1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	x
3	LORETTA E. LYNCH, :
4	ATTORNEY GENERAL, :
5	Petitioner : No. 15-1191
6	v. :
7	LUIS RAMON MORALES-SANTANA, :
8	Respondent. :
9	x
10	Washington, D.C.
11	Wednesday, November 9, 2016
12	
13	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
14	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
15	at 10:01 a.m.
16	APPEARANCES:
17	EDWIN S. KNEEDLER, ESQ., Deputy Solicitor General,
18	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf
19	of the Petitioner.
20	STEPHEN A. BROOME, ESQ., Los Angeles, Cal.; on behalf
21	of the Respondent.
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1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(10:01 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We will hear
4	argument first this morning in Case No. 15-1191, Loretta
5	Lynch, Attorney General, v. Morales-Santana.
6	Mr. Kneedler.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF EDWIN S. KNEEDLER
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
9	MR. KNEEDLER: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
10	please the Court:
11	The United States Constitution does not
12	confer U.S. citizenship on anyone born outside the
13	United States. Rather, pursuant to its plenary
14	authority under Article I of the Constitution, it is for
15	Congress to determine which categories of such persons
16	should be granted U.S. citizenship by statute.
17	In doing so, Congress has always required
18	that the persons involved have a demonstrated and
19	sufficient connection to the United States, either in
20	themselves or through their parents, to warrant the
21	conferral of citizenship, because citizenship carries
22	with it attendant duties and rights on the part of the
23	individual, and important duties of protection and
24	obligation on the part of the United States government.
25	This case concerns the framework under the

- 1 Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 as originally
- 2 enacted for granting citizenship to persons outside the
- 3 United States as of the date of their birth.
- 4 Other provisions deal with the granting of
- 5 citizenship later in life. Those were open to
- 6 Respondent or his father in this case, but were not
- 7 taken advantage of.
- 8 In particular, this case concerns the
- 9 granting of citizenship to children born out of wedlock
- 10 abroad, a situation in which this Court's -- this
- 11 Court's cases made clear that mothers and fathers are
- 12 not typically similarly situated with respect to their
- 13 legal status concerning the child at the moment of
- 14 birth.
- The general rules for citizenship at birth
- 16 are set out in 8 U.S.C. 1401. And I'm referring to the
- 17 Act as originally enacted; it was revised in 1986. If
- 18 both parents were U.S. citizens, then a child born
- 19 outside the United States would be a citizen of the
- 20 United States as long as one of the parents had resided
- 21 in the United States for any period of time. Congress
- 22 did not deem that to be a sufficient connection to the
- 23 United States, given that both parents are citizens.
- On the other hand, if one parent was a U.S.
- 25 citizen and one parent was an alien, Congress had a

- 1 markedly different approach. The U.S.-citizen parent
- 2 had to -- had to have resided in the United States for
- 3 ten years, five of which were after reaching the age of
- 4 14. Congress evidently determined that because such a
- 5 child would have competing claims of allegiance, that a
- 6 greater residency was -- was required for the parent to
- 7 establish the connection to the United States.
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Is that an argument
- 9 we heard much about in the Flores-Villar case?
- 10 MR. KNEEDLER: It was -- it was made at the
- 11 oral argument in -- in Flores-Villar, and -- but we
- 12 think it's also evident from the face of the statute.
- 13 As this Court said in Nguyen with respect to another
- 14 argument that the -- that the Court addressed there,
- it's important for the Court itself to look at the -- at
- 16 the structure, text, and operation of the statute to see
- 17 that the --
- 18 JUSTICE KENNEDY: I thought, in Villar,
- 19 the -- the government spent most of its argument talking
- 20 about the differential treatment primarily on the
- 21 grounds of statelessness.
- MR. KNEEDLER: Right.
- 23 JUSTICE KENNEDY: And -- and here your
- 24 argument is -- the thrust of your argument is -- is
- 25 somewhat a different need to ensure sufficient ties.

- 1 MR. KNEEDLER: What -- we're making both
- 2 arguments. And -- and we did -- we did argue in
- 3 Flores-Villar that there should be a connection to the
- 4 United States and that the statutory framework is set up
- 5 that way.
- It's true that our emphasis was on
- 7 statelessness, but we are now arguing -- and, again, we
- 8 think it's -- it's entirely evident from the face of the
- 9 statute -- that what -- what these provisions are after
- 10 is connection to the United States.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Why aren't men and women
- 12 who are parents similarly situated with respect to their
- 13 affiliation, their attachment to U.S. values? I mean,
- 14 there's no reason to think a man is less -- has less of
- a sense of U.S. belonging than a woman?
- MR. KNEEDLER: Right. And we're -- and
- 17 we're making no such argument. The -- the point is that
- 18 where you have -- where you have -- at the -- at the
- 19 moment of birth, the mother, as -- as this Court
- 20 recognized in the -- in the Nguyen case and has
- 21 recognized in cases like Lehr v. Robertson in the
- 22 domestic context, the mother is the only legally
- 23 recognized parent.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: There are many cases,
- 25 especially generations back when this law was on the

- 1 books, where the mother -- the birth certificate came
- 2 sometime after the child was born, and both the father's
- 3 name and the mother's name might be on it.
- 4 So it is -- it is not -- the moment of birth
- 5 doesn't necessarily tell you who is the mother if she --
- 6 if there is no birth certificate, and then the child,
- 7 when they get the birth certificate, both names are on
- 8 it.
- 9 MR. KNEEDLER: But I -- I think this Court's
- 10 decision in Nguyen and the -- and the State statutes
- 11 that we identify in a footnote in our brief are premised
- 12 on -- on the proposition that the identity of the mother
- and her relationship to the child will be known by
- 14 virtue of the birth alone, or at least will be known in
- 15 the overwhelming majority of cases.
- In that situation there is only one parent.
- 17 There is not a competing claim of citizenship to -- a
- 18 competing claim of allegiance to another country through
- 19 another parent.
- On the other hand, when the father
- 21 legitimates, at that point you have two parents, and
- 22 it -- in the situation where they are of different
- 23 nationalities, then you are put in the situation where
- 24 there are competing claims --
- 25 JUSTICE KAGAN: But why do we look,

- 1 Mr. Kneedler, to the moment of birth? Why shouldn't we
- 2 look to the moment when citizenship is sought?
- 3 MR. KNEEDLER: Because this -- this
- 4 statutory provision specifically deals with citizenship
- 5 at birth, and the -- the statute that that's its
- 6 caption, of 1409(a), with respect to the situation where
- 7 the father legitimates, says the child shall be a
- 8 citizen as of birth, and it's important to understand
- 9 exactly what is operating here.
- 10 At -- at the moment of birth, again, the
- 11 child only has one -- one parent. When the father
- 12 legitimates, what Congress has done generously, one
- 13 could say, but at least sensibly, is to say we will
- 14 treat the couple as if they were married at the moment
- of birth. They are giving retroactive application to
- 16 the legitimation so that the -- so that the children --
- 17 the child is treated as the child of married parents at
- 18 that point.
- 19 If the -- if the legitimating father is a
- 20 U.S. citizen, in that situation you would have two
- 21 U.S.-citizen parents, and the very generous rule for
- 22 U.S.-citizen parents would apply in that -- in that
- 23 situation.
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: But Nguyen -- Nguyen was
- 25 more a matter of -- of proof, whereas this case, as

- 1 Justice Ginsburg indicates, is a question of which --
- 2 does the child have sufficient ties to the country.
- 3 It's quite a different -- quite a different proposition
- 4 that the two address, it seems to me.
- 5 MR. KNEEDLER: Two -- two things about that.
- 6 This Court's decision in Nguyen had two -- had
- 7 identified two separate interests. One was the proof of
- 8 paternity, and -- but the other was recognizing the
- 9 connection to the United States.
- 10 The connection to the United States in a
- 11 situation like this has two steps: What is the
- 12 relationship of the child to the parent? And Nguyen was
- 13 concerned about establishing that relationship, that
- 14 in -- in some formal sense and also underlying it, a
- 15 real sense of establishing that relationship.
- This case deals with the relationship of the
- 17 parent to the United States.
- 18 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The problem is with the
- 19 exception that's been created for unwed-citizen mothers,
- 20 the first prong, the interest of the connection to the
- 21 United States doesn't exist, because the statute doesn't
- 22 require any connection to the United States except
- 23 U.S. citizenship. She could have been born, lived here
- 24 a day, and moved somewhere else, and she would
- 25 automatically confer.

- 1 MR. KNEEDLER: No, not under the 1952 Act.
- 2 Under the -- that was true under the 1940 Act. Under
- 3 the 1952 Act, it's continuous presence for one year, but
- 4 Congress deemed that to be basically somewhere in
- 5 between the two U.S.-citizen parents situation in which
- 6 any period of residency was okay and the mixed -- the
- 7 mixed nationality situation where Congress said it had
- 8 to be ten and five. Congress chose a -- a period
- 9 somewhere in between.
- 10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So why should it be
- 11 different for an unwed father who has legitimized the
- 12 child?
- 13 MR. KNEEDLER: Because in that situation
- 14 there are two parents. The argument is not that the
- 15 father's ties are less. It's that there are competing
- 16 ties, and Congress wanted to make sure that the -- that
- 17 the strength of the U.S. citizen's ties were sufficient
- 18 that they would outweigh or at least counteract where
- 19 Congress could be sufficiently confident of the tie to
- 20 the United States to grant citizenship in that -- in
- 21 that situation. And again --
- 22 JUSTICE KAGAN: Why couldn't that have been
- 23 done, Mr. Kneedler? Why couldn't these objectives have
- 24 been served through entirely gender neutral language?
- 25 For example, I know that there was a proposal that the

- 1 Secretary of State made earlier than this statute was
- 2 passed in the 1930s, which talked just about legal
- 3 parents, which didn't refer to mothers and fathers at
- 4 all.
- 5 MR. KNEEDLER: Right. Several things about
- 6 that. I don't think there is a claim in this case that
- 7 Respondent would benefit from reading the statute in
- 8 that manner, because I -- I don't think there's any
- 9 question that he had citizenship and a legal parent when
- 10 he was born.
- But beyond -- beyond that --
- 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: That would get rid of the
- 13 gender inequality that is at the heart of his complaint.
- 14 Whether or not he in the end benefits from it, the
- 15 question here is whether the statute makes --
- 16 constitutes a violation of equal protection.
- 17 One question we ask when we think about a
- 18 question like that is, could Congress have written the
- 19 statute? Could Congress have served its objectives in
- 20 an entirely gender neutral way? And it seems as though
- 21 here we have the -- the Secretary of State presented a
- 22 statute to Congress that actually did that.
- MR. KNEEDLER: Yes. But it -- but as was
- 24 pointed out at the time, as we point out in our brief,
- 25 while that statute on its face looked gender neutral, in

- 1 fact, it would have operated in exactly the same way as
- 2 the statute that Congress enacted operated, because --
- 3 and no one has really taken serious issue with the
- 4 proposition we have in our brief that at the moment of
- 5 birth, it was the overwhelming rule that the mother was
- 6 the only legally recognized parent.
- 7 So in that -- this -- it would have operated
- 8 in essentially the same way.
- 9 And let me -- let me come at this in a
- 10 slightly different direction. If, when you have one
- 11 parent, the -- the mother in -- in this case, she gets
- 12 to make all of the pertinent decisions about the child.
- 13 Where they will live, where they will be domiciled,
- 14 situations like that.
- 15 When a father legitimates, he does not -- he
- 16 does not then acquire the right to make -- the sole
- 17 right to make all the decisions for the child. There
- 18 are then two parents. He gets to --
- 19 JUSTICE BREYER: There's a lot of
- 20 complicated things, but the question I think is, think
- 21 of the child. The child is born out of wedlock. Now,
- 22 if his mother was an American, he becomes an American if
- 23 she's lived here for one year. If it's his father who's
- 24 an American, she becomes an American only if he's lived
- 25 here for like eight years or ten years. Now, that's the

- 1 difference, and why does that make a difference? What
- 2 justifies the gender discrimination?
- 3 MR. KNEEDLER: But that's the same rule that
- 4 applies if the parents are married, which is --
- 5 JUSTICE BREYER: Two -- two wrongs don't
- 6 make a right.
- 7 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, but -- I don't think
- 8 it -- no one is challenging --
- 9 JUSTICE BREYER: Perhaps. Yeah, I
- 10 accept that no one is challenging, but I'm not asking
- 11 that question.
- 12 I'm asking the question of what it is -- I
- 13 would repeat the question, which you heard, which I
- 14 think is the equal protection question at the heart of
- 15 the case.
- MR. KNEEDLER: Well --
- 17 JUSTICE BREYER: And the answer that you
- 18 give in your brief was some endlessly -- I mean, it was
- 19 very well-written and brilliant --
- 20 (Laughter.)
- JUSTICE BREYER: -- and -- and -- but it
- 22 went into this thing about statelessness persons, and --
- 23 and then we have, like, 17 briefs that say, no, no, that
- 24 wasn't what the situation was with statelessness
- 25 persons. And so I guess the question would be there:

- 1 Was it enough of a statelessness person justification to
- 2 warrant this gender discrimination?
- There is no point in you repeating that. I
- 4 think I've taken in that argument. I'll have to make up
- 5 my mind about it.
- Is there anything else?
- 7 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, the -- the first
- 8 argument we're making, again, is -- is the point of
- 9 connection to the United States, and that's where the
- 10 married couple comes in. Because no one is challenging
- 11 the proposition that Congress can impose a residency
- 12 requirement.
- JUSTICE BREYER: Wrong -- wrong residency
- 14 requirement. I did have Justice Kagan's question in
- 15 mind when they read it.
- 16 Why don't they ask the child if it would
- 17 like, when it reaches the age of 21, to be connected to
- 18 the United States and see if the child votes in American
- 19 elections and lives there a while? Why are they so
- 20 worried about the child's parents?
- MR. KNEEDLER: Well --
- JUSTICE BREYER: I mean, in any case, you
- 23 don't have to answer that.
- MR. KNEEDLER: No, no. The Act provides for
- 25 the acquisition of citizenship at a date after birth,

- 1 and then --
- 2 JUSTICE BREYER: Lived here for 14 years and
- 3 so forth. All kinds of stuff. But --
- 4 MR. KNEEDLER: No.
- 5 JUSTICE BREYER: I don't want to argue with
- 6 you on this point. I want to know if I've got the
- 7 reason for saying the mother, if she's the U.S. citizen
- 8 and he is born out of wedlock, he only lived here for a
- 9 year, but the father has to live here for, like, ten
- 10 years or eight years or something like that, the real
- 11 justification for that you've been able to find and the
- only one you've been able to find has to do with this
- 13 thing about statelessness?
- 14 MR. KNEEDLER: No. We have two -- we have
- 15 two reasons. The first one is the connection to the
- 16 United States, which is evident on the face of -- of the
- 17 statute. When the father legitimates, what -- what the
- 18 statute does is treat the couple as if they were
- 19 married. In fact, in this case, the child was
- 20 legitimated by marriage, and what the statute basically
- 21 did was make the marriage retroactive to the date of
- 22 birth.
- 23 JUSTICE BREYER: I'm going to make an
- 24 example where they never married.
- MR. KNEEDLER: Well --

- 1 JUSTICE BREYER: They -- they like living
- 2 together without being married. Now what's the
- 3 justification?
- 4 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, under the 1986
- 5 amendments, it's -- it is easier for the father to
- 6 acknowledge the child. But in that situation, again,
- 7 there are two -- there are two parents. And in that
- 8 situation, the father does not get to make unilateral
- 9 decisions about the child. He gets to be a parent too.
- 10 He doesn't get to be the only parent the way the mother
- 11 is the only parent before legitimation.
- 12 And this is true in Lehr v. Robertson and --
- 13 and the cases this Court has had in -- in the domestic
- 14 context.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Mr. Kneedler, you're --
- 16 you are giving a sophisticated rationale, but we're
- 17 talking about legislation from 1940 and 1952.
- 18 At that time, the statute books were just
- 19 shot through with distinctions between children born out
- 20 of wedlock and affiliation with the mother and the
- 21 father. So this was a piece with all that legislation.
- 22 And it wasn't until when Ms. Trimble again scored a
- 23 typical. And the Illinois Probate Code said a child
- 24 born out of wedlock can inherent to an intestate
- 25 succession from the mother only, not the father. The

- 1 laws just put mothers and children not born of the
- 2 marriage together and separated fathers from their
- 3 children.
- 4 MR. KNEEDLER: Well --
- 5 JUSTICE GINSBURG: And nobody thought until
- 6 the 1970s that that was a violation of equal protection.
- 7 But in a whole series of cases in the '70s, the Court
- 8 recognized that, indeed, there was a violation of equal
- 9 protection.
- 10 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, insofar as -- I mean,
- 11 there are two equal protection arguments that have been
- 12 made in cases like that. One of them has to do with
- 13 equal protection on the basis of illegitimacy. That --
- 14 that claim is not raised here with good reason, because
- 15 the -- because Respondent, as -- as an alien outside the
- 16 United -- person outside the United States and an alien
- 17 by statute, did not have constitutional rights. So it's
- 18 the --
- 19 JUSTICE GINSBURG: My point was that the
- 20 laws that existed put mothers and children born out of
- 21 wedlock together and separated fathers from their
- 22 children --
- MR. KNEEDLER: Right.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: -- out of what the
- 25 reality of their life was.

- 1 MR. KNEEDLER: And in this Court's decision
- 2 in Fiallo in the immigration context, that was exactly
- 3 the situation, and the Court rejected equal protection
- 4 claims based both on -- on sex discrimination and on
- 5 illegitimacy.
- 6 JUSTICE GINSBURG: That was not a claim of
- 7 citizenship.
- 8 MR. KNEEDLER: It wasn't, but we -- but we
- 9 think -- we think, if anything, it follows Ofar Sharar,
- 10 because citizenship is -- is entering into the citizenry
- or the membership of our society on a permanent basis
- 12 with rights to come and go with all the rights and
- 13 obligations.
- 14 But I -- but I also wanted to address
- 15 your -- your question with respect to the domestic
- 16 context. This Court's decision in Lehr v. Robertson
- 17 sustained a situation where you -- where a child was
- 18 going to be put up for adoption. The mother would
- 19 ordinarily have the sole right to decide that, but the
- 20 situation was, what -- what about the father? Well, the
- 21 father had to take some affirmative steps to put himself
- 22 in a position where he could have a role, essentially a
- 23 veto power over --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: And the father did --
- 25 this father -- didn't the couple marry?

- 1 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes, they did. But, again,
- 2 at that point, he is -- he is not similarly situated to
- 3 the mother, either at the time of birth or at the time
- 4 he legitimates.
- 5 JUSTICE ALITO: Mr. Kneedler, can I ask you
- 6 this question: If the Court thinks that this statute
- 7 violates the Equal Protection Clause, does it
- 8 necessarily follow that the Petitioner is entitled to
- 9 the relief that was awarded to him by the Second
- 10 Circuit; in other words, the granting of citizenship?
- 11 MR. KNEEDLER: No, it by no means follows.
- 12 And I --
- JUSTICE ALITO: Well, could you address
- 14 that? We -- we had a similar issue a few terms ago in
- 15 the Flores-Villar case, but that was a criminal --
- 16 there, what was at issue was a criminal conviction.
- 17 Here, criminal convictions are not at issue. The
- 18 criminal convictions had nothing to do with alienage; is
- 19 that correct?
- MR. KNEEDLER: Right.
- JUSTICE ALITO: The underlying criminal
- 22 convictions.
- 23 MR. KNEEDLER: Right, right. No. They --
- 24 they were -- they were regular state law convictions.
- 25 JUSTICE KENNEDY: I take it that the thrust

- 1 of Justice Alito's question is, what -- what is the
- 2 remedy if we -- if we level up, then it's easier for
- 3 both? If we level down, then -- then it's harder for
- 4 both?
- 5 MR. KNEEDLER: We -- we think that -- we
- 6 think the Court clearly should not apply to the
- 7 U.S.-citizen fathers the one-year limitation. The
- 8 general rule -- 1409(c) is an exception to a general
- 9 rule that governs -- governs the vast majority -- or the
- 10 three categories of cases: married fathers, married
- 11 mothers, and unmarried fathers. There is no reason to
- 12 think that Congress would have wanted unmarried fathers
- 13 to have a more --
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, are --
- 15 JUSTICE BREYER: One I could think of -- one
- 16 I could think of, possibly, but I'd like your opinion
- 17 about it: How many, do you think, unmarried fathers
- 18 there were in 1952 who couldn't qualify under the long
- 19 period of time -- eight years, you know -- and that's
- 20 not so hard to do, if you're in the Army, because all
- 21 your active duty counts. But they would have qualified
- 22 under the one year. Now, I use the numbers in your
- 23 brief, which were brilliant of you to try to find. I
- 24 don't know how you found those.
- But I -- I -- that 4,000 number kept coming

- 1 back. I thought maybe there were a couple of thousand a
- 2 year. But do we know that there are more than a couple
- 3 of thousand a year?
- 4 JUSTICE KENNEDY: You know, I thought -- I
- 5 thought you said there were untold numbers.
- 6 JUSTICE BREYER: Well, and there were the
- 7 untold numbers, but that's -- that's true, they're
- 8 untold numbers, and then that's not told. I'm trying to
- 9 find the --
- 10 (Laughter.)
- JUSTICE BREYER: I'm trying to find how
- 12 close we could come to a guess.
- MR. KNEEDLER: It's -- it's very
- 14 hard -- it's very hard to estimate. But -- but this
- 15 Court's decision in -- in Nguyen identified the number
- 16 of -- of people who travel abroad, and the numbers are a
- 17 little bit higher even now.
- JUSTICE BREYER: Well, let's go back to '52.
- MR. KNEEDLER: It was like 70 million that
- 20 take trips abroad.
- JUSTICE BREYER: Let's go back to '52, and
- 22 the couple is unmarried and it's a father who, in fact,
- 23 would qualify if he only had to live here for a year,
- 24 but he wouldn't qualify if he had to live here for eight
- 25 years before the baby's born. Never marries the baby --

- 1 never marries the mother. Okay.
- 2 So I'm thinking, who could those people have
- 3 been? They would have been -- they would have been
- 4 people maybe working for American businesses or
- 5 something, and there weren't that many at that time. So
- 6 I -- I used your 4,000.
- 7 MR. KNEEDLER: I -- I --
- 8 JUSTICE BREYER: That perhaps was not right.
- 9 MR. KNEEDLER: We have -- we have wondered
- 10 the same thing.
- 11 JUSTICE BREYER: Yeah. What if the --
- MR. KNEEDLER: The -- the only thing we were
- 13 able to identify -- and this -- this is really not very
- 14 closely on point, but the State Department told us that
- 15 today, they -- they grant approximately, I think, 8,000
- 16 certificates of birth abroad. And of those, I think
- around 3,000 are under 1409(c), which means that those
- 18 are the ones granted to U.S.-citizen mothers abroad.
- 19 That doesn't -- the number of fathers who might benefit
- 20 could be far larger than --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Could I -- I'm sorry. Were
- 22 you finished?
- MR. KNEEDLER: Yes.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Could I -- I mean, we
- 25 generally have a rule that when we find an equal

- 1 protection violation, we level up rather than level
- 2 down. That's been the Court's consistent practice.
- 3 Wouldn't you agree?
- 4 MR. KNEEDLER: That's been its practice,
- 5 yes. But that -- that -- the Court has made clear that
- 6 that is not constitutionally compelled. And there --
- 7 there are compelling reasons here not to do that.
- 8 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, I find one compelling
- 9 reason to do it -- and I just thought I'd offer this up
- 10 to you and see what you have to say -- is that in this
- 11 case, unlike in some cases, there really isn't a choice
- 12 between leveling up and leveling down in one sense,
- 13 because if you level down, this party gets no relief.
- 14 In other words, you say, well, you level --
- 15 you just apply it prospectively. But then this party
- 16 gets absolutely no relief. And so isn't that a problem?
- 17 Isn't it the kind of the same problem as Justice Harlan
- 18 recognized in -- in Welsh when he was dealing with a
- 19 criminal matter? He said, you know, you can't level
- 20 down because you can't give everybody the exact same
- 21 benefit.
- So how do we deal with that?
- 23 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, several things.
- In this context in particular, there are
- 25 serious questions about whether the Court can, but, at

- 1 the very least, substantial reasons why the Court should
- 2 not grant citizenship to someone -- effectively grant
- 3 citizenship to someone to whom Congress itself has not
- 4 granted it.
- 5 JUSTICE GINSBURG: It's not -- it's not
- 6 citizenship. It's excising the unconstitutional part of
- 7 the statute.
- 8 MR. KNEEDLER: But if it -- it would
- 9 have -- it would have that effect. And -- and in a
- 10 situation like this, we think the only proper remedy,
- 11 given Congress' plenary authority, is to apply the
- 12 ten-year rule to everyone and let Congress step in and
- 13 -- and address the problem.
- 14 JUSTICE ALITO: If Petitioner's parents had
- been married, would he be entitled to relief?
- MR. KNEEDLER: No. And -- and that's --
- 17 that's the point.
- 18 And -- and another point is there are other
- 19 situations in which the Court finds a constitutional
- 20 violation but does not grant relief. The qualified
- 21 immunity context or the exclusionary rule. The Court
- 22 might adjudicate a violation --
- 23 JUSTICE ALITO: If we were to -- if we were
- 24 to level up, we would --
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Go ahead.

- 1 JUSTICE ALITO: If we were to level up, the
- 2 effect would be that Petitioner would be given
- 3 preference over someone who was similarly situated
- 4 except for the fact that that person's parents were
- 5 married.
- 6 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes.
- 7 JUSTICE ALITO: And if such a person were to
- 8 then bring a suit, they would have a strong equal
- 9 protection claim, would they not?
- 10 MR. KNEEDLER: I -- I hesitate to say what
- 11 they --
- 12 (Laughter.)
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: The claim -- the claim --
- 14 MR. KNEEDLER: It illustrates the problems
- 15 of the remedy --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Mr. Kneedler, the claim
- 17 is gender discrimination. And married parents, they
- 18 both have been -- mother and father have been treated
- 19 equally badly. But when they are unwed, the mother is
- 20 given the preference and the father is not. So we're --
- 21 we're talking about equal protection, not qualified
- 22 immunity. You have two people, similarly situated.
- 23 They have to be treated equally. The unwed father is
- 24 equal to the unwed mother. The married mother, equal to
- 25 the married father. So --

- 1 MR. KNEEDLER: My only point was that there
- 2 are situations in which the Court has found a
- 3 constitutional violation but not granted relief.
- 4 And -- and --
- 5 JUSTICE KAGAN: But not really a situation
- 6 like this. Not a situation where we say, uh, there is
- 7 an equal protection violation, and if we extend the
- 8 benefit to everybody, we can take care of that equal
- 9 protection violation, we can remedy the problem. But if
- 10 we do not, if we try to level down, the effect of that
- 11 is that the -- the party before us who has proved an
- 12 equal protection violation gets absolutely no relief at
- 13 all.
- 14 MR. KNEEDLER: I -- I would like to answer
- 15 that quickly and then reserve the balance of my time
- 16 of -- of -- for rebuttal.
- 17 I think it's also relevant, in taking into
- 18 account the remedy, that this is not Respondent's own
- 19 constitutional right. It's a third-party claim.
- 20 There's no automatic right to raise the rights of third
- 21 parties; in this case, the father. So I think that
- 22 would properly be taken into account in deciding whether
- 23 a remedy at all is feasible and what it would be.
- 24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- Mr. Broome.

1	ORAL ARGUMENT OF STEPHEN A. BROOME
2	ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT
3	MR. BROOME: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
4	please the Court:
5	Respondent's father was a citizen of the
6	United States. Holding other things constant, had he
7	been the mother instead of the father, there would be no
8	question that he transmitted citizenship to Respondent
9	under Section 1409.
10	But the statute bars him from doing so on
11	the same terms of the mother is not based on any innate
12	or biological difference between men and women or
13	mothers and fathers, nor does it ensure an interest in
14	reducing statelessness, or nor does it serve an
15	interest in reducing statelessness or ensuring that
16	that citizenship by descent pass only to those children
17	who are likely to learn American values. Both of the
18	government's justifications for the gender differential
19	at here therefore fail.
20	I would like to begin by addressing the
21	standard of review. There is no dispute here that
22	Respondent has third-party standing to assert the equal
23	protection claim of his father. That claim plainly is
24	subject to intermediate scrutiny.
25	In Fiallo v. Bell, this Court applied

- 1 rational basis review to the claims of aliens who were
- 2 seeking Visas based on their relationship to a
- 3 U.S.-citizen relative. It is true, as the government
- 4 points out, that the Fiallo plaintiffs included a
- 5 U.S.-citizen father, but the Court in Fiallo disagreed
- 6 that -- with -- with the dissenting justices and with
- 7 the plaintiffs that his equal protection rights were at
- 8 stake. And there was never any question that the aliens
- 9 in that case were not U.S. citizens.
- 10 Here the -- the dispute is one of -- the
- 11 dispute centers on a -- on a right of Respondent's
- 12 father to be treated equally to transmit his citizenship
- on the same terms that a mother could transmit
- 14 citizenship under Section 1409.
- JUSTICE BREYER: On this, but -- I would say
- 16 at some point, the problem that worries me the most is,
- 17 assuming this is unconstitutional, do you put the 14
- 18 years or whatever it is, ten years, on both, or the one
- 19 year on both?
- 20 And I -- I want to -- because he does have a
- 21 point. You put the one year on both and then you have,
- 22 when the parents are married, it's the ten years, and
- 23 when it's the -- they're not married, it's the one year,
- 24 and that really doesn't make much sense. But the --
- 25 the -- so I'm -- I'm -- hope you'll get to that.

- 1 And in the course of that, I read an amicus
- 2 brief that bothered me a lot, and it said, actually, the
- 3 one-year requirement is tougher. And the reason it's
- 4 tougher, it says that the State Department administers
- 5 it. How they do this, I don't know, and I want to know
- 6 if that's really true.
- 7 But they administer it to say that if you
- 8 are living in the United States you have to live here
- 9 for one year. And if you set one foot across the board
- 10 to get a drink of water at -- at Niagara Falls, you
- 11 don't qualify. And, moreover, you have to prove that
- 12 you never did set one foot to get a drink of water.
- 13 Well, nobody could prove such a thing. So -- so I'm
- 14 interested in that word "continuous" and how it is
- 15 actually administered.
- Those are the two things that are worrying
- 17 me in respect to remedy.
- 18 MR. BROOME: Justice Breyer, let me address
- 19 the last question first.
- The word "continuous," I do not think,
- 21 would -- is going to -- as a practical matter, it can't
- 22 be applied in a way that somebody would have to come
- 23 forward and prove that they were in the United States
- 24 for 365 days. They would not have to show proof that
- 25 they were actually in the United States on each of those

- 1 days.
- 2 JUSTICE BREYER: All right. So I -- I --
- 3 that question. That is your answer. And maybe, if the
- 4 Solicitor General has time, he could simply confirm that
- 5 answer by saying yes.
- 6 MR. BROOME: Well, let me tell you how it
- 7 was -- how it was applied in this case.
- 8 So this case, when we were in the court of
- 9 appeals, the court was -- th court remanded the case to
- 10 the Western District of New York for a determination on
- 11 that very question.
- 12 Whether or not -- if -- if the -- in order
- 13 to decide whether the court should address the
- 14 constitutional issue, the court first asked whether
- 15 Respondent's father would have satisfied the one
- 16 continuous year rule.
- 17 So we went to the Western District of
- 18 New York, and we were not -- the government ultimately
- 19 stipulated that, yes, because we have evidence of
- 20 Respondent's father being in the United States, or in
- 21 this case an outlying possession, from his birth in 1900
- 22 until the date of his departure for the Dominican
- 23 Republic in 1919, we will -- we will presume that there
- 24 was at least some period in there where he was in the
- 25 United States for one continuous year. And I think that

- 1 that presumption would apply in most cases. It
- 2 certainly was applied in this case that we would not
- 3 have to come forward and show proof on -- that he was in
- 4 the United States on every single day.
- 5 But I think if the Court were troubled that
- 6 perhaps that -- that rule could be harder for some
- 7 fathers or some -- or people to follow, but an
- 8 alternative remedy could be to leave both options on the
- 9 table.
- 10 JUSTICE KENNEDY: If we leveled down and
- 11 made it harder, would that affect the status of people
- 12 who have obtained citizenship under the more lenient
- 13 provision applicable to the mother?
- 14 MR. BROOME: Justice Kennedy, if this Court
- 15 applied the leveling down remedy in a way that -- in a
- 16 way that would actually equalize the -- the two
- 17 similarly-situated classes here, it would have to --
- 18 yes, it would impact people dramatically because it
- 19 would take citizenship away from people who already have
- 20 it.
- 21 And the Court has held --
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, it's not
- 23 necessary -- I assume it could be prospective because
- 24 once you have citizenship, it's -- we -- we have cases
- 25 that say it can't be taken away.

- 1 MR. BROOME: Right. And you can't -- I
- 2 would submit --
- 3 JUSTICE KENNEDY: So it would just be
- 4 prospective by reason of that doctrine.
- 5 MR. BROOME: You could not apply a
- 6 prospective remedy in this case, Justice Kennedy,
- 7 because it would not affect anybody whose citizenship
- 8 was governed by the 1952 Act. It would not affect
- 9 Respondent -- it would not affect Respondent's father,
- 10 anyone who was born between 1952 and 1986. If the --
- 11 to --
- 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, the problem, isn't
- 13 it, Mr. Broome, that the very inequality that you are
- 14 complaining of would remain, because it's impossible to
- 15 claw back everybody else's citizenship, so it's really
- 16 impossible to level down. And the very inequality that
- 17 we've just found would remain.
- 18 MR. BROOME: That's right, Justice Kagan.
- 19 The government's proposal, the prospective remedy is no
- 20 remedy. It would not affect -- it would not -- it would
- 21 not -- it would leave in place all of the gender
- 22 discriminatory effects caused by this statute.
- 23 JUSTICE KAGAN: But it's not just that it
- 24 doesn't give you citizenship, it's that it doesn't cure
- 25 the inequality at all.

- 1 MR. BROOME: But --
- 2 JUSTICE KAGAN: Either by leveling down or
- 3 by leveling up.
- 4 MR. BROOME: That's right. That's right,
- 5 Justice Kagan. And -- and -- the government -- I would
- 6 submit that the government's position would have to be
- 7 the same if this was a case of race discrimination. The
- 8 government would have to say that, yes, if the
- 9 citizenship -- that the citizenship statute
- 10 discriminated on the basis of race, this Court would be
- 11 powerless to correct the residual effects of that
- 12 racially-discriminatory statute.
- 13 The Court -- we're not aware of any case in
- 14 which this Court has said it is powerless to correct a
- 15 case of race discrimination or gender discrimination or
- 16 any equal protection violation.
- 17 JUSTICE GINSBURG: What about the argument
- 18 that in most of the cases where a benefit was extended,
- 19 the -- the group that -- to which the benefit was
- 20 extended was a smaller group than the group that already
- 21 got the benefit, and here, if you add in married
- 22 parents, then most people are under the more difficult
- 23 rule, ten years or whatever it is, and it's the smaller
- 24 group that gets the benefit.
- MR. BROOME: Right.

- 1 JUSTICE GINSBURG: So you would be extending
- 2 a benefit enjoyed by a smaller group to a larger group.
- 3 MR. BROOME: Well, we're not -- we're not
- 4 asking for -- the remedy we would propose, Justice
- 5 Ginsburg, would not affect marital couples, and the
- 6 government has pointed out --
- 7 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But wouldn't you have an
- 8 anomaly, then, that parents who are not married are
- 9 preferred to parents who are married?
- 10 MR. BROOME: It -- it does appear at first
- 11 that there is an anomaly there, but that anomaly is
- 12 built into the statute as we see it today.
- 13 The -- if you take the case of the unmarried
- 14 mother, if she marries the father the day -- the day
- 15 before the child is born, the ten-year requirement
- 16 applies. If she marries the father the day after the
- 17 child is born, the one-year applies.
- 18 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, that is true, but
- 19 isn't it something else when we devise a remedy that
- 20 deepens and extends an equal protection violation? Have
- 21 we ever done that?
- 22 MR. BROOME: Well, I don't think the Court
- 23 would be extending the -- the equal protection
- 24 violation. I think that the --
- 25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Whatever it is, it

- 1 wouldn't be gender discrimination.
- 2 MR. BROOME: It wouldn't be -- it could
- 3 possibly be a legitimacy discrimination, but I think
- 4 that that --
- 5 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, it would be a
- 6 legitimacy discrimination. The -- the laws that are --
- 7 what are they subject to, and the case -- the past cases
- 8 have involved discrimination against the children of
- 9 unwed parents. And what has -- what is the standard of
- 10 review there?
- 11 MR. BROOME: It's also intermediate
- 12 scrutiny.
- JUSTICE ALITO: And have we ever said there
- 14 would be a different level of scrutiny if the
- discrimination was against children who were born to
- 16 married parents? Would you make that argument?
- 17 MR. BROOME: No, I wouldn't make that
- 18 argument, but I -- I think that that claim, that
- 19 legitimacy claim could be brought by people today,
- 20 people who are born to unmarried United States-citizen
- 21 mothers.
- JUSTICE ALITO: Yeah. But to children who
- 23 are born to unmarried mothers, but not to children who
- 24 are born to unmarried fathers, and you would extend the
- 25 problem. You would have this Court extend the problem.

- 1 MR. BROOME: Well, it -- it would -- that
- 2 same claim could be brought today. The only difference
- 3 is whether or not it could be brought by the -- the
- 4 child of a mother or a father. But I think if you go to
- 5 the heart of the equal protection violation -- violation
- 6 here, the fact that there may also be a legitimacy
- 7 discrimination going on does not eradicate the equal
- 8 protection violation.
- 9 I think the two similarly situated classes
- 10 here are unmarried United States-citizen fathers and
- 11 unmarried United States-citizen mothers, and it quite --
- 12 it could be, Justice Alito, that Congress had good
- 13 reasons for treating nonmarital children more leniently
- 14 than -- at least in the case of mothers -- than marital
- 15 children, because historically nonmarital children were
- 16 a much more vulnerable class. They were the bastards.
- 17 They were illegitimate. And they didn't have the same
- 18 kind of rights, and, until 1940, in fact, they didn't
- 19 have a statutory right to citizenship. So it could --
- 20 quite -- there could be logical reasons for --
- JUSTICE ALITO: And you think that was
- 22 Congress' intent in 1952?
- 23 MR. BROOME: I think in 1940 when -- when
- 24 this --
- 25 JUSTICE ALITO: In 1940 you think that was

- 1 Congress' intent.
- 2 MR. BROOME: I think that in Congress'
- 3 intent, what we've seen from the historical record,
- 4 Justice Alito, is that in 1940, when Congress passed the
- 5 statute, it -- it was concerned about nonmarital
- 6 children being separated at the borders from their --
- 7 from their guardian parents.
- 8 The problem is that Congress assumed or
- 9 the -- the administrative officials who enact -- or
- 10 drafted the statute assumed that the -- the guardian
- 11 parent was always going to be the mother.
- 12 JUSTICE ALITO: I mean, you can conceive
- 13 the -- the possibility of members of Congress in 1940 or
- 14 1952 taking the floor and arguing, you know, we need to
- 15 discriminate against the children of married parents,
- 16 and in favor of the children of unmarried parents.
- 17 MR. BROOME: No, I -- I don't think that's
- 18 what was going on at all.
- 19 JUSTICE GINSBURG: They were giving -- they
- 20 were -- the one thing I think is they were giving a
- 21 benefit to the unmarried mother.
- MR. BROOME: That's correct,
- 23 Justice Ginsburg, and the --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Because they thought she
- 25 was different from the unmarried father.

- 1 MR. BROOME: They -- they presumed that she
- 2 would be -- that's a reflexive assumption that the
- 3 mother -- at that time, it was a reflexive assumption --
- 4 I don't think it's as true today -- but that the mother
- 5 was going to be the guardian parent, and they wanted to
- 6 make sure that -- that the physical presence
- 7 requirements that -- that Congress was passing were not
- 8 going to have the impact of separating that nonmarital
- 9 child from who they presumed to be the parent.
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Suppose -- suppose there
- 11 were some statistics that would indicate that over
- 12 100,000 new citizens would qualify or new persons
- 13 would -- would qualify for citizenship if -- if we
- 14 adopted leveling up. Would that affect our -- should
- 15 that affect our decision?
- 16 MR. BROOME: I don't think it -- I don't
- 17 think it should, because at the end of the -- at the --
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: And outside would gain
- 19 200,000.
- 20 MR. BROOME: Ultimately, I think the Court
- 21 has to decide whether or not there is an equal
- 22 protection violation here, whether or not --
- 23 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Don't we have to consider
- 24 what the Congress likely would have intended?
- 25 MR. BROOME: Yes, and -- and I think what

- 1 the record shows is that given Congress' purpose here --
- 2 in fact, if you take either the purpose that -- that we
- 3 have argued was the purpose of Section 1409, and the
- 4 purpose that the government has argued, the
- 5 statelessness purpose, both of those purposes are served
- 6 by the remedy we -- we propose, by extending the
- 7 benefits to unmarried -- unmarried fathers.
- 8 JUSTICE KAGAN: Mr. Kneedler --
- 9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm sorry. If we
- 10 leveled up, how would that affect children who were born
- 11 to an -- to a citizen father, who were previously denied
- 12 citizenship, could they come in and claim citizenship
- 13 now?
- 14 MR. BROOME: If -- only if they satisfied
- 15 all -- all -- all the other statutory requirements.
- 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Which means? The answer
- 17 is yes?
- MR. BROOME: Yes, yes, if they satisfied the
- 19 other statutory requirements.
- 20 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The continuous one year.
- MR. BROOME: And the legitimation
- 22 requirements.
- 23 JUSTICE GINSBURG: And the legitimacy.
- MR. BROOME: Yes.
- 25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: More than that, I think

- 1 it would be -- at first the father would have had to
- 2 have sired this child abroad, would have had to
- 3 recognized the child, would have had to support the
- 4 child.
- 5 MR. BROOME: That's correct, yes.
- 6 JUSTICE GINSBURG: So I don't think that --
- 7 MR. BROOME: We're talking about a fairly
- 8 limited class, I think here, Justice Ginsburg, and I --
- 9 I would like to turn to the government's arguments about
- 10 the U.S.-connection interest.
- 11 JUSTICE KAGAN: But before you -- before you
- 12 do that, Mr. Broome, just on the remedy question, very
- 13 occasionally this Court has faced a situation when the
- 14 natural remedy of something that it is holding. We were
- 15 concerned a little bit about how -- whether Congress
- 16 would prefer a different remedy.
- 17 So, for example, in the Northern Pipeline
- 18 case, what we did in a situation like that was we stayed
- 19 our judgment for a period of time and allowed Congress
- 20 essentially to do it a different way if it wanted to.
- 21 And I'm wondering whether you had considered that
- 22 possibility here, that we could order a kind of
- 23 leveling-up judgment but stay it for some period of time
- 24 so that Congress could decide whether it instead
- 25 preferred some other way of dealing with the problem,

- 1 whether that would be appropriate?
- 2 MR. BROOME: I -- I think, Justice Kagan,
- 3 first and foremost, the Court needs to remedy the equal
- 4 protection violation suffered by the parties. So if --
- 5 if that -- if the Court were to level up and make
- 6 Respondent -- Respondent a citizen, and then stay the
- 7 judgment thereafter, I -- you know, I think potentially
- 8 that could work, but certainly --
- 9 JUSTICE GINSBURG: What relief -- the relief
- 10 would have been granted to this person. This is not
- 11 some kind of class action.
- MR. BROOME: Right. Ultimately, the Court
- 13 has to decide -- has to remedy the equal protection
- 14 violation before it and -- and not be thinking about --
- 15 well, it is not trying to remedy an equal protection
- 16 violation only in the future. And I think that the
- 17 fundamental problem with the government's remedy is that
- it could only apply to unborn children and future
- 19 parents, and it would have no impact on anybody who is
- 20 affected by the statute at issue before the Court today.
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Justice Kagan's
- 22 suggestion, Congress apparently should -- should have
- 23 been aware of this after our Flores-Villar, but they
- 24 were soporific.
- 25 (Laughter.)

- 1 MR. BROOME: But what we have seen, Justice
- 2 Kennedy is that since the date that this discriminatory
- 3 provision was first enacted in 1940, it has
- 4 consistently -- Congress has consistently reduced the
- 5 burden on -- on fathers. So I think if -- if the
- 6 question is, what would Congress do today, well,
- 7 Congress has shown that it is continually reducing the
- 8 physical presence requirements and the age calibration
- 9 component of it to -- so that it has -- precludes the
- 10 transfer of citizenship --
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but, I mean,
- 12 that argument seems to me that, in other words, they
- 13 have considered the issue several times, and at no point
- 14 did they take the step of eliminating it.
- MR. BROOME: That's -- that's correct,
- 16 Mr. Chief Justice, but they also haven't been confronted
- 17 with a -- the last time that Congress considered the
- 18 statute was in 1986, and it -- and it -- an equal
- 19 protection challenge to these physical presence
- 20 requirements was not -- was not made until the
- 21 Flores-Villar case. And that was --
- 22 JUSTICE BREYER: Why -- why did you
- 23 use the word "today"? I thought what we were supposed
- 24 to do is go back and figure out if they had known that
- 25 it was unconstitutional to give the unmarried woman a

- 1 year requirement to live in the United States, but to
- 2 give the unmarried man where he is a citizen eight
- 3 years' requirement, suppose they had known that was
- 4 unconstitutional then, what would they have done then?
- 5 Is it then or is it now?
- 6 MR. BROOME: Well, I think it's --
- 7 JUSTICE BREYER: It's a lot easier for you
- 8 if it is now, I think.
- 9 MR. BROOME: I think it is now.
- 10 JUSTICE BREYER: But -- but -- but which is
- 11 it -- is there anything -- I mean, you know, you are not
- 12 going to help me if you just say that because that's in
- 13 your interest to say. Is there anything that -- that
- 14 you could -- you could point to that would say it's now
- 15 and not then?
- MR. BROOME: Well, as -- as a practical
- 17 matter, I think that if this -- if the question is how
- 18 would Congress remedy the statute, it -- it can only be
- 19 remedied by the Congress sitting today.
- 20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but that's not
- 21 the question. The question is what did the Congress
- 22 that passed this statute intend.
- 23 MR. BROOME: And I think the answer to
- 24 that -- well, the question is what -- is how the
- 25 Congress would pass the -- if the question is how did

- 1 the Congress that passed this statute, how would they
- 2 remedy it today, then I think the answer --
- 3 THE COURT: Not how they would remedy --
- 4 MR. BROOME: Sorry. How -- how would they
- 5 remedy that -- that -- that statute if that --
- 6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: What would their
- 7 understanding have been about the appropriate remedy
- 8 when they passed the statute?
- 9 MR. BROOME: I -- I think -- I think the
- 10 answer to that, Mr. Chief Justice, is that they --
- 11 they -- they were -- they were -- were concerned that
- 12 the physical presence requirements would create a
- 13 significant burden on -- on marital children, and that
- 14 is why they lowered the requirements for the mother,
- 15 because they presumed the mother was going to be the
- 16 quardian and that -- and they -- and they presumed that
- 17 the child should stay with mother. And they didn't want
- 18 the physical presence requirements to create further
- 19 burden on that child -- that -- that relationship.
- 20 JUSTICE GINSBURG: What the Court -- the
- 21 Congress in '40 or '52 would do is strange in this
- 22 context, because the Court -- the Congress sitting then
- 23 took gender-based lines for granted.
- MR. BROOME: That's right. And I think that
- 25 the -- if I could just sort of finish the Chief

- 1 Justice's question, the -- it is not clear at all that
- 2 that -- that the 1940 Congress would have chosen to just
- 3 sever the 1409(c) entirely. And I think it would be
- 4 just as destructive of Congress' intent to withdraw a
- 5 benefit that Congress plainly intended to confer than it
- 6 would be to extend the benefit that perhaps Congress did
- 7 not --
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So do -- do I
- 9 understand you to agree that when we approach these
- 10 questions, severance and remedy, that we do look at what
- 11 the Congress at the time when they passed the law would
- 12 have done?
- 13 MR. BROOME: I'm not sure if there is a
- 14 clear answer to that, Mr. Chief Justice. I think
- 15 the Court could look at what Congress would do today and
- 16 what Congress has done in the decades since.
- 17 JUSTICE BREYER: Did you find any case which
- 18 supports that?
- MR. BROOME: No, I haven't.
- 20 JUSTICE BREYER: Did you find any case
- 21 against it?
- 22 MR. BROOME: No case for it or against it,
- 23 Justice Breyer.
- 24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We're going to find
- lots of cases when we address this question that talks

- 1 about the intent of the Congress that passed the
- 2 statute.
- 3 MR. BROOME: Certainly -- certainly there
- 4 are plenty of cases on -- on that, Mr. Chief Justice.
- 5 But the --
- 6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: And I don't think
- 7 there are any, but -- you haven't found one, and I don't
- 8 think anyone could find one.
- 9 MR. BROOME: But --
- 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But let's say, when
- 11 we're looking at a question of congressional intent and
- 12 a question of this, we look at what a Congress 60 years
- 13 later would have thought.
- 14 MR. BROOME: But if -- as -- if we are
- 15 looking at --
- 16 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Is that true -- is that
- 17 true of, say, Westcott when they -- the category was
- 18 unemployed father and -- and it was enlarged to include
- 19 unemployed mothers? Is it true of Goldfarb, the Social
- 20 Security cases when -- what Congress did when it did it
- 21 was just a piece with everything where the man was the
- 22 dominant person in the family and the woman was the
- 23 subordinate person.
- So to say we want to go back to a Congress
- 25 that had that mindset and ask what they would have done

- 1 is a little hard.
- MR. BROOME: It is difficult, and -- and --
- 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, then don't
- 4 pretend that you're implementing Congress' intent when
- 5 you say we're going to -- we're going to put in place
- 6 when we're talking about a remedy, not in terms of
- 7 finding a violation. Don't pretend that you're
- 8 implementing Congress' intent when you look at what
- 9 Congress -- a Congress 60 years later would do.
- 10 MR. BROOME: Well, Mr. Chief Justice, when
- 11 you are remedying a gender-discriminatory statute by
- 12 leveling up or leveling down, you are never implementing
- 13 Congress' intent. You're trying --
- 14 JUSTICE BREYER: That's true. But you can
- ask, what would they have wanted if they knew they
- 16 couldn't make this discrimination? That's why I
- 17 thought, well, if you have to go back to '52, they're
- 18 going to either have to take the benefit away from the
- 19 woman or give it to the man. And the two principles
- 20 that support you is Congress hates taking away a benefit
- 21 they give anybody. They get into a lot of trouble when
- 22 they take benefits away.
- 23 (Laughter.)
- JUSTICE BREYER: So that would move them in
- 25 one direction. And it would also move them in the same

- 1 direction if there are just a handful of them who might
- 2 really benefit. That's why I asked that question. But
- 3 nobody -- but if there were millions of men who might
- 4 benefit, then they might get a little worried about what
- 5 they're doing, particularly since they're discriminating
- 6 even more, you know, the other way against the married
- 7 couple.
- 8 So that's why I was interested in those
- 9 questions. But I take it you have said pretty much what
- 10 you can say on that.
- MR. BROOME: As to Congress' intent, yes,
- 12 Justice Breyer.
- 13 JUSTICE GINSBURG: As to the number --
- 14 number of people, all you can say is they would have to
- 15 meet a lot of requirements that you would have -- the
- 16 U.S. citizen sired a child abroad, recognize that child,
- 17 supported that child, and --
- MR. BROOME: Right. You're -- we are
- 19 talking about, I think, a fairly limited class. These
- 20 are -- this is just children who were born outside of
- 21 the United States to unmarried United States-citizen
- 22 fathers who cannot satisfy the ten-year requirement, but
- 23 they can satisfy the one-year requirement, so they're
- 24 somewhere in that nine-year period. I think that --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Perhaps you're assuming

- 1 Justice Ginsburg's point that the father still has to
- 2 have legitimatized the child without marriage. Because
- 3 if they married the mother, they would end up having to
- 4 fulfill the five-year. So it would have to be -- are
- 5 you accepting her proposition that the father has to
- 6 legitimatize the child?
- 7 MR. BROOME: We're not -- we're certainly
- 8 not challenging the legitimation requirement.
- 9 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Is that -- that's
- 10 statutory and also the support requirement. Now, they
- 11 may be independently challengeable, but they are --
- MR. BROOME: And I think in this case they
- 13 could be, because this is -- this is a different
- 14 requirement than -- than what was at issue in the Nguyen
- 15 case. In Nguyen, the Court addressed a paternal
- 16 acknowledgement requirement and said, well, that is a
- 17 minimal burden for the five-year satisfied. He can --
- 18 he is not similarly situated as -- with respect to
- 19 biological proof of his relationship with the child.
- 20 But the requirement that he then come forward and take
- 21 some affirmative step to demonstrate that by
- 22 acknowledging the child, that -- that is -- that
- 23 satisfies intermediate scrutiny.
- But here we're talking about a legitimation
- 25 requirement. And if, as the Historians have pointed

- 1 out -- the -- the Historian amicus brief points out,
- 2 that legitimation really meant marriage, then that is a
- 3 much more significant burden placed on the father
- 4 because the father may not be able to -- may not be able
- 5 to satisfy that requirement at all. For example, if the
- 6 mother is not around -- is not available, if she doesn't
- 7 want to marry the father, or if she is dead.
- 8 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Or if she is already
- 9 married.
- 10 MR. BROOME: Or if she is already married.
- 11 JUSTICE BREYER: Where is the legitimation
- 12 requirement? I see 8 U.S.C. 1409(c). It doesn't say a
- 13 word about legitimation.
- 14 MR. BROOME: It's in 1409(a).
- JUSTICE BREYER: Well, 1409(a) doesn't
- 16 apply. It says "notwithstanding subsection A."
- 17 MR. BROOME: Right. And so the --
- JUSTICE BREYER: It says: "Notwithstanding
- 19 subsection (a), somebody who is born outside the U.S.
- 20 out of wedlock shall be held to have acquired at birth
- 21 the nationality status of his mother if the mother is a
- 22 U.S. citizen and had been physically in the United
- 23 States for one year."
- So I don't see anything that says they have
- 25 to be legitimized for the mother to get that.

- 1 MR. BROOME: In 1409(a), it applies only
- 2 after -- after there's been --
- 3 JUSTICE BREYER: In 1409(a). And what the
- 4 first words of (c) are, "notwithstanding the provision
- 5 of subsection A." Anyway, I guess I could figure it out
- 6 later.
- 7 MR. BROOME: Well, no.
- 8 (Laughter.)
- 9 MR. BROOME: Let me see if I can try and
- 10 help you, Justice Breyer.
- 11 The remedy imposed by the Court of Appeals
- 12 is to -- as 1401(a)(7), which the -- the
- 13 physical-presence requirement, the ten- and five-year
- 14 physical-presence requirement, the Court of Appeals --
- 15 that -- that applies through 1409(a). 1409(a) is the
- 16 provision that applies to fathers.
- 17 So the -- the remedy would be to apply the
- one-continuous-year rule in 1401(a)(7) -- and I grant
- 19 you this is complicated -- 1401(a)(7) as it -- as it
- 20 applies through 1409(a). And that would put mothers and
- 21 fathers on equal footing with respect to the
- 22 physical-presence requirements. And then the
- 23 legitimation requirement still applies to fathers.
- 24 But if I could address the -- the
- 25 government's U.S.-connection interest in my time

- 1 remaining.
- 2 The statute here absolutely bars a
- 3 U.S.-citizen father under the age of 19 from
- 4 transmitting citizenship to his foreign-born child, even
- 5 if the father spent his entire life in the United States
- 6 up until the day the child is born, and even if the
- 7 father legitimates the child and seeks to raise the
- 8 child in the United States.
- 9 By contrast, the statute automatically
- 10 confers citizenship on a child whose U.S.-citizen mother
- 11 spent only a year of her life at any point in her
- 12 time -- any point in her life, even during infancy, and
- 13 even if the -- even if the mother marries the alien
- 14 father, and then -- and then the child is raised by the
- 15 mother and the alien father.
- 16 It is impossible to view a statute that
- 17 permits these results as related to a U.S.-connection
- 18 interest. And I would submit, Your Honor, that the
- 19 statelessness interest does not justify the
- 20 discrimination either.
- 21 There is no dispute here that the statute
- 22 creates a risk of statelessness for children born abroad
- 23 to unmarried United States-citizen fathers who
- 24 legitimate their children but who cannot satisfy the
- 25 ten -- ten- and five-year physical-presence requirement.

- 1 And the statute -- the -- the statute confers
- 2 citizenship on a child born abroad to an unmarried
- 3 United States-citizen mother, even if that child
- 4 faces -- even if her child faces no risk of
- 5 statelessness at all because she is born -- the child is
- 6 born in a country that assigns citizenship by virtue of
- 7 being born there.
- 8 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, we aren't leaving
- 9 children uncovered whose mothers have not had a
- 10 continuous one-year residency in the United States, even
- 11 though that mother may be an American citizen.
- MR. BROOME: That's -- that's right. My
- 13 point is that her child may have no risk -- face no
- 14 risk -- risk of statelessness at all, and -- and yet,
- 15 the statute still confers citizenship --
- 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I just said they do.
- 17 Because the mother can only pass on citizenship if she's
- 18 been in the United States continuously for one year
- 19 prior to the birth of the child, correct?
- 20 MR. BROOME: That's correct.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So what happens to a
- 22 citizen mother who can't meet that one-year requirement?
- 23 What happens to her child?
- MR. BROOME: That -- that child could be
- 25 stateless. That child is not --

1 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So there is a risk of 2 statelessness no matter what? 3 MR. BROOME: There is a risk of statelessness, but that risk of statelessness is created 4 5 by these physical-presence requirements that Congress chose to impose, whether it's the mother or the father. 6 7 The risk is greater with respect to the fathers. It is 8 lesser with respect to the mothers. But it is these 9 physical-presence requirements that create the risk of 10 statelessness, and therefore, this scheme cannot be justified as seeking to reduce a risk of statelessness. 11 12 If the Court has no further questions, thank 13 you. 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel. 15 Three minutes, Mr. Kneedler. 16 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF EDWIN S. KNEEDLER 17 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER 18 MR. KNEEDLER: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice. 19 First, on the merits. The provision here 20 furnished two substantial governmental interests. At 21 the time the child is born, and there is only the mother 22 that as a recognized parent, it is uncertain whether the 23 child will ever be legitimated. 24 Congress has a substantial interest in 25 conferring citizenship on that child at birth if it

- 1 concludes that there is a sufficient connection to the
- 2 United States.
- 3 Congress also has a substantial interest in
- 4 not divesting that child of citizenship if the child is
- 5 later legitimated by an alien father. So there are two
- 6 substantial interests that are furthered, and it is
- 7 precisely tailored to take care of those two interests.
- 8 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But if you're concerned
- 9 about the stateless children in the world, then -- if --
- 10 if you have a problem with the father who can't transmit
- 11 his citizenship in a country where women citizenship
- 12 goes by who is the father.
- MR. KNEEDLER: Well, it -- if the --
- 14 if the father later legitimates, he's put in the same
- 15 position as if the -- if they were married at the time
- 16 the child was born. And we know from 1401 that that --
- 17 that that is a -- that that is a --
- JUSTICE BREYER: But today there are --
- 19 today there are lots of fathers who do look after their
- 20 children. I don't say they do it perfectly, but they
- 21 try.
- MR. KNEEDLER: No, but all --
- JUSTICE BREYER: Now, suppose just the words
- 24 you said, take the same words, just put in "father"
- 25 instead of "mother," and today why is it any different?

- 1 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, it -- it isn't
- 2 different. I -- I just want to repeat again. When the
- 3 father legitimates, there are two parents. In Lehr v.
- 4 Robertson --
- 5 JUSTICE BREYER: I'm not talking about
- 6 legitimacy. I'm talking about the ones -- a surprising
- 7 number of people, unfortunately, never get married. And
- 8 a lot of them do live abroad, and they do have children.
- 9 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, certainly --
- 10 JUSTICE BREYER: So that's one focus. And
- 11 certainly your words applied where it is the mother.
- 12 And all my question is, couldn't you take those same
- words and apply it where it is the father?
- 14 MR. KNEEDLER: No. I -- I think it's a
- 15 critical importance in citizenship laws to have a legal
- 16 occurrence in order to pass citizenship, and that's
- 17 legitimation. Your suggestion that you could -- that
- 18 the father could pass on citizenship without even
- 19 legitimation, which this Court basically sustained on
- 20 the --
- JUSTICE BREYER: Doesn't (c) say that?
- 22 Doesn't (c) say that?
- 23 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes. But -- but this is a
- 24 question of remedy. And -- and to -- to -- but -- and
- 25 also Lehr v. Robertson, if the father filed -- filed a

Τ	notice and or filed a document and got notice of the
2	proceeding, he didn't get the veto power that the mother
3	had before legitimation. He just got to be a parent
4	too. And that's exactly what happens here when the
5	father legitimates. He's not put in the same position
6	as the mother because of two parents; it's a two-parent
7	family.
8	With respect to remedy, let me point out at
9	page 38 of our brief where the statelessness is
10	addressed. It's clear the interests that I identify,
11	that Congress wanted to ensure that the child would have
12	citizenship at birth and not be divested.
13	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
14	The case is submitted.
15	(Whereupon, at 11:01 a.m., the case in the
16	above-entitled matter was submitted.)
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