay money.
16	It's also answered by this Court's
17	decision in First English, which holds that the
18	just compensation remedy is mandatory and that
19	the Fifth Amendment itself furnishes a basis on
20	which a court can award just compensation in an
21	inverse condemnation case.
22	And this right of property owners to
23	sue in inverse condemnation to obtain just
24	compensation for an alleged taking is at the
25	heart of modern American takings law. It's at

- 1 the heart of inverse condemnation claims filed
- 2 against state and local governments nationwide.
- 3 And it's also at the heart of every takings
- 4 claim filed against the federal government under
- 5 the Tucker Act.
- 6 The Tucker Act provides no cause of
- 7 action, no substantive entitlement to a remedy.
- 8 The cause of action, the substantive entitlement
- 9 to a remedy in every Tucker Act takings case, is
- 10 the self-executing Fifth Amendment, the same
- 11 cause of action recognized in First English, the
- 12 same cause of action pled here.
- To reject that cause of action now is
- 14 to upend the way lower courts, both state and
- 15 federal, understand the Takings Clause to work
- 16 and also to abandon this Court's consistent
- 17 explanations of that clause not just in First
- 18 English but in more recent cases like Knick
- 19 v. Township of Scott.
- 20 And there's no reason to make that
- 21 kind of drastic change. This Court has already
- 22 recognized that money-mandating legal
- obligations logically come along with the right
- to file a lawsuit to enforce those obligations.
- 25 That's true as to statutes, which is

- 1 what this Court held in Maine Community Health
- 2 Options. It should be at least as true as to
- 3 the Constitution, and this Court's precedents
- 4 consistently teach that it is.
- I welcome the Court's questions.
- 6 JUSTICE THOMAS: In your reply brief,
- 7 you say that the 19th Century federal courts
- 8 were faced with a bedrock property right and no
- 9 way to enforce it directly. Doesn't that seem
- 10 to be at odds -- the fact that the courts there
- 11 had to resort to extra-constitutional causes of
- 12 action, isn't that at odds with your argument
- 13 now?
- MR. McNAMARA: I don't think so, Your
- 15 Honor, because the primary problem facing
- 16 federal courts in the early part of the 19th
- 17 Century was a lack of jurisdiction. And I think
- 18 the question of jurisdiction is just
- 19 conceptually distinct from the question of
- whether there's a cause of action, whether
- 21 there's a right to a remedy.
- 22 Congress could tomorrow amend
- 23 Section 1331 to reimpose an
- 24 amount-in-controversy limit. And if it did
- 25 that, that would prevent a number of people from

- 1 bringing Ex parte Young actions in federal
- 2 court. Those claims wouldn't cease to exist.
- 3 Congress would just have eliminated the
- 4 jurisdiction over them.
- 5 And so I think there's a difference
- 6 between jurisdictional limits which limited
- 7 takings claims and even pleading requirements
- 8 like the limits to the forms of action, which
- 9 also limited plaintiffs' abilities to bring
- 10 certain kinds of claims, and the core question
- 11 presented here, which is just whether there is
- 12 an entitlement to relief.
- There's only one modern form of
- 14 action, which just takes the shape of saying,
- 15 I'm entitled to this remedy for that reason.
- 16 The remedy is just compensation. The reason is
- 17 the Fifth Amendment as applied through the
- 18 Fourteenth. And once the jurisdictional
- 19 problems and the pleading problems are removed,
- 20 as they have been in this case, the only
- 21 question remains whether the Fifth Amendment
- 22 mandates compensation, whether it mandates that
- 23 remedy, which this Court has already answered.
- 24 First English says that the just compensation
- 25 remedy is mandatory.

1	And I think contrasting the the
2	arguments of the other side with the rule
3	adopted by the California Supreme Court in Agins
4	is actually a useful illustration here. The
5	California Supreme Court's decision in Agins
6	said, we as a common law court don't want to
7	recognize a claim for just compensation in a
8	regulatory takings case. We think that intrudes
9	on the legislature's prerogative. We don't
LO	recognize that cause of action.
L1	And First English says that doesn't
L2	matter. The cause of action, the entitlement to
L3	relief, flows directly from the Fifth Amendment.
L4	So too here. The complaint here pleads a cause
L5	of action directly under the Fifth Amendment
L6	JUSTICE BARRETT: Counsel
L7	MR. McNAMARA: that says our
L8	property was taken and the Fifth Amendment
L9	yes, Your Honor?
20	JUSTICE BARRETT: Counsel, I agree
21	that jurisdiction and a cause of action are
22	distinct, but it's a little bit hard to see how
23	in 1791 I mean, I think your argument is,
24	when the Fifth Amendment was ratified, those who
25	ratified it had to see the Fifth Amendment as

- 1 itself supplying the cause of action because
- 2 this was the crucial way to vitiate the takings
- 3 right, the right to just compensation.
- 4 But Congress didn't provide for
- 5 federal question jurisdiction until 1875, so
- 6 that kind of languished on the vine for a pretty
- 7 long time if you're right that the founding
- 8 generation or the -- you know, the ratifying
- 9 generation in 1791 viewed it that way.
- 10 Moreover, you know, the historical
- 11 evidence of private bills runs contrary to your
- 12 argument because, yes, there was a right to just
- 13 compensation, but we have all of this time,
- 14 throughout the 19th Century, of Congress
- 15 enacting private bills to give just
- 16 compensation.
- 17 And I think you have to contend with
- that because, I mean, I get that this is against
- 19 Texas, against the state, but if the Fourteenth
- 20 Amendment incorporated the Fifth Amendment as it
- 21 was, there's kind of a mountain of historical
- evidence, you know, that you've got to contend
- 23 with.
- 24 MR. McNAMARA: So I -- I don't think
- 25 that mountain does quite the work that Texas

- 1 needs it to, Your Honor. And I think one
- 2 problem here is the difficulty in mapping the
- 3 modern conception of cause of action onto 1791
- 4 visions of the court. I think, if you asked a
- 5 lawyer in 1791 whether the Fifth Amendment
- 6 contained a cause of action, they probably
- 7 wouldn't understand the question.
- But, if you asked them can a property
- 9 owner sue to enforce just compensation, the
- answer absolutely would have been yes. It would
- 11 have been a suit in trespass. It would perhaps
- 12 have been a suit in ejectment. But there was an
- 13 understanding at the framing that this was an
- 14 enforceable right, and if you --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, that -- that
- 16 establishes at most, it seems to me, that the
- 17 Fifth Amendment envisioned some remedial
- 18 mechanism would be available. And the common
- 19 law trespass, as you point out, might have been
- 20 it, or conversion might have been it. It -- it
- 21 doesn't necessarily mean that there is itself an
- 22 independent cause of action under the Fifth
- 23 Amendment.
- 24 MR. McNAMARA: I think it does, Your
- 25 Honor, once the forms --

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Why? You've just 2 conceded that the cause of action that -- that 3 the Framers would have understood would have 4 been in trespass. 5 MR. McNAMARA: Well, Your Honor, I 6 think, in -- in modern terms, what the Court 7 means when it says "cause of action" --JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, no. But we're 8 9 talking about the original meaning, and you're 10 asking us to appeal to the original meaning and 11 say they would have understood there would have 12 been a cause of action. Perhaps, but what would that cause of action look like? 13 14 MR. McNAMARA: I think they would have 15 understood that there was an entitlement to a 16 remedy. 17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Some remedy. 18 MR. McNAMARA: An entitlement to just 19 compensation as a remedy. JUSTICE GORSUCH: Some -- some way to 20 21 get that? 2.2 MR. McNAMARA: Yes, and I think --23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Fair enough. 24 doesn't necessarily mean there's a federal cause

of action. It could mean it happens under state

- 1 common law, right?
- 2 MR. McNAMARA: Well, Your Honor, two
- 3 --
- 4 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I mean, you -- you
- 5 would admit that a state common law cause of
- 6 action did and could fully vindicate the Fifth
- 7 Amendment?
- MR. McNAMARA: Yes, Your Honor, I
- 9 think there could be a state common law action
- 10 that vindicated the First Amendment, but I also
- 11 think --
- 12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Fifth. Fair enough.
- MR. McNAMARA: Yes, Your Honor, or --
- 14 or the First.
- 15 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And that that would
- 16 -- that would be enough. No -- nothing more
- 17 would be required.
- MR. McNAMARA: Well --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: And, in fact, that's
- 20 how it operated for a long time.
- MR. McNAMARA: Well, certainly, Your
- Honor, if compensation is provided through any
- 23 mechanism, there's no longer a Fifth Amendment
- injury to be remedied.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Ah. Okay. I

- 1 understand that argument. That's not the
- 2 argument you're -- you're pressing, though.
- MR. McNAMARA: That's because, here,
- 4 compensation hasn't been paid. The Plaintiffs
- 5 in this case continue to suffer the ongoing
- 6 Fifth Amendment injury.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, maybe that's
- 8 because you -- you -- you allowed this
- 9 case to be removed, which I -- and -- and, you
- 10 know, I'm -- I'm surprised you didn't oppose
- 11 removal on that ground and said there's no
- 12 federal question that we need to resolve here
- 13 because it's really a state common law cause of
- 14 action we're pursuing. That would have been one
- 15 option.
- Or maybe in federal court you might
- 17 have said we want a declaratory judgment, which
- 18 everyone concedes you can get under the Fifth
- 19 Amendment, and take pendent jurisdiction over
- 20 our state common law cause of action, which
- 21 would adequately vindicate our Fifth Amendment
- 22 rights.
- You didn't pursue either of those
- 24 courses here.
- MR. McNAMARA: So two responses, Your

- 1 Honor. One, I don't think there was a
- 2 good-faith grounds to oppose Texas's removal
- 3 because what the complaint says on its face is
- 4 we are entitled to just compensation under the
- 5 Fifth Amendment.
- 6 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, but it -- it
- 7 then pleads state causes of action to do so.
- 8 MR. McNAMARA: No, Your Honor. It --
- 9 it pleads a claim directly under the Fifth
- 10 Amendment.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, maybe that's
- 12 another problem you face is it -- if you had an
- 13 adequate common law -- do you dispute that Texas
- 14 has an adequate common law remedy to -- for --
- 15 for your problem?
- MR. McNAMARA: I do, Your Honor. And
- 17 this is actually an important point. That --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Is that argument in
- 19 your brief, that -- that the -- that the common
- 20 law of Texas or state law has no mechanism to
- 21 enforce the Fifth Amendment?
- 22 MR. McNAMARA: Well, Your Honor, Texas
- 23 asserts --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: If it did, I'd --
- 25 that one I'd take seriously, but I didn't see

- 1 it.
- MR. McNAMARA: So Texas asserts, Your
- 3 Honor, that there is a Texas common law
- 4 mechanism to vindicate the Fifth Amendment, but
- 5 there is no Texas decision saying we sitting as
- 6 a common law court invoke our common law powers
- 7 to create a cause of action.
- 8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: No trespass, no
- 9 conversion?
- 10 MR. McNAMARA: Texas hears inverse
- 11 condemnation claims arising under the Fifth
- 12 Amendment. That's what the Texas Supreme Court
- 13 said most recently in City of Baytown
- v. Schrock, and it cites the Fifth Amendment.
- 15 It doesn't invoke its common law powers.
- 16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Fair enough. I get
- 17 all of that now. All right. That's clarifying.
- 18 But you -- you -- the -- the nature of the
- 19 argument before us isn't that Texas lacks a
- 20 common law cause of action. It's whether or not
- 21 Texas has such a thing, we're entitled to
- 22 another remedy under federal law.
- MR. McNAMARA: I -- I don't think
- that's right, Your Honor. What the Fifth
- 25 Circuit said is that the complaint that alleges

- 1 an entitlement to just compensation flowing from
- 2 the Fifth Amendment doesn't state a claim, that
- 3 that claim is dead.
- 4 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Let -- let -- let --
- 5 let's suppose we -- it did create a cause of
- 6 action. Would -- would it also waive sovereign
- 7 immunity? And what would the statute of
- 8 limitations be?
- 9 MR. McNAMARA: It wouldn't necessarily
- 10 waive sovereign immunity, Your Honor. I think
- 11 that's a distinct question. And the statute of
- 12 limitations would be the statute of limitations
- that is applied by lower courts when people
- 14 actually bring these claims.
- 15 There's a robust Court of Federal
- 16 Claims jurisprudence, federal district courts
- 17 here claims arising under the Fifth Amendment,
- 18 sometimes looking to state law to set the
- 19 statute of limitations.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Ah, they look to
- 21 state law, don't they, yeah?
- MR. McNAMARA: But the claim itself,
- Your Honor, comes from the Fifth Amendment not
- 24 just in Texas but in states nationwide. And I
- 25 think this is an important point.

1 Take Oregon, for example. Oregon 2 signed on to the state's amicus brief in support 3 of Texas, but the reason that Oregon pays just compensation for takings under the Fifth 4 Amendment is the Oregon courts, citing First 5 6 English, have said it must pay just 7 compensation. And so answering the question 8 presented --JUSTICE BARRETT: If we don't read 9 First English the way you do, I mean, I think 10 11 that footnote's pretty difficult to decipher, do 12 you lose? MR. McNAMARA: No, Your Honor. 13 don't think it's just the footnote in First 14 15 English. I think it's the broader holding that 16 the remedy is required. 17 But I think there's no dispute here 18 that there is an entitlement to relief. And, 19 certainly, by the time of the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, courts across the 20 21 country had converged on how that kind of 2.2 entitlement would be enforced. 23 And it's enforced by a lawsuit 24 directly against the entity that took the 25 property that takes the form of saying, you have

- 1 this duty to provide just compensation, you have
- 2 not fulfilled it, and I'd like the court to
- 3 order you to fulfill it.
- 4 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Can I have just a
- 5 small point of information? Your case was
- 6 dismissed in federal court. Did you ask for a
- 7 remand on your claims under the Texas
- 8 Constitution?
- 9 MR. McNAMARA: No, Your Honor. The
- 10 district court is keeping pendent jurisdiction
- 11 over the claims under the Texas cause.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So you -- you have
- 13 a pending suit on the state law claim?
- MR. McNAMARA: Yes, Your Honor, but
- 15 there is a dispute about the scope of the
- 16 takings law that governs that guestion. Texas
- 17 has taken the position in the lower courts that
- 18 the Texas constitution has a narrower definition
- of what counts as a taking than the federal
- 20 courts.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, then First
- 22 English comes in too because First English was
- about a state court claim and when it started,
- 24 whether a temporary claim was a taking or not,
- and we said yes, it's a taking, and so the state

- 1 court had to pay for that taking.
- 2 How is it different than First English
- 3 in that respect?
- 4 MR. McNAMARA: I -- I don't think it's
- 5 different from First English, Your Honor, except
- 6 that, here, it was removed into federal court
- 7 and then the Fifth Amendment aspect of the case
- 8 was dismissed on the merits.
- 9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Oh, I -- I -- I
- don't disagree with you, but First English is
- 11 about what the substantive law of Texas is and
- 12 what Texas has to pay.
- 13 And so that issue should be resolved
- even in the district court, correct?
- MR. McNAMARA: I -- I don't think so,
- 16 Your Honor, because the backstop in First
- 17 English is the Fifth Amendment that -- that says
- 18 that the met -- the just compensation --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: No, the backstop
- in the Fifth -- yes, it's the Fifth Amendment
- 21 that provides the substantive law, but not
- 22 necessarily -- we didn't address whether it
- 23 provides a cause of action.
- MR. McNAMARA: I -- I think the Court
- 25 did, Your Honor. The United States' amicus

1 brief --2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: All right. We're -- we're going to -- we're going to go into --3 JUSTICE JACKSON: Can I just ask --4 I -- I mean, this is similar to what Justice 5 6 Sotomayor was just getting into. Are you saying 7 that we don't have three separate concepts, right, remedy, and cause of action? I thought 8 9 those were three different things. And perhaps 10 First English only covered two of them? 11 MR. McNAMARA: I -- I'm not sure they're distinct concepts, Your Honor. I think 12 13 the simplest way to understand cause of action 14 is an entitlement to a particular remedy, which 15 is why it's coherent to say someone might have a 16 cause of action for an injunction. 17 JUSTICE JACKSON: I thought it had to 18 do with the forum, that you have a cause of 19 action that is recognized in the judicial forum 20 as opposed to, say, going to the legislature 21 through -- through private bills. 2.2 MR. McNAMARA: Well, Your Honor, I --23 I think, to the extent that's the definition of

"cause of action," we would have a cause of

action under the clear import of the history

24

- 1 that the --
- 2 JUSTICE JACKSON: Not -- not the
- 3 history. I guess I'm just trying to understand,
- 4 is there -- does it make sense to think about
- 5 the Fifth Amendment as providing the right and
- 6 the remedy but not speaking to where you're
- 7 going to get that remedy from or what is the
- 8 enforcement mechanism?
- 9 That's how I sort of am
- 10 conceptualizing this, and -- and I think we
- 11 differ about that, so I'd like to hear your
- 12 opinion on it.
- MR. McNAMARA: I -- I'm not sure
- that's a correct reading of the Fifth Amendment,
- 15 Your Honor, in part because I think that reading
- 16 -- everyone agrees there are some judicial
- 17 remedies for the Fifth Amendment.
- 18 As I understand my friend's argument,
- 19 we'd be entitled to sue for injunctive relief or
- 20 for ejectment in the absence of a -- a path to a
- 21 Fifth Amendment compensation remedy.
- So everyone agrees there's some
- 23 judicial remedy. And I think the form of that
- judicial remedy depends on the scope of the
- 25 government's obligation.

1	There are two visions of the Fifth
2	Amendment. One is that the Fifth Amendment just
3	provides a precondition. The government is
4	required to pay and it can be enjoined from
5	taking the property if it doesn't pay.
6	The other division that's adopted in
7	First English that's reiterated in Knick is that
8	the Fifth Amendment creates an obligation to pay
9	just compensation. And if that's the ongoing
LO	obligation, the government has taken property,
L1	it owes just compensation today, will owe just
L2	compensation tomorrow, courts are empowered to
L3	cure that ongoing obligation.
L4	It's not a question of damages for a
L5	past violation. It's a question of the
L6	government's obligation as it stands in court
L7	today.
L8	JUSTICE BARRETT: Mr. McNamara, can I
L9	go back to Justice Sotomayor's question and just
20	ask for a point of clarification? I understood
21	Texas law to provide a cause of action for
22	vitiating the federal Fifth Amendment right.
23	I took your answer to Justice
24	Sotomayor to be saying that Texas courts say
2.5	vou were talking about how Texas courts define a

2.2

- 1 taking for purposes of the Texas constitution.
- 2 So am I wrong in thinking that Texas
- 3 allows you to bring a state cause of action for
- 4 the federal Fifth Amendment claim?
- 5 MR. McNAMARA: I -- I'm not sure
- 6 whether that's right to be honest, Your Honor.
- 7 And I think two things flow from this. One, if
- 8 it's true that there is a Texas common law cause
- 9 of action under which we could have -- we can
- 10 vindicate our Fifth Amendment rights, then the
- 11 Fifth Circuit still has to be reversed because
- 12 it held that that substantive claim should be
- dismissed on the merits.
- 14 JUSTICE BARRETT: Okay. Well, let me
- just -- just -- it's important for me to be able
- 16 to understand this procedural point. Does Texas
- 17 have -- provide a state cause of action to
- 18 vitiate the state takings right from the Texas
- 19 constitution?
- MR. McNAMARA: Yes, Your Honor.
- JUSTICE BARRETT: Okay. It seems to
- 22 me then it can't discriminate against the
- 23 federal claim anyway.
- 24 MR. McNAMARA: I -- I think that's
- 25 true, Your Honor, but Texas doesn't -- Texas

- 1 isn't trying to discriminate against the -- this
- 2 federal claim. What Texas says, like other
- 3 state courts, is it's not doing -- it doesn't
- 4 say we're doing common law analysis and creating
- 5 a cause of action.
- 6 What Texas seems to be doing is
- 7 constitutional analysis, just like the other
- 8 state courts that specifically cite First
- 9 English and say: Ah, there is a cause of
- 10 caution here. I'm not familiar with any state
- 11 case saying we are using our powers as a common
- 12 law court to create a cause of action to
- 13 vindicate the Fifth Amendment.
- 14 What they say is we're looking at the
- 15 Fifth Amendment. We see it creates the
- obligation. Frequently they cite First English
- directly and they say that's what gives rise to
- 18 the caution of action.
- 19 And that, I think, is what's dangerous
- 20 about the question presented here. As -- as I
- 21 understand Texas's argument, the complaint we
- 22 filed in state court was perfectly valid and
- 23 could be adjudicated, and the Fifth Amendment
- 24 could have been adjudicated in state court.
- 25 Once it was removed, Texas moved to dismiss and

- 1 sought an interlocutory appeal and has
- 2 successfully extinguished that.
- 3 But my concern is that adopting
- 4 Texas's arguments here tells all of these state
- 5 courts that have pointed to First English and
- 6 said this is the source of -- the Fifth
- 7 Amendment is the source of the cause of action
- 8 would look to a decision in this case adopting
- 9 Texas's arguments and say: Okay. We were
- 10 wrong. The Constitution does not, in fact,
- 11 require a remedy. There is no federal
- 12 constitutional cause of action. And that would
- 13 eliminate the federal takings remedy in state
- 14 courts across the nation.
- JUSTICE ALITO: Mr. McDowell, the
- language of the Takings Clause is guite similar
- 17 to the language of the Due Process Clause in the
- 18 Fifth Amendment, which immediately precedes it.
- 19 No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or
- 20 property without due process of law, nor shall
- 21 private property be taken for public use without
- 22 just compensation.
- So why should they be read differently
- 24 with respect to the creation of a cause of
- 25 action?

1	MR. McNAMARA: I don't think they have
2	to be read differently, Your Honor. I think, if
3	there's an ongoing due process violation, a
4	plaintiff could bring an Ex parte Young action.
5	Ex parte Young was not a 1983 action. It was
6	JUSTICE ALITO: No, not an Ex parte
7	Young, but a claim for damages?
8	MR. McNAMARA: Well, I I think
9	that's the difference here, that we're not
10	seeking damages; we're seeking just
11	compensation. We're not saying there was a past
12	completed violation of the Constitution and we
13	want something to offset that. We're saying the
14	government has taken property, which gives rise
15	to a present duty to pay just compensation. And
16	we want the present obligation enforced, not a
17	backwards-looking damages remedy concocted or
18	created. And I think that entitlement to just
19	compensation is how the Framers would have
20	understood the Fifth Amendment.
21	The alternative view, the idea that
22	all you get are injunctions, I don't think
23	squares with either the text or how contemporary
24	commentators talked about the clause.
25	Saint George Tucker and John Jay wrote

- 1 about the Takings Clause in the context of the
- 2 Army seizing horses and military supplies. But,
- 3 if the Army is seizing horses, the Army's going
- 4 to get the horses. The understanding would not
- 5 have been that you could stop the Army in the
- 6 moment from seizing your horses.
- 7 What Saint George Tucker is writing
- 8 about is the ongoing duty to provide
- 9 compensation for the horses, which is also how
- 10 contemporary courts wrote about the just
- 11 compensation requirement, even constrained as
- they were by the forms of action.
- I -- I think a great example of this
- is the Massachusetts Supreme Court's decision in
- 15 -- excuse me, the Massachusetts Supreme Court's
- decision in evaluating an action brought as a
- 17 writ of debt in Gedney v. Inhabitants of
- 18 Tewksbury, where the justices -- the judges of
- 19 the Massachusetts Supreme Court there said:
- 20 This isn't the right forum. This isn't an
- 21 action in debt. You can't state it using that
- form. You have to go to a different forum to
- 23 get your just compensation. But, if that other
- forum denies you compensation, you can return
- 25 here, in the statement of one of the judges, and

- 1 ask for that remedy again, which will not
- 2 probably be refused if --
- JUSTICE ALITO: If the Fifth Amendment
- 4 confers a right to sue for just compensation in
- 5 and of itself, is that right unqualified? And
- 6 if it is not unqualified, what qualifications do
- 7 you recognize?
- 8 MR. McNAMARA: Oh, I -- I certainly
- 9 don't think it's unqualified, Your Honor. It --
- 10 JUSTICE ALITO: What qualifications do
- 11 you recognize?
- 12 MR. McNAMARA: It -- it requires a
- 13 court of competent jurisdiction, and so,
- 14 certainly, Congress is free to channel
- 15 jurisdiction however it likes. Texas is
- similarly free to create courts of jurisdiction
- 17 as it pleases.
- 18 But the underlying -- all we're saying
- is that there is an underlying entitlement to
- 20 receive just compensation and that when that
- 21 entitlement is denied, a court of competent
- 22 jurisdiction can order that that just
- 23 compensation be paid.
- JUSTICE ALITO: Well, does it make
- 25 sense to view the Fifth Amendment as providing a

2.8

- 1 right to sue for compensation, but your ability
- 2 to vindicate that right is totally dependent on
- 3 Congress's discretionary choice to create lower
- 4 federal courts and to give them jurisdiction to
- 5 entertain such claims? That sounds like a very
- 6 weak right if that -- if it's subject to
- 7 limitation in that way.
- 8 MR. McNAMARA: I think the same could
- 9 be said of the entire Bill of Rights, though,
- 10 Your Honor. The -- the entire stratum of
- 11 federal constitutional rights depends on
- 12 Congress to create lower federal courts, courts
- where these rights can be vindicated.
- 14 Once Congress does create those
- 15 courts, and when a state defendant deliberately
- 16 chooses to avail itself of those courts, the
- 17 only question is whether that court can enforce
- the ongoing obligation to require the payment of
- 19 just compensation.
- 20 And I think that's ultimately what
- 21 distinguishes this case from the Court's Bivens
- 22 cases where Bivens cases are about the policy
- 23 question of whether to create a remedy. They
- don't engage in constitutional text, history,
- and tradition analysis, which is why Justice

- 1 Rehnquist could dissent in cases like Carlson v.
- 2 Green and Davis v. Passman and then, less than a
- 3 decade later, Chief Justice Rehnquist could
- 4 write First English, because we're not talking
- 5 about a damages remedy; we're talking about the
- 6 power of the federal courts to, when their
- 7 jurisdiction is competently invoked and when the
- 8 state has waived its sovereign immunity, require
- 9 the state to comply with its ongoing
- 10 constitutional duty.
- I think that matches both with the
- 12 history, it matches with the tradition, and it
- matches particularly with the Fourteenth
- 14 Amendment context itself. It's worth
- 15 remembering that when this Court incorporated
- 16 the Fifth Amendment against the states in
- 17 Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, it
- 18 specifically incorporated the right to
- 19 compensation, not the right not to have the
- 20 property taken but the right to receive money,
- 21 that the due process of law necessarily included
- 22 as a matter of first principles -- Chicago
- 23 Burlington actually doesn't cite the Fifth
- 24 Amendment -- but, as a matter of first
- 25 principles, it includes the right to receive

- 1 compensation for the property taken.
- 2 These -- these cases rarely appear in
- 3 federal court, in part because, before Knick, no
- 4 takings case could be filed ab initio, but also
- because, as the magistrate judge's opinion in
- 6 this case points out, it's relatively rare for a
- 7 state to choose to remove this federal claim --
- 8 this federal right into a federal forum. But,
- 9 once it does so, once Texas has decided it wants
- 10 the scope of our rights under the Fifth
- 11 Amendment to be litigated in federal court, that
- 12 can't change the scope of the claim we make.
- 13 What the Fifth Circuit opinion below
- 14 says is that we cannot state a claim invoking
- our rights under the Fifth Amendment, full stop.
- 16 If Texas is right that, in fact, we have that
- 17 right as a matter of Texas common law, then the
- 18 Fifth Circuit was wrong to say that we only have
- 19 that right under Section 1983. That counsels in
- 20 favor of reversal.
- 21 But this Court has also squarely held
- 22 and again repeated in Knick that the Fifth
- 23 Amendment does furnish a basis on which a court
- 24 can award just compensation. In the mine run of
- cases, that's going to be a state court awarding

- 1 just compensation. But, when the state wishes
- 2 to be in federal court, I don't think there's a
- 3 good-faith basis for the plaintiff to say, I'm
- 4 invoking my rights under the Fifth Amendment, I
- 5 want the full scope of compensation that I'm
- 6 entitled to under the Fifth Amendment, but I
- 7 refuse to allow this claim that arises under my
- 8 rights under the Fifth Amendment to be in
- 9 federal court.
- 10 It is the defendant's choice to have
- 11 this federal claim that turns on federal law
- 12 heard in federal court. That's the choice that
- 13 Texas made, and that choice can't, on the
- merits, extinguish our Fifth Amendment remedy.
- 15 What Texas has effectively accomplished here by
- 16 making the unusual decision to remove is that
- 17 it's eliminated the Fifth Amendment question
- 18 from this case and given itself what it believes
- 19 -- I'm not conceding that they're right about
- 20 Texas law -- but what it believes is a more
- 21 favorable rule of Texas law.
- 22 But, if First English is right and the
- just compensation remedy is mandatory, then the
- 24 just compensation remedy is mandatory, and Texas
- 25 can't extinguish it through procedural maneuvers

- 1 like removing this case to federal court. The
- 2 -- a claim for just compensation simply takes
- 3 the form of saying the government has taken a
- 4 property interest and I as the former owner am
- 5 entitled to the fair market value of that
- 6 property interest.
- 7 JUSTICE JACKSON: Can I just be clear,
- 8 are you arguing that through Texas's maneuvering
- 9 that claim is no longer available to you?
- 10 MR. McNAMARA: Yes, Your Honor. I
- 11 think that's what Judge Oldham points out in his
- 12 dissent below.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: I understand not in
- 14 federal court, but are you claiming that Texas
- 15 has prevented you from making this claim in
- 16 state court?
- 17 MR. McNAMARA: Yes, Your Honor. There
- 18 -- there will be no remand in this case. This
- 19 case is staying in federal district court. And
- 20 as Judge Oldham correctly pointed out, the
- 21 upshot of the panel opinion below is that this
- 22 case will proceed without any federal takings
- 23 claim in it because --
- 24 JUSTICE JACKSON: If you had sought
- 25 remand and it went back to Texas court, are you

- 1 saying that there wouldn't be the opportunity to
- 2 make this claim in state court? I'm just trying
- 3 to understand if the claim is totally gone as --
- 4 as a general matter here.
- 5 MR. McNAMARA: So I -- I think -- I
- 6 see my light is on. Thank you, Your Honor.
- 7 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: No, go ahead.
- 8 MR. McNAMARA: So I think, Your Honor,
- 9 first, I don't know that we would have had
- 10 grounds to fight remand because the claim does
- invoke our entitlement under federal law. But,
- if the case were remanded, I think the question
- in Texas state court would be exactly the
- 14 question presented here: Are we entitled,
- without the 1983 vehicle, to invoke our rights
- 16 under the Fifth Amendment?
- 17 Texas courts have said yes, we are
- 18 entitled to invoke our rights under the Fifth
- 19 Amendment. But, again, they just cite the Fifth
- 20 Amendment. They're not invoking some special
- 21 cause of action that they have created. They,
- like other courts, look to the Constitution, to
- 23 this Court's analysis of the Constitution, and
- 24 say the Constitution provides the entitlement to
- just compensation, not, as far as I'm aware, an

- 1 independent common law cause of action.
- 2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 3 counsel.
- 4 Let's suppose you bring -- the state
- 5 takes some action, you claim that as a taking,
- 6 you bring that claim for just compensation. In
- 7 the state court, they decide yes, it was a
- 8 taking, and so the government owes you \$3
- 9 million.
- 10 And the government says: Wow, we
- 11 didn't think it was worth that much. Here, take
- 12 it back.
- 13 And can they do that?
- MR. McNAMARA: To -- to a point, Your
- 15 Honor. I think saying here take it back runs
- 16 afoul of what Justice Brennan identified in his
- 17 San Diego Gas and Electric dissent that ending
- 18 the taking just creates an uncompensated
- 19 temporary taking.
- 20 And that is why, as this Court noted
- in Knick, Justice Brennan's dissent became the
- 22 law in First English, that just stopping the
- 23 taking creates an uncompensated temporary
- 24 taking.
- 25 Certainly, the state is within its

- 1 rights to cease a taking if it wants to cease a
- 2 taking, and it may be that evidence at trial
- 3 shows Texas has chosen to cease the taking here,
- 4 but the question is and always based on the full
- 5 factual record what property interest has Texas
- 6 actually taken or has the defendant actually
- 7 taken --
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So they can
- 9 claim what we've taken is a temporary, you know,
- 10 right, so we owe you rent, that -- and that's
- 11 just compensation?
- MR. McNAMARA: Exactly, Your Honor.
- 13 The -- the defendant is always free to say this
- is -- this is just a temporary easement or maybe
- this is a temporary partial easement.
- 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: And they can
- 17 say that after the fact?
- 18 MR. McNAMARA: I -- I think --
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We took the
- whole thing, we found out we were taking more
- 21 than we could -- we're biting off more than we
- 22 could chew, and so we're going to give it back
- 23 to you?
- 24 MR. McNAMARA: I -- I think that would
- 25 be a valid ground for going back to the district

- 1 court and saying that the facts have changed.
- 2 The way --
- 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Okay. Thank
- 4 you.
- 5 MR. McNAMARA: Thank you, Your Honor.
- 6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 7 Thomas?
- 8 Justice Alito?
- 9 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, suppose that
- 10 going forward they find a way to divert the
- 11 water so that it doesn't cause flooding in the
- 12 future. Then what claim would you have?
- MR. McNAMARA: I -- I think that would
- just be a -- a claim for a temporary easement,
- 15 Your Honor. Ultimately, the property interest
- in this case would be some kind of flooding
- 17 easement. The trial court would have to decide
- 18 whether it's a permanent easement, a partial
- 19 easement, a temporary easement, and this is the
- 20 kind of determination courts make in takings
- 21 cases every day.
- JUSTICE ALITO: Yeah, and if it's --
- so, if it's completely eliminated going forward,
- 24 your -- your property is not going to be flooded
- 25 going forward, what would the remedy be?

1 MR. McNAMARA: The -- the remedy --2 so, to the extent the Court found on the facts 3 that Texas had taken a temporary easement, it would be the fair market value of that temporary 4 5 easement. 6 JUSTICE ALITO: Would that be 7 different from damages? MR. McNAMARA: Yes, Your Honor, and --8 9 JUSTICE ALITO: In what way would it be different from damages? 10 11 MR. McNAMARA: So damages are an 12 attempt to rectify a wrongful act. And so a plaintiff seeking damages can seek consequential 13 damages. I would have had -- if you had paid me 14 15 on time, I would have had this business 16 opportunity that I had before. 17 JUSTICE ALITO: Yeah, I understand 18 that. So how would you put a value on the 19 temporary taking? 20 MR. McNAMARA: It would be --21 generally speaking, there is testimony from 22 dueling appraisers who talk about at fair market 23 value what rent someone would pay for -- for that kind of easement, what a -- a willing 24 25 seller would have sold that kind of easement

- for, but it's limited to the fair market value.
- 2 It's limited to what the government took as
- 3 distinct from what the property owner may have
- 4 lost.
- 5 JUSTICE ALITO: Okay. Thank you.
- 6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 7 Sotomayor?
- 8 Justice Kagan?
- 9 Justice Barrett?
- 10 Justice Jackson?
- 11 Okay. Thank you, counsel.
- MR. McNAMARA: Thank you, Your Honor.
- 13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Mr. Nielson.
- 14 ORAL ARGUMENT OF AARON L. NIELSON
- 15 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT
- MR. NIELSON: Mr. Chief Justice, and
- 17 may it please the Court:
- The Court will be hard-pressed to find
- any government more committed to property than
- 20 Texas. The Texas constitution is more
- 21 protective than the federal Constitution, and
- 22 Texas courts under a Texas cause of action
- 23 adjudicate takings claims under both
- 24 constitutions.
- This appeal thus isn't about

- 1 substantive rights. All Petitioners had to do
- was use Texas's cause of action. Instead,
- 3 Petitioners insist they can bring a cause of
- 4 action directly under the federal Takings Clause
- 5 itself. This argument is wrong for many
- 6 reasons.
- 7 For one, it ignores what the
- 8 Constitution says. Governments must provide
- 9 just compensation, but the Takings Clause says
- 10 nothing about how they must do it, whether
- 11 through commissions, private bills, or
- 12 litigation.
- 13 For another, this Court held in
- 14 Williams that Congress may constitutionally --
- and I'm going to quote here -- "retain for
- itself the power to hear and determine
- 17 controversies respecting claims against the
- 18 United States." It follows that, again, a
- 19 quote, "there is no constitutional right to a
- 20 judicial remedy."
- 21 As Petitioners concede, Congress did
- just that for nearly a century. We don't see
- 23 how this Court could hold for Petitioners
- 24 without overruling Williams.
- 25 And as this Court explained in Knick,

- 1 states didn't start recognizing state causes of
- 2 action until after the Fourteenth Amendment's
- 3 ratification.
- 4 Petitioners argue none of this matters
- 5 because of First English, but the Court went out
- 6 of its way in First English to emphasize that
- 7 its decision was about substance, not procedure.
- 8 And if first Williams somehow did
- 9 include a procedural holding, Texas satisfies
- 10 it. We have a cause of action for federal
- 11 takings claims. Petitioners simply refused to
- 12 use it.
- We welcome the Court's questions.
- 14 JUSTICE THOMAS: How would that cause
- 15 of action -- what would it look like?
- MR. NIELSON: So I would point the
- 17 Court to the Texas Supreme Court's decision in
- 18 City of Baytown, and they say, we hear claims
- 19 under both the Texas constitution and under the
- 20 federal Constitution, and then they resolve the
- 21 claim under Penn Central, which, of course, is a
- 22 decision of this Court.
- JUSTICE THOMAS: Let's say we affirm
- 24 here. Can Petitioners' constitutional right be
- vindicated now in Texas courts?

- 1 MR. NIELSON: Well, in federal court.
- 2 The problem is they hadn't pleaded the claim.
- 3 So, at this point, you'd have to have leave from
- 4 the district court to amend their complaint if
- 5 they wanted to bring a claim under the Texas
- 6 cause of action.
- 7 There's still live claims here.
- 8 There's still a claim under the Texas
- 9 constitution itself and they have federal due
- 10 process claims. This is an interlocutory
- 11 appeal.
- 12 So they would have to get leave from
- 13 the district court to amend their complaint to
- bring a claim under Texas common law. They've
- just never done it because they say they don't
- 16 have to.
- 17 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm --
- 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Counsel, in
- 19 just a couple of quotes from cases. In Cedar
- 20 Point, we said that the Court in First English
- 21 concluded categorically that the government must
- 22 pay just compensation for physical invasion.
- 23 In Knick, it said First English
- 24 rejects the view that the Constitution does not
- 25 of its own force furnish a basis for a court to

1 award money damages against the government. 2 Now we've -- we've said those in many 3 cases. Those are just two recent ones --4 MR. NIELSON: Correct, Your Honor. CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- where I 5 6 wrote the opinions, so --7 (Laughter.) 8 MR. NIELSON: Correctly wrote the 9 opinions. 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- so do you 11 have any dispute with those -- those holdings? 12 MR. NIELSON: We do not, Your Honor. 13 That's a question of the substantive right, 14 which Texas does not dispute, and you could 15 pursue that claim under the Texas cause of 16 action in a Texas court or here --17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But it -- it's 18 19 MR. NIELSON: -- in federal court --20 yes, Your Honor. 21 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- it's the 22 statement of the -- the right, and that's a 23 federal right, right? 24 MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor.

CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So you can

- 1 require that a federal assertion of rights like
- 2 that be brought in state court and not in
- 3 federal court?
- 4 MR. NIELSON: Well, it's brought under
- 5 a -- a state cause of action. So, I mean, you
- 6 can remove -- there's diversity jurisdiction or
- 7 something like that, like any other sort of
- 8 cause of action, but the cause of action itself
- 9 is created by -- by Texas.
- 10 And that's how it's been -- as this
- 11 Court explained in Knick, that's how state
- 12 courts have always done it. Since 1870s, this
- 13 Court said and onwards --
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, it said
- 15 -- what we said in --
- 16 MR. NIELSON: -- that's how we've done
- 17 it.
- 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- what we
- 19 said in Knick is that the Constitution of its
- 20 own force furnishes the basis for a court to
- 21 award money damages. And you think what we had
- 22 in mind is a -- a basis to -- to -- in state
- 23 court but not federal court?
- MR. NIELSON: When the claim is
- 25 against a state, in Knick, the Court said 19

- 1 times by our count 1983. Every time the Court
- 2 states the holding in Knick, they tie it to
- 3 Section 1983 because there's a difference
- 4 between the substantive right and the cause of
- 5 action.
- In Knick, the cause of action was
- 7 Section 1983 because Congress said, if you're
- 8 going to sue municipalities or cities, there you
- 9 go, there's the cause of action.
- 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, you
- 11 removed to federal court, where you couldn't
- 12 bring an action under 1983, right?
- MR. NIELSON: Correct, Your Honor. We
- 14 did remove to federal -- federal court. Two
- 15 reasons for that. One, this is not just one
- 16 case. These are four separate cases, all
- 17 putative class actions. They say there's more
- 18 than a hundred plaintiffs here.
- 19 Texas -- these are filed in different
- 20 counties. Texas has no way to put all of them
- in a single Texas court. So, if the cases were
- 22 going to be in a single court, it had to be
- 23 through removal and put them in -- in that
- 24 court.
- 25 The second reason for that was Texas

- 1 courts don't have a lot of experience with
- 2 implied rights of action, alleged implied rights
- 3 of action under federal law. This is the bread
- 4 and butter of this Court's -- you guys' court --
- 5 resolves factual -- those types of issues all of
- 6 the time, so we thought let's just get it there,
- 7 we'll get everybody in one case, and we can take
- 8 out this, you know, putative federal cause of
- 9 action, which we think is flatly irreconcilable.
- 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So, under what
- 11 basis would they proceed against the state
- 12 under -- under 1983?
- MR. NIELSON: They -- they couldn't,
- 14 Your Honor. There is no such claim. Congress
- 15 has said that you can bring claims against
- 16 cities and municipalities. You cannot sue the
- 17 states under Section 1983.
- 18 They say they can. So, under Bell
- 19 v. Hood, they've claimed there is a federal
- 20 cause of action. When someone asserts that a
- 21 federal cause of action exists, the federal
- 22 courts have jurisdiction to decide whether that
- is true, and then they can decide on the merits
- 24 whether the cause of action exists.
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, isn't

- 1 that a -- a Catch-22 or -- I mean, you say they
- 2 have to proceed in -- in state court. They
- 3 can't proceed in federal court. And as soon as
- 4 they do, you remove it to federal court under
- 5 1983, where you say they can't proceed?
- 6 MR. NIELSON: Well, we would make the
- 7 same argument in state or federal court that
- 8 there is no federal cause of action directly
- 9 under the Fifth Amendment. That is not --
- 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but
- 11 that's what was rejected in -- in the two cases
- 12 that I read you, Cedar Point and Knick.
- MR. NIELSON: With respect, Your
- 14 Honor, I don't read either of those cases as
- 15 saying there is a federal cause of action.
- 16 There's certainly a federal substantive right to
- 17 relief, but as this Court said in all of the
- 18 Bivens line of cases or all the implied right of
- 19 action cases, the right to, you know, a -- a
- 20 substantive right does not therefore mean that
- 21 there is a cause of action.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: But, General, do you
- 23 agree with Mr. McNamara that if a state takes a
- 24 person's property and doesn't give compensation,
- 25 that state is violating the Constitution every

- 1 day? It's an ongoing violation. Do you agree
- 2 with that?
- 3 MR. NIELSON: That's not how the Court
- 4 has -- I -- I believe -- I certainly agree
- 5 that's a violation of the Constitution. I don't
- 6 think this Court's cases have ever --
- 7 JUSTICE KAGAN: But that's what I want
- 8 to know. It's an ongoing violation of the
- 9 Constitution, right? I've taken Mr. McNamara's
- 10 property. I haven't paid him. Every day I'm
- 11 violating the Constitution, correct?
- MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor.
- 13 JUSTICE KAGAN: Okay. So aren't
- 14 courts supposed to do something about that?
- MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor. And
- 16 what this Court said in Knick is, when there's
- 17 not a cause of action, which remember there
- 18 wasn't a cause of action, there were -- you have
- 19 -- there's no remedies.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Yeah.
- 21 MR. NIELSON: What is injunctive
- 22 relief --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: But this is -- this is
- 24 very different.
- MR. NIELSON: Sure.

- 1 JUSTICE KAGAN: You know, in the usual
- 2 case, we have a constitutional -- let's take a
- 3 Fourth Amendment case. You know, it's you've
- 4 searched somebody's home illegally.
- 5 MR. NIELSON: Mm-hmm.
- 6 JUSTICE KAGAN: It's happened, and
- 7 then it's over, and then the question is what
- 8 remedy are you going to be giving for that
- 9 violation.
- 10 But this is a different kind of
- 11 violation. It's not -- it's not even clear that
- the word "remedy" is appropriate here. It's a
- 13 right to compensation. And the state, by taking
- 14 the land and not compensating, is violating that
- 15 right every day. It's not that the state --
- MR. NIELSON: Mm-hmm.
- 17 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- is failing to
- 18 provide a remedy. The state is violating the
- 19 right to be paid.
- 20 MR. NIELSON: Sure, Your Honor. And I
- 21 -- I just -- and the answer would be, if there's
- 22 not a cause of action, that's why I went back to
- 23 Knick.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, if it's not a
- 25 cause of action, I mean, in the --

- 1 MR. NIELSON: Sure.
- 2 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- usual case, suppose
- 3 that a state violates Mr. McNamara's First
- 4 Amendment rights.
- 5 MR. NIELSON: Yep.
- 6 JUSTICE KAGAN: Could he bring a suit
- 7 about that?
- 8 MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor, for
- 9 injunctive relief.
- 10 JUSTICE KAGAN: Yes. And what Mr.
- 11 McNamara I believe is saying is that -- that the
- 12 usual distinction that we draw, you can bring a
- 13 right for injunctive relief, but you can't --
- 14 that you can bring a suit for injunctive relief,
- but you can't bring a suit for damages, that's
- 16 the usual distinction.
- 17 But it sort of falls apart in this
- 18 case because the right is a right to be paid.
- MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor. And so
- 20 I -- I -- I come at this from maybe the other
- 21 direction. Let's imagine that some government
- said, you know what, we're not going to pay.
- We're telling everybody now. Now you are on
- 24 notice we are not paying.
- Well, then what happens? Before they

- 1 could do anything, you would rush to court and
- 2 you would say: Injunction. They can't do it.
- 3 They've promised they're not going to pay.
- 4 They're not going to provide that. And the
- 5 Constitution says, if they don't, they're out --
- 6 they're violating their rights. That's Eastern
- 7 Enterprises v. Apfel, where if there's -- clear
- 8 that there's not going to be a right to judicial
- 9 -- to payment, there are no -- no monies coming,
- 10 not -- not judicial, but no payments coming, you
- 11 can get that injunction right away.
- 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, General, let
- me make the point another way.
- MR. NIELSON: Sure.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, it's sort of
- 16 backwards to say that Mr. McNamara's client can
- sue for an injunction, meaning like, you know,
- 18 give me back my property. Actually, the state
- 19 has a right to take his property or a
- 20 prerogative to take --
- MR. NIELSON: Yeah.
- 22 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- his property. If
- 23 the state wants to use his property for a
- 24 railroad, it doesn't really matter that the -- a
- 25 person doesn't want to sell. The state has the

- 1 ability to take it. The only thing that the
- 2 state does not have the prerogative to do and
- 3 the thing that the landowner has a right to have
- 4 is payment.
- 5 MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor.
- 6 JUSTICE KAGAN: So to say, well, look,
- 7 you can sue for an injunction but you can't sue
- 8 for payment just doesn't understand the nature
- 9 of this right.
- 10 MR. NIELSON: Well, so our first-line
- 11 argument is, you know, the way the United States
- 12 did it for a hundred years is correct. But, if
- 13 the Court disagrees with that, if the Court
- 14 says, you know what, actually --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: So, General, I kind of
- 16 agree with that. Your best argument is like
- 17 what happened between the time of the
- 18 Constitution and, you know, someplace in the
- 19 late 19th Century.
- 20 But suppose that I'm not such an
- originalist and I don't really care about that.
- 22 (Laughter.)
- MR. NIELSON: Sure. All right. So
- that's the answer I'm going to say. So, if we
- 25 -- if a court says we read First English and it

- 1 requires not just a substantive relief, it
- 2 requires some sort of judicial proceeding, which
- 3 we don't think is consistent with the history,
- 4 but let's assume, Texas does it. Texas provides
- 5 a cause of action for which they can bring a
- 6 federal takings claim.
- 7 So even if that is true, which we
- 8 don't believe as our first-line argument is
- 9 correct, Texas still wins. They --
- 10 JUSTICE BARRETT: What if Texas didn't
- 11 do it, though?
- 12 MR. NIELSON: So -- so that's where we
- 13 get interesting.
- 14 JUSTICE BARRETT: But I'm not -- and I
- just want to be clear I'm not talking about the
- 16 hypothetical you gave where Texas announces in
- 17 advance --
- 18 MR. NIELSON: Yeah.
- JUSTICE BARRETT: -- we're going to
- take and we're not going to pay. Let's say that
- 21 Texas takes and just this one property owner
- 22 can't get the money, the -- Texas is being
- 23 intransigent about it.
- MR. NIELSON: Mm-hmm.
- JUSTICE BARRETT: And Texas says:

- 1 And, by the way, our state cause of action -- we
- 2 have no state cause of action for you to use in
- 3 our courts to get the money, no private bills.
- 4 We don't do that. There's no state --
- 5 MR. NIELSON: Sure.
- 6 JUSTICE BARRETT: -- law remedy. What
- 7 then?
- 8 MR. NIELSON: All right. So, you
- 9 know, if a state goes rogue, that's how we're
- 10 thinking about it, because we know from Knick
- all the states don't do that, but let's assume
- some state says, we're just not going to do
- 13 that. Well, you have injunctive relief. I
- 14 realize that might not be a perfect relief --
- 15 JUSTICE BARRETT: Doesn't work in this
- 16 hypothetical.
- 17 MR. NIELSON: It doesn't work because
- 18 of that. Then the answer is exactly what the
- 19 Constitution says. Congress -- Section 5 of the
- 20 Fourteenth Amendment says, if a state is
- 21 violating the Constitution, which would be
- 22 happening in this scenario, that's precisely
- 23 what Section 5 is for.
- 24 Congress has never done that --
- 25 JUSTICE BARRETT: So they have to wait

- 1 for Congress to enforce it through legislation?
- 2 Would there be some sort of due process
- 3 violation or an argument that the state has to
- 4 provide some sort of forum?
- 5 MR. NIELSON: Well, that's what I'm
- 6 trying to say. If you read First English that
- 7 way to say that not only is it there's a
- 8 substantive obligation, but there has to be some
- 9 sort of judicial forum for -- for, you know,
- 10 vindication of that --
- 11 JUSTICE BARRETT: Not a judicial
- 12 forum. It could be --
- MR. NIELSON: Sure.
- 14 JUSTICE BARRETT: -- an administrative
- 15 forum. I mean, I'm taking --
- MR. NIELSON: Okay. Sure. Sure.
- 17 JUSTICE BARRETT: -- your argument
- 18 about that.
- 19 MR. NIELSON: Okay.
- JUSTICE BARRETT: You're -- you're
- 21 really saying that the state could shut down and
- 22 give no administrative forum, no legislative
- forum, no judicial forum, and because the Fifth
- 24 Amendment doesn't create an implied cause of
- action, then the property owner would have to

- 1 say, Congress, can you please use your Section 5
- 2 power?
- 3 MR. NIELSON: The answer would be
- 4 first try to get an injunction. That doesn't
- 5 always work for the reasons that you say. In
- 6 that scenario, yeah, that's what the
- 7 Constitution says.
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but
- 9 we're talking --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Why --
- JUSTICE ALITO: Why --
- 12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I'm sorry, Chief.
- 13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Those are two
- 14 governments. I mean, we're talking about the
- ability of the government to take property
- 16 without paying for it. The states and Congress
- 17 may have common cause on that. And the idea
- that, well, you look to a different government
- 19 --
- MR. NIELSON: Mm-hmm.
- 21 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- to tell
- this government that that's not something
- governments can do, that's not much of a remedy.
- MR. NIELSON: Well, this Court has
- 25 cases that says we trust that Congress takes

- 1 itself seriously. We trust that the states take
- 2 their oath seriously. That's one of the
- 3 premises of Alden v. Maine, that they're going
- 4 to do that. But --
- 5 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, we also -- we
- 6 also assume people act in their self-interest.
- 7 MR. NIELSON: Sure.
- 8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And our whole system
- 9 of separated powers is premised on that idea.
- 10 And the self-interest here that would be created
- isn't a rogue state but an incentive for
- 12 governments not -- not -- to -- to withdraw
- 13 their -- their existing causes of action. I
- 14 think that's the thrust --
- 15 MR. NIELSON: Yeah.
- 16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- of Justice
- 17 Barrett and the Chief's questions.
- 18 MR. NIELSON: What we --
- 19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And I guess I'm
- 20 wondering --
- 21 MR. NIELSON: Sorry.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- why wouldn't the
- 23 injunction order the state to pay?
- 24 MR. NIELSON: So that's a question
- 25 that has not been litigated, whether you could

- 1 have injunctive relief to pay.
- 2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Say you have to
- 3 provide --
- 4 MR. NIELSON: Correct.
- 5 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- just
- 6 compensation. We're not telling you how.
- 7 MR. NIELSON: Yeah.
- 8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: We're not telling
- 9 you in what forum.
- 10 MR. NIELSON: And --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: But the Constitution
- 12 commands it.
- MR. NIELSON: Sure. As I said, that's
- 14 -- if you want to read First English that way,
- 15 Texas has no quarrel with that because we
- 16 provide it. And we don't just provide through a
- 17 commission, though I think we have the
- 18 constitutional right to do so. We do it in
- 19 court. We --
- JUSTICE BARRETT: But you have to
- 21 answer -- I'm sorry. You have to answer the
- 22 hypothetical.
- MR. NIELSON: Yeah.
- 24 JUSTICE BARRETT: I think Justice
- 25 Gorsuch's premise is that Texas isn't doing

- 1 this.
- MR. NIELSON: Okay. So, if we say
- 3 that a Texas doesn't or -- or some state doesn't
- 4 have a -- a court proceeding and you don't have
- 5 any other sort of commission, you still can get
- 6 an injunction. And if you know the state
- 7 doesn't have any of those things, you can get
- 8 that injunction very, very, very early.
- 9 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And wouldn't the
- 10 injunction say, Texas, you have an obligation --
- MR. NIELSON: Mm-hmm.
- 12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- to pay?
- 13 MR. NIELSON: And this is where I'm
- 14 not quarreling because Texas --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay.
- 16 MR. NIELSON: -- as a matter of --
- 17 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: You don't want to
- 18 concede that?
- 19 MR. NIELSON: -- of first principles
- 20 -- as a matter of first principles, I don't know
- 21 how you get there. But I'm saying that Texas
- 22 has no quarrel with it --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. And -- and --
- MR. NIELSON: -- because Texas does
- 25 have the usual thing.

- 1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I've got -- I've got
- 2 it. I've got it. I just want to -- I just want
- 3 to clear up two other things.
- 4 MR. NIELSON: Sure.
- 5 JUSTICE GORSUCH: What is the common
- 6 law cause of action and what is the state
- 7 constitutional cause of action that does exist
- 8 that you say could have but wasn't brought?
- 9 MR. NIELSON: That's right. So the --
- 10 the easiest place to see it because it's the
- 11 most recent and I think the most clear is the
- 12 Texas Supreme Court's City of Baytown --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Right. That just
- 14 says, though, as I understand it from your
- 15 colleague --
- MR. NIELSON: Yeah.
- 17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- go look at the
- 18 federal Constitution. So how does that help
- 19 you?
- MR. NIELSON: Well, they look at both.
- 21 They say, we resolve takings claims under our
- constitutions, plural, and then they cite both.
- 23 And I think --
- 24 JUSTICE GORSUCH: So Texas has
- 25 represented to this Court that there is a state

constitutional cause of action? 1 2 MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor. 3 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. And is there 4 a common law cause of action --5 MR. NIELSON: Well, that --JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- that would 6 7 achieve the same thing? 8 MR. NIELSON: -- that's what I'm -that's what I'm -- I must have -- I must have 9 10 misunderstood --11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Beyond --12 MR. NIELSON: -- what you were saying. That is the cause of action. 13 14 JUSTICE GORSUCH: That is the cause of 15 action? 16 MR. NIELSON: Yeah. 17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. And it wasn't pled here, is what you're --18 19 MR. NIELSON: No, Your Honor. They --JUSTICE GORSUCH: What does --20 21 MR. NIELSON: -- vigorously resisted 22 23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Fine. Fine. 24 MR. NIELSON: -- the idea that they

25

have to --

- 1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. I got it.
- 2 And what cause of action remains pendent as you
- 3 understand it?
- 4 MR. NIELSON: So they still have
- 5 claims for federal due process, and they still
- 6 have claims for the Texas constitution.
- 7 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Would you oppose
- 8 leave to amend to add a Texas constitutional
- 9 claim on an email?
- 10 MR. NIELSON: On behalf of the State
- of Texas, we would not oppose that in the
- 12 district court.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. Thank you.
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Justice Gorsuch --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Sorry. But I -- I
- 16 -- I -- I'm sorry.
- 17 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Go ahead.
- 18 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Point of
- 19 clarification.
- MR. NIELSON: Sure.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Tell me how they
- 22 plead this. Let's assume we affirm the court
- 23 below. There's no freestanding right to come
- 24 into federal court and sue Texas under the Fifth
- 25 Amendment.

```
1
                How would they go to the Texas court
 2
      and make their Fifth Amendment claim?
 3
      would they say in the Texas court?
 4
               MR. NIELSON: So -- yes. So what they
 5
     would say here, and, candidly, the pleadings
 6
     have never been as pellucid as I think anyone
7
     would have liked, but what I think that they
     would say is, we are bringing our claim under
8
 9
      state law, see City -- see, e.g., City of
     Baytown. I think that would be sufficient to
10
11
     get us there.
12
                JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: That -- that's --
13
     my gosh.
                I've never heard of pleadings in any
14
      state where you had to mention the law at issue.
15
               MR. NIELSON: Well, that's the --
16
               JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Usually you
17
     mention the facts --
18
               MR. NIELSON: Well --
19
                JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- or you state
20
      the facts and then you --
21
               MR. NIELSON: Well --
2.2
                JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But putting that
23
     aside, here, they say violation of Article I,
      Section 17 of the Texas constitution for the
24
25
      taking, damaging, or the destruction of their
```

- 1 property. That's Count 1.
- 2 MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And Count 2 says
- 4 violation of the Fifth Amendment of the U.S.
- 5 Constitution.
- 6 MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor.
- 7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Summarizing
- 8 basically. I don't know what else they would
- 9 have had to do in Texas court if I cite that
- 10 case.
- 11 MR. NIELSON: It --
- 12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: They said, I'm
- 13 suing you in Texas court. You're the one who
- 14 removed to federal court.
- MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor.
- 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: This seems to me
- 17 like a totally made-up case because they did
- 18 exactly what they had to do under Texas law.
- 19 It's you who are telling me -- it's almost a
- 20 bait and switch -- that you wanted to get to
- 21 federal court to basically have a class action
- 22 and you couldn't do it in state court, so -- but
- you had to fight something, which I don't know
- 24 what you're fighting because you're telling me
- 25 that Texas lets them have a cause of action

- 1 under the Fifth Amendment.
- 2 MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor.
- 3 There's no bait and switch here, I want to be
- 4 clear on that, no bait and switch.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, you're the
- 6 one who removed.
- 7 MR. NIELSON: We removed, and they
- 8 didn't come back and say, oh, no, you
- 9 misunderstand what we're saying. Instead, every
- step along the way, they have doubled down all
- 11 the way going to cert, you know, seek certiorari
- 12 review from this Court.
- So, if we misunderstood what they were
- 14 saying --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So, if -- if they
- 16 go back down and say to the district court, this
- 17 has been remanded to the district court, all we
- 18 want is just compensation under the Texas
- 19 Constitution and the Fifth Amendment under that
- 20 case that you're mentioning, that's okay and
- 21 you're not going to resist that?
- 22 MR. NIELSON: We -- we would not
- 23 resist that, Your Honor.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Okay.
- 25 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Justice Gorsuch's

- 1 injunction-to-pay hypothetical, I just want to
- 2 make sure I'm clear on that.
- 3 MR. NIELSON: Yeah.
- 4 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: I thought you were
- 5 saying we don't need to answer that question in
- 6 this case because Texas provides forums for
- 7 compensation.
- 8 MR. NIELSON: Yes, Your Honor.
- 9 Conceptually, I don't know how you get an
- injunction to pay money.
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But -- but --
- 12 MR. NIELSON: -- I'm not familiar with
- 13 that, but that's blowing apart --
- 14 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: I -- I understand
- 15 that, but even in the --
- MR. NIELSON: Yeah.
- 17 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- the theoretical
- 18 possibility of it is just not present here,
- 19 right?
- 20 MR. NIELSON: Correct, Your Honor.
- 21 And, as I said, it's hard for me to quarrel with
- 22 it because Texas does pay money. But,
- conceptually, I don't know how you get there.
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Yeah.
- MR. NIELSON: If I may --

1 JUSTICE JACKSON: What about a 2 declaration? What about a declaration? Is that 3 something different? 4 MR. NIELSON: A declaration? JUSTICE JACKSON: Could you sue for --5 6 for --7 MR. NIELSON: Sure. 8 JUSTICE JACKSON: -- declaratory 9 judgment that Texas or whatever state is not 10 paying you? 11 MR. NIELSON: So my understanding of a 12 declaratory judgment action is it sounds in 13 equity, not in damages. So I think it would 14 fall within the universe of Ex parte Young type 15 remedies. So we wouldn't have any objection to 16 that either, though, again, I -- I'm a little 17 bit shooting from the hip, so I apologize it wasn't briefed on that one, so I'm -- I'm a bit 18 19 nervous on that. 20 JUSTICE JACKSON: Yes. 21 MR. NIELSON: Though, I mean, if I --22 if I may, I would like just to make a couple of 23 affirmative points. 24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, no, you

25

can do that when --

1	MR. NIELSON: Oh, I apologize, Your
2	Honor.
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yeah.
4	Justice Thomas?
5	Justice Alito?
6	JUSTICE ALITO: Well, why don't you
7	quickly make an affirmative point.
8	(Laughter.)
9	MR. NIELSON: Well, I would just like
LO	to say that as far as I am aware, Texas is the
L1	only party here that has offered evidence on the
L2	original public meaning of the actual language
L3	of the text, not the ideas, the actual language
L4	of the Constitution. And when courts looked at
L5	that language, they read it precisely the same
L6	way that Texas does now.
L7	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Anything
L8	further?
L9	JUSTICE ALITO: Thank you.
20	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
21	Sotomayor?
22	Justice Gorsuch?
23	Justice Jackson?
24	Thank you, counsel.
2.5	MR. NIELSON: Thank you. Your Honor.

1	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Mr. Kneedler.
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF EDWIN S. KNEEDLER
3	FOR THE UNITED STATES, AS AMICUS CURIAE,
4	SUPPORTING THE RESPONDENT
5	MR. KNEEDLER: Mr. Chief Justice, and
6	may it please the Court:
7	The Fifth Amendment to the United
8	States Constitution does not of its own force
9	create a cause of action against the government
10	under the Fifth Amendment against the United
11	States Government for damages.
12	Numerous provisions of the
13	Constitution make that clear, including the text
14	of the just compensation clause itself. It says
15	property shall not be taken, no person
16	property shall not be taken for public use
17	without just compensation.
18	The right is not to have the property
19	taken without compensation. It's not a right to
20	compensation. And this it's prohibitory. It
21	has a condition for the governmental action to
22	be lawful. That condition is the payment of
23	compensation. If there's not compensation, then
24	the action is unlawful, and what lies is an
25	injunction to cease the taking of the property.

1	This Court in in a number of
2	recent relatively recent cases has made that
3	point. In Ruckelshaus versus Monsanto, in Dames
4	& Moore, in the railroad reorganization cases,
5	the question really was, should there be an
6	injunction preventing this statute from going
7	into effect, or is there compensation available
8	under the Tucker Act such that an injunction
9	would not be appropriate?
10	In all of those cases, that's what the
11	Court held, that there was compensation
12	available. But the very question presupposed
13	that there might be situations in which
14	compensation was not available. That's the
15	violation.
16	And the same thing, if you look at the
17	overall context of the Fifth Amendment, that is
18	also true. The preceding clause, as Justice
19	Alito pointed out, says that no person shall be
20	deprived of property without due process. The
21	prohibition is the deprivation, the condition
22	without without the condition of due process.
23	If a court finds a violation, it
24	doesn't order due process. It orders it
25	enjoins the conduct that was undertaken without

- 1 due process. The government can always go back
- 2 and do it over again with due process.
- And -- and, finally, there's another
- 4 clause in the Fifth Amendment that is written in
- 5 exactly the same way, the indictment clause. It
- 6 says a person shall not be held for a capital or
- 7 otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment
- 8 of an indictment. An indictment is the
- 9 condition precedent to having a lawful holding
- 10 of somebody for a crime, and one --
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Mr. Kneedler,
- 12 in the --
- MR. KNEEDLER: Yeah.
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- brief that
- you filed in First English 38 years ago, you
- 16 argued that the Constitution does not of its own
- force furnish a basis for a court to award money
- 18 damages against the government.
- 19 Now, in the decision in First English,
- 20 Justice Rehnquist rejected the idea "that the
- 21 Constitution does not of its own force furnish a
- 22 basis for the court to award money damages
- 23 against the government."
- Now it seems to me that the question
- 25 turns on basis. And what you seem to be saying

- 1 is it created a general theory of what the
- 2 government had to do, but that doesn't mean that
- 3 anybody could take that and recover
- 4 compensation. They have to go get an injunction
- 5 or they -- they can't proceed at all because
- 6 there's no cause of action?
- 7 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes, Your Honor.
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I mean, are
- 9 you just rearguing the point that the Court
- 10 rejected?
- 11 MR. KNEEDLER: Not at all. Not at
- 12 all. Our -- our point -- that portion of our
- 13 brief was really going to the cause of action
- 14 question and -- and for the reasons that we said
- in that brief and this brief, and I don't think
- 16 the Court rejected this.
- 17 For all the reasons we said, not just
- 18 the text of the clause, but -- but the
- 19 Appropriations Clause, the Fifth Amendment only
- 20 applied to the United States, the Appropriations
- 21 Clause would have prohibited any court from
- awarding a money judgment or an injunction to
- 23 pay money because only Congress can authorize
- 24 the payment of money from the Treasury.
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but it's

1 2 MR. KNEEDLER: OPM versus Richmond 3 makes that clear. CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, the 4 Constitution can do it too, which is what the 5 rest of that footnote rejecting the arguments 6 7 that the government made in First English said. It says that the cases made clear that it is the 8 9 Constitution that dictates the remedy for 10 interference with property rights amounting to a 11 taking. 12 So I -- I'm not sure how you get 13 around the fact that the Constitution speaks in 14 terms of just compensation and not an 15 injunction. 16 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, as I said, it 17 speaks in terms of compensation, in terms of 18 defining the right, which is not to have property taken without just compensation. 19 that footnote, I think it's important to 20 21 understand the context of that footnote. 2.2 In fact, all of First English was 23 about the Agins rule in the -- in the -- in

California, which said there was not even a

taking. Sometimes they said no compensation,

24

- 1 but there was no taking until a court first
- 2 determined that there was a taking.
- And that was the rule, that was the
- 4 controversy at the time, the so-called temporary
- 5 taking. Does -- does the taking arise in a
- 6 regulatory context at the time the regulation is
- 7 effective or later? That was the issue that the
- 8 Court rejected, and in that respect, it said no,
- 9 compensation is owed from the moment of -- of
- 10 the Constitution. And what --
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 12 counsel.
- JUSTICE ALITO: Mr. Kneedler, I have a
- 14 little trouble understanding your argument about
- 15 the Tucker Act. In your view, neither the
- 16 Tucker Act nor the Takings Clause provides a
- 17 cause of action, but then you say the
- 18 combination of the two somehow provides a cause
- 19 of action.
- 20 And -- and the Petitioner says that
- 21 what you're saying is that nothing plus nothing
- 22 equals something. So this -- you must be
- 23 relying on some kind of higher math that I can't
- 24 understand.
- MR. KNEEDLER: We're --

1	JUSTICE ALITO: What is the cause of
2	action
3	MR. KNEEDLER: I
4	JUSTICE ALITO: in a Tucker Act
5	suit?
6	MR. KNEEDLER: As I said, I think it's
7	the combination of the two. It's not zero plus
8	zero; it's one-half plus one-half. The as we
9	say, the the the Constitution, the Fifth
LO	Amendment itself, does not create a cause of
L1	action. It would have would have been
L2	extraordinary. We went for 200 years, as
L3	pointed out, with that not being the case.
L4	But what the Tucker Act does is, as
L5	the Court said two terms ago, three terms ago, I
L6	guess, it provides the framework under which
L7	it's it can be determined whether Congress
L8	has provided the ability to sue under the Tucker
L9	Act.
20	The Tucker Act standard is whether the
21	particular substantive provision that is being
22	relied upon creates a can reasonably be read
23	to mandate compensation, if there is a
24	violation. By definition, and the Court made
5	this point in Bormes the Tucker Act is there

- 1 for something where there is an obligation but
- 2 no elements of a cause of action. So the --
- 3 the -- for example, the Fifth Amendment or the
- 4 statute that may be involved, particular statute
- 5 that may be involved, by definition does not
- 6 create a cause of action.
- 7 Congress provided in the Tucker Act
- 8 that you can recover compensation if -- if the
- 9 other provision of law can reasonably be
- 10 construed. That's -- that's a Tucker Act
- 11 standard --
- 12 JUSTICE ALITO: All right. Suppose
- 13 there -- suppose that the Takings Clause was not
- in the Constitution but Congress enacted a
- statute that said the federal government shall
- 16 not take private property for public use without
- 17 just compensation.
- Would that be a money-mandating
- 19 statute that creates a cause of action?
- 20 MR. KNEEDLER: I don't think so. I --
- 21 because it's a -- it's a prohibition,
- 22 I think it's the same -- the same as the Fifth
- 23 Amendment itself. It -- it is a directive to
- 24 Congress not to -- or executive not to take
- 25 property without affording compensation.

1 Now, it may be that the particular 2 statute would be understood or could be 3 interpreted that way, but here we're talking about the Constitution, and no other provision 4 of the Constitution provides of its own force a 5 6 remedy, particularly a remedy for damages. 7 And that would have been extraordinary at the time the Constitution was adopted because 8 9 of the Appropriations Clause, sovereign immunity, and the Debt Clause. If -- if 10 11 compensation is not paid, that is a debt of the 12 United States --13 JUSTICE ALITO: I find it hard to 14 understand how that would not be a statute that 15 mandates the payment of money. It says you --16 you can't take property for a public use without 17 just compensation. It's talking about paying 18 money. If that's not a money-mandating 19 provision, then --20 MR. KNEEDLER: It might -- it might be 21 -- it might be money -- money-mandating under 2.2 the Tucker Act. I -- I think I understood you 23 to say this wasn't the Tucker Act. 24 JUSTICE ALITO: No. 25 MR. KNEEDLER: But that's because the

- 1 Tucker Act has been --
- JUSTICE ALITO: It's another -- it's
- another statute, and we would interpret it like
- 4 we interpreted the statute in Maine Community
- 5 Health. Does -- does it mandate the payment of
- 6 money? I would think the answer to that would
- 7 be yes. And if that's the case with the
- 8 statute, why isn't it the same with the --
- 9 MR. KNEEDLER: Because the --
- 10 JUSTICE ALITO: -- with the Fifth
- 11 Amendment?
- MR. KNEEDLER: -- money mandating is
- 13 not -- is not something under the Tucker Act.
- 14 It is -- it is a provision in the Tucker Act
- 15 that --
- 16 JUSTICE ALITO: All right.
- 17 MR. KNEEDLER: It's not -- it's not
- 18 the other statute. It's a provision in the
- 19 Tucker Act. And that is a Tucker Act-specific
- 20 standard for when Congress --
- JUSTICE ALITO: Thank you.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Mr. --
- JUSTICE ALITO: Thank you, Mr.
- 24 Kneedler.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Mr. Kneedler, I

- 1 thought your answer to Justice Alito was going
- 2 to be going back to what you said at the
- 3 beginning, which is the compensation is
- 4 conditional in the same way as the Due Process
- 5 Clause is conditional.
- I thought that was very interesting.
- 7 And maybe you want to repeat it.
- 8 MR. KNEEDLER: Yeah. No, no, that --
- 9 I think that's a fundamental point about the
- 10 text, not -- of the Just Compensation Clause
- 11 itself, but the entire Fifth Amendment is -- is
- 12 prohibitory. I mentioned the Indictment Clause,
- 13 but the Self-Incrimination Clause is the same
- 14 way. The Double Jeopardy Clause is -- is the
- 15 same.
- 16 JUSTICE JACKSON: And so to the extent
- 17 that we see a condition there, it -- you're not
- interpreting that as mandating that condition
- 19 necessarily. It's about the prohibition?
- 20 MR. KNEEDLER: Right. Exactly. If I
- 21 could -- I'm sorry. If I could go back to the
- 22 Chief Justice's question about First English,
- the language in that footnote is directed to, it
- 24 says, remedial. But what it is referring to is
- 25 the computation of just compensation as a

- 1 remedial matter.
- 2 If you have a cause of action, how do
- 3 you calculate the remedy? All of the cases, it
- 4 says ^ it's as -- , as the cases in the text
- 5 make clear, it -- it's a remedy, and it does
- 6 provide a basis for compensation, but in a cause
- 7 of action where there already is one.
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you.
- 9 MR. KNEEDLER: Every one of the cases
- 10 the Court cited --
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 12 counsel.
- MR. KNEEDLER: I'm sorry.
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 15 Thomas? Anything further?
- 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Is your position
- 17 -- is there any daylight between Texas's
- 18 position and the government's position here?
- MR. KNEEDLER: Well, some --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Your -- you
- 21 representing the government?
- MR. KNEEDLER: Yeah. To the extent
- there was a suggestion that there could be an
- injunction to pay money, we would disagree with
- 25 that because of the Appropriations Clause, I

```
1
      think. The Fifth Amendment cannot be read --
 2
               JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So would it be --
 3
               MR. KNEEDLER: -- to allow that.
               JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- a matter of
 4
      semantics, you can't take this property? You
 5
 6
     have to stop flooding it? You have to do --
 7
               MR. KNEEDLER: Not -- you have to stop
     whatever it is that would constitute a taking.
 8
     And -- and --
 9
10
               JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Right. And just
11
     to clarify your answer to Justice Alito in my
12
     head, you're saying it's the Tucker Act plus the
13
      statute --
14
               MR. KNEEDLER: Yes.
15
               JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- mandating
16
     payment that gets you into court?
               MR. KNEEDLER: That is -- that's --
17
18
      that's correct, and it's certainly not the --
19
      it's certainly not the other provision itself,
20
      the Just -- the Just Compensation Clause or the
21
     other statute, which by definition --
2.2
                JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So that's your
23
     half-point/half-point --
24
               MR. KNEEDLER: Yes.
25
               JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- equals one?
```

1 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes. 2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Okay. 3 MR. KNEEDLER: Sorry. CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Kagan? 4 Justice Gorsuch? 5 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Two questions. 6 7 First, the rogue state example, why shouldn't we worry about that? It -- why shouldn't we worry 8 about the incentive structure we create that 9 would allow states to withdraw compensation 10 11 schemes, and maybe the federal government too, 12 to exploit this loophole? 13 MR. KNEEDLER: With respect, it's not 14 a loophole. It's a -- it's a fundamental aspect 15 of the Constitution that the Constitution does 16 not -- does not require this. 17 And the rogue state is answered by 18 it's a prohibition, and if -- if Congress does 19 not provide the condition necessary to render it 20 lawful, you have an injunction -- injunctive 21 action. And as the Court said in Knick, that 2.2 was the way --23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. 24 MR. KNEEDLER: -- that just 25 compensation issues were raised before.

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. And then, 2 second, this may be a question better directed 3 to Mr. McNamara when he speaks on rebuttal, but Justice Sotomayor pointed out an interesting 4 feature of the procedural history of this case. 5 6 The complaint has two counts about takings. One 7 is under the state constitution, and the other is under the federal Constitution. 8 How do we read what the Fifth Circuit 9 did here? Did it only dismiss the second, the 10 11 federal claim, and is the first claim under, 12 what is it, City of Bayview and the -- and the Texas Constitution still live? Do they even 13 14 need to amend their complaint to add it? Is it 15 already there? 16 MR. KNEEDLER: There's a footnote in 17 the court of appeals' opinion that says that the Texas constitution or Texas provides a cause of 18 19 action. And that is not further elaborated upon, but it's --20 21 JUSTICE GORSUCH: No. Exactly. 2.2 MR. KNEEDLER: -- it's remanded for 23 further proceedings. JUSTICE GORSUCH: So do you take it 24

that that first count under the state

- 1 constitution is still alive and available to the
- 2 plaintiffs?
- 3 MR. KNEEDLER: I -- it is still alive
- 4 and available. If it required an amendment to
- 5 the complaint, I --
- 6 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Do you think it
- 7 requires amendment --
- 8 MR. KNEEDLER: I --
- 9 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- to the complaint,
- 10 or because it was remanded for further
- 11 proceedings, the court only expressly addressed
- 12 the federal Constitution, that that first count
- is still alive?
- MR. KNEEDLER: I think it would depend
- on whether that first count, in -- in relying on
- 16 the state constitution, was just relying on a
- 17 state substantive right to compensation or
- 18 whether it was also relying --
- 19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: But Texas --
- 20 MR. KNEEDLER: -- on a cause of
- 21 action.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- represented to us
- 23 that it provides a cause of action --
- MR. KNEEDLER: Right. And --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- right? So --

MR. KNEEDLER: So, yes, if -- if the 1 2 complaint is read to be invoking the state cause 3 of action for the federal taking, then, yes, I think that would be open on remand. 4 JUSTICE GORSUCH: 5 Thank you. 6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice 7 Kavanaugh? Justice Barrett? 8 9 JUSTICE BARRETT: Mr. Kneedler, I just 10 want to clarify something. So your position in 11 response to, say, the rogue state hypothetical, 12 when you said an injunction is the solution, 13 it's not an injunction to pay money because you said the United States thinks that can't happen. 14 15 So is it your position that if, say, a 16 state or the United States takes property, 17 refuses to get -- give just compensation for it, 18 that the property owner could get an injunction 19 essentially saying give me my property back if 20 you're not going to pay, and perhaps get that 21 injunction but not get reimbursed for the 2.2 temporary taking that happened in between the 23 seizure and the award of the injunction? MR. KNEEDLER: That -- that is -- that 24 25 is correct. And the thing would be true, there

- 1 could be a temporary deprivation of due process
- 2 and if you get an injunction preventing the
- 3 government from doing whatever it did without
- 4 due process, there is an interim period but a
- 5 person can go to court, get a TRO, get a
- 6 preliminary injunction to -- to prevent that
- 7 from going on a long -- a long time. That's
- 8 just the nature of litigation and an injunction
- 9 but it doesn't lead to the question of damages.
- 10 In this Court's cases, First English
- and others had to do with the calculation
- whether interest should be paid. And that's
- 13 what the Court meant about the Fifth Amendment
- 14 being a basis for the award of compensation, not
- 15 that there was a cause of action.
- 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 17 Jackson?
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Just to clarify from
- 19 what Justice Barrett just said, the government's
- 20 position would be that you might be able to have
- 21 a cause of action, say, under state law or
- 22 whatnot for that temporary taking. It's not
- that you would be out the compensation entirely,
- 24 right?
- 25 MR. KNEEDLER: Right. It -- that --

- 1 that would depend on state law and the
- 2 availability of state cause of action on that.
- 3 But we're -- I'm only talking about the federal
- 4 causes of action which that there's no basis for
- 5 an award of money out of the treasury and
- 6 overcoming sovereign immunity and all that in
- 7 federal court for a compensation, even for that
- 8 interim period.
- 9 But the interim period is endemic
- 10 to -- to litigation, due process violation being
- 11 held on an indictment, but that is the proper
- 12 remedy and that's the -- the remedy that existed
- 13 until the Tucker Act was passed.
- 14 It was the remedy that this Court said
- in Knick was the way to vindicate Fifth
- 16 Amendment rights until the Tucker Act or state
- 17 constitutions came along and provided a monetary
- 18 remedy.
- 19 JUSTICE JACKSON: Thank you.
- 20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 21 counsel.
- 22 Rebuttal, Mr. McNamara.
- 23 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF ROBERT J. McNAMARA
- 24 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
- MR. McNAMARA: Thank you, Your Honor.

1	To begin with Justice Gorsuch's
2	question, I think it's important to remember the
3	procedural posture here. I understood my friend
4	to say that the City of Baytown decision means
5	that Texas courts here claims "under the federal
6	Constitution."
7	The complaint pleads a claim under the
8	federal Constitution and to the extent Texas's
9	only complaint with that was that it failed to
LO	cite directly to a Texas Supreme Court decision,
L1	it's not clear why Texas moved to dismiss it,
L2	sought an interlocutory appeal of that decision
L3	as a dispositive issue and then extinguished it
L4	on the merits in the Fifth Circuit.
L5	To the extent that claim exists, that
L6	claim has been extinguished and that warrants
L7	reversal.
L8	To the original meaning, and I think,
L9	Your Honor, the the rogue state example is
20	not a hypothetical. It's a real example because
21	state after state has looked to federal law and
22	to First English as the thing that prevents the
23	state from denying compensation.
24	That's true in Oregon, as I mentioned,
25	but also New Mexico South Carolina Nebraska

- 1 the list goes on of states that provide
- 2 compensation under the Fifth Amendment because
- 3 they understand the Fifth Amendment to require
- 4 compensation.
- 5 And they're correct to understand
- 6 that, Your Honor. The original understanding as
- 7 evidenced by writings from James Madison to
- 8 St. George Tucker is that the Fifth Amendment
- 9 creates an obligation to pay, which is why you
- 10 can sue under the Tucker Act because the Fifth
- 11 Amendment creates an obligation to pay.
- 12 Only in the absence of a court of
- 13 competent jurisdiction to enforce that
- obligation does -- do the federal courts resort
- 15 to cases like Meigs v. McClung Lessee where the
- 16 court ejected the United States military from
- 17 its own base because it didn't have clean title.
- 18 That -- that is the last resort in the
- 19 absence of a court that has the jurisdiction to
- 20 enforce that obligation.
- That's why in Maine Community Health,
- this Court specifically pointed to the Takings
- 23 Clause as the analogy for what sort of
- 24 money-mandating inquiry it means to create the
- obligation to pay.

Τ	But more broadly, your Honor, I I
2	think Texas's understanding of the Fifth
3	Amendment would relegate property rights to the
4	status of the poor relation of the Bill of
5	Rights.
6	It would be the only acknowledged
7	ongoing obligation in the Constitution that is
8	entitled to no enforcement. That is left
9	entirely to the discretion of the government
LO	entities that are supposedly obligated to pay.
L1	But surely, as evidenced by the writings and by
L2	the adoption of the Fifth Amendment itself, the
L3	framers meant for property rights to mean more
L4	than that.
L5	If the Court has no further questions
L6	we'll rest on our briefs.
L7	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
L8	counsel. The case is submitted.
L9	(Whereupon, at 12:23 p.m., the case
20	was submitted.)
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

\$
\$3 [1] 34: 8
1
1 [1] 63:1
11:10 [2] 1:15 3:2
12:23 [1] 89:19
1331 [1] 5 :23
16 [1] 1:11 17 [1] 62:24
17 11 02.24 1791 [4] 7:23 8:9 9:3,5
1870s [1] 43:12
1875 [1] 8:5
19 [1] 43:25 1983 [10] 25:5 30:19 33:15
44 :1,3,7,12 45 :12,17 46 :5
19th [4] 5:7,16 8:14 51:19
2
2 [1] 63:3
200 [1] 74:12
2024 [1] 1:11
22-913 [1] 3:4
3
3 [1] 2:4 38 [2] 2:7 70:15
38 [2] 2:7 70:15
5
5 [3] 53:19,23 55:1
6
68 [1] 2: 11
8
86 [1] 2 :14
^
^ [1] 79 :4
A
a.m [2] 1:15 3:2
AARON [3] 1:20 2:6 38:14
ab [1] 30:4
abandon [1] 4:16 abilities [1] 6:9
ability [4] 28:1 51:1 55:15
74 :18
able [2] 22:15 85:20
above-entitled [1] 1:13 absence [3] 20:20 88:12,
19
absolutely [1] 9:10
accomplished [1] 31:15
achieve [1] 60:7 acknowledged [1] 89:6
across [2] 16:20 24:14
Act [25] 4:5,6,9 37:12 56:6
69: 8 73: 15,16 74: 4,14,19,
20,25 75 :7,10 76 :22,23 77 : 1,13,14,19 80 :12 86 :13,16
88: 10
Act-specific [1] 77:19
action [122] 4:7,8,11,12,13

13,25 11:6,9 12:14,20 13:7 14:7,20 15:6 18:23 19:8, 13,16,19,24,25 **21:**21 **22:**3, 9,17 23:5,12,18 24:7,12,25 **25**:4,5 **26**:12,16,21 **33**:21 **34**:1,5 **38**:22 **39**:2,4 **40**:2, 10,15 41:6 42:16 43:5,8,8 **44:**5,6,9,12 **45:**2,3,9,20,21, 24 46:8,15,19,21 47:17,18 **48**:22.25 **52**:5 **53**:1.2 **54**: 25 **56:**13 **59:**6.7 **60:**1.4.13. 15 61:2 63:21.25 66:12 68: 9,21,24 71:6,13 73:17,19 **74**:2,11 **75**:2,6,19 **79**:2,7 81:21 82:19 83:21,23 84:3 **85**:15,21 **86**:2.4 actions [2] 6:1 44:17 actual [2] 67:12,13 actually [8] 7:4 13:17 15: 14 **29**:23 **35**:6,6 **50**:18 **51**: add [2] 61:8 82:14 address [1] 18:22 addressed [1] 83:11 adequate [2] 13:13,14 adequately [1] 12:21 adjudicate [1] 38:23 adjudicated [2] 23:23,24 administrative [2] 54:14. 22 admit [1] 11:5 adopted [3] 7:3 21:6 76:8 adopting [2] 24:3,8 adoption [1] 89:12 advance [1] 52:17 affirm [2] 40:23 61:22 affirmative [2] 66:23 67:7 affording [1] 75:25 afoul [1] 34:16 Agins [3] 7:3,5 72:23 ago [3] 70:15 74:15,15 agree [5] 7:20 46:23 47:1,4 51:16 agrees [2] 20:16,22 Ah [3] 11:25 15:20 23:9 ahead [2] 33:7 61:17 AL [1] 1:3 Alden [1] 56:3 ALITO [30] 24:15 25:6 27:3. 10,24 36:8,9,22 37:6,9,17 **38**:5 **55**:11 **67**:5,6,19 **69**: 19 **73**:13 **74**:1,4 **75**:12 **76**: 13,24 77:2,10,16,21,23 78: 1 80:11 alive [3] 83:1,3,13 alleged [2] 3:24 45:2 alleges [1] 14:25 allow [3] 31:7 80:3 81:10 allowed [1] 12:8 allows [1] 22:3 almost [1] 63:19 already [4] 4:21 6:23 79:7 **82:**15

alternative [1] 25:21

amend [5] 5:22 41:4,13 61: 8 82:14 Amendment [98] 3:12.19 **4**:10 **6**:17,21 **7**:13,15,18,24, 25 **8**:20,20 **9**:5,17,23 **11**:7, 10,23 **12**:6,19,21 **13**:5,10, 21 **14**:4,12,14 **15**:2,17,23 16:5,20 18:7,17,20 20:5,14 17,21 **21:**2,2,8,22 **22:**4,10 23:13.15.23 24:7.18 25:20 27:3.25 29:14.16.24 30:11. 15.23 **31:**4.6.8.14.17 **33:**16. 19.20 **46**:9 **48**:3 **49**:4 **53**: 20 54:24 61:25 62:2 63:4 **64**:1,19 **68**:7,10 **69**:17 **70**: 4 **71**:19 **74**:10 **75**:3,23 **77**: 11 **78**:11 **80**:1 **83**:4,7 **85**: 13 86:16 88:2,3,8,11 89:3, Amendment's [1] 40:2 American [1] 3:25 amicus [5] 1:24 2:10 16:2 18:25 68:3 amount-in-controversy [1] 5:24 amounting [1] 72:10 analogy [1] 88:23 analysis [4] 23:4,7 28:25 **33**:23 announces [1] 52:16 another [7] 13:12 14:22 39: 13 50:13 70:3 77:2,3 answer [12] 9:10 21:23 48: 21 51:24 53:18 55:3 57:21. 21 **65**:5 **77**:6 **78**:1 **80**:11 answered [3] 3:16 6:23 81: answering [1] 16:7 anybody [1] 71:3 anyway [1] **22:**23 apart [2] 49:17 65:13 Apfel [1] 50:7 apologize [2] 66:17 67:1 appeal [5] 10:10 24:1 38: 25 41:11 87:12 appeals' [1] 82:17 appear [1] 30:2 APPEARANCES [1] 1:17 applied [3] 6:17 15:13 71: 20 appraisers [1] 37:22 appropriate [2] 48:12 69:9 Appropriations [4] 71:19, 20 76:9 79:25 aren't [1] 47:13 argue [1] 40:4 argued [1] 70:16 arguing [1] 32:8

arguments [4] 7:2 24:4,9 **72:**6 arise [1] 73:5 arises [1] 31:7 arising [2] 14:11 15:17 **Arlington** [1] **1**:18 **Army** [3] **26:**2,3,5 Army's [1] 26:3 around [1] 72:13 Article [1] 62:23 aside [1] 62:23 aspect [2] 18:7 81:14 assertion [1] 43:1 asserts [3] 13:23 14:2 45: assume [4] 52:4 53:11 56: 6 61:22 attempt [1] 37:12 Austin [1] 1:20 authorize [1] 71:23 avail [1] 28:16 availability [1] 86:2 available [7] 9:18 32:9 69: 7.12.14 83:1.4 award [9] 3:20 30:24 42:1 **43**:21 **70**:17.22 **84**:23 **85**: 14 86:5 awarding [2] 30:25 71:22 aware [2] 33:25 67:10 away [1] 50:11 В back [14] 21:19 32:25 34: 12,15 35:22,25 48:22 50: 18 64:8,16 70:1 78:2,21 backstop [2] 18:16.19

backwards [1] 50:16 backwards-looking [1] 25:17 bait [3] 63:20 64:3.4 BARRETT [24] 7:16.20 16: 9 21:18 22:14,21 38:9 52: 10,14,19,25 53:6,15,25 54: 11,14,17,20 **56**:17 **57**:20, 24 84:8,9 85:19 base [1] 88:17 based [1] 35:4 basically [2] 63:8,21 basis [13] 3:19 30:23 31:3 **41**:25 **43**:20.22 **45**:11 **70**: 17.22.25 79:6 85:14 86:4 Bavtown [5] 14:13 40:18 **59**:12 **62**:10 **87**:4 Bayview [1] 82:12 became [1] 34:21 bedrock [1] 5:8 begin [1] 87:1 beginning [1] 78:3 behalf [9] 1:19,21 2:4,7,14 3:8 38:15 61:10 86:24 believe [3] 47:4 49:11 52:8 believes [2] 31:18.20 Bell [1] 45:18

below [4] 30:13 32:12.21 61:23 best [1] 51:16 better [1] 82:2 between [5] 6:6 44:4 51:17 79:17 84:22 Beyond [1] 60:11 Bill [2] 28:9 89:4 bills [5] 8:11.15 19:21 39: 11 **53**:3 bit [3] 7:22 66:17.18 bitina [1] 35:21 Bivens [3] 28:21,22 46:18 blowing [1] 65:13 Bormes [1] 74:25 both [6] 4:14 29:11 38:23 40:19 59:20.22 bread [1] 45:3 Brennan [1] 34:16 Brennan's [1] 34:21 brief [8] 5:6 13:19 16:2 19: 1 70:14 71:13 15 15 briefed [1] 66:18 briefs [1] 89:16 bring [16] 6:9 15:14 22:3 **25**:4 **34**:4,6 **39**:3 **41**:5,14 **44:**12 **45:**15 **49:**6,12,14,15 **52:**5 bringing [2] 6:1 62:8 broader [1] 16:15 broadly [1] 89:1 brought [4] 26:16 43:2,4 **59**:8 Burlington [2] 29:17,23 business [1] 37:15 butter [1] 45:4

C

calculate [1] 79:3 calculation [1] 85:11 California [3] 7:3.5 72:24 came [2] 1:13 86:17 candidly [1] 62:5 cannot [3] 30:14 45:16 80: capital [1] 70:6 care [1] 51:21 Carlson [1] 29:1 Carolina [1] 87:25 Case [37] 3:4.11.21 4:9 6: 20 7:8 12:5.9 17:5 18:7 23: 11 **24**:8 **28**:21 **30**:4.6 **31**: 18 32:1.18.19.22 33:12 36: 16 **44**:16 **45**:7 **48**:2.3 **49**:2. 18 63:10,17 64:20 65:6 74: 13 77:7 82:5 89:18,19 cases [25] 4:18 28:22,22 29:1 30:2,25 36:21 41:19 42:3 44:16,21 46:11,14,18, 19 **47**:6 **55**:25 **69**:2,4,10 **72:**8 **79:**3,9 **85:**10 **88:**15 Catch-22 [1] 46:1 categorically [1] 41:21 cause [102] 4:6,8,11,12,13

argument [27] 1:14 2:2,5,8

12 3:4.7 5:12 7:23 8:12 12:

1 2 13:18 14:19 20:18 23:

21 38:14 39:5 46:7 51:11.

16 **52**:8 **54**:3.17 **68**:2 **73**:

14 86:23

5:12,20 6:8,14 7:10,12,15,

21 8:1 9:3,6,22 10:2,7,12,

5:20 7:10,12,14,21 8:1 9:3, 6,22 **10**:2,7,12,13,24 **11**:5 **12**:13,20 **14**:7,20 **15**:5 **17**: 11 **18:**23 **19:**8,13,16,18,24, 24 21:21 22:3,8,17 23:5,9, 12 **24**:7,12,24 **33**:21 **34**:1 36:11 38:22 39:2,3 40:10, 14 41:6 42:15 43:5,8,8 44: 4.6,9 **45**:8,20,21,24 **46**:8, 15.21 47:17.18 48:22.25 **52**:5 **53**:1,2 **54**:24 **55**:17 **59**:6.7 **60**:1.4.13.14 **61**:2 **63**:25 **68**:9 **71**:6,13 **73**:17, 18 **74**:1,10 **75**:2,6,19 **79**:2, 6 **82**:18 **83**:20,23 **84**:2 **85**: 15,21 86:2 causes [5] 5:11 13:7 40:1 56:13 86:4 caution [2] 23:10,18 cease [5] 6:2 35:1,1,3 68: Cedar [2] 41:19 46:12 Central [1] 40:21 Century [5] 5:7,17 8:14 39: 22 51:19 cert [1] 64:11 certain [1] 6:10 certainly [9] 11:21 16:19 **27**:8,14 **34**:25 **46**:16 **47**:4 80:18 19 certiorari [1] 64:11 change [2] 4:21 30:12 changed [1] 36:1 channel [1] 27:14 chew [1] 35:22 Chicago [2] 29:17,22 CHIEF [50] 3:3.9 29:3 33:7 34:2 35:8,16,19 36:3,6 38: 6,13,16 **41:**18 **42:**5,10,17, 21,25 **43**:14,18 **44**:10 **45**: 10,25 46:10 55:8,12,13,21 **66:**24 **67:**3,17,20 **68:**1,5 **70**:11,14 **71**:8,25 **72**:4 **73**: 11 78:22 79:8,11,14 81:4 84:6 85:16 86:20 89:17 Chief's [1] 56:17 choice [4] 28:3 31:10.12. 13 choose [1] 30:7 chooses [1] 28:16 chosen [1] 35:3 Circuit [6] 14:25 22:11 30: 13,18 82:9 87:14 cite [7] 23:8,16 29:23 33:19 **59:**22 **63:**9 **87:**10 cited [1] 79:10 cites [1] 14:14 cities [2] 44:8 45:16 citing [1] 16:5 City [7] 14:13 40:18 59:12 62:9 9 82:12 87:4 claim [48] 4:4 7:7 13:9 15:2. 3,22 17:13,23,24 22:4,12, 23 23:2 25:7 30:7,12,14

31:7,11 32:2,9,15,23 33:2, 3,10 34:5,6 35:9 36:12,14 40:21 41:2,5,8,14 42:15 **43**:24 **45**:14 **52**:6 **61**:9 **62**: 2,8 82:11,11 87:7,15,16 claimed [1] 45:19 claiming [1] 32:14 claims [22] 4:1 6:2,7,10 14: 11 **15**:14.16.17 **17**:7.11 **28**: 5 **38**:23 **39**:17 **40**:11.18 **41**: 7.10 **45:**15 **59:**21 **61:**5.6 **87:**5 clarification [2] 21:20 61: 19 clarify [3] 80:11 84:10 85: 18 clarifying [1] 14:17 class [2] 44:17 63:21 Clause [27] 4:15,17 24:16, 17 **25**:24 **26**:1 **39**:4,9 **68**: 14 **69**:18 **70**:4.5 **71**:18.19. 21 73:16 75:13 76:9.10 78: 5.10.12.13.14 79:25 80:20 88:23 clean [1] 88:17 clear [14] 19:25 32:7 48:11 50:7 52:15 59:3,11 64:4 **65**:2 **68**:13 **72**:3,8 **79**:5 **87**: client [1] 50:16 coherent [1] 19:15 colleague [1] 59:15 combination [2] 73:18 74: 7 come [4] 4:23 49:20 61:23 **64:**8 comes [2] 15:23 17:22 coming [2] 50:9,10 commands [1] 57:12 commentators [1] 25:24 commission [2] 57:17 58: commissions [1] 39:11 committed [1] 38:19 common [24] 7:6 9:18 11:1 5.9 **12**:13.20 **13**:13.14.19 **14:**3.6.6.15.20 **22:**8 **23:**4. 11 30:17 34:1 41:14 55:17 59:5 60:4 Community [3] 5:1 77:4 88:21 compensating [1] 48:14 compensation [91] 3:18, 20,24 6:16,22,24 7:7 8:3, 13,16 **9**:9 **10**:19 **11**:22 **12**: 4 13:4 15:1 16:4,7 17:1 18: 18 20:21 21:9,11,12 24:22 **25**:11,15,19 **26**:9,11,23,24 **27**:4,20,23 **28**:1,19 **29**:19 **30**:1.24 **31**:1.5.23.24 **32**:2 **33**:25 **34**:6 **35**:11 **39**:9 **41**: 22 46:24 48:13 57:6 64:18

65:7 **68**:14,17,19,20,23,23

69:7,11,14 **71**:4 **72**:14,17,

19.25 **73**:9 **74**:23 **75**:8.17. 25 76:11.17 78:3.10.25 79: 6 80:20 81:10,25 83:17 84: 17 85:14,23 86:7 87:23 88: competent 3 27:13,21 88: competently [1] 29:7 complaint [13] 7:14 13:3 **14**:25 **23**:21 **41**:4 13 **82**:6 14 **83:**5.9 **84:**2 **87:**7.9 completed [1] 25:12 completely [1] 36:23 comply [1] 29:9 computation [1] 78:25 concede [2] 39:21 58:18 conceded [1] 10:2 concedes [1] 12:18 conceding [1] 31:19 conception [1] 9:3 concepts [2] 19:7,12 conceptualizing [1] 20:10 conceptually [3] 5:19 65:9, concern [1] 24:3 concluded [1] 41:21 concocted [1] 25:17 condemnation [4] 3:21,23 4·1 14·11 condition [8] 68:21,22 69: 21,22 70:9 78:17,18 81:19 conditional [2] 78:4,5 conduct [1] 69:25 confers [1] 27:4 Congress [24] 5:22 6:3 8:4, 14 **27**:14 **28**:12,14 **39**:14, 21 44:7 45:14 53:19.24 54: 1 **55**:1,16,25 **71**:23 **74**:17 **75**:7,14,24 **77**:20 **81**:18 Congress's [1] 28:3 consequential [1] 37:13 consistent [2] 4:16 52:3 consistently [1] 5:4 constitute [1] 80:8 Constitution [60] 3:14 5:3 **17**:8.18 **22**:1.19 **24**:10 **25**: 12 33:22,23,24 38:20,21 **39:**8 **40:**19.20 **41:**9.24 **43:** 19 46:25 47:5.9.11 50:5 **51**:18 **53**:19.21 **55**:7 **57**:11 **59**:18 **61**:6 **62**:24 **63**:5 **64**: 19 67:14 68:8,13 70:16,21 **72**:5,9,13 **73**:10 **74**:9 **75**: 14 **76**:4,5,8 **81**:15,15 **82**:7, 8,13,18 83:1,12,16 87:6,8 89.7 constitutional [12] 23:7 **24**:12 **28**:11.24 **29**:10 **39**: 19 **40**:24 **48**:2 **57**:18 **59**:7 60:1 61:8

contained [1] 9:6 contemporary [2] 25:23 26:10 contend [2] 8:17,22 context [5] 26:1 29:14 69: 17 **72**:21 **73**:6 continue [1] 12:5 contrary [1] 8:11 contrasting [1] 7:1 controversies [1] 39:17 controversy [1] 73:4 converged [1] 16:21 conversion [2] 9:20 14:9 core [1] 6:10 correct [12] 18:14 20:14 42: 4 44:13 47:11 51:12 52:9 **57**:4 **65**:20 **80**:18 **84**:25 **88**: correctly [2] 32:20 42:8 couldn't [3] 44:11 45:13 63:22 Counsel [10] 7:16 20 34:3 **38**:11 **41**:18 **67**:24 **73**:12 **79**:12 **86**:21 **89**:18 counsels [1] 30:19 count [6] 44:1 63:1,3 82:25 83:12 15 counties [1] 44:20 country [1] 16:21 counts [2] 17:19 82:6 couple [2] 41:19 66:22 course [1] 40:21 courses [1] 12:24 COURT [139] 1:1.14 3:10. 20 4:21 5:1 6:2.23 7:3.6 9: 4 **10**:6 **12**:16 **14**:6.12 **15**: 15 **17:**2,6,10,23 **18:**1,6,14, 24 **21**:16 **23**:12,22,24 **26**: 19 27:13,21 28:17 29:15 **30**:3,11,21,23,25 **31**:2,9,12 **32:**1,14,16,19,25 **33:**2,13 **34**:7,20 **36**:1,17 **37**:2 **38**: 17,18 **39:**13,23,25 **40:**5,17, 22 41:1,4,13,20,25 42:16, 19 **43:**2,3,11,13,20,23,23, 25 **44**:1,11,14,21,22,24 **45**: 4 **46:**2.3.4.7.17 **47:**3.16 **50:** 1 **51**:13.13.25 **55**:24 **57**:19 **58**:4 **59**:25 **61**:12,22,24 **62**: 1,3 63:9,13,14,21,22 64:12, 16,17 **68**:6 **69**:1,11,23 **70**: 17,22 71:9,16,21 73:1,8 74: 15,24 **79**:10 **80**:16 **81**:21 **82**:17 **83**:11 **85**:5,13 **86**:7, 14 **87:**10 **88:**12,16,19,22 Court's [15] 3:16 4:16 5:3. 5 **7**:5 **26**:14,15 **28**:21 **33**: 23 40:13.17 45:4 47:6 59: 12 85:10 courts [38] 4:14 5:7.10.16 15:13,16 16:5,20 17:17,20 21:12,24,25 23:3,8 24:5,14

construed [1] 75:10

26:10 27:16 28:4,12,12,15, 16 29:6 33:17,22 36:20 38: 22 40:25 43:12 45:1,22 47: 14 **53**:3 **67**:14 **87**:5 **88**:14 covered [1] 19:10 create [14] 14:7 15:5 23:12 27:16 28:3,12,14,23 54:24 **68**:9 **74**:10 **75**:6 **81**:9 **88**: created [5] 25:18 33:21 43: 9 56:10 71:1 creates [8] 21:8 23:15 34: 18,23 **74:**22 **75:**19 **88:**9,11 creating [1] 23:4 creation [1] 24:24 crime [2] 70:7.10 crucial [1] 8:2 cure [1] 21:13 curiae [3] 1:24 2:11 68:3 D D.C [2] 1:10,23 damages [19] 21:14 25:7, 10,17 29:5 37:7,10,11,13, 14 42:1 43:21 49:15 66:13 68:11 70:18.22 76:6 85:9 damaging [1] 62:25 Dames [1] 69:3 dangerous [1] 23:19 Davis [1] 29:2 day [4] 36:21 47:1,10 48:15 daylight [1] 79:17 dead [1] 15:3 debt [4] 26:17,21 76:10,11 decade [1] 29:3 decide [4] 34:7 36:17 45: 22.23 decided [1] 30:9 decipher [1] 16:11 decision [14] 3:17 7:5 14:5 **24:**8 **26:**14.16 **31:**16 **40:**7. 17.22 70:19 87:4.10.12 declaration [3] 66:2,2,4 declaratory [3] 12:17 66:8, defendant [3] 28:15 35:6, defendant's [1] 31:10 define [1] 21:25 defining [1] 72:18 definition [5] 17:18 19:23 **74**:24 **75**:5 **80**:21 deliberately [1] 28:15 denied [1] 27:21 denies [1] 26:24 denying [1] 87:23 Department [1] 1:23 depend [2] 83:14 86:1

constrained [1] 26:11

constitutionally [1] 39:14

constitutions 3 38:24 59:

22 86:17

dependent [1] 28:2

Deputy [1] 1:22

depends [2] 20:24 28:11

deprived [2] 24:19 69:20

destruction [1] 62:25

deprivation [2] 69:21 85:1

determination [1] 36:20 determine [1] 39:16 determined [2] 73:2 74:17 **DEVILLIER** [2] 1:3 3:4 dictates [1] 72:9 Diego [1] 34:17 differ [1] 20:11 difference [3] 6:5 25:9 44: different [11] 18:2.5 19:9 26:22 37:7.10 44:19 47:24 **48**:10 **55**:18 **66**:3 differently [2] 24:23 25:2 difficult [1] 16:11 difficulty [1] 9:2 directed [2] 78:23 82:2 direction [1] 49:21 directive [1] 75:23 directly [9] 5:9 7:13,15 13: 9 16:24 23:17 39:4 46:8 87:10 disagree [2] 18:10 79:24 disagrees [1] 51:13 discretion [1] 89:9 discretionary [1] 28:3 discriminate [2] 22:22 23: dismiss [3] 23:25 82:10 87: 11 dismissed [3] 17:6 18:8 22:13 dispositive [1] 87:13 dispute [5] 13:13 16:17 17: 15 **42**:11 14 dissent [4] 29:1 32:12 34: 17.21 distinct [5] 5:19 7:22 15:11 **19:**12 **38:**3 distinction [2] 49:12,16 distinguishes [1] 28:21 district [10] 15:16 17:10 18: 14 **32**:19 **35**:25 **41**:4,13 **61**: 12 64:16,17 diversity [1] 43:6 divert [1] 36:10 division [1] 21:6 doing [5] 23:3,4,6 57:25 85: done [4] 41:15 43:12.16 53: 24 Double [1] 78:14 doubled [1] 64:10 down [3] 54:21 64:10,16 drastic [1] 4:21 draw [1] 49:12 Due [16] 24:17,20 25:3 29: 21 41:9 54:2 61:5 69:20, 22,24 70:1,2 78:4 85:1,4 86:10 dueling [1] 37:22 duty [5] 3:15 17:1 25:15 26: 8 29:10 E

e.g [1] 62:9 early [2] 5:16 58:8 easement [11] 35:14,15 36: 14,17,18,19,19 **37:**3,5,24, easiest [1] 59:10 Eastern [1] 50:6 EDWIN [3] 1:22 2:9 68:2 effect [1] 69:7 effective [1] 73:7 effectively [1] 31:15 either [4] 12:23 25:23 46: 14 66:16 ejected [1] 88:16 ejectment [2] 9:12 20:20 elaborated [1] 82:19 Electric [1] 34:17 elements [1] 75:2 eliminate [1] 24:13 eliminated [3] 6:3 31:17 36:23 email [1] 61:9 emphasize [1] 40:6 empowered [1] 21:12 enacted [1] 75:14 enacting [1] 8:15 endemic [1] 86:9 ending [1] 34:17 enforce [8] 4:24 5:9 9:9 13: 21 28:17 54:1 88:13.20 enforceable [1] 9:14 enforced [3] 16:22.23 25: 16 enforcement [2] 20:8 89:8 engage [1] 28:24 English [36] 3:17 4:11,18 6: 24 **7**:11 **16**:6.10.15 **17**:22. 22 18:2,5,10,17 19:10 21:7 23:9,16 24:5 29:4 31:22 **34**:22 **40**:5,6 **41**:20,23 **51**: 25 54:6 57:14 70:15,19 72: 7,22 78:22 85:10 87:22 enjoined [1] 21:4 enjoins [1] 69:25 enough [4] 10:23 11:12,16 14:16 Enterprises [1] 50:7 entertain [1] 28:5 entire [3] 28:9.10 78:11 entirely [2] 85:23 89:9 entities [1] 89:10 entitled [9] 6:15 13:4 14:21 20:19 31:6 32:5 33:14,18 89.8 entitlement [15] 4:7,8 6:12 **7**:12 **10**:15,18 **15**:1 **16**:18, 22 19:14 25:18 27:19,21 33:11.24 entity [1] 16:24 envisioned [1] 9:17 equals [2] 73:22 80:25 eauity [1] 66:13 ESQ [4] 2:3,6,9,13

ESQUIRE [1] 1:18

essentially [1] 84:19 establishes [1] 9:16 ET [1] 1:3 evaluating [1] 26:16 even [9] 6:7 18:14 26:11 48: 11 **52**:7 **65**:15 **72**:24 **82**:13 everybody [2] 45:7 49:23 everyone [3] 12:18 20:16, evidence [4] 8:11.22 35:2 67:11 evidenced [2] 88:7 89:11 Ex [5] 6:1 25:4,5,6 66:14 exactly [7] 33:13 35:12 53: 18 **63**:18 **70**:5 **78**:20 **82**:21 example [6] 16:1 26:13 75: 3 **81:**7 **87:**19,20 except [1] 18:5 excuse [1] 26:15 executive [1] 75:24 exist [2] 6:2 59:7 existed [1] 86:12 existing [1] 56:13 exists [3] 45:21,24 87:15 experience [1] 45:1 explained [2] 39:25 43:11 explanations [1] 4:17 explicit [1] 3:15 exploit [1] 81:12 expressly [1] 83:11 extent [6] 19:23 37:2 78:16 79:22 87:8.15 extinguish [2] 31:14,25 extinguished [3] 24:2 87: 13.16 extra-constitutional [1] 5: extraordinary [2] 74:12 76: F

face [2] 13:3,12 faced [1] 5:8 facing [1] 5:15 fact [7] 5:10 11:19 24:10 30: 16 **35:**17 **72:**13,22 facts [4] 36:1 37:2 62:17, factual [2] 35:5 45:5 failed [1] 87:9 failing [1] 48:17 Fair [7] 10:23 11:12 14:16 32:5 37:4.22 38:1 fall [1] 66:14 falls [1] 49:17 familiar [2] 23:10 65:12 far [2] 33:25 67:10 favor [1] 30:20 favorable [1] 31:21 feature [1] 82:5 federal [83] 4:4.15 5:7.16 6: 1 **8:**5 **10:**24 **12:**12.16 **14:**

21:22 **22**:4,23 **23**:2 **24**:11, 13 **28**:4,11,12 **29**:6 **30**:3,7, 8,8,11 **31:**2,9,11,11,12 **32:** 1,14,19,22 33:11 38:21 39: 4 **40**:10,20 **41**:1,9 **42**:19,23 43:1,3,23 44:11,14,14 45:3, 8,19,21,21 **46:**3,4,7,8,15, 16 **52**:6 **59**:18 **61**:5.24 **63**: 14.21 **75**:15 **81**:11 **82**:8.11 83:12 84:3 86:3.7 87:5.8. 21 88:14 Fifth [97] 3:12.19 4:10 6:17. 21 7:13,15,18,24,25 8:20 9: framework [1] 74:16 5,17,22 **11:**6,12,23 **12:**6,18, 21 13:5,9,21 14:4,11,14,24 15:2,17,23 16:4 18:7,17,20, 20 **20:**5,14,17,21 **21:**1,2,8, 22 22:4,10,11 23:13,15,23 **24**:6,18 **25**:20 **27**:3,25 **29**: 16,23 **30**:10,13,15,18,22 **31:**4,6,8,14,17 **33:**16,18,19 **46**:9 **54**:23 **61**:24 **62**:2 **63**: 4 **64**:1.19 **68**:7.10 **69**:17 **70**:4 **71**:19 **74**:9 **75**:3.22 **77**:10 **78**:11 **80**:1 **82**:9 **85**: 13 **86:**15 **87:**14 **88:**2,3,8,10 89.2 12 fight [2] 33:10 63:23 fighting [1] 63:24 file [1] 4:24 filed [6] 4:1,4 23:22 30:4 44:19 70:15 finally [1] 70:3 find [3] 36:10 38:18 76:13 finds [1] 69:23 Fine [2] 60:23 23 First [52] 3:17 4:11.17 6:24 **7:**11 **11:**10,14 **16:**5,10,14 **17:**21,22 **18:**2,5,10,16 **19:** 10 21:7 23:8,16 24:5 29:4, 22,24 31:22 33:9 34:22 40: 5,6,8 **41:**20,23 **49:**3 **51:**25 **54**:6 **55**:4 **57**:14 **58**:19,20 **70**:15,19 **72**:7,22 **73**:1 **78**: 22 81:7 82:11,25 83:12,15 85:10 87:22 first-line [2] 51:10 52:8 flatly [1] 45:9 flooded [1] 36:24 flooding [3] 36:11,16 80:6 flow [1] 22:7 flowing [1] 15:1 flows [1] 7:13 follows [1] 39:18 footnote [6] 16:14 72:6,20, 21 78:23 82:16 footnote's [1] 16:11 force [6] 41:25 43:20 68:8 70:17 21 76:5 form [5] 6:13 16:25 20:23 26:22 32:3 former [1] 32:4 forms [3] 6:8 9:25 26:12

forum [14] 19:18.19 26:20.

22,24 30:8 54:4,9,12,15,22, 23.23 57:9 forums [1] 65:6 forward [3] 36:10,23,25 found [2] 35:20 37:2 founding [1] 8:7 four [1] 44:16 Fourteenth [6] 6:18 8:19 16:20 29:13 40:2 53:20 Fourth [1] 48:3 Framers [3] 10:3 25:19 89: framing [1] 9:13 free [3] 27:14,16 35:13 freestanding [1] 61:23 Frequently [1] 23:16 friend [1] 87:3 friend's [1] 20:18 fulfill [1] 17:3 fulfilled [1] 17:2 full [3] 30:15 31:5 35:4 fully [1] 11:6 fundamental [2] 78:9 81: furnish [4] 30:23 41:25 70: 17 21 furnishes [2] 3:19 43:20 further [6] 67:18 79:15 82: 19,23 83:10 89:15 future [1] 36:12 G

Gas [1] 34:17 gave [1] 52:16 Gedney [1] 26:17 General [7] 1:20,22 33:4 46:22 50:12 51:15 71:1 generally [1] 37:21 generation [2] 8:8.9 George [3] 25:25 26:7 88:8 aets [1] 80:16 getting [1] 19:6 give [8] 8:15 28:4 35:22 46: 24 50:18 54:22 84:17,19 given [1] 31:18 gives [2] 23:17 25:14 giving [1] 48:8 good-faith [2] 13:2 31:3 GORSUCH [64] 9:15 10:1. 8.17.20.23 **11:**4.12.15.19. 25 12:7 13:6.11.18.24 14:8. 16 15:4.20 55:10.12 56:5.8. 16.19.22 **57:**2.5.8.11 **58:**9. 12,15,23 **59:**1,5,13,17,24 60:3,6,11,14,17,20,23 61:1, 7,13,14 67:22 81:5,6,23 82: 1,21,24 83:6,9,19,22,25 84: Gorsuch's [3] 57:25 64:25 gosh [1] 62:13

22 15:15.16 17:6.19 18:6

got [5] 8:22 59:1,1,2 61:1

government [28] 3:14 4:4

21:3.10 25:14 32:3 34:8. 10 38:2,19 41:21 42:1 49: 21 55:15,18,22 68:9,11 70: 1,18,23 71:2 72:7 75:15 **79:**21 **81:**11 **85:**3 **89:**9 government's [4] 20:25 **21**:16 **79**:18 **85**:19 governmental [1] 68:21 governments [5] 4:2 39:8 **55**:14.23 **56**:12 **governs** [1] 17:16 great [1] 26:13 Green [1] 29:2 ground [2] 12:11 35:25 grounds [2] 13:2 33:10 guess [3] 20:3 56:19 74:16 guys' [1] 45:4

Н half-point/half-point [1] 80:23 happen [1] 84:14 happened [3] 48:6 51:17 84:22 happening [1] 53:22 happens [2] 10:25 49:25 hard [3] 7:22 65:21 76:13 hard-pressed [1] 38:18 head [1] 80:12 Health [3] 5:1 77:5 88:21 hear [4] 3:3 20:11 39:16 40: heard [2] 31:12 62:13 hears [1] 14:10 heart [3] 3:25 4:1,3 held [7] 5:1 22:12 30:21 39: 13 69:11 70:6 86:11 help [1] 59:18 higher [1] 73:23 hip [1] 66:17 historical [2] 8:10.21 history [6] 19:25 20:3 28: 24 29:12 52:3 82:5 hold [1] 39:23 holding [4] 16:15 40:9 44: 2 70:9 holdings [1] 42:11 holds [1] 3:17 home [1] 48:4 honest [1] 22:6 Honor [71] 5:15 7:19 9:1.25 **10:**5 **11:**2.8.13.22 **13:**1.8. 16.22 **14**:3.24 **15**:10.23 **16**: 13 **17:**9.14 **18:**5.16.25 **19:** 12,22 20:15 22:6,20,25 25: 2 27:9 28:10 32:10,17 33: 6,8 34:15 35:12 36:5,15 37:8 38:12 42:4,12,20,24 44:13 45:14 46:14 47:12, 15 **48**:20 **49**:8,19 **51**:5 **60**: 2,19 63:2,6,15 64:2,23 65: 8.20 67:2.25 71:7 86:25

horses [5] 26:2,3,4,6,9 however [1] 27:15 hundred [2] 44:18 51:12 hypothetical [6] 52:16 53: 16 57:22 65:1 84:11 87:20

idea [5] 25:21 55:17 56:9 60:24 70:20 ideas [1] 67:13 identified [1] 34:16 ignores [1] 39:7 illegally [1] 48:4 illustration [1] 7:4 imagine [1] 49:21 immediately [1] 24:18 immunity [5] 15:7,10 29:8 76:10 86:6 implied [4] 45:2,2 46:18 54:

24 import [1] 19:25 important [5] 13:17 15:25 22:15 72:20 87:2

imposes [1] 3:14 incentive [2] 56:11 81:9 include [1] 40:9 included [1] 29:21 includes [1] 29:25

including গ্ৰ 68:13 incorporated গ্ৰ 8:20 29:

independent [2] 9:22 34:1 indictment [5] 70:5,8,8 78: 12 86:11

infamous [1] 70:7 information [1] 17:5 Inhabitants [1] 26:17 initio [1] 30:4

injunction [27] 19:16 50:2, 11,17 51:7 55:4 56:23 58: 6,8,10 65:10 68:25 69:6,8 71:4.22 72:15 79:24 81:20

84:12,13,18,21,23 85:2,6,8 injunction-to-pay [1] 65:1

injunctions [1] 25:22 injunctive [8] 20:19 47:21 49:9,13,14 53:13 57:1 81:

49:9,13,14 **53**:13 **57**:1 **8**1 20 injury [2] **11**:24 **12**:6

inquiry [1] 88:24 insist [1] 39:3

Instead 2 39:2 64:9 interest 5 32:4,6 35:5 36: 15 85:12

interesting [3] **52:**13 **78:**6 **82:**4

interference [1] 72:10 interim [3] 85:4 86:8,9 interlocutory [3] 24:1 41:

10 87:12 interpret [1] 77:3 interpreted [2] 76:3 77:4 interpreted [2] 76:3 77:4

interpreted [2] 76:3 77:4 interpreting [1] 78:18 intransigent [1] 52:23 intrudes [1] 7:8 invasion [1] 41:22 inverse [4] 3:21,23 4:1 14: 10

invoke [5] 14:6,15 33:11, 15.18

invoked [1] 29:7 invoking [4] 30:14 31:4 33: 20 84:2

involved [2] 75:4,5 irreconcilable [1] 45:9 isn't [10] 5:12 14:19 23:1 26:20,20 38:25 45:25 56: 11 57:25 77:8

issue [4] 18:13 62:14 73:7 87:13

issues [2] 45:5 81:25 itself [19] 3:19 8:1 9:21 15: 22 27:5 28:16 29:14 31:18 39:5,16 41:9 43:8 56:1 68: 14 74:10 75:23 78:11 80: 19 89:12

JACKSON [18] 19:4.17 20: 2 32:7.13.24 38:10 66:1.5. 8.20 67:23 77:22.25 78:16 85:17.18 86:19 James [1] 88:7 January [1] 1:11 Jay [1] 25:25 Jeopardy [1] 78:14 John [1] 25:25 Judge [2] 32:11,20 iudge's [1] 30:5 judges [2] 26:18,25 judgment [4] 12:17 66:9. 12 71:22 iudicial [11] 19:19 20:16.23. 24 **39**:20 **50**:8.10 **52**:2 **54**: 9 11 23 iurisdiction [17] 5:17.18 6: 4 7:21 8:5 12:19 17:10 27: 13,15,16,22 28:4 29:7 43:6 45:22 88:13,19 jurisdictional [2] 6:6,18 jurisprudence [1] 15:16 Justice [263] 1:23 3:3,9 5:6 7:16,20 9:15 10:1,8,17,20, 23 11:4.12.15.19.25 12:7 13:6.11.18.24 14:8.16 15:4 20 16:9 17:4.12.21 18:9.19

11,14,17,20 55:8,10,11,12, 13,21 **56:**5,8,16,16,19,22 **57:**2,5,8,11,20,24,24 **58:**9, 12,15,17,23 **59:**1,5,13,17, 24 **60**:3,6,11,14,17,20,23 **61:**1,7,13,14,14,15,17,18, 21 **62**:12,16,19,22 **63**:3,7, 12,16 **64**:5,15,24,25,25 **65**: 4,11,14,17,24 **66:**1,5,8,20, 24 67:3,4,5,6,17,19,20,20, 22.23 68:1.5 69:18 70:11. 14.20 **71**:8.25 **72**:4 **73**:11. 13 **74**:1,4 **75**:12 **76**:13,24 **77:**2,10,16,21,22,23,25 **78:** 1,16 **79:**8,11,14,14,16,20 **80**:2,4,10,11,15,22,25 **81**:2, 4,4,5,6,23 **82**:1,4,21,24 **83**: 6,9,19,22,25 **84:**5,6,6,8,9 **85**:16,16,18,19 **86**:19,20 87:1 89:17 Justice's [1] 78:22

Justice's [1] 78:22 justices [1] 26:18

k

Kagan [19] 38:8 46:22 47:7, 13,20,23 48:1,6,17,24 49:2, 6,10 50:12,15,22 51:6,15 81:4

KAVANAUGH [10] 58:17 61:14,17 64:25 65:4,11,14, 17,24 84:7

keeping [1] 17:10 kind [11] 4:21 8:6,21 16:21 36:16,20 37:24,25 48:10 51:15 73:23

kinds [1] 6:10 KNEEDLER [49] 1:22 2:9

68:1,2,5 **70**:11,13 **71**:7,11 **72**:2,16 **73**:13,25 **74**:3,6 **75**:20 **76**:20,25 **77**:9,12,17, 24,25 **78**:8,20 **79**:9,13,19, 22 **80**:3,7,14,17,24 **81**:1,3, 13,24 **82**:16,22 **83**:3,8,14, 20,24 **84**:1,9,24 **85**:25

Knick [18] 4:18 21:7 30:3, 22 34:21 39:25 41:23 43: 11,19,25 44:2,6 46:12 47: 16 48:23 53:10 81:21 86:

15

lack [1] 5:17

lacks [1] 14:19 land [1] 48:14 landowner [1] 51:3 language [6] 24:16,17 67: 12,13,15 78:23 languished [1] 8:6 last [1] 88:18 late [1] 51:19 later [2] 29:3 73:7 Laughter [3] 42:7 51:22 67:

law [49] 3:25 7:6 9:19 11:1,

5,9 **12**:13,20 **13**:13,14,20, 20 14:3,6,6,15,20,22 15:18, 21 **17**:13,16 **18**:11,21 **21**: 21 22:8 23:4,12 24:20 29: 21 30:17 31:11,20,21 33: 11 **34**:1,22 **41**:14 **45**:3 **53**: 6 **59**:6 **60**:4 **62**:9,14 **63**:18 **75**:9 **85**:21 **86**:1 **87**:21 lawful [3] 68:22 70:9 81:20 lawsuit [2] 4:24 16:23 lawver [1] 9:5 lead [1] 85:9 least [1] 5:2 leave [3] 41:3.12 61:8 left [1] 89:8 legal [1] 4:22 legislation [1] 54:1 legislative [1] 54:22 legislature [1] 19:20 legislature's [1] 7:9 less [1] 29:2 Lessee [1] 88:15 liberty [1] 24:19 lies [1] 68:24 life [1] 24:19

light [1] 33:6 likes [1] 27:15 limit [1] 5:24 limitation [1] 28:7 limitations [4] 15:8,12,12,

limited [4] 6:6,9 38:1,2 limits [2] 6:6,8 line [1] 46:18 list [1] 88:1

litigated [2] 30:11 56:25 litigation [3] 39:12 85:8 86:

little [3] 7:22 66:16 73:14 live [2] 41:7 82:13 local [1] 4:2 logically [1] 4:23 long [4] 8:7 11:20 85:7,7 longer [2] 11:23 32:9

look [10] 10:13 15:20 24:8 33:22 40:15 51:6 55:18 59: 17 20 69:16

looked [2] 67:14 87:21 looking [2] 15:18 23:14 loophole [2] 81:12,14 lose [1] 16:12

lose [1] 16:12 lost [1] 38:4 lot [1] 45:1

lower 5 4:14 15:13 17:17 28:3,12

М

made [5] 31:13 69:2 72:7,8 74:24 made-up [1] 63:17 Madison [1] 88:7 magistrate [1] 30:5 Maine [4] 5:1 56:3 77:4 88: 21

19:2.4.5.17 20:2 21:18.19.

23 22:14.21 24:15 25:6 27:

3,10,24 28:25 29:3 32:7,13

24 33:7 34:2,16,21 35:8,16,

19 **36**:3,6,6,8,9,22 **37**:6,9,

40:14,23 41:17,18 42:5,10,

45:10,25 46:10,22 47:7,13,

20.23 48:1.6.17.24 49:2.6.

10 50:12.15.22 51:6.15 52:

10,14,19,25 53:6,15,25 54:

17 38:5,6,6,8,9,10,13,16

17,21,25 43:14,18 44:10

87:19 88:6 89:1

Hood [1] 45:19

mandate [2] 74:23 77:5 mandates [3] 6:22,22 76: mandating [3] 77:12 78:18 80:15 mandatory [4] 3:18 6:25 31:23,24 maneuvering [1] 32:8 maneuvers [1] 31:25 many [2] 39:5 42:2 mapping [1] 9:2 market [4] 32:5 37:4.22 38: Massachusetts [3] 26:14. 15.19 matches [3] 29:11,12,13 math [1] 73:23 matter [11] 1:13 7:12 29:22. 24 30:17 33:4 50:24 58:16. 20 79:1 80:4 matters [1] 40:4 McClung [1] 88:15 McDowell [1] 24:15 McNAMARA [68] 1:18 2:3. 13 **3**:6.7.9 **5**:14 **7**:17 **8**:24 9:24 10:5,14,18,22 11:2,8, 13,18,21 **12:**3,25 **13:**8,16, 22 14:2,10,23 15:9,22 16: 13 **17**:9,14 **18**:4,15,24 **19**: 11,22 20:13 21:18 22:5,20, 24 25:1,8 27:8,12 28:8 32: 10,17 33:5,8 34:14 35:12, 18,24 36:5,13 37:1,8,11,20 38:12 46:23 49:11 82:3 86: 22 23 25 McNamara's [3] 47:9 49:3 **50**:16 mean [20] 7:23 8:18 9:21 **10:**24.25 **11:**4 **16:**10 **19:**5 **43**:5 **46**:1,20 **48**:25 **50**:12, 15 **54**:15 **55**:14 **66**:21 **71**:2, 8 89:13 meaning [5] 10:9,10 50:17 67:12 87:18 means [3] 10:7 87:4 88:24 meant [2] 85:13 89:13 mechanism [5] 9:18 11:23 **13**:20 **14**:4 **20**:8 Meias [1] 88:15 mention [2] 62:14,17 mentioned [2] 78:12 87:24 mentioning [1] **64:**20 merits [5] 18:8 22:13 31:14 **45**:23 **87**:14 met [1] 18:18 Mexico [1] 87:25 might [10] 9:19,20 12:16 **19:**15 **53:**14 **69:**13 **76:**20. 20.21 85:20 military [2] 26:2 88:16 million [1] 34:9 mind [1] 43:22 mine [1] 30:24

misunderstood [2] 60:10 **64**:13 Mm-hmm [5] 48:5.16 52: 24 55:20 58:11 modern [4] 3:25 6:13 9:3 10:6 moment [2] 26:6 73:9 monetary [1] 86:17 money [21] 3:15 29:20 42:1 43:21 52:22 53:3 65:10 22 **70**:17.22 **71**:22.23.24 **76**: 15.18.21 77:6.12 79:24 84: 13 86:5 money-mandating [5] 4: 22 75:18 76:18,21 88:24 monies [1] 50:9 Monsanto [1] 69:3 Moore [1] 69:4 Moreover [1] 8:10 most [4] 9:16 14:13 59:11. mountain [2] 8:21 25 moved [2] 23:25 87:11 much [2] 34:11 55:23 municipalities [2] 44:8 45: must [7] 16:6 39:8,10 41: 21 60:9,9 73:22

narrower [1] 17:18 nation [1] 24:14 nationwide [2] 4:2 15:24 nature [3] 14:18 51:8 85:8 nearly [1] 39:22 Nebraska [1] 87:25 necessarily [6] 9:21 10:24 15:9 18:22 29:21 78:19 necessary [1] 81:19 need [3] 12:12 65:5 82:14 needs [1] 9:1 neither [1] 73:15 nervous [1] 66:19 never [4] 41:15 53:24 62:6, New [1] 87:25 next [1] 3:4 NIELSON [104] 1:20 2:6 38: 13,14,16 40:16 41:1 42:4,8 12.19.24 43:4.16.24 44:13 **45**:13 **46**:6.13 **47**:3.12.15. 21.25 48:5.16.20 49:1.5.8. 19 50:14.21 51:5.10.23 52: 12.18.24 53:5.8.17 54:5.13 16,19 **55**:3,20,24 **56**:7,15, 18,21,24 **57:**4,7,10,13,23 **58:**2,11,13,16,19,24 **59:**4,9 16,20 60:2,5,8,12,16,19,21, 24 **61**:4,10,20 **62**:4,15,18, 21 63:2,6,11,15 64:2,7,22 65:3,8,12,16,20,25 66:4,7, 11,21 67:1,9,25 none [1] 40:4 nor [2] 24:20 73:16

noted [1] 34:20 nothing [4] 11:16 39:10 73: 21,21 notice [1] 49:24 number [2] 5:25 69:1

0

obligation [17] 20:25 21:8,

10.13.16 23:16 25:16 28:

18 **54**:8 **58**:10 **75**:1 **88**:9.

Numerous [1] 68:12

objection [1] 66:15

obligated [1] 89:10

11.14.20.25 89:7

oath [1] 56:2

obligations [2] 4:23.24 obtain [1] 3:23 odds [2] 5:10,12 offered [1] 67:11 offset [1] 25:13 Okay [22] 11:25 22:14,21 24:9 36:3 38:5,11 47:13 **54:**16,19 **58:**2,15,23 **60:**3, 17 **61**:1,13 **64**:20,24 **81**:2, 23 82:1 Oldham [2] 32:11.20 once [6] 6:18 9:25 23:25 28:14 30:9 9 one [22] 6:13 9:1 12:14 13: 1,25 21:2 22:7 26:25 39:7 **44**:15,15 **45**:7 **52**:21 **56**:2 63:13 64:6 66:18 70:10 79: 7,9 **80**:25 **82**:6 one-half [2] 74:8,8 ones [1] 42:3 ongoing [10] 12:5 21:9,13 25:3 26:8 28:18 29:9 47:1. 8 **89·**7 only [16] 6:13.20 19:10 28: 17 30:18 51:1 54:7 67:11 71:19.23 82:10 83:11 86:3 87:9 88:12 89:6 onwards [1] 43:13 open [1] 84:4 operated [1] 11:20 opinion [5] 20:12 30:5,13 32:21 82:17 opinions [2] 42:6,9 OPM [1] 72:2 opportunity [2] 33:1 37:16 oppose [4] 12:10 13:2 61:7. opposed [1] 19:20 option [1] 12:15 Options [1] 5:2 oral [7] 1:13 2:2,5,8 3:7 38: 14 68:2 order [4] 17:3 27:22 56:23 orders [1] 69:24 Oregon [5] 16:1,1,3,5 87: original [5] 10:9.10 67:12

originalist [1] 51:21 other [17] 3:13 7:2 21:6 23: 2,7 **26**:23 **33**:22 **43**:7 **49**: 20 58:5 59:3 75:9 76:4 77: 18 80·19 21 82·7 others [1] 85:11 otherwise [1] 70:7 out [13] 9:19 30:6 32:11.20 35:20 40:5 45:8 50:5 69: 19 **74**:13 **82**:4 **85**:23 **86**:5 over [5] 6:4 12:19 17:11 48: 7 **70**:2 overall [1] 69:17 overcoming [1] 86:6 overruling [1] 39:24 owe [2] 21:11 35:10 owed [1] 73:9 owes [2] 21:11 34:8 own [7] 41:25 43:20 68:8 70:16,21 76:5 88:17 owner [6] 9:9 32:4 38:3 52: 21 54:25 84:18 owners [1] 3:22

p.m [1] 89:19 PAGE [1] 2:2 paid [8] 12:4 27:23 37:14 47:10 48:19 49:18 76:11 **85**:12 panel [1] 32:21 part [3] 5:16 20:15 30:3 parte [5] 6:1 25:4,5,6 66:14 partial [2] 35:15 36:18 particular [4] 19:14 74:21 75:4 76:1 particularly [2] 29:13 76:6 party [1] 67:11 passed [1] 86:13 Passman [1] 29:2 past [2] 21:15 25:11 path [1] **20**:20 pay [26] 3:15 16:6 18:1,12 **21**:4,5,8 **25**:15 **37**:23 **41**: 22 49:22 50:3 52:20 56:23 **57:1 58:12 65:10,22 71:23** 79:24 84:13,20 88:9,11,25 **89:**10 paying [4] 49:24 55:16 66: 10 76:17 payment [9] 28:18 50:9 51: 4.8 **68**:22 **71**:24 **76**:15 **77**: 5 80:16 payments [1] 50:10 pays [1] 16:3 pellucid [1] 62:6 pendent [3] 12:19 17:10 61:2 pending [1] 17:13 Penn [1] 40:21 people [3] 5:25 15:13 56:6 perfect [1] 53:14 perfectly [1] 23:22

perhaps [4] 9:11 10:12 19:

9 84:20 period [3] 85:4 86:8,9 permanent [1] 36:18 person [6] 24:19 50:25 68: 15 **69**:19 **70**:6 **85**:5 person's [1] 46:24 Petitioner [1] 73:20 Petitioners [12] 1:4.19 2:4. 14 **3:**8 **39:**1,3,21,23 **40:**4, 11 86:24 Petitioners' [1] 40:24 physical [1] 41:22 place [1] 59:10 plaintiff [3] 25:4 31:3 37: Plaintiffs [3] 12:4 44:18 83: plaintiffs' [1] 6:9 plead [1] 61:22 pleaded [1] 41:2 pleading [2] 6:7,19 pleadings [2] 62:5,13 pleads [4] 7:14 13:7.9 87:7 please [4] 3:10 38:17 55:1 **68:**6 pleases [1] 27:17 pled [2] 4:12 60:18 plural [1] 59:22 plus [4] 73:21 74:7,8 80:12 point [19] 9:19 13:17 15:25 17:5 21:20 22:16 34:14 40: 16 **41**:3,20 **46**:12 **50**:13 **61**: 18 **67**:7 **69**:3 **71**:9,12 **74**: 25 78:9 pointed [6] 24:5 32:20 69: 19 **74**:13 **82**:4 **88**:22 points [3] 30:6 32:11 66:23 policy [1] 28:22 poor [1] 89:4 portion [1] 71:12 position [7] 17:17 79:16, 18,18 **84:**10,15 **85:**20 possibility [1] 65:18 posture [1] 87:3 power [3] 29:6 39:16 55:2 powers [4] 14:6.15 23:11 56:9 precedent [1] 70:9 precedents [1] 5:3 precedes [1] 24:18 preceding [1] 69:18 precisely [2] 53:22 67:15 precondition [1] 21:3 preliminary [1] 85:6 premise [1] 57:25 premised [1] 56:9 premises [1] 56:3 prerogative [3] 7:9 50:20 present [3] 25:15.16 65:18 presented [5] 3:11 6:11 16: 8 23:20 33:14 presentment [1] 70:7

87:18 88:6

misunderstand [1] 64:9

pressing [1] 12:2

presupposed [1] 69:12 pretty [2] 8:6 16:11 prevent [2] 5:25 85:6 prevented [1] 32:15 preventing [2] 69:6 85:2 prevents [1] 87:22 **primary** [1] **5**:15 principles [4] 29:22,25 58: 19 20 private [7] 8:11.15 19:21 **24**:21 **39**:11 **53**:3 **75**:16 probably [2] 9:6 27:2 problem [5] 5:15 9:2 13:12, 15 **41**:2 problems [2] 6:19,19 procedural [5] 22:16 31: 25 40:9 82:5 87:3 procedure [1] 40:7 proceed [6] 32:22 45:11 **46:**2,3,5 **71:**5 proceeding [2] 52:2 58:4 proceedings [2] 82:23 83: 11 Process [16] 24:17.20 25:3 **29**:21 **41**:10 **54**:2 **61**:5 **69**: 20,22,24 70:1,2 78:4 85:1, 4 86:10 prohibited [1] 71:21 prohibition [4] 69:21 75: 21 **78**:19 **81**:18 prohibitory [2] 68:20 78: promised [1] 50:3 proper [1] 86:11 property [45] 3:22 5:8 7:18 9:8 16:25 21:5.10 24:20. 21 25:14 29:20 30:1 32:4. 6 35:5 36:15.24 38:3.19 **46:**24 **47:**10 **50:**18.19.22. 23 52:21 54:25 55:15 63:1 **68**:15,16,18,25 **69**:20 **72**: 10,19 75:16,25 76:16 80:5 84:16,18,19 89:3,13 protective [1] 38:21 provide [15] 8:4 17:1 21:21 **22**:17 **26**:8 **39**:8 **48**:18 **50**: 4 54:4 57:3.16.16 79:6 81: 19 88:1 provided [4] 11:22 74:18 75:7 86:17 provides [13] 4:6 18:21.23 **21**:3 **33**:24 **52**:4 **65**:6 **73**: 16,18 74:16 76:5 82:18 83: 23 providing [2] 20:5 27:25 provision [8] 3:13 74:21 **75**:9 **76**:4,19 **77**:14,18 **80**: provisions [1] 68:12 public [5] 24:21 67:12 68: 16 75:16 76:16 purposes [1] 22:1 pursue [2] 12:23 42:15 pursuing [1] 12:14

put [3] 37:18 44:20,23 putative [2] 44:17 45:8 putting [1] 62:22

Q

qualifications [2] 27:6,10 quarrel [3] 57:15 58:22 65: quarreling [1] 58:14 question [33] 3:11 5:18,19 **6**:10,21 **8**:5 **9**:7 **12**:12 **15**: 11 **16**:7 **17**:16 **21**:14.15.19 23:20 28:17.23 31:17 33: 12.14 **35**:4 **42**:13 **48**:7 **56**: 24 **65**:5 **69**:5.12 **70**:24 **71**: 14 **78**:22 **82**:2 **85**:9 **87**:2 questions [5] 5:5 40:13 56 17 **81:**6 **89:**15 quickly [1] 67:7 Quincy [1] 29:17 quite [2] 8:25 24:16 quote [2] 39:15,19 quotes [1] 41:19

R Railroad [3] 29:17 50:24

69:4 raised [1] 81:25 rare [1] 30:6 rarely [1] 30:2 ratification [2] 16:19 40:3 ratified [2] 7:24,25 ratifying [1] 8:8 read [13] 16:9 24:23 25:2 46:12,14 51:25 54:6 57:14 **67**:15 **74**:22 **80**:1 **82**:9 **84**: reading [2] 20:14,15 real [1] 87:20 realize [1] 53:14 really [6] 12:13 50:24 51:21 **54:**21 **69:**5 **71:**13 rearguing [1] 71:9 reason [5] 4:20 6:15,16 16: 3 44:25 reasonably [2] 74:22 75:9 reasons [5] 39:6 44:15 55: 5 **71:**14,17 REBUTTAL [4] 2:12 82:3 86:22,23 receive [3] 27:20 29:20,25 recent [5] 4:18 42:3 59:11 69:2,2 recently [1] 14:13 recognize [4] 7:7,10 27:7, recognized [3] 4:11,22 19: 19 recognizing [1] 40:1 record [1] 35:5 recover [2] 71:3 75:8 rectify [1] 37:12 referring [1] 78:24

refuse [1] 31:7

refused [2] 27:2 40:11 refuses [1] 84:17 regulation [1] 73:6 regulatory [2] 7:8 73:6 Rehnquist [3] 29:1,3 70: reimbursed [1] 84:21 reimpose [1] 5:23 reiterated [1] 21:7 reiect [1] 4:13 rejected [5] 46:11 70:20 71:10.16 73:8 rejecting [1] 72:6 rejects [1] 41:24 relation [1] 89:4 relatively [2] 30:6 69:2 relegate [1] 89:3 relied [1] 74:22 relief [13] 6:12 7:13 16:18 20:19 46:17 47:22 49:9.13. 14 **52:1 53:**13.14 **57:**1 relying [4] 73:23 83:15,16, remains [2] 6:21 61:2 remand [5] 17:7 32:18.25 33:10 84:4 remanded [4] 33:12 64:17 82:22 83:10 remedial [3] 9:17 78:24 79: remedied [1] 11:24 remedies [3] 20:17 47:19 remedy [47] 3:18 4:7,9 5: 21 6:15.16.23.25 10:16.17. 19 13:14 14:22 16:16 19:8. 14 **20**:6.7.21.23.24 **24**:11. 13 **25**:17 **27**:1 **28**:23 **29**:5 **31**:14,23,24 **36**:25 **37**:1 **39**: 20 48:8,12,18 53:6 55:23 **72**:9 **76**:6,6 **79**:3,5 **86**:12, 12 14 18 remember [2] 47:17 87:2 remembering [1] 29:15 removal [3] 12:11 13:2 44: remove [5] 30:7 31:16 43:6 44:14 46:4 removed [8] 6:19 12:9 18: 6 **23**:25 **44**:11 **63**:14 **64**:6. removing [1] 32:1 render [1] 81:19 rent [2] 35:10 37:23 reorganization [1] 69:4 repeat [1] 78:7 repeated [1] 30:22 reply [1] 5:6 represented [2] 59:25 83: representing [1] 79:21

requirement [1] 26:11 requirements [1] 6:7 requires [4] 27:12 52:1,2 83:7 resist [2] 64:21,23 resisted [1] 60:21 resolve [3] 12:12 40:20 59: 21 resolved [2] 3:12 18:13 resolves [1] 45:5 resort [3] 5:11 88:14.18 respect [5] 18:3 24:24 46: 13 73:8 81:13 respecting [1] 39:17 Respondent [7] 1:7,21,25 **2**:7,11 **38**:15 **68**:4 response [1] 84:11 responses [1] 12:25 rest [2] 72:6 89:16 retain [1] 39:15 return [1] 26:24 reversal [2] 30:20 87:17 reversed [1] 22:11 review [1] 64:12 **RICHARD** [1] 1:3 Richmond [1] 72:2 rights [23] 12:22 22:10 28: 9,11,13 30:10,15 31:4,8 33: 15,18 **35**:1 **39**:1 **43**:1 **45**:2, 2 **49**:4 **50**:6 **72**:10 **86**:16 89:3.5.13 rise [2] 23:17 25:14 ROBERT [5] 1:18 2:3,13 3: 7 86:23 ROBERTS [44] 3:3 33:7 34: 2 **35:**8.16.19 **36:**3.6 **38:**6. 13 **41:**18 **42:**5,10,17,21,25 **43**:14,18 **44**:10 **45**:10,25 **46**:10 **55**:8,13,21 **66**:24 **67**: 3,17,20 68:1 70:11,14 71:8, 25 **72:**4 **73:**11 **79:**8,11,14 **81**:4 **84**:6 **85**:16 **86**:20 **89**: 17 robust [1] 15:15 rogue [6] 53:9 56:11 81:7, 17 84:11 87:19 Ruckelshaus [1] 69:3 rule [4] 7:2 31:21 72:23 73: 3 run [1] 30:24 runs [2] 8:11 34:15 rush [1] 50:1 Saint [2] 25:25 26:7 same [14] 4:10,12 28:8 46: 7 60:7 67:15 69:16 70:5 75:22,22 77:8 78:4,13,15

San [1] 34:17 satisfies [1] 40:9 saying [25] 6:14 14:5 16:25 19:6 21:24 23:11 25:11.13

27:18 **32**:3 **33**:1 **34**:15 **36**:

1 46:15 49:11 54:21 58:21 **60**:12 **64**:9,14 **65**:5 **70**:25 73:21 80:12 84:19 says [31] 6:24 7:11,17 10:7 13:3 18:17 23:2 30:14 34: 10 39:8,9 50:5 51:14,25 **52:**25 **53:**12,19,20 **55:**7,25 **59**:14 **63**:3 **68**:14 **69**:19 **70**: 6 72:8 73:20 76:15 78:24 79:4 82:17 scenario [2] 53:22 55:6 schemes [1] 81:11 Schrock [1] 14:14 scope [5] 17:15 20:24 30: 10.12 31:5 Scott [1] 4:19 searched [1] 48:4 second [3] 44:25 82:2.10 Section [9] 5:23 30:19 44: 3,7 45:17 53:19,23 55:1 62:24 see [10] 7:22 25 13:25 23: 15 **33**:6 **39**:22 **59**:10 **62**:9 9 78:17 seek [2] 37:13 64:11 seeking [3] 25:10,10 37:13 seem [2] 5:9 70:25 seems [5] 9:16 22:21 23:6 63:16 70:24 seizing [3] 26:2,3,6 seizure [1] 84:23 self-executing [1] 4:10 Self-Incrimination [1] 78: self-interest [2] 56:6 10 sell [1] 50:25 seller [1] 37:25 semantics [1] 80:5 sense [2] 20:4 27:25 separate [2] 19:7 44:16 separated [1] 56:9 seriously [3] 13:25 56:1,2 set [1] 15:18 shall [7] 24:19,20 68:15,16 **69**:19 **70**:6 **75**:15 **shape** [1] **6**:14 shooting [1] 66:17 shouldn't [2] 81:7.8 shows [1] 35:3 shut [1] 54:21 side [1] 7:2 signed [1] 16:2 similar [2] 19:5 24:16 similarly [1] 27:16 simplest [1] 19:13 simply [2] 32:2 40:11 Since [1] 43:12 single [2] 44:21,22 sittina [1] 14:5 situations [1] 69:13 small [1] 17:5 so-called [1] 73:4 sold [1] 37:25

required [4] 11:17 16:16

require [6] 24:11 28:18 29:

8 43:1 81:16 88:3

Solicitor [2] 1:20.22

solution [1] 84:12 somebody [1] 70:10 somebody's [1] 48:4 somehow [2] 40:8 73:18 someone [3] 19:15 37:23 **45**:20 someplace [1] 51:18 sometimes [2] 15:18 72: soon [1] 46:3 sorry [8] 55:12 56:21 57:21 **61**:15.16 **78**:21 **79**:13 **81**:3 sort [10] 20:9 43:7 49:17 50: 15 **52**:2 **54**:2.4.9 **58**:5 **88**: 23 SOTOMAYOR [35] 17:4,12. 21 18:9,19 19:2,6 21:24 **38:**7 **41:**17 **61:**15,18,21 **62:** 12,16,19,22 63:3,7,12,16 64:5,15,24 67:21 79:16,20 80:2,4,10,15,22,25 81:2 82: **Sotomayor's** [1] **21**:19 sought [3] 24:1 32:24 87: 12 sounds [2] 28:5 66:12 source [2] 24:6.7 South [1] 87:25 sovereign [5] 15:6,10 29:8 **76:986:**6 speaking [2] 20:6 37:21 speaks [3] 72:13,17 82:3 special [1] 33:20 specifically [3] 23:8 29:18 88:22 squarely [1] 30:21 squares [1] 25:23 St [1] 88:8 standard [3] 74:20 75:11 77:20 stands [1] 21:16 start [1] 40:1 started [1] 17:23 state [96] 4:2,14 8:19 10:25 11:5,9 12:13,20 13:7,20 **15**:2,18,21 **17**:13,23,25 **22**: 3.17.18 23:3.8.10.22.24 24: 4.13 26:21 28:15 29:8.9 **30**:7.14.25 **31**:1 **32**:16 **33**: 2,13 34:4,7,25 40:1 43:2,5, 11.22.25 45:11 46:2.7.23. 25 48:13,15,18 49:3 50:18, 23,25 **51:**2 **53:**1,2,4,9,12, 20 54:3,21 56:11,23 58:3,6 **59**:6,25 **61**:10 **62**:9,14,19 **63**:22 **66**:9 **81**:7,17 **82**:7, 25 83:16,17 84:2,11,16 85: 21 86:1,2,16 87:19,21,21, state's [1] 16:2 statement [2] 26:25 42:22 **STATES** [24] **1**:1.15.24 **2**: 10 15:24 29:16 39:18 40:1

16 **56**:1 **68**:3.8.11 **71**:20 **76:**12 **81:**10 **84:**14,16 **88:**1, 16 States' [1] 18:25 status [1] 89:4 statute [17] 15:7,11,12,19 **69**:6 **75**:4,4,15,19 **76**:2,14 77:3.4.8.18 80:13.21 statutes [1] 4:25 staying [1] 32:19 step [1] 64:10 still [11] 22:11 41:7.8 52:9 **58**:5 **61**:4,5 **82**:13 **83**:1,3, 13 stop [4] 26:5 30:15 80:6,7 stopping [1] 34:22 stratum [1] 28:10 structure [1] 81:9 subject [1] 28:6 submitted [2] 89:18,20 substance [1] 40:7 substantive [14] 4:7 8 18: 11 21 22:12 39:1 42:13 44: 4 **46**:16.20 **52**:1 **54**:8 **74**: 21 83:17 successfully [1] 24:2 sue [14] 3:23 9:9 20:19 27: 4 28:1 44:8 45:16 50:17 **51**:7,7 **61**:24 **66**:5 **74**:18 88:10 suffer [1] 12:5 **sufficient** [1] **62**:10 **suggestion** [1] **79:**23 suing [1] 63:13 suit [7] 9:11,12 17:13 49:6, 14.15 **74:**5 Summarizing [1] 63:7 supplies [1] 26:2 supplying [1] 8:1 support [1] 16:2 supporting [3] 1:24 2:11 68:4 suppose [7] 15:5 34:4 36: 9 49:2 51:20 75:12,13 supposed [1] 47:14 supposedly [1] 89:10 **SUPREME** [11] **1:**1.14 **7:**3. 5 **14:**12 **26:**14.15.19 **40:**17 **59**:12 **87**:10 surely [1] 89:11 surprised [1] 12:10 switch [3] 63:20 64:3,4

Т

system [1] 56:8

tells [1] 24:4

takings [26] 3:25 4:3,9,15 **6**:7 **7**:8 **8**:2 **16**:4 **17**:16 **22**: 18 **24**:13,16 **26**:1 **30**:4 **32**: 22 36:20 38:23 39:4,9 40: 11 **52**:6 **59**:21 **73**:16 **75**:13 82:6 88:22 talked [1] 25:24 teach [1] 5:4

temporary [15] 17:24 34: 19,23 **35:**9,14,15 **36:**14,19 **37**:3,4,19 **73**:4 **84**:22 **85**:1,

terms [6] 10:6 72:14.17.17 74:15.15

testimony [1] 37:21 Tewksbury [1] 26:18 **TEXAS** [112] **1**:6,20 **3**:5 **8**: 19.25 13:13.20.22 14:2.3.5. 10.12.19.21 **15**:24 **16**:3 **17**: 7.11.16.18 **18:**11.12 **21:**21.

24,25 22:1,2,8,16,18,25,25 23:2,6,25 27:15 30:9,16,17 31:13,15,20,21,24 32:14, 25 33:13,17 35:3,5 37:3

38:20,20,22,22 40:9,17,19, 25 **41:**5,8,14 **42:**14,15,16 43:9 44:19,20,21,25 52:4,4, 9,10,16,21,22,25 57:15,25

58:3,10,14,21,24 **59:**12,24 61:6.8.11.24 62:1.3.24 63: 9.13.18.25 **64:**18 **65:**6.22 **66:**9 **67:**10.16 **82:**13.18.18

Texas's [9] 13:2 23:21 24: 4,9 **32**:8 **39**:2 **79**:17 **87**:8 89.2

83:19 **87:**5.10.11

text [7] 3:12 25:23 28:24 67: 13 **68**:13 **71**:18 **78**:10 theoretical [1] 65:17 theory [1] 71:1

there's [35] 4:20 5:20.21 6: 5 13 8:21 10:24 11:23 12: 11 **15**:15 **16**:17 **20**:22 **25**:3 31:2 41:7.8 43:6 44:3.9.17 46:16 47:16.19 48:21 50:7. 8 53:4 54:7 61:23 64:3 68: 23 70:3 71:6 82:16 86:4

therefore [1] 46:20 They've [3] 41:14 45:19 50:

thinking [2] 22:2 53:10 thinks [1] 84:14

THOMAS [6] 5:6 36:7 40: 14.23 67:4 79:15 though [7] 12:2 28:9 52:11 **57**:17 **59**:14 **66**:16,21

three [3] 19:7.9 74:15 throughout [1] 8:14 thrust [1] 56:14 tie [1] 44:2

title [1] 88:17 today [2] 21:11,17

tomorrow [2] 5:22 21:12 took [4] 16:24 21:23 35:19

totally [3] 28:2 33:3 63:17 Township [1] 4:19 tradition [2] 28:25 29:12

Treasury [2] 71:24 86:5 trespass [4] 9:11,19 10:4 14:8

trial [2] 35:2 36:17

trouble [1] 73:14 true [9] 4:25 5:2 22:8,25 45: 23 52:7 69:18 84:25 87:24 trust [2] 55:25 56:1 try [1] 55:4 trying [4] 20:3 23:1 33:2 54:

Tucker [27] 4:5,6,9 25:25 **26**:7 **69**:8 **73**:15.16 **74**:4. 14.18.20.25 **75**:7.10 **76**:22. 23 77:1.13.14.19.19 80:12 86:13.16 88:8.10 Tuesday [1] 1:11

turns [2] 31:11 70:25 two [15] 11:2 12:25 19:10 **21**:1 **22**:7 **42**:3 **44**:14 **46**: 11 **55**:13 **59**:3 **73**:18 **74**:7, 15 **81**:6 **82**:6

type [1] 66:14 types [1] 45:5

U.S [1] 63:4 ultimately [2] 28:20 36:15 uncompensated [2] 34: 18.23 under [67] 4:4 7:15 9:22 10: 25 **12**:18 **13**:4.9 **14**:11.22

15:17 **16**:4 **17**:7,11 **19**:25 22:9 30:10,15,19 31:4,6,7, 8 33:11,16,18 38:22,23 39: 4 40:19,19,21 41:5,8,14 42: 15 **43**:4 **44**:12 **45**:3,10,12, 12,17,18 46:4,9 59:21 61: 24 **62:**8 **63:**18 **64:**1,18,19 68:10 69:8 74:16,18 76:21 77:13 82:7.8.11.25 85:21 87:5.7 88:2.10

underlying [2] 27:18,19 understand [20] 4:15 9:7 12:1 19:13 20:3.18 22:16 23:21 32:13 33:3 37:17 51: 8 59:14 61:3 65:14 72:21 **73**:24 **76**:14 **88**:3,5

understanding [6] 9:13 26:4 66:11 73:14 88:6 89:

understood [8] 10:3,11,15 21:20 25:20 76:2.22 87:3 undertaken [1] 69:25 UNITED [15] 1:1.14.24 2:10 18:25 39:18 51:11 68:3.7. 10 71:20 76:12 84:14.16 **88:**16

universe [1] 66:14 unlawful [1] 68:24 unless [1] 70:7 unlike [1] 3:13 unqualified [3] 27:5,6,9 until [5] 8:5 40:2 73:1 86: 13.16 unusual [1] 31:16

up [1] 59:3

upend [1] 4:14 upshot [1] 32:21 useful [1] 7:4 using [2] 23:11 26:21 usual [5] 48:1 49:2,12,16 **58:**25

valid [2] 23:22 35:25 value [5] 32:5 37:4,18,23 vehicle [1] 33:15 versus [3] 3:4 69:3 72:2 view [4] 25:21 27:25 41:24 73:15 viewed [1] 8:9 vigorously [1] 60:21 vindicate [7] 11:6 12:21 14:4 22:10 23:13 28:2 86: vindicated [3] 11:10 28:13 vindication [1] 54:10 vine [1] 8:6 violates [1] 49:3 violating [6] 46:25 47:11 48:14.18 50:6 53:21 violation [15] 21:15 25:3. 12 47:1.5.8 48:9.11 54:3 62:23 63:4 69:15,23 74:24 86:10 Virginia [1] 1:18 visions [2] 9:4 21:1 vitiate [2] 8:2 22:18

vitiating [1] 21:22

wait [1] 53:25 waive [2] 15:6,10 waived [1] 29:8 wanted [2] 41:5 63:20 wants [3] 30:9 35:1 50:23 warrants [1] 87:16 Washington [2] 1:10,23 water [1] 36:11 way [27] 4:14 5:9 8:2,9 10: 20 16:10 19:13 28:7 36:2, 10 37:9 40:6 44:20 50:13 51:11 53:1 54:7 57:14 64: 10,11 67:16 70:5 76:3 78: 4,14 **81**:22 **86**:15 weak [1] 28:6 welcome [2] 5:5 40:13 whatever [3] 66:9 80:8 85: whatnot [1] 85:22 Whereupon [1] 89:19 whether [22] 5:20,20 6:11, 21.22 9:5 14:20 17:24 18: 22 22:6 28:17,23 36:18 39: 10 **45**:22,24 **56**:25 **74**:17, 20 83:15,18 85:12 whole [2] 35:20 56:8

will [5] 21:11 27:1 32:18,22

44:2 45:17 51:11 53:11 55:

38:18 Williams [3] 39:14,24 40:8 willing [1] 37:24 wins [1] **52**:9 wishes [1] 31:1 withdraw [2] 56:12 81:10 within [2] 34:25 66:14 without [17] 24:20,21 32: 22 33:15 39:24 55:16 68: 17,19 **69:**20,22,22,25 **72:** 19 **75**:16,25 **76**:16 **85**:3 wondering [1] 56:20 word [1] 48:12 work [5] 4:15 8:25 53:15, 17 **55:**5 worry [2] 81:8,8 worth [2] 29:14 34:11 Wow [1] **34:**10 writ [1] 26:17 write [1] 29:4 writing [1] 26:7 writings [2] 88:7 89:11 written [1] 70:4 wrongful [1] 37:12 wrote [4] 25:25 26:10 42:6, 8 years [3] 51:12 70:15 74:12 Yep [1] 49:5 Young [5] 6:1 25:4,5,7 66: zero [2] 74:7,8

Heritage Reporting Corporation