1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	x
3	COVENTRY HEALTH CARE OF :
4	MISSOURI, INC., FKA GROUP :
5	HEALTH PLAN, INC., :
6	Petitioner : No. 16-149
7	v. :
8	JODIE NEVILS, :
9	Respondent. :
10	x
11	Washington, D.C.
12	Wednesday, March 1, 2017
13	
14	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
15	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
16	at 10:09 a.m.
17	APPEARANCES:
18	MIGUEL A. ESTRADA, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf
19	of the Petitioner.
20	ZACHARY D. TRIPP, ESQ., Assistant to the Solicitor
21	General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.;
22	for United States, as amicus curiae, in support
23	of the Petitioner.
24	MATTHEW W.H. WESSLER, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf
25	of the Respondent.

1	CONTENTS	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	PAGE
3	MIGUEL A. ESTRADA, ESQ.	
4	On behalf of the Petitioner	3
5	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	
6	ZACHARY D. TRIPP, ESQ.	
7	For United States, as amicus curiae,	
8	in support of the Petitioner	17
9	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	
10	MATTHEW W.H. WESSLER, ESQ.	
11	On behalf of the Respondent	23
12	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF	
13	MIGUEL A. ESTRADA, ESQ.	
14	On behalf of the Petitioner	46
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(10:09 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear argument
4	this morning in Case 16-149, Coventry Health Care
5	Missouri v. Nevils.
6	Mr. Estrada.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF MIGUEL A. ESTRADA
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
9	MR. ESTRADA: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice,
10	and may it please the Court:
11	The issue in this case is whether FEHBA
12	preempts State laws that forbid subrogation by insurance
13	carriers. The Missouri Supreme Court upheld the State
14	rule, but we believe that is wrong for at least three
15	reasons.
16	Number one, antisubrogation laws relate to
17	benefits and coverage, as this Court concluded in FMC v.
18	Holliday, and at the very least, they relate to payments
19	with respect to benefits.
20	Number two, if there's any ambiguity on this
21	point, OPM's notice-and-comment regulation answers a
22	question in favor of preemption.
23	And number three, although the majority of
24	the Supreme Court of Missouri thought otherwise, we
25	believe there's no constitutional infirmity in

- 1 Section 8902(m)(1) under the Supremacy Clause.
- If I could turn to my first point, it seems
- 3 to us that the antisubrogation rule in this case is
- 4 preempted for basically the same reasons this Court
- 5 considered in FMC in concluding that the same rule was
- 6 preempted under ERISA. That is to say that it
- 7 effectively requires plan administrators to calculate
- 8 benefits on the basis of different liability conditions
- 9 that vary from State to State; that very importantly, it
- 10 undermines the statute's goal of uniformity; and third,
- 11 that it could encourage plan sponsors, in this case, the
- 12 Federal government, to reduce the scope of coverage.
- In addition to those reasons, this statute
- 14 gives you an additional reason to find that it is
- 15 preempted, and that is that it also preempts those rules
- 16 that relate to payments with respect to benefits.
- 17 It is quite clear to us that the subrogation
- 18 and reimbursement claims that are at issue in these
- 19 rules quite plainly refer to and relate to payments with
- 20 respect to benefits; and therefore, the Supreme Court of
- 21 Missouri was wrong in overlooking that part of the
- 22 statute and also wrong in overlooking your decision in
- 23 FMC v. Holliday.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Is there any -- any room
- 25 at all for State regulation of carriers who have these

- 1 contracts with OPM?
- MR. ESTRADA: Well, to be sure, the -- the
- 3 statute, if you focus on the last clause -- now, the
- 4 statute appears in page 2 of the blue brief -- if you
- 5 focus on the last clause, the statute only reaches those
- 6 State laws that, quote, "relate to health insurance or
- 7 plans." And there are any number of subjects that may
- 8 not be reached by these laws, or by other laws, and also
- 9 subjects that are not related to benefits, coverage or
- 10 payments with respect to benefits.
- 11 Congress dealt separately in Section -- in
- 12 Section 8909(f) with the subject of taxation in the
- 13 context of these plans and generally provided that
- 14 carriers may be subject to generally-applicable laws
- 15 that are applicable to all businesses under profits and
- 16 -- and the like, but that States, you know, may not tax,
- 17 you know, the benefits and the payments.
- 18 And so Congress has, in fact, crafted a
- 19 limited preemption provision that singles out those laws
- 20 that are most likely to apply to the insurance plans at
- 21 issue, and then only say that the scope of the
- 22 preemption will be defined by particular terms of the
- 23 contract. And so in our view, in some ways, the reach
- 24 of this law is somewhat more limited than the -- that of
- 25 the ERISA statute because, although your "relate"

- 1 language is identical and they should have identical
- 2 scope with respect to benefits coverage and -- and
- 3 payments with respect to benefits, it does not reach all
- 4 laws of the State. It targets, to begin with, only the
- 5 health insurance -- those laws that relate to health
- 6 insurance or plans.
- Now, if I could get to the second point, we
- 8 recognize that --
- 9 JUSTICE KAGAN: Before you do, I mean, we
- 10 appeared to find this a difficult question in McVeigh.
- 11 We said there were two plausible readings. We said it
- 12 was a hard statute. We didn't want to decide as between
- 13 the two. You know, what do you make of that case?
- MR. ESTRADA: I actually was going to be the
- 15 headline on my second point, Justice Kagan. So thank
- 16 you.
- 17 You know, we recognize that McVeigh
- 18 considered the same statute and concluded that the
- 19 statute did not give rise to a cause of action in
- 20 Federal subject matter jurisdiction. And we believe
- 21 that that question was indeed difficult, because unlike
- 22 ERISA, where Congress expressly provided a cause of
- 23 action in Section 502 of that statute, Congress had not
- 24 done so here. And the Court was basically being asked
- 25 to imply common law cause of action out of the terms of

- 1 what otherwise appears to be a defensive preemption
- 2 prohibition, which is relatively rare.
- 3 The background rule in the Federal system is
- 4 that Federal preemption is a defense only, as we learned
- 5 in the Motley case. And the difficulty that the Court
- 6 had was in transforming what it otherwise would be a
- 7 defense into a cause of action and implying Federal
- 8 jurisdiction.
- 9 I think that context is extremely important
- 10 to understand the Court's caveat as to the text of the
- 11 statute, because the question then was will the statute
- 12 would bear a construction that was expansive indeed with
- 13 respect to an entirely different subject matter.
- 14 With -- with respect to the question of
- 15 whether the Court considered the statute as being
- 16 susceptible on the merits of the defense to plausible
- 17 alternative constructions, I think if you look at the
- 18 relevant passage, what the Court said was that different
- 19 constructions were being urged upon the Court; on the
- 20 one hand, one by the United States, and on the other
- 21 hand, another one by the Cruz plaintiffs out of the
- 22 Seventh Circuit.
- The Court described both of them generally
- 24 as plausible and wrote to saying that it didn't have to
- 25 pick either of them. We do not believe that that sort

- 1 of description of the litigants' position really rises
- 2 to the finding that the statute is ambiguous as a
- 3 threshold for even a Chevron analysis, because the Court
- 4 was not considering any canon of construction, was not
- 5 considering context, was not considering purpose. It
- 6 was simply describing the position of litigants in front
- 7 of this Court and concluding that it was unnecessary to
- 8 pick one or the other.
- 9 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Counsel, in this case you
- 10 have an express-preemption provision. You have a
- 11 Federal entity that makes the contract. So that may be
- 12 all you need to say in order to prevail. But there --
- 13 are there some limiting principles that we -- should
- 14 just be in the back of our mind when we think about
- 15 preemption? The case in Boyle was, I think, a close
- 16 case. Completely different from this because there was
- 17 no express preemption.
- So it's not really your obligation to
- 19 direct -- to address a parade of horribles that isn't in
- 20 this case, but are there some general limiting
- 21 principles that we should keep in mind when determining
- 22 whether or not preemption, A, existed; B, is permitted?
- 23 MR. ESTRADA: Well, of course. You know,
- 24 you have, really, three headings of preemption under
- 25 this Court's doctrine. You have conflict where you take

- 1 the text of the statute and decide whether the State
- 2 rule actually conflicts as a -- as the label says. And
- 3 I think that's the common form that comes in front of
- 4 the Court, and I think that's just a question of
- 5 ordinary statutory interpretation applying all the
- 6 relevant canons and considering as well the -- the
- 7 purpose of Congress.
- 8 The harder cases are ones like Hillman v.
- 9 Maretta where you're not dealing with actual language of
- 10 the statute, but you're considering whether the State
- 11 law is an obstacle to what Congress wanting -- wanted to
- 12 get at. And this case does not involve that problem
- 13 except as an a fortiori type argument as to how this
- 14 would be out even under that rule.
- 15 But the issue in this case seems to me to be
- 16 what you have here, where Congress had exercised an
- 17 appropriate level of Federal power under Section --
- 18 under Article 1 Section 8, and then has gone further by
- 19 itself declaring what it views as the consequences with
- 20 a Federal/State balance. And in this context, it seems
- 21 to us that it is especially inappropriate to consider
- 22 what the conceivable limits would be of a doctrine that
- 23 arises practically in every case.
- 24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, maybe one
- 25 doctrine has to do with the delegation issue.

- 1 Suppose Congress passed a law that said,
- 2 well, any professional responsibility -- any
- 3 professional responsibility rule adopted by the ABA will
- 4 preempt contrary State law.
- 5 Is that okay under preemption doctrine?
- 6 MR. ESTRADA: Well, it seems to me likely
- 7 not, but let me take apart what I think are the key
- 8 aspects of the consequence of the -- of that answer.
- 9 First, Congress has to identify a part of
- 10 Article 1, Section 8 that gives it a head of
- 11 constitutional authority to do what you just described.
- 12 Second, to my --
- 13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Are you just -- are
- 14 you just saying this is beyond -- regulating the --
- MR. ESTRADA: Well --
- 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- profession is
- 17 beyond Congress's power?
- 18 MR. ESTRADA: -- as described, is not
- 19 self-evidently connected to any one of the --
- 20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Right. Well, assume
- 21 it is within Congress's power to legislate.
- MR. ESTRADA: When -- then there's a
- 23 question of identifying what it is that Congress is
- 24 trying to do. It is, in fact, true that Congress has
- 25 adopted what otherwise would be State -- State rules for

- 1 the government of certain issues. You know, you have
- 2 things like you have -- like the assimilated crime
- 3 statute, for example. And, you know, the question is
- 4 how closely it is tied to the relevant heading of power
- 5 and then whether Congress has provided enough
- 6 governmental supervision for the activity so that it is
- 7 subject to a delegated exercise of power under
- 8 appropriate standards by an ultimately responsible
- 9 authority.
- 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I guess, is it --
- 11 you know, in some of those areas, you're talking about
- 12 State governments. Is -- is it permissible for Congress
- 13 to delegate the authority to decide what laws are
- 14 preempted to a private entity?
- MR. ESTRADA: I think it depends on how it
- 16 does it. I would be reluctant to say that considering
- 17 whatever crisis or problem Congress may be considering,
- 18 that there's a particular avenue of dealing with them
- 19 that is completely foreclosed. But to the extent that
- 20 there are limits to the ability of Congress to do such
- 21 things, it seems to me that a precondition for Congress'
- 22 ability to do that would be to do something like has
- 23 happened, for example, in the securities markets where
- 24 you have what are called self-regulatory organizations
- 25 where trade groups, in effect, have rules that apply to

- 1 parts of the industry, but they're strictly supervised
- 2 and approved by the Securities and Exchange Commission
- 3 and there is recourse for their violation to go in
- 4 Federal court.
- Now, those rules in some cases are
- 6 considered preemptive, and so I don't want to foreclose,
- 7 you know, the proposition that as a category using an
- 8 industry group or a private group, so long as it is
- 9 subject to appropriate government supervision, could not
- 10 be a possible tool that Congress could use.
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well --
- 12 MR. ESTRADA: But in that event -- if I
- 13 could just finish -- but in that event, you would also
- 14 have the additional layer of involvement having to do
- 15 with the limit that this Court itself has placed on the
- 16 -- on the delegation by Congress -- Congress of any
- 17 authority. You do have something called the
- 18 Nondelegation Doctrine.
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But what about two
- 20 private parties, whether, you know -- whatever they are,
- 21 a railroad and a shipper, in other words, and Congress
- 22 says, whatever you agree to will preempt contrary State
- 23 laws.
- MR. ESTRADA: I believe --
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I know you're going

- 1 to suggest --
- 2 MR. ESTRADA: No.
- 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- it's not this
- 4 case --
- 5 MR. ESTRADA: No, no. I understand --
- 6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- but assume it is.
- 7 MR. ESTRADA: I understand that, Mr. Chief
- 8 Justice. I find it hard to believe that Congress could
- 9 lawfully give a blank check to private individuals
- 10 without any subject -- without any government
- 11 supervision and/or without appropriate standards as to
- 12 what it is that they may do or not do. But I want to
- 13 distinguish the hypothetical that you posit from what's
- 14 at issue in this case.
- 15 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, before you
- 16 get -- get to that, I mean, it would seem to me that you
- 17 could deal with the concerns you have and still address
- 18 the problem. In other words, it's not a blank check.
- 19 You know, it -- any rate between, you know, \$10 per mile
- 20 and \$30 per mile, but you, the parties, you know, we
- 21 want to give the -- the free enterprise system a little
- 22 more scope than having the government set it. So
- 23 whatever rate you set between \$10 and \$30 a ton or a
- 24 mile will preempt contrary State regulation.
- MR. ESTRADA: Again, it seems to me that

- 1 this is a question to some extent of conceptualizing. I
- 2 think I am agreeing with the basic premise of your
- 3 question, Mr. Chief Justice, but there are, of course,
- 4 limits to the ability of Congress to delegate to private
- 5 individuals.
- 6 JUSTICE BREYER: The question, I think,
- 7 which is perhaps truly speculative, but it is rather
- 8 interesting, if we go back to the sick chicken,
- 9 Schechter --
- 10 MR. ESTRADA: Well, I was going to go there.
- 11 JUSTICE BREYER: -- there first is a
- 12 question --
- MR. ESTRADA: Uh-huh.
- JUSTICE BREYER: -- of whether Congress has
- 15 this Article 8 power to legislate at all in the area.
- MR. ESTRADA: Uh-huh.
- 17 JUSTICE BREYER: You assume the answer's
- 18 yes.
- 19 The second is a nondelegation question.
- 20 There, the delegation had run riot. But suppose they'd
- 21 used the words "unfair competition" instead of "fair
- 22 competition" and, therefore, they had satisfied the
- 23 Nondelegation Doctrine.
- 24 Given the satisfaction of the -- of the
- 25 source of power and satisfaction of the delegation

- 1 doctrine or nondelegation, is there additional
- 2 requirement? Does the preemption matter, assuming there
- 3 were parts of that that preempted as there must have
- 4 been, is that a separate doctrine that imposes yet a
- 5 further restriction, or once the first two are
- 6 satisfied, have you automatically satisfied the third?
- 7 MR. ESTRADA: I find it hard to say that
- 8 there's an independent limit on the basis of preemption,
- 9 because, as I understand the power of Congress, Congress
- 10 could pass a statute that displaces all law in a subject
- 11 matter and renders it a law-free area, for example. And
- 12 so I don't know that I would ever say that in dealing
- 13 with a crisis like the Great Depression, for example,
- 14 Congress could not turn to the type of remedies that it
- 15 tried in the Schechter case and that those would be
- 16 completely foreclosed to Congress. But --
- 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yeah. But the
- 18 idea -- the concern is -- raised by your friend on the
- 19 other side is, yes, Congress can do that.
- MR. ESTRADA: Uh-huh.
- 21 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But we're talking
- 22 about the preemption of State law. And the question is
- 23 whether or not they've authorized someone not subject to
- 24 the political constraints that Congress is subject to to
- 25 undertake that pretty significant step of telling State

- 1 law -- State legislators that they can't legislate.
- 2 MR. ESTRADA: But if I could just pivot to
- 3 what -- why the -- the argument doesn't really fit what
- 4 the problem is that we have in this case, even though it
- 5 is preemption, is that it arises ostensibly because the
- 6 statute literally says that the terms of its statute
- 7 would supersede and preempt. It is quite evident from
- 8 the statute that what Congress actually intended to say
- 9 and the words will bear is that the terms of the statute
- 10 shall be effective notwithstanding the contrary, et
- 11 cetera, et cetera.
- 12 And that although I understand that the
- 13 whole delegation going down, you know, the -- the road
- 14 of delegation is very interesting, I will point out that
- 15 nowhere has a delegation challenge as such been raised
- 16 in this case in any of the lower courts, and that it was
- 17 only in this Court that this was reconceptualized as
- 18 that.
- 19 I think the proper way to conceptualize what
- 20 Congress has done in this statute, as it has in many
- 21 other statutes, is that it has displaced State law to
- 22 create room for the operation unimpeded of certain
- 23 contract terms that it believed should be encouraged for
- 24 the public interest. The Federal Arbitration Act is one
- 25 example of that, even though it is a purely private

- 1 statute. You know, the -- the statute that we're
- 2 mentioning earlier, ERISA, is another.
- I will simply say that if Congress can do
- 4 that to make room for the operation of purely private
- 5 contracts, a context that involves Federal benefits for
- 6 the Federal workforce under Federal contracts
- 7 administered by a Federal agency is something that
- 8 Congress can clearly deal with, because under Clearfield
- 9 Trust and its progeny, these contracts would be governed
- 10 by Federal common law in any event, and that law would
- 11 be preemptive, at least in certain circumstances.
- 12 So it is certainly appropriate for Congress
- 13 to identify itself the outlines and limits of the
- 14 preemption than to leave it to ad hoc adjudication of
- 15 common law claims by the Federal courts in this country.
- 16 Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice. And I would
- 17 like to reserve the remainder of my time for rebuttal.
- 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- Mr. Tripp.
- 20 ORAL ARGUMENT OF ZACHARY D. TRIPP
- 21 FOR UNITED STATES, AS AMICUS CURIAE,
- 22 SUPPORTING THE PETITIONER
- 23 MR. TRIPP: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
- 24 please the Court:
- OPM's regulations answer the question

- 1 presented here, and I'd like to just make three points
- 2 about how they work, why they're important --
- 3 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Do you think the
- 4 statute --
- 5 MR. TRIPP: -- and --
- 6 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Do you think this is
- 7 ambiguous?
- 8 MR. TRIPP: I quess --
- 9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Whether we get to
- 10 Chevron deference at all.
- 11 MR. TRIPP: I quess our basic take is that
- 12 the answer to that doesn't really matter because we've
- 13 picked one of the two interpretations and it's really up
- 14 to Respondent to show that our interpretation is not
- 15 even reasonable. And we think that there's just no way
- 16 that they can do that. Our interpretation, we think, is
- 17 just a better interpretation, if you were choosing among
- 18 the two.
- 19 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So why is the agency
- 20 better than a court suited to define its own
- 21 jurisdiction?
- MR. TRIPP: Right. And so that's what I was
- 23 wanting to get at and explain how these regulations
- 24 work. And I -- so I think the key point that I want to
- 25 emphasize here is that in the preemption provision, the

- 1 crucial language is, is what is the nature and extent of
- 2 the benefits and benefit payments available under one of
- 3 the plans? And that is tied to something OPM is already
- 4 administering under a different provision of the
- 5 statute. 8902(d) says that each contract shall include
- 6 such benefits and limitations and other definitions of
- 7 benefits as it considers necessary or desirable.
- 8 So those two things go hand in hand. In the
- 9 regulations, they work the same way. In Section B(1) of
- 10 the regulations, it says that subrogation imposes a
- 11 condition of and a limitation on benefits and benefit
- 12 payments and that makes good sense. It's a clawback
- 13 provision.
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You -- you've
- 15 already -- you just slid into the Chevron question;
- 16 right? I -- I understood Justice Sotomayor to want to
- 17 know if you -- well, at least as I would want to know,
- do you need Chevron to get around the ambiguity?
- 19 Because once you say that, it's -- you get into somewhat
- 20 serious questions about whether Chevron applies,
- 21 basically, to the decisions of private entities to -- I
- 22 mean, I think the concern is it's bad enough that
- 23 they're preempting State law, but now they get
- 24 deference. They can preempt State law so long as their
- 25 terms are plausible.

1 MR. TRIPP: Right. So -- so I think we 2 would win this case even without Chevron deference, without the regulations. I think we just have the 3 better of the two readings of the statute. The 4 application of the presumption against preemption here, 5 I think, is really just fundamentally misguided. Not 6 7 only do we have an express-preemption provision, we're 8 talking about Federal benefits for Federal employees 9 under Federal contracts entered into under a Federal 10 statute. And the way this would work on the ground is if Missouri can prohibit subrogation, then what happens 11 12 is that Federal workers in Illinois who are enrolled in 13 the same plan and paying the same premiums are footing 14 the bill for benefit payments they can't even keep, and it's not part of a State's traditional authority to 15 16 impose those kinds of externalities on out-of-State 17 Federal workers. So what I was getting at, and the answer to 18 19 Justice Sotomayor's question, is that we would clearly 20 get deference here on -- on 8902(d) in determining what 21 are -- what are the definitions and are there 22 limitations on benefits available under a plan? And I think under Chevron, it doesn't make much sense for us 23 to get less deference in determining what is the nature 24

and extent of benefits and benefit payments, if it's

25

- 1 really just another way of saying the same thing.
- So, on -- on why it's important -- I think I
- 3 covered this a little before -- but to be very concrete
- 4 about this, in the D.C. metro region, Virginia prohibits
- 5 subrogation, but Maryland and the District of Columbia
- 6 do not. Under Respondent's position, similarly-situated
- 7 Federal workers working for the same agency, enrolled in
- 8 the same plan, and paying the same premiums would have
- 9 different benefits and -- and the different extent of
- 10 benefit payments, depending on whether they lived in
- 11 Bethesda or McLean. We think that's just clearly wrong.
- 12 And then on -- on --
- 13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Now, you understand
- 14 the problem, and I understand the argument that it's
- 15 semantic, but sometimes semantics matter. If you wanted
- 16 to take care of that problem, you just have to pass a
- 17 law saying that the -- the State laws are preempted --
- 18 MR. TRIPP: Yeah. And then -- then --
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But you don't. It
- 20 says that the contract is what preempts the State laws.
- 21 MR. TRIPP: Sure. And I -- and I think what
- 22 my -- my brother said was exactly right. If you just
- 23 turn to the statute, I'd like to illustrate why I think
- 24 it really proves as no constitutional problem at all.
- 25 It's on page 2 of the blue brief or page 3 of the gray

- 1 brief.
- 2 It says that the terms of these Federal
- 3 contracts shall supersede and preempt State or local law
- 4 relating to health insurance or plans. What that
- 5 clearly means is that the terms of the contract shall
- 6 apply notwithstanding State or local law. It's a non
- 7 obstante provision like the Supremacy Clause itself, and
- 8 I think when you read it that way, it makes it crystal
- 9 clear that the -- that the statute is doing all the
- 10 preempting here. It's creating a protective umbrella to
- 11 enable OPM --
- 12 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: If -- if you edit
- 13 the statute, it's perfectly clear. It doesn't say -- I
- 14 mean, it says preempt.
- 15 MR. TRIPP: And -- and I think what I was
- 16 getting at is, I think it's a perfectly natural reading
- 17 of shall supersede and preempt to interpret that to mean
- 18 shall apply notwithstanding, because the -- the
- 19 Supremacy Clause itself has similar language about
- 20 notwithstanding. We think that's obviously what
- 21 Congress was getting at here. Every other Federal
- 22 benefits -- general -- general Federal benefits statute
- 23 has this same language, so it's health insurance, life,
- 24 dental, vision, long-term care; we don't think that
- 25 there's any problem in -- in -- in picking this

- 1 particular language.
- 2 If there are no further questions.
- 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- 4 Mr. Wessler.
- 5 ORAL ARGUMENT OF MATTHEW W.H. WESSLER
- 6 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT
- 7 MR. WESSLER: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice,
- 8 and may it please the Court:
- A decade ago in McVeigh, this Court stressed
- 10 that FEHBA's express-preemption clause requires cautious
- 11 interpretation. That instruction remains true today.
- 12 Section 8902(m)(1) was, in Congress's own words,
- 13 purposely limited and not designed to disturb the
- 14 important role that States play in regulating those
- 15 private insurers who participate in the FEHBA program.
- 16 Indeed, that is why, when Congress first enacted the
- 17 provision, it specifically warned that the clause would
- 18 not preempt insurers from traditional State laws
- 19 governing insurance.
- 20 Reading FEHBA's express-preemption clause
- 21 narrowly here so that subrogation contract terms do not
- 22 preempt otherwise applicable State law honors Congress's
- 23 intent and accords respect for the States as independent
- 24 sovereigns in their historic role in governing matters
- 25 of insurance and tort law.

- 1 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Does the -- does the
- 2 statute 8902(m)(1), does it preempt anything?
- 3 MR. WESSLER: Well, we think that the
- 4 statute is unconstitutional under the Supremacy Clause,
- 5 and so, as written, it has -- it should have no effect.
- 6 I think if you carve that out for -- for one second, I
- 7 think what Your Honor is asking is are there a subset of
- 8 laws that Congress was attempting to displace by virtue
- 9 of these contract terms, and I think the answer to that
- 10 is yes and you can get that from the legislative
- 11 history.
- 12 There were -- I think, just to back up for a
- 13 second, when Congress first passed FEHBA in 1959, it did
- 14 not attempt to enact a uniform area of Federal law. And
- 15 you -- you know this because what Congress said when it
- 16 first passed the law was, there's a problem with Federal
- 17 workers. They don't have the same competitive Federal
- 18 benefits packages that those in the private sector do;
- 19 we want to create a competitive way to allow that to
- 20 entice them to work for the government. But they also
- 21 had a problem, because the government wasn't
- 22 administering any sort of serious health program. And
- 23 so what they chose to do was to tap into the private
- 24 market.
- 25 They -- they explicitly said, we don't have

- 1 the expertise to administer this program. We'd like to
- 2 act as a market participant and buy these plans from
- 3 private insurers who are doing business in the States.
- 4 And so from its inception, the FEHBA program was a
- 5 dual-regulatory scheme. Congress intended States and
- 6 their insurance laws to govern those participant --
- 7 those private insurers who are participating in the
- 8 program.
- Now, in the '70s what happened was that a
- 10 number of the carriers and the agency administering the
- 11 program, which was then at the time called CSC, found
- 12 that there were a number of States that had begun to
- 13 pass benefit laws; State laws that required, for
- 14 instance, a carrier to cover acupuncture services or
- 15 chiropractor services. And the carriers went to
- 16 Congress and they said, these laws pose a problem. We
- 17 need you to address this in some fashion. And that's
- 18 what Congress did with 8902(m)(1), but it was very clear
- 19 in the legislative history at the time it passed this
- 20 statute in 1978, that it was purposely limited and not
- 21 intended to displace the State background insurance laws
- 22 that would apply to all of the carriers participating in
- 23 this program.
- JUSTICE ALITO: Before we get to the
- 25 legislative history, could you say something about the

- 1 terms of this provision? Would you argue that the terms
- 2 of a sub -- of a subrogation -- of a contract that has a
- 3 subrogation provision do not relate to coverage? They
- 4 do not relate to benefits, that they do not relate to
- 5 payment of benefits? Could you explain how you would
- 6 reach that conclusion?
- 7 MR. WESSLER: That's right, Your Honor.
- 8 That -- that, we think, is the best reading for three
- 9 reasons. First, the -- it makes sense to distinguish
- 10 subrogation from benefits, because subrogation claims
- 11 involve the proceeds of a distinct and separate tort
- 12 cause of action that happens distinct in time and is
- 13 highly contingent. It doesn't involve any -- it doesn't
- 14 affect at all any payment for a benefit or a coverage
- 15 that a Federal worker might receive --
- 16 JUSTICE ALITO: It doesn't -- it doesn't
- 17 affect the benefits that the participant receives?
- 18 MR. WESSLER: That's right.
- 19 JUSTICE ALITO: If -- if it -- if there's no
- 20 subrogation claim, the benefit receives a certain
- 21 amount. If there is a potential, it's -- if there's
- 22 requirement of subrogation, the participant receives
- 23 that amount minus X?
- MR. WESSLER: I don't think that's quite
- 25 right, Your Honor. They get the MR -- a Federal worker,

- 1 let's say, who needs coverage for an MRI, gets -- gets
- 2 that MRI covered and gets the coverage for that MRI paid
- 3 for by her insurance plan regardless of any subrogation
- 4 claim.
- 5 JUSTICE ALITO: Right.
- 6 MR. WESSLER: Because that claim is
- 7 necessarily contingent, it may never occur. And -- and
- 8 the money that -- that ultimately is involved in a
- 9 subrogation claim isn't the money that is getting paid
- 10 for, for the MRI coverage. It's money that comes out of
- 11 a separate -- the proceeds of a separate tort claim from
- 12 a personal injury action.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: But money is money, and, you
- 14 know, one dollar is as good as the next. And the
- 15 question is -- I think what Justice Alito is saying;
- 16 I'll just say it my way -- is one way -- say you're in a
- 17 car accident. One way you get all the hospital and
- 18 medical costs that you incur, and the other way you get
- 19 those costs minus any recovery in a tort suit. So maybe
- 20 a recovery won't happen in a tort suit, but a recovery
- 21 might happen in a tort suit and then you get
- 22 considerably less.
- MR. WESSLER: Well, I think -- I think that
- 24 that is certainly possible, although I do think the
- 25 money matters. These are historically equitable claims

- 1 and the pots of money and the differences about from
- 2 where those monies come matters in the way you conceive,
- 3 at the outset, of what a benefit is and whether that
- 4 benefit will be covered.
- 5 But I also think that part of understanding
- 6 how to interpret the text of the statute requires
- 7 understanding what Congress intended when it passed it
- 8 in the first place. And I think the purpose here is
- 9 that Congress was distinctly concerned with these kind
- 10 of front-end benefit laws that made it difficult for
- 11 carriers to know and provide for the coverage that they
- 12 wanted and not to be required to cover for Arizona's
- 13 acupuncture doctors' benefits and services that weren't
- 14 offered under, for instance, a Blue Cross/Blue Shield
- 15 plan.
- 16 JUSTICE BREYER: The point is, is your
- 17 point. Look, what we're talking about here is
- 18 subrogation. Has nothing to do with coverage. It has
- 19 nothing to do with benefits. You're covered, you get
- 20 the money, you get the CAT scan. You're covered, you
- 21 get the hospital payment, you get the pain and suffering
- 22 or whatever, you -- you're covered.
- Now, there's a different thing that happens
- 24 in the world. There's a tort suit. And our law affects
- 25 the proceeds of that tort suit. The proceeds of that

- 1 tort suit are not benefits. The proceeds of that tort
- 2 suit are not coverage. The proceeds of that tort suit
- 3 are some money that our State and a judge decided should
- 4 be paid to a victim of an accident. Is that the point?
- 5 MR. WESSLER: That's correct, Your Honor.
- 6 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, if that's the point,
- 7 then what about payments with respect to benefits?
- 8 The -- the sub -- those payments are not even with
- 9 respect to benefits?
- 10 MR. WESSLER: Again, I don't think that's
- 11 the best reading of the statute for largely the reasons
- 12 that Justice Breyer gave. The -- the benefits and the
- 13 payment of those benefits contemplates a front-end
- 14 question about whether you are getting your MRI covered
- 15 by the plan, not whether many years down the road there
- 16 is some additional extra pot of money that is then
- 17 available to be shared among a number of different
- 18 entities.
- 19 JUSTICE ALITO: But the question isn't
- 20 whether it's benefits; it's whether it relates to
- 21 benefits, and not even whether it relates to benefits,
- 22 whether it relates to payments with respect to benefits.
- MR. WESSLER: I -- I -- yes. I think that's
- 24 -- that's certainly right, but I think relates to,
- 25 again, is -- is context-dependent in this -- in this --

- 1 for this statute as it is for every other statute.
- 2 And Congress had a laser focus when it
- 3 passed this statute in 1978. It did not want to disturb
- 4 otherwise applicable State insurance laws. And the
- 5 reason it didn't want to disturb those laws is because
- 6 it understood that the private carriers that were
- 7 participating in this program should be governed by the
- 8 same laws that would govern anybody in the private
- 9 sector when it comes to insurance.
- 10 And that's why this distinction, I think, is
- 11 a false one between a employer -- an employee in -- in
- 12 Missouri and an employee in Kansas getting different
- 13 rights because their State laws are different. That is
- 14 precisely the kind of differences that Congress wanted
- 15 to ensure controlled in the FEHB program.
- I -- I think also, you know, what this
- 17 points up, Justice Alito, is that there is, I think,
- 18 this textual ambiguity that certainly can be read, based
- 19 on just a -- a pure matter of --
- 20 JUSTICE BREYER: There is no ambiguity. The
- 21 answer to the point, if I got the point right, is you
- 22 say, you know, it's sort of like a lottery or something.
- 23 There's some money floating out there. And what the
- 24 contract says, different from what the State law says,
- 25 is that money that's floating out there, maybe you won

- 1 it in a lottery or it came from Mars as far as this
- 2 receiving benefits is concerned by the patient, but this
- 3 contract says you take that money that came from Mars or
- 4 wherever and you pay it to the insurance company.
- 5 Why do you pay it to the insurance company?
- 6 MR. WESSLER: Well, I think -- I mean, I
- 7 think --
- 8 JUSTICE BREYER: Because what is it that the
- 9 insurance company did that entitles them to receive that
- 10 money from Mars? What is it that they did?
- 11 MR. WESSLER: Well, they -- they included in
- 12 their contract this requirement --
- JUSTICE BREYER: Whoa, whoa, whoa. I mean,
- 14 just very simply, in three words, what did they do that
- 15 entitled them to money from Mars?
- MR. WESSLER: Sure. They paid the benefits.
- 17 JUSTICE BREYER: Exactly. So there we are.
- Now, it relates to benefits because they get
- 19 the money from this separate thing that happened because
- 20 they paid benefits. So now how do you say that this
- 21 contract does not relate to benefits?
- MR. WESSLER: Well, Your Honor, I think,
- 23 again, the question is -- is largely what did Congress
- 24 intend when it passed this statute. The question --
- 25 "relates to" could be read uncritically broadly, or it

- 1 could be read narrowly, and -- and the -- the proper
- 2 approach, I think, as this Court has explained in
- 3 multiple different contexts, is to ask what did Congress
- 4 intend when it passed this particular express-preemption
- 5 clause. And here, we know that their goal was not to
- 6 create an expansive form of preemption that could extend
- 7 to cover laws that would fall within traditional areas
- 8 of State insurance regulations.
- 9 JUSTICE ALITO: How do we know that?
- 10 MR. WESSLER: They said in the legislative
- 11 history, it is purposely limited and not intended to
- 12 displace otherwise applicable State insurance law.
- JUSTICE ALITO: You know, our colleague
- 14 Justice Scalia, is not here any longer, but he would be
- 15 having a fit at this point, so maybe --
- 16 (Laughter.)
- 17 MR. WESSLER: Sure. I -- I understand, Your
- 18 Honor. But again, I think in McVeigh, what -- one of
- 19 the lessons in McVeigh is that there is this textual
- 20 ambiguity that arises from precisely this colloquy that
- 21 we've had. And the question then becomes what does --
- 22 what does the Court do in the face of this textual
- 23 ambiguity when we don't quite know what Congress may
- 24 have intended exactly.
- 25 And in the area of traditional State

- 1 regulation, as we are in when it comes to insurance,
- 2 there's a -- when we're talking about State laws and
- 3 whether Congress intended to displace those State laws,
- 4 we require a clear statement from Congress before we
- 5 undo a category, wipe away --
- 6 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. Wessler, what is --
- 7 how do you differentiate our holding in Hillman?
- 8 MR. WESSLER: I --
- 9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: How is this --
- MR. WESSLER: Yes.
- 11 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- any more or less
- "relates to" than in Hillman?
- MR. WESSLER: Well, I --
- 14 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Almost identical
- 15 language. And we read it very, very broadly.
- MR. WESSLER: Well, the critical
- 17 distinction, Your Honor, in Hillman, is that Hillman was
- 18 decided on an implied form of preemption. The Court
- 19 said -- life insurance statute at issue there, including
- 20 an express-preemption clause, but the Court didn't --
- 21 didn't address the effect or meaning of that clause at
- 22 all and instead looked to the -- to the statutory
- 23 language and the regulations that the agency promulgated
- 24 and found that -- a Virginia State law that would have
- 25 required something else other than what the -- the

- 1 statute required was in conflict.
- Now we think implied preemption --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Why -- why isn't there a
- 4 conflict here?
- 5 MR. WESSLER: We -- we think that there --
- 6 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: There's a direct
- 7 conflict between what the benefits paid here demand --
- 8 it's benefits minus later subrogation -- and what the
- 9 State law says, which is you can't honor that
- 10 contractual term.
- 11 MR. WESSLER: I -- sure. So one thing to
- 12 say, first -- I'll answer your question, Your Honor, but
- 13 this is not an implied preemption case.
- 14 Neither the Petitioners nor the government
- 15 have argued that there is a conflict that has -- that
- 16 has been created that gives rise to a form of implied
- 17 preemption. Their argument is focused solely on the
- 18 meaning of scope of this express-preemption clause.
- Now, there could be, down the road, if the
- 20 government were to, in fact, enact a substantive
- 21 regulation, some form of implied conflict that could
- 22 give rise to the displacement of State law, but we're
- 23 not in that world in this case today.
- 24 And I think that's actually a crucial point
- 25 that -- that what we have here is the challengers are

- 1 asking for what is, in essence, an unprecedented
- 2 expansion of Chevron at the same time while trying to
- 3 smuggle in insurance laws through express-preemption
- 4 clause, when they have available to them the possibility
- 5 of arguing, as in Hillman, an implied form of preemption
- 6 that would still allow the Court to do the -- the --
- 7 the -- to make the decision about whether there's indeed
- 8 an irreconcilable conflict.
- 9 JUSTICE BREYER: But -- but --
- 10 JUSTICE KENNEDY: And so I do. That -- that
- 11 gives me whip -- whiplash. All of a sudden you -- you
- 12 have implied preemption, and that's the -- the preferred
- 13 argument to express preemption? It should be just the
- 14 other way around.
- 15 MR. WESSLER: Well, I think, Your Honor,
- 16 that is what happened in Hillman v. Maretta. And there
- 17 was an express-preemption clause like there was here,
- 18 but the Court, you know, instead of considering whether
- 19 that express-preemption clause displaced Virginia law,
- 20 adopted a form of implied preemption to decide whether
- 21 there was a conflict. But we don't have here a
- 22 substantive regulation --
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, it just seems to me
- 24 as orderly proceeding for us to ask the first question:
- 25 Is there express preemption? And that displaces the

- 1 whole necessity for going through the very difficult
- 2 exercise of implied preemption.
- 3 MR. WESSLER: Well, I --
- 4 JUSTICE KENNEDY: You seem to indicate it
- 5 has some priority. That was my only comment.
- 6 MR. WESSLER: Well, I don't -- I don't
- 7 know -- I wouldn't -- I don't think there's necessarily
- 8 a priority, but I don't think the express-preemption
- 9 clause in this case can bear the weight of the
- 10 interpretation that the challenger is --
- 11 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, that's quite another
- 12 thing.
- 13 MR. WESSLER: -- trying to place on it.
- 14 JUSTICE KAGAN: But, for example, just a
- 15 couple of years ago, we said with respect to an
- 16 express-preemption clause, we said that the presumption
- 17 against preemption just didn't apply in a case like
- 18 this -- like that; that it was only applicable in a case
- 19 of implied preemption.
- 20 MR. WESSLER: Right. I -- well, I don't
- 21 think this Court has overruled the 70 years of -- of
- 22 precedent establishing that the presumption against
- 23 preemption applies to express-preemption clauses. I
- 24 think --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: So that was just a careless

1 statement --MR. WESSLER: No. I think that --2 3 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- on our part? 4 MR. WESSLER: I think in that case, the 5 point the Court was making was that where the language of an express-preemption clause is clear, where we know 6 7 that Congress intended to displace a -- a particular State law, the presumption does not need to apply. And 8 9 I think that's perfectly consistent with an 10 interpretation here, that where the text is ambiguous, where we do not have a clear statement from Congress 11 12 that it intended to displace some particular area of 13 State law, that we would -- we would exercise caution 14 and not cavalierly displace that State law unless and until Congress makes that intent clear. 15 16 I'd like, if I can, to just turn to 17 Justice -- Chief Justice Roberts' question that he posed to the challengers about the very odd nature of this 18 express-preemption clause, because I do think it raises 19 20 some very serious constitutional problems that -- that 21 if -- if this Court were to adopt the challengers' 22 interpretation, would -- would allow these contract 23 terms to really do the displacing of State law.

unprecedented -- Congress has never enacted another form

And I do think that there is -- it would be

24

25

- 1 of this type of preemption that would actually authorize
- 2 the terms of privately-negotiated contracts to step in
- 3 and displace otherwise applicable sovereign decisions of
- 4 States.
- 5 And there really is no way around this
- 6 problem in the case, other than to adopt a narrow
- 7 interpretation of what the -- what relates to benefits
- 8 means, because Congress, when it wrote this statute in
- 9 1978, unambiguously intended to delegate the power to
- 10 preempt to these terms of contracts. And these
- 11 contracts are not laws under the Supremacy Clause.
- 12 JUSTICE ALITO: Does your -- does your
- 13 argument depend on the wording of this provision? Does
- 14 it depend on the fact that it says the terms of the
- 15 contract shall supersede State or local law? Would --
- 16 would you have a -- would you make the same argument if
- 17 it said this statute hereby supersedes and preempts any
- 18 State or local law that conflicts with the terms of the
- 19 contract?
- 20 MR. WESSLER: I think that is -- I think
- 21 that is a -- a far better approach that would -- would
- 22 likely not raise these problems, because it points back
- 23 to a -- a statute that actually does the preempting.
- JUSTICE ALITO: Well, boy, if you're willing
- 25 to concede that, I don't see what there is to your

- 1 argument because that's, in essence, what this is --
- 2 what this is saying.
- 3 MR. WESSLER: But the difference, Your
- 4 Honor, is that here the terms are -- the terms of these
- 5 contracts are determining the scope of preemption. And
- 6 the terms themselves are not known by Congress at the
- 7 time it passes the law. What Your Honor suggested looks
- 8 a lot more like what ERISA looks like where Congress
- 9 said the subchapters of ERISA preempt any State law that
- 10 might interfere with plans. But when this Court does a
- 11 preemption analysis under ERISA, it refers back to
- 12 the -- to the actual substantive provisions in ERISA to
- 13 determine preemption.
- 14 JUSTICE ALITO: But Congress doesn't know
- 15 the term -- doesn't know what's in all these plans.
- 16 They didn't know what would be in all these plans when
- 17 they enacted it.
- MR. WESSLER: Well, that --
- 19 JUSTICE ALITO: It depends on the -- it --
- 20 on -- on the formulation. If you say the contract
- 21 preempts anything that conflicts with State law,
- 22 that's -- that's a problem. But if it -- this -- it
- 23 says, this statute hereby preempts anything that
- 24 conflicts with the contract, that's -- that's not a
- 25 problem?

- 1 MR. WESSLER: Well, it depends on what the
- 2 statute says. And in ERISA, when Congress passed ERISA,
- 3 it included a series of substantive provisions that
- 4 dictate which State laws are displaced. For instance,
- 5 it has reporting requirements. It has disclosure
- 6 requirements. It has a remedial scheme. All of those
- 7 substantive provisions give force to the preemption of
- 8 State law.
- 9 Here, there isn't any of that. All Congress
- 10 has said is we're -- we are authorizing these contract
- 11 terms sight unseen that are entered into by the
- 12 government, not acting as regulator, but acting as -- as
- 13 market participant, and the terms of those contracts are
- 14 able to other -- to displace otherwise applicable
- 15 sovereign State law.
- And -- and there truly is no limiting
- 17 principle if, in fact, that is authorized under the
- 18 Supremacy Clause, because, as the Chief suggested, there
- 19 would be nothing to stop Congress from doing the same
- 20 thing for completely private contracts or the rules of
- 21 some informal body.
- 22 When -- when the Supremacy Clause speaks of
- 23 a law being capable of displacing the sovereign
- 24 decisions of States, it requires that there be some
- 25 accountability checkpoints, some procedural protections

- 1 that safeguard States from the kind of arbitrary
- 2 decision making that could occur through an informal
- 3 process where there's no public participation and no
- 4 judicial oversight.
- 5 JUSTICE KAGAN: I think I don't quite
- 6 understand your -- your answer to Justice Alito's first
- 7 question. I think he gave you a statute something along
- 8 the lines of this Federal law preempts and supersedes
- 9 any State law that conflicts with these kinds of
- 10 contracts. And you said that would not be subject to
- 11 your constitutional concerns; is that right?
- MR. WESSLER: I may have misheard -- I may
- 13 have misheard Justice Alito.
- 14 JUSTICE KAGAN: Because those contracts are
- 15 just as indefinite as the -- as the contracts in this --
- MR. WESSLER: That's right.
- 17 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- statute written here.
- 18 MR. WESSLER: That's right. And -- and the
- 19 key point, the one that I think might infect a -- would
- 20 infect that -- that hypothetical is that where the
- 21 contract terms themselves are determining the scope of
- 22 preemption, where they, the terms, are actually
- 23 requiring State law to yield, that is where I think
- 24 the -- the Supremacy Clause comes into play because
- 25 those contract terms themselves are not laws. They have

- 1 not been enacted by Congress. They come with no
- 2 safeguards, procedural protections --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, but that -- that,
- 4 again, is true of ERISA, too. ERISA is a statute that
- 5 says this Federal law displaces these State laws because
- 6 they conflict with a bunch of contract terms.
- 7 MR. WESSLER: Well, I think the difference
- 8 is that when this Court does -- when this Court
- 9 considers preemption in ERISA, the Court looks to the
- 10 substantive provisions of the statute. It looks to, for
- 11 instance, the remedial scheme. It says there is this
- 12 remedial scheme in ERISA, and that substantive scheme
- 13 displaces a State common law claim. The same would be
- 14 true for a disclosure requirement.
- JUSTICE ALITO: Doesn't -- doesn't specify
- 16 everything that's in -- in a State -- in a -- in a plan.
- 17 And things that are in a plan that are not required by
- 18 ERISA supersede State law; isn't that true?
- 19 MR. WESSLER: That's true. But what happens
- 20 then is you have Federal common law that comes in to
- 21 fill the gap. What we know from McVeigh here is that we
- 22 are not in a Federal common law context. These contract
- 23 terms, the ones involving subrogation and reimbursement,
- 24 are not governed by Federal common law. They are
- 25 distinctly State law controlled. They arise after a

- 1 personal injury happens in a State and through a tort
- 2 action in State court. They are governed by these
- 3 distinct State law rules, not any Federal common law.
- 4 And so the difference here is that you have
- 5 what is otherwise a State-focused area of law in which
- 6 these terms in Federal contracts that go through no
- 7 oversight, no public participation are being used to
- 8 deflect those State laws in a way in which Congress
- 9 itself does not have any control over.
- 10 And I think the Court ought be very careful
- 11 before wading in to whether, in fact, that is something
- 12 that is authorized under the Supremacy Clause. And I
- 13 think it's what motivated this Court in McVeigh to look
- 14 at this exact provision and express what is, I think, a
- 15 quite concerned view over whether there is the Supremacy
- 16 Clause problem.
- 17 JUSTICE ALITO: I think Mr. Estrada referred
- 18 to this situation. What if Congress says that in this
- 19 particular area, States cannot regulate it at all? The
- 20 free market has to govern. So any State law that
- 21 purports to regulate in this area is preempted.
- Now, is there a problem with that?
- 23 MR. WESSLER: I think that -- I think if you
- 24 are in a world where there's field preemption, where
- 25 Congress has displaced everything, you -- you might not

- 1 run into this problem. But I don't think that's what
- 2 we're talking about here.
- 3 JUSTICE ALITO: You might not run into the
- 4 problem. You might run into the problem?
- 5 MR. WESSLER: I think, again, it depends
- 6 specifically on what the Federal law says and how it's
- 7 operating. But the closest example that the challengers
- 8 have come to for -- for an analogue to what Congress has
- 9 done here is ERISA, which refers specifically to the
- 10 subchapters of the law as doing the preempting and the
- 11 Federal Arbitration Act, which itself only establishes a
- 12 Federal rule of nondiscrimination. It seeks to put
- 13 arbitration agreements on the same plane as other
- 14 contracts and have State law apply equally to both.
- 15 What's going on here is a rule of
- 16 essentially priority in which -- which Congress has
- 17 delegated to these contract terms the power to override
- 18 State law and exist above what would otherwise apply
- 19 to -- in the private sector. And I think that actually
- 20 cuts strongly against what Congress intended when it
- 21 first passed FEHBA, which was that this -- this statute
- 22 and the -- and the -- and the insurance policies that
- 23 are offered to Federal workers who are also State
- 24 citizens should be subject to the State insurance
- 25 regimes that have controlled these carriers from day one

- 1 in the private sector.
- 2 And when Congress has been asked to address
- 3 specific problems in this area, it has reacted and
- 4 responded repeatedly. The one thing that this agency
- 5 here, OPM, has not done, as much as it's tried to argue
- 6 for Chevron deference over an express -- its
- 7 interpretation of an express-preemption clause, it has
- 8 never, in fact, asked Congress to amend this law to
- 9 address what it perceives as a problem.
- 10 And I would point the Court in this -- in
- 11 this respect to the way preemption works under the --
- 12 the Department of Defense insurance regime. Because for
- 13 all of the -- again, the challengers pointing to several
- 14 copycat versions of this statute and several of their
- other insurance regimes, the Department of Defense
- 16 insurance regime looks very different.
- 17 What Congress did there is that it first
- 18 enacted an express-preemption clause that looked nearly
- 19 identical to what the Court has in front of it here.
- 20 And then five years later, it amended that law and it
- 21 delegated the power to preempt not to terms of a
- 22 contract, but to regulations promulgated by a Federal
- 23 agency; there, the Secretary of Defense.
- And I think if we're thinking about the
- 25 democratically accountable ways that preemption should

- 1 work and the protections that States must have for their
- 2 own law, allowing either Congress to do the preempting
- 3 or delegating that power specifically and expressly to
- 4 an agency are the only two ways that we can -- that
- 5 are -- that are constitutionally permissible, and here
- 6 we have neither.
- 7 Congress itself does not control the terms
- 8 of these contracts, and it has not expressly delegated
- 9 any authority to the agency to pronounce on preemption.
- 10 And so the agency's effort to seek Chevron deference
- 11 over what is explicitly a conclusion on the scope of an
- 12 express-preemption clause just doesn't work. Congress
- 13 well knows how, when it wants to, to delegate that power
- 14 to the agency, and it has not done so here.
- 15 If there are no further questions, save the
- 16 rest of my time.
- 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- Three minutes, Mr. Estrada.
- 19 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF MIGUEL A. ESTRADA
- ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
- MR. ESTRADA: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.
- I'd like to start with the last point
- 23 counsel made about how Congress did not expressly
- 24 delegate the power to preempt. I would point out this
- 25 highlights one of the many oddities of the case on the

- 1 other side.
- 2 Under this Court's ruling in De la Cuesta,
- 3 which held -- you know, this Court held that an agency
- 4 may use general rulemaking authority to preempt State
- 5 laws, and in those circumstances, of course, their
- 6 regulations get deference.
- 7 And one of the contentions that this Court
- 8 specifically rejected in De la Cuesta was that in order
- 9 for the agency to use general rulemaking, Congress had
- 10 specifically to specify that the power to preempt was
- 11 one of the rules. That is at page 154 of this Court's
- 12 opinion. The case is cited in page 54 of the blue
- 13 brief.
- 14 It's very odd, therefore, that, under the
- 15 conception that Respondent has, the agency could have
- done this conclusion on its own under its general
- 17 regulatory power under 8913, and yet Congress cannot do
- 18 so by expressly provided that this is the conclusion it
- 19 wants.
- The second point I would like to make is
- 21 that -- one that addresses Justice Breyer's point, which
- 22 is, keep in mind that this is not a fight as to who gets
- 23 the money in the first place. This is a class action
- 24 complaint brought in State court against my client under
- 25 the theory that we were unjustly enriched by keeping the

- 1 benefits that we should have paid them because we got
- 2 them back. It is inconceivable to me that in the
- 3 context of a case in which the gravamen of the complaint
- 4 is we took his benefits back, the case could not be
- 5 related to benefits. The relevant parts of the
- 6 complaint are Joint Appendix 62A and 63A.
- 7 The third point has to do with democratic
- 8 accountability and whether you would leave this to
- 9 agencies or bureaucrats as opposed to Congress. But as
- 10 you recognize in City of Arlington, the choice that is
- 11 being proposed is not between Congress or the agency,
- 12 but between the Federal courts, which are certainly
- 13 unelected and generally unaccountable in the democratic
- 14 process and people that, at least in theory, are
- 15 ultimately accountable to the elected representatives,
- 16 that is to say, an agency.
- And finally, to the extent that you believe
- 18 that this statute has a constitutional doubt in the
- 19 terms in which it was drafted, I can well believe that
- 20 you have seen many cases in which you feel that you are
- 21 the body shop for the roller derby across the street.
- 22 This is not one of them. This requires no significant
- 23 surgery. It is, at most, a little bit of buffing,
- 24 because it is certainly easier than concluded that
- 25 some -- concluding that something that Congress had

Τ	expressly labeled a penalty in the Affordable Care Act
2	was, in fact, a tax or the construction that the Court
3	invoked in Nabutinov, Bond and other cases.
4	It is certainly easy here to read shall
5	supersede and preempt, to read shall be effective
6	notwithstanding, and give effect to the evident purpose
7	of Congress in dealing with these matters at the Federal
8	level and not on a check board basis, State by State.
9	For all these reasons, we ask that the judgment of the
LO	Supreme Court of Missouri be reversed.
L1	Thank you very much.
L2	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
L3	The case is submitted.
L 4	(Whereupon, at 11:01 a.m., the case in the
L5	above-entitled matter was submitted.)
L 6	
L7	
L8	
L9	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
2.5	

	1 427.21	10.0	2.7.0.12.16.2	1 110 22
A	adopt 37:21	answer 10:8	3:7 9:13 16:3	bad 19:22
a.m 1:16 3:2	38:6	17:25 18:12	17:20 21:14	balance 9:20
49:14	adopted 10:3,25	20:18 24:9	23:5 34:17	based 30:18
ABA 10:3	35:20	30:21 34:12	35:13 38:13,16	basic 14:2 18:11
ability 11:20,22	affect 26:14,17	41:6	39:1 46:19	basically 4:4
14:4	Affordable 49:1	answer's 14:17	arises 9:23 16:5	6:24 19:21
able 40:14	agencies 48:9	answers 3:21	32:20	basis 4:8 15:8
above-entitled	agency 17:7	antisubrogation	Arizona's 28:12	49:8
1:14 49:15	18:19 21:7	3:16 4:3	Arlington 48:10	bear 7:12 16:9
accident 27:17	25:10 33:23	anybody 30:8	Article 9:18	36:9
29:4	45:4,23 46:4,9	apart 10:7	10:10 14:15	begun 25:12
accords 23:23	46:14 47:3,9	APPEARAN	asked 6:24 45:2	behalf 1:18,24
accountability	47:15 48:11,16	1:17	45:8	2:4,11,14 3:8
40:25 48:8	agency's 46:10	appeared 6:10	asking 24:7 35:1	23:6 46:20
accountable	ago 23:9 36:15	appears 5:4 7:1	aspects 10:8	believe 3:14,25
45:25 48:15	agree 12:22	Appendix 48:6	assimilated 11:2	6:20 7:25
act 16:24 25:2	agreeing 14:2	applicable 5:15	Assistant 1:20	12:24 13:8
44:11 49:1	agreements	23:22 30:4	assume 10:20	48:17,19
acting 40:12,12	44:13	32:12 36:18	13:6 14:17	believed 16:23
action 6:19,23	Alito 25:24	38:3 40:14	assuming 15:2	benefit 19:2,11
6:25 7:7 26:12	26:16,19 27:5	application 20:5	attempt 24:14	20:14,25 21:10
27:12 43:2	27:15 29:6,19	applies 19:20	attempting 24:8	25:13 26:14,20
47:23	30:17 32:9,13	36:23	authority 10:11	28:3,4,10
activity 11:6	38:12,24 39:14	apply 5:20 11:25	11:9,13 12:17	benefits 3:17,19
actual 9:9 39:12	39:19 41:13	22:6,18 25:22	20:15 46:9	4:8,16,20 5:9
acupuncture	42:15 43:17	36:17 37:8	47:4	5:10,17 6:2,3
25:14 28:13	44:3	44:14,18	authorize 38:1	17:5 19:2,6,7
ad 17:14	Alito's 41:6	applying 9:5	authorized	19:11 20:8,22
addition 4:13	allow 24:19 35:6	approach 32:2	15:23 40:17	20:25 21:9
additional 4:14	37:22	38:21	43:12	22:22,22 24:18
12:14 15:1	allowing 46:2	appropriate	authorizing	26:4,5,10,17
29:16	alternative 7:17	9:17 11:8 12:9	40:10	28:13,19 29:1
address 8:19	ambiguity 3:20	13:11 17:12	automatically	29:7,9,12,13
13:17 25:17	19:18 30:18,20	approved 12:2	15:6	29:20,21,21,22
33:21 45:2,9	32:20,23	arbitrary 41:1	available 19:2	31:2,16,18,20
addresses 47:21	ambiguous 8:2	arbitration	20:22 29:17	31:21 34:7,8
adjudication	18:7 37:10	16:24 44:11,13	35:4	38:7 48:1,4,5
17:14	amend 45:8	area 14:15 15:11	avenue 11:18	best 26:8 29:11
administer 25:1	amended 45:20	24:14 32:25		Bethesda 21:11
administered	amicus 1:22 2:7	37:12 43:5,19	<u>B</u>	better 18:17,20
17:7	17:21	43:21 45:3	B 8:22	20:4 38:21
administering	amount 26:21	areas 11:11 32:7	B(1) 19:9	beyond 10:14,17
19:4 24:22	26:23	argue 26:1 45:5	back 8:14 14:8	bill 20:14
25:10	analogue 44:8	argued 34:15	24:12 38:22	bit 48:23
administrators	analysis 8:3	arguing 35:5	39:11 48:2,4	blank 13:9,18
4:7	39:11	argument 1:15	background 7:3	blue 5:4 21:25
	and/or 13:11	2:2,5,9,12 3:3	25:21	28:14 47:12
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

	1	1	1	1
board 49:8	case 3:4,11 4:3	Chief 3:3,9 9:24	20:19 21:11	concluded 3:17
body 40:21	4:11 6:13 7:5	10:13,16,20	22:5	6:18 48:24
48:21	8:9,15,16,20	11:10 12:11,19	client 47:24	concluding 4:5
Bond 49:3	9:12,15,23	12:25 13:3,6,7	close 8:15	8:7 48:25
boy 38:24	13:4,14 15:15	13:15 14:3	closely 11:4	conclusion 26:6
Boyle 8:15	16:4,16 20:2	15:17,21 17:16	closest 44:7	46:11 47:16,18
Breyer 14:6,11	34:13,23 36:9	17:18,23 19:14	colleague 32:13	concrete 21:3
14:14,17 28:16	36:17,18 37:4	21:13,19 22:12	colloquy 32:20	condition 19:11
29:12 30:20	38:6 46:25	23:3,7 37:17	Columbia 21:5	conditions 4:8
31:8,13,17	47:12 48:3,4	40:18 46:17,21	come 28:2 42:1	conflict 8:25
35:9	49:13,14	49:12	44:8	34:1,4,7,15,21
Breyer's 47:21	cases 9:8 12:5	chiropractor	comes 9:3 27:10	35:8,21 42:6
brief 5:4 21:25	48:20 49:3	25:15	30:9 33:1	conflicts 9:2
22:1 47:13	CAT 28:20	choice 48:10	41:24 42:20	38:18 39:21,24
broadly 31:25	category 12:7	choosing 18:17	comment 36:5	41:9
33:15	33:5	chose 24:23	Commission	Congress 5:11
brother 21:22	cause 6:19,22,25	Circuit 7:22	12:2	5:18 6:22,23
brought 47:24	7:7 26:12	circumstances	common 6:25	9:7,11,16 10:1
buffing 48:23	caution 37:13	17:11 47:5	9:3 17:10,15	10:9,23,24
bunch 42:6	cautious 23:10	cited 47:12	42:13,20,22,24	11:5,12,17,20
bureaucrats	cavalierly 37:14	citizens 44:24	43:3	12:10,16,16,21
48:9	caveat 7:10	City 48:10	company 31:4,5	13:8 14:4,14
business 25:3	certain 11:1	claim 26:20 27:4	31:9	15:9,9,14,16
businesses 5:15	16:22 17:11	27:6,9,11	competition	15:19,24 16:8
buy 25:2	26:20	42:13	14:21,22	16:20 17:3,8
	certainly 17:12	claims 4:18	competitive	17:12 22:21
C	27:24 29:24	17:15 26:10	24:17,19	23:16 24:8,13
C 2:1 3:1	30:18 48:12,24	27:25	complaint 47:24	24:15 25:5,16
calculate 4:7	49:4	class 47:23	48:3,6	25:18 28:7,9
called 11:24	cetera 16:11,11	clause 4:1 5:3,5	completely 8:16	30:2,14 31:23
12:17 25:11	challenge 16:15	22:7,19 23:10	11:19 15:16	32:3,23 33:3,4
canon 8:4	challenger 36:10		40:20	37:7,11,15,25
canons 9:6	challengers	32:5 33:20,21	concede 38:25	38:8 39:6,8,14
capable 40:23	34:25 37:18	34:18 35:4,17	conceivable 9:22	40:2,9,19 42:1
car 27:17	44:7 45:13	35:19 36:9,16	conceive 28:2	43:8,18,25
care 1:3 3:4	challengers'	37:6,19 38:11	conception	44:8,16,20
21:16 22:24	37:21	40:18,22 41:24	47:15	45:2,8,17 46:2
49:1	check 13:9,18	43:12,16 45:7	conceptualize	46:7,12,23
careful 43:10	49:8	45:18 46:12	16:19	47:9,17 48:9
careless 36:25	checkpoints	clauses 36:23	conceptualizing	48:11,25 49:7
carrier 25:14	40:25	clawback 19:12	14:1	Congress' 11:21
carriers 3:13	Chevron 8:3	clear 4:17 22:9	concern 15:18	Congress's
4:25 5:14	18:10 19:15,18	22:13 25:18	19:22	10:17,21 23:12
25:10,15,22	19:20 20:2,23	33:4 37:6,11	concerned 28:9	23:22
28:11 30:6 44:25	35:2 45:6	37:15	31:2 43:15	connected 10:19
	46:10	Clearfield 17:8	concerns 13:17	consequence
carve 24:6	chicken 14:8	clearly 17:8	41:11	10:8
L	1	·	·	1

	Ì		<u> </u>	
consequences	45:22	3:4	decided 29:3	10:11,18
9:19	contracts 5:1	cover 25:14	33:18	describing 8:6
consider 9:21	17:5,6,9 20:9	28:12 32:7	decision 4:22	description 8:1
considerably	22:3 38:2,10	coverage 3:17	35:7 41:2	designed 23:13
27:22	38:11 39:5	4:12 5:9 6:2	decisions 19:21	desirable 19:7
considered 4:5	40:13,20 41:10	26:3,14 27:1,2	38:3 40:24	determine 39:13
6:18 7:15 12:6	41:14,15 43:6	27:10 28:11,18	declaring 9:19	determining
considering 8:4	44:14 46:8	29:2	defense 7:4,7,16	8:21 20:20,24
8:5,5 9:6,10	contractual	covered 21:3	45:12,15,23	39:5 41:21
11:16,17 35:18	34:10	27:2 28:4,19	defensive 7:1	dictate 40:4
considers 19:7	contrary 10:4	28:20,22 29:14	deference 18:10	difference 39:3
42:9	12:22 13:24	crafted 5:18	19:24 20:2,20	42:7 43:4
consistent 37:9	16:10	create 16:22	20:24 45:6	differences 28:1
constitutional	control 43:9	24:19 32:6	46:10 47:6	30:14
3:25 10:11	46:7	created 34:16	define 18:20	different 4:8
21:24 37:20	controlled 30:15	creating 22:10	defined 5:22	7:13,18 8:16
41:11 48:18	42:25 44:25	crime 11:2	definitions 19:6	19:4 21:9,9
constitutionally	copycat 45:14	crisis 11:17	20:21	28:23 29:17
46:5	correct 29:5	15:13	deflect 43:8	30:12,13,24
constraints	costs 27:18,19	critical 33:16	delegate 11:13	32:3 45:16
15:24	counsel 8:9	Cross/Blue	14:4 38:9	differentiate
construction	17:18 23:3	28:14	46:13,24	33:7
7:12 8:4 49:2	46:17,23 49:12	crucial 19:1	delegated 11:7	difficult 6:10,21
constructions	country 17:15	34:24	44:17 45:21	28:10 36:1
7:17,19	couple 36:15	Cruz 7:21	46:8	difficulty 7:5
contemplates	course 8:23 14:3	crystal 22:8	delegating 46:3	direct 8:19 34:6
29:13	47:5	CSC 25:11	delegation 9:25	disclosure 40:5
contentions 47:7	court 1:1,15	Cuesta 47:2,8	12:16 14:20,25	42:14
context 5:13 7:9	3:10,13,17,24	curiae 1:22 2:7	16:13,14,15	displace 24:8
8:5 9:20 17:5	4:4,20 6:24 7:5	17:21	demand 34:7	25:21 32:12
42:22 48:3	7:15,18,19,23	cuts 44:20	democratic 48:7	33:3 37:7,12
context-depen	8:3,7 9:4 12:4		48:13	37:14 38:3
29:25	12:15 16:17	<u>D</u>	democratically	40:14
contexts 32:3	17:24 18:20	D 1:20 2:6 3:1	45:25	displaced 16:21
contingent	23:8,9 32:2,22	17:20	dental 22:24	35:19 40:4
26:13 27:7	33:18,20 35:6	D.C 1:11,18,21	Department	43:25
contract 5:23	35:18 36:21	1:24 21:4	1:21 45:12,15	displacement
8:11 16:23	37:5,21 39:10	day 44:25	depend 38:13,14	34:22
19:5 21:20	42:8,8,9 43:2	De 47:2,8	depending	displaces 15:10
22:5 23:21	43:10,13 45:10	deal 13:17 17:8	21:10	35:25 42:5,13
24:9 26:2	45:19 47:3,7	dealing 9:9	depends 11:15	displacing 37:23
30:24 31:3,12	47:24 49:2,10	11:18 15:12	39:19 40:1	40:23
31:21 37:22	Court's 7:10	49:7	44:5	distinct 26:11,12
38:15,19 39:20	8:25 47:2,11	dealt 5:11	Depression	43:3
39:24 40:10	courts 16:16	decade 23:9	15:13	distinction
41:21,25 42:6	17:15 48:12	decide 6:12 9:1	derby 48:21	30:10 33:17
42:22 44:17	Coventry 1:3	11:13 35:20	described 7:23	distinctly 28:9
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	1

42:25 enriched 47:25 exact 43:14 fact 5:18 10:24 45:17 47:23 distinguish 13:13 26:9 21:7 31:17 32:24 40:17 43:11 fit 16:3 32:15 District 21:5 ensure 30:15 example 11:3,23 45:8 49:2 FKA 1:4 disturb 23:13 entered 20:9 15:11,13 16:25 fair 14:21 floating 30:23	
distinguish enrolled 20:12 exactly 21:22 34:20 38:14 fit 16:3 32:15 13:13 26:9 21:7 31:17 32:24 40:17 43:11 five 45:20 District 21:5 ensure 30:15 example 11:3,23 45:8 49:2 FKA 1:4	
13:13 26:9	
District 21:5 ensure 30:15 example 11:3,23 45:8 49:2 FKA 1:4	
30:3,5 40:11 36:14 44:7 fall 32:7 30:25	
doctors' 28:13 enterprise 13:21 Exchange 12:2 false 30:11 FMC 3:17 4:5	
doctrine 8:25 entice 24:20 exercise 11:7 far 31:1 38:21 4:23	
9:22,25 10:5 entirely 7:13 36:2 37:13 fashion 25:17 focus 5:3,5 30	:2
12:18 14:23 entities 19:21 exercised 9:16 favor 3:22 focused 34:17	
15:1,4 29:18 exist 44:18 Federal 4:12 footing 20:13	
doing 22:9 25:3 entitled 31:15 existed 8:22 6:20 7:3,4,7 forbid 3:12	
40:19 44:10 entitles 31:9 expansion 35:2 8:11 9:17 12:4 force 40:7	
dollar 27:14 entity 8:11 expansive 7:12 16:24 17:5,6,6 foreclose 12:6	
doubt 48:18	
drafted 48:19 equally 44:14 expertise 25:1 20:8,8,9,9,12 15:16	-
dual-regulatory equitable 27:25 explain 18:23 20:17 21:7 form 9:3 32:6	
25:5 ERISA 4:6 5:25 26:5 22:2,21,22 33:18 34:16	
6:22 17:2 39:8 explained 32:2 24:14,16,17 35:5,20 37:2	
E 39:9,11,12 explicitly 24:25 26:15,25 41:8 formulation	
E 2:1 3:1,1 40:2,2 42:4,4,9 46:11 42:5,20,22,24 39:20	
earlier 17:2 42:12,18 44:9 express 8:17 43:3,6 44:6,11 fortiori 9:13	
easier 48:24 especially 9:21 35:13,25 43:14 44:12,23 45:22 found 25:11	
easy 49:4 ESQ 1:18,20,24 45:6 48:12 49:7 33:24	
edit 22:12 2:3,6,10,13 express-pree Federal/State free 13:21 43:	20
effect 11:25 24:5 essence 35:1 8:10 20:7 9:20 friend 15:18	
33:21 49:6 39:1 23:10,20 32:4 feel 48:20 front 8:6 9:3	
effective 16:10 essentially 44:16 33:20 34:18 FEHB 30:15 45:19	
49:5 establishes 35:3,17,19 FEHBA 3:11 front-end 28:	10
effectively 4:7 44:11 36:8,16,23 23:15 24:13 29:13	
effort 46:10 establishing 37:6,19 45:7 25:4 44:21 fundamental	V
either 7:25 46:2 36:22 45:18 46:12 FEHBA's 23:10 20:6	•
elected 48:15 Estrada 1:18 2:3 expressly 6:22 23:20 further 9:18	
emphasize 18:25 2:13 3:6,7,9 46:3,8,23 field 43:24 15:5 23:2	
employee 30:11 5:2 6:14 8:23 47:18 49:1 fight 47:22 46:15	
30:12 10:6,15,18,22 extend 32:6 fill 42:21	
employees 20:8 11:15 12:12,24 extent 11:19 finally 48:17 G	
employer 30:11 13:2,5,7,25 14:1 19:1 find 4:14 6:10 G 3:1	
enable 22:11 14:10,13,16 20:25 21:9 13:8 15:7 gap 42:21	
enact 24:14 15:7,20 16:2 48:17 finding 8:2 general 1:21	
34:20 43:17 46:18,19 externalities finish 12:13 8:20 22:22,2	.2
enacted 23:16 46:21 20:16 first 4:2 10:9 47:4,9,16	
37:25 39:17 et 16:10,11 extra 29:16 14:11 15:5 generally 5:13	,
42:1 45:18 event 12:12,13 extremely 7:9 23:16 24:13,16 7:23 48:13	
encourage 4:11 17:10 26:9 28:8 generally-app	١
encouraged evident 16:7 F 34:12 35:24 5:14	
16:23 49:6 face 32:22 41:6 44:21 getting 20:18	

22:16,21 27:9	happened 11:23	33:14 45:19	23:11	issues 11:1
29:14 30:12	25:9 31:19	identify 10:9	insurance 3:12	
GINSBURG	35:16	17:13	5:6,20 6:5,6	J
4:24 24:1	happens 20:11	identifying	22:4,23 23:19	JODIE 1:8
give 6:19 13:9	26:12 28:23	10:23	23:25 25:6,21	Joint 48:6
13:21 34:22	42:19 43:1	Illinois 20:12	27:3 30:4,9	judge 29:3
40:7 49:6	hard 6:12 13:8	illustrate 21:23	31:4,5,9 32:8	judgment 49:9
Given 14:24	15:7	implied 33:18	32:12 33:1,19	judicial 41:4
gives 4:14 10:10	harder 9:8	34:2,13,16,21	35:3 44:22,24	jurisdiction 6:20
34:16 35:11	head 10:10	35:5,12,20	45:12,15,16	7:8 18:21
go 12:3 14:8,10	heading 11:4	36:2,19	insurers 23:15	Justice 1:21 3:3
19:8 43:6	headings 8:24	imply 6:25	23:18 25:3,7	3:9 4:24 6:9,15
goal 4:10 32:5	headline 6:15	implying 7:7	intend 31:24	8:9 9:24 10:13
going 6:14 12:25	health 1:3,5 3:4	important 7:9	32:4	10:16,20 11:10
14:10 16:13	5:6 6:5,5 22:4	18:2 21:2	intended 16:8	12:11,19,25
36:1 44:15	22:23 24:22	23:14	25:5,21 28:7	13:3,6,8,15
good 19:12	hear 3:3	importantly 4:9	32:11,24 33:3	14:3,6,11,14
27:14	held 47:3,3	impose 20:16	37:7,12 38:9	14:17 15:17,21
govern 25:6	highlights 46:25	imposes 15:4	44:20	17:16,18,23
30:8 43:20	highly 26:13	19:10	intent 23:23	18:3,6,9,19
governed 17:9	Hillman 9:8	inappropriate	37:15	19:14,16 20:19
30:7 42:24	33:7,12,17,17	9:21	interest 16:24	21:13,19 22:12
43:2	35:5,16	inception 25:4	interesting 14:8	23:3,7 24:1
governing 23:19	historic 23:24	include 19:5	16:14	25:24 26:16,19
23:24	historically	included 31:11	interfere 39:10	27:5,13,15
government	27:25	40:3	interpret 22:17	28:16 29:6,12
4:12 11:1 12:9	history 24:11	including 33:19	28:6	29:19 30:17,20
13:10,22 24:20	25:19,25 32:11	inconceivable	interpretation	31:8,13,17
24:21 34:14,20	hoc 17:14	48:2	9:5 18:14,16	32:9,13,14
40:12	holding 33:7	incur 27:18	18:17 23:11	33:6,9,11,14
governmental	Holliday 3:18	indefinite 41:15	36:10 37:10,22	34:3,6 35:9,10
11:6	4:23	independent	38:7 45:7	35:23 36:4,11
governments	honor 24:7 26:7	15:8 23:23	interpretations	36:14,25 37:3
11:12	26:25 29:5	indicate 36:4	18:13	37:17,17 38:12
gravamen 48:3	31:22 32:18	individuals 13:9	invoked 49:3	38:24 39:14,19
gray 21:25	33:17 34:9,12	14:5	involve 9:12	41:5,6,13,14
Great 15:13	35:15 39:4,7	industry 12:1,8	26:11,13	41:17 42:3,15
ground 20:10	honors 23:22	infect 41:19,20	involved 27:8	43:17 44:3
group 1:4 12:8,8	horribles 8:19	infirmity 3:25	involvement	46:17,21 47:21
groups 11:25	hospital 27:17	informal 40:21	12:14	49:12
guess 11:10 18:8	28:21	41:2	involves 17:5	K
18:11	hypothetical	injury 27:12	involving 42:23	Kagan 6:9,15
H	13:13 41:20	43:1	irreconcilable	27:13 36:14,25
hand 7:20,21	<u> </u>	instance 25:14	35:8	37:3 41:5,14
19:8,8	idea 15:18	28:14 40:4	issue 3:11 4:18	41:17 42:3
happen 27:20,21	identical 6:1,1	42:11	5:21 9:15,25	Kansas 30:12
парреп 27.20,21	identical 0.1,1	instruction	13:14 33:19	
	•	•	•	•

	•	1	•	1
keep 8:21 20:14	24:16 28:24	32:11	27:25 28:2	multiple 32:3
47:22	30:24 32:12	limiting 8:13,20	49:7	
keeping 47:25	33:24 34:9,22	40:16	MATTHEW	N
KENNEDY 8:9	35:19 37:8,13	limits 9:22 11:20	1:24 2:10 23:5	N 2:1,1 3:1
35:10,23 36:4	37:14,23 38:15	14:4 17:13	McLean 21:11	Nabutinov 49:3
36:11	38:18 39:7,9	lines 41:8	McVeigh 6:10	narrow 38:6
key 10:7 18:24	39:21 40:8,15	literally 16:6	6:17 23:9	narrowly 23:21
41:19	40:23 41:8,9	litigants 8:6	32:18,19 42:21	32:1
kind 28:9 30:14	41:23 42:5,13	litigants' 8:1	43:13	natural 22:16
41:1	42:18,20,22,24	little 13:21 21:3	mean 6:9 13:16	nature 19:1
kinds 20:16 41:9	42:25 43:3,3,5	48:23	19:22 22:14,17	20:24 37:18
know 5:16,17	43:20 44:6,10	lived 21:10	31:6,13	nearly 45:18
6:13,17 8:23	44:14,18 45:8	local 22:3,6	meaning 33:21	necessarily 27:7
11:1,3,11 12:7	45:20 46:2	38:15,18	34:18	36:7
12:20,25 13:19	law-free 15:11	long 12:8 19:24	means 22:5 38:8	necessary 19:7
13:19,20 15:12	lawfully 13:9	long-term 22:24	medical 27:18	necessity 36:1
16:13 17:1	laws 3:12,16 5:6	longer 32:14	mentioning 17:2	need 8:12 19:18
19:17,17 24:15	5:8,8,14,19 6:4	look 7:17 28:17	merits 7:16	25:17 37:8
27:14 28:11	6:5 11:13	43:13	metro 21:4	needs 27:1
30:16,22 32:5	12:23 21:17,20	looked 33:22	MIGUEL 1:18	neither 34:14
32:9,13,23	23:18 24:8	45:18	2:3,13 3:7	46:6 never 27:7 37:25
35:18 36:7	25:6,13,13,16	looks 39:7,8	46:19	
37:6 39:14,15	25:21 28:10	42:9,10 45:16	mile 13:19,20,24	45:8 Nevils 1:8 3:5
39:16 42:21	30:4,5,8,13	lot 39:8	mind 8:14,21	non 22:6
47:3	32:7 33:2,3	lottery 30:22	47:22	nondelegation
known 39:6	35:3 38:11	31:1	minus 26:23	12:18 14:19,23
knows 46:13	40:4 41:25	lower 16:16	27:19 34:8	15:1
L	42:5 43:8 47:5	<u>M</u>	minutes 46:18	nondiscrimin
la 47:2,8	layer 12:14 learned 7:4	majority 3:23	misguided 20:6 misheard 41:12	44:12
label 9:2	leave 17:14 48:8	making 37:5	41:13	notice-and-co
labeled 49:1	legislate 10:21	41:2	Missouri 1:4 3:5	3:21
language 6:1 9:9	14:15 16:1	March 1:12	3:13,24 4:21	notwithstandi
19:1 22:19,23	legislative 24:10	Maretta 9:9	20:11 30:12	16:10 22:6,18
23:1 33:15,23	25:19,25 32:10	35:16	49:10	22:20 49:6
37:5	legislators 16:1	market 24:24	money 27:8,9,10	number 3:16,20
largely 29:11	lessons 32:19	25:2 40:13	27:13,13,25	3:23 5:7 25:10
31:23	let's 27:1	43:20	28:1,20 29:3	25:12 29:17
laser 30:2	level 9:17 49:8	markets 11:23	29:16 30:23,25	
Laughter 32:16	liability 4:8	Mars 31:1,3,10	31:3,10,15,19	0
law 5:24 6:25	life 22:23 33:19	31:15	47:23	O 2:1 3:1
9:11 10:1,4	limit 12:15 15:8	Maryland 21:5	monies 28:2	obligation 8:18
15:10,22 16:1	limitation 19:11	matter 1:14 6:20	morning 3:4	obstacle 9:11
16:21 17:10,10	limitations 19:6	7:13 15:2,11	motivated 43:13	obstante 22:7
17:15 19:23,24	20:22	18:12 21:15	Motley 7:5	obviously 22:20
21:17 22:3,6	limited 5:19,24	30:19 49:15	MRI 27:1,2,2,10	occur 27:7 41:2 odd 37:18 47:14
23:22,25 24:14	23:13 25:20	matters 23:24	29:14	ouu 5/.16 4/:14
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

oddities 46:25	20:15 28:5	11:12 46:5	pose 25:16	34:2,13,17
offered 28:14	37:3	permitted 8:22	posed 37:17	35:5,12,13,20
44:23	participant 25:2	personal 27:12	posit 13:13	35:25 36:2,17
okay 10:5	25:6 26:17,22	43:1	position 8:1,6	36:19,23 38:1
once 15:5 19:19	40:13	Petitioner 1:6,19	21:6	39:5,11,13
ones 9:8 42:23	participate	1:23 2:4,8,14	possibility 35:4	40:7 41:22
operating 44:7	23:15	3:8 17:22	possible 12:10	42:9 43:24
operation 16:22	participating	46:20	27:24	45:11,25 46:9
17:4	25:7,22 30:7	Petitioners	pot 29:16	preemptive 12:6
opinion 47:12	participation	34:14	potential 26:21	17:11
OPM 5:1 19:3	41:3 43:7	pick 7:25 8:8	pots 28:1	preempts 3:12
22:11 45:5	particular 5:22	picked 18:13	power 9:17	4:15 21:20
OPM's 3:21	11:18 23:1	picking 22:25	10:17,21 11:4	38:17 39:21,23
17:25	32:4 37:7,12	pivot 16:2	11:7 14:15,25	41:8
opposed 48:9	43:19	place 28:8 36:13	15:9 38:9	preferred 35:12
oral 1:14 2:2,5,9	parties 12:20	47:23	44:17 45:21	premise 14:2
3:7 17:20 23:5	13:20	placed 12:15	46:3,13,24	premise 14.2
order 8:12 47:8	parts 12:1 15:3	plainly 4:19	47:10,17	21:8
orderly 35:24	48:5	plainty 4.19 plaintiffs 7:21	practically 9:23	presented 18:1
ordinary 9:5	pass 15:10 21:16	plan 1:5 4:7,11	precedent 36:22	presumption
organizations	25:13	20:13,22 21:8	precisely 30:14	20:5 36:16,22
11:24	passage 7:18	27:3 28:15	32:20	37:8
ostensibly 16:5	passage 7.18	29:15 42:16,17	precondition	pretty 15:25
ought 43:10	24:13,16 25:19	plane 44:13	11:21	pretty 13.23 prevail 8:12
out-of-State	28:7 30:3	plans 5:7,13,20	preempt 10:4	principle 40:17
20:16	31:24 32:4	6:6 19:3 22:4	12:22 13:24	principle 40.17
outlines 17:13	40:2 44:21	25:2 39:10,15	16:7 19:24	8:21
outset 28:3	passes 39:7	39:16	22:3,14,17	priority 36:5,8
overlooking	patient 31:2	plausible 6:11	23:18,22 24:2	44:16
4:21,22	pay 31:4,5	7:16,24 19:25	38:10 39:9	private 11:14
override 44:17	paying 20:13	play 23:14 41:24	45:21 46:24	12:8,20 13:9
overruled 36:21	21:8	please 3:10	47:4,10 49:5	14:4 16:25
oversight 41:4	payment 26:5	17:24 23:8	preempted 4:4,6	17:4 19:21
43:7	26:14 28:21	point 3:21 4:2	4:15 11:14	23:15 24:18,23
73.7	29:13	6:7,15 16:14	15:3 21:17	25:3,7 30:6,8
P	payments 3:18	18:24 28:16,17	43:21	40:20 44:19
P 3:1	4:16,19 5:10	29:4,6 30:21	preempting	45:1
packages 24:18	5:17 6:3 19:2	30:21 32:15	19:23 22:10	privately-nego
page 2:2 5:4	19:12 20:14,25	34:24 37:5	38:23 44:10	38:2
21:25,25 47:11	21:10 29:7,8	41:19 45:10	46:2	problem 9:12
47:12	29:22	46:22,24 47:20	preemption 3:22	11:17 13:18
paid 27:2,9 29:4	penalty 49:1	47:21 48:7	5:19,22 7:1,4	16:4 21:14,16
31:16,20 34:7	penalty 49.1 people 48:14	pointing 45:13	8:15,17,22,24	21:24 22:25
48:1	perceives 45:9	points 18:1	10:5 15:2,8,22	24:16,21 25:16
pain 28:21	perfectly 22:13	30:17 38:22	16:5 17:14	38:6 39:22,25
parade 8:19	22:16 37:9	policies 44:22	18:25 20:5	43:16,22 44:1
part 4:21 10:9	permissible	political 15:24	32:6 33:18	44:4,4 45:9
P 10.5	hei impainte	pontical 13.24	32.0 33.10	TT.T,T TJ.7

problems 37:20	public 16:24	31:25 32:1	33:1 34:21	requires 4:7
38:22 45:3	41:3 43:7	33:15 49:4,5	35:22	23:10 28:6
procedural	pure 30:19	reading 22:16	regulations	40:24 48:22
40:25 42:2	purely 16:25	23:20 26:8	17:25 18:23	requiring 41:23
proceeding	17:4	29:11	19:9,10 20:3	reserve 17:17
35:24	purports 43:21	readings 6:11	32:8 33:23	respect 3:19
proceeds 26:11	purpose 8:5 9:7	20:4	45:22 47:6	4:16,20 5:10
27:11 28:25,25	28:8 49:6	really 8:1,18,24	regulator 40:12	6:2,3 7:13,14
29:1,2	purposely 23:13	16:3 18:12,13	regulatory	23:23 29:7,9
process 41:3	25:20 32:11	20:6 21:1,24	47:17	29:22 36:15
48:14	put 44:12	37:23 38:5	reimbursement	45:11
profession 10:16	put 44.12	reason 4:14 30:5	4:18 42:23	responded 45:4
professional	0	reasonable	rejected 47:8	Respondent 1:9
10:2,3	question 3:22	18:15	relate 3:16,18	1:25 2:11
profits 5:15	6:10,21 7:11	reasons 3:15 4:4	4:16,19 5:6,25	18:14 23:6
progeny 17:9	7:14 9:4 10:23	4:13 26:9	6:5 26:3,4,4	47:15
progeny 17.9 program 23:15	11:3 14:1,3,6	29:11 49:9	31:21	Respondent's
24:22 25:1,4,8	14:12,19 15:22	rebuttal 2:12	related 5:9 48:5	21:6
25:11,23 30:7	17:25 19:15	17:17 46:19	relates 29:20,21	responsibility
30:15	20:19 27:15	receive 26:15	29:22,24 31:18	10:2,3
prohibit 20:11	29:14,19 31:23	31:9	31:25 33:12	responsible 11:8
prohibition 7:2	31:24 32:21	receives 26:17	38:7	rest 46:16
prohibits 21:4	34:12 35:24	26:20,22	relating 22:4	restriction 15:5
promptes 21.4	37:17 41:7	receiving 31:2	relatively 7:2	reversed 49:10
33:23 45:22	questions 19:20	recognize 6:8,17	relevant 7:18	right 10:20
pronounce 46:9	23:2 46:15	48:10	9:6 11:4 48:5	18:22 19:16
proper 16:19	quite 4:17,19	reconceptuali	reluctant 11:16	20:1 21:22
32:1	16:7 26:24	16:17	remainder	26:7,18,25
proposed 48:11	32:23 36:11	recourse 12:3	17:17	27:5 29:24
proposition 12:7	41:5 43:15	recovery 27:19	remains 23:11	30:21 36:20
protections	quote 5:6	27:20,20	remedial 40:6	41:11,16,18
40:25 42:2		reduce 4:12	42:11,12	rights 30:13
46:1	R	refer 4:19	remedies 15:14	riot 14:20
protective 22:10	R 3:1	referred 43:17	renders 15:11	rise 6:19 34:16
proves 21:24	railroad 12:21	refers 39:11	repeatedly 45:4	34:22
provide 28:11	raise 38:22	44:9	reporting 40:5	rises 8:1
provided 5:13	raised 15:18	regardless 27:3	representatives	road 16:13
6:22 11:5	16:15	regime 45:12,16	48:15	29:15 34:19
47:18	raises 37:19	regimes 44:25	require 33:4	ROBERTS 3:3
provision 5:19	rare 7:2	45:15	required 25:13	9:24 10:13,16
8:10 18:25	rate 13:19,23	region 21:4	28:12 33:25	10:20 11:10
19:4,13 20:7	reach 5:23 6:3	regulate 43:19	34:1 42:17	12:11,19,25
22:7 23:17	26:6	43:21	requirement	13:3,6,15
26:1,3 38:13	reached 5:8	regulating 10:14	15:2 26:22	15:17,21 17:18
43:14	reaches 5:5	23:14	31:12 42:14	19:14 21:13,19
provisions 39:12	reacted 45:3	regulation 3:21	requirements	22:12 23:3
40:3,7 42:10	read 22:8 30:18	4:25 13:24	40:5,6	46:17 49:12
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

Roberts' 37:17	34:18 39:5	15:25 48:22	22:6 23:18,22	33:22
role 23:14,24	41:21 46:11	similar 22:19	25:13,21 29:3	step 15:25 38:2
roller 48:21	second 6:7,15	similarly-situa	30:4,13,24	stop 40:19
room 4:24 16:22	10:12 14:19	21:6	32:8,12,25	street 48:21
17:4	24:6,13 47:20	simply 8:6 17:3	33:2,3,24 34:9	stressed 23:9
rule 3:14 4:3,5	Secretary 45:23	31:14	34:22 37:8,13	strictly 12:1
7:3 9:2,14 10:3	Section 4:1 5:11	singles 5:19	37:14,23 38:15	strictly 12.1 strongly 44:20
44:12,15	5:12 6:23 9:17	situation 43:18	38:18 39:9,21	sub 26:2 29:8
rulemaking 47:4	9:18 10:10	slid 19:15	40:4,8,15 41:9	subchapters
47:9	19:9 23:12	smuggle 35:3	41:23 42:5,13	39:9 44:10
rules 4:15,19	sector 24:18	solely 34:17	42:16,18,25	subject 5:12,14
10:25 11:25	30:9 44:19	Solicitor 1:20		6:20 7:13 11:7
			43:1,2,3,8,20	
12:5 40:20	45:1	somewhat 5:24	44:14,18,23,24	12:9 13:10
43:3 47:11	securities 11:23	19:19	47:4,24 49:8,8	15:10,23,24
ruling 47:2	12:2	sort 7:25 24:22	State's 20:15	41:10 44:24
run 14:20 44:1,3	see 38:25	30:22	State-focused	subjects 5:7,9
44:4	seek 46:10	Sotomayor 18:3	43:5	submitted 49:13
S	seeks 44:12	18:6,9,19	statement 33:4	49:15
$\frac{S}{S 2:1 3:1}$	seen 48:20	19:16 33:6,9	37:1,11	subrogation
	self-evidently	33:11,14 34:3	States 1:1,15,22	3:12 4:17
safeguard 41:1	10:19	34:6	2:7 5:16 7:20	19:10 20:11
safeguards 42:2	self-regulatory	Sotomayor's	17:21 23:14,23	21:5 23:21
satisfaction	11:24	20:19	25:3,5,12 38:4	26:2,3,10,10
14:24,25	semantic 21:15	source 14:25	40:24 41:1	26:20,22 27:3
satisfied 14:22	semantics 21:15	sovereign 38:3	43:19 46:1	27:9 28:18
15:6,6	sense 19:12	40:15,23	statute 4:13,22	34:8 42:23
save 46:15	20:23 26:9	sovereigns 23:24	5:3,4,5,25 6:12	subset 24:7
saying 7:24	separate 15:4	speaks 40:22	6:18,19,23	substantive
10:14 21:1,17	26:11 27:11,11	specific 45:3	7:11,11,15 8:2	34:20 35:22
27:15 39:2	31:19	specifically	9:1,10 11:3	39:12 40:3,7
says 9:2 12:22	separately 5:11	23:17 44:6,9	15:10 16:6,6,8	42:10,12
16:6 19:5,10	series 40:3	46:3 47:8,10	16:9,20 17:1,1	sudden 35:11
21:20 22:2,14	serious 19:20	specify 42:15	18:4 19:5 20:4	suffering 28:21
30:24,24 31:3	24:22 37:20	47:10	20:10 21:23	suggest 13:1
34:9 38:14	services 25:14	speculative 14:7	22:9,13,22	suggested 39:7
39:23 40:2	25:15 28:13	sponsors 4:11	24:2,4 25:20	40:18
42:5,11 43:18	set 13:22,23	standards 11:8	28:6 29:11	suit 27:19,20,21
44:6	Seventh 7:22	13:11	30:1,1,3 31:24	28:24,25 29:1
Scalia 32:14	shared 29:17	start 46:22	33:19 34:1	29:2,2
scan 28:20	Shield 28:14	State 3:12,13 4:9	38:8,17,23	suited 18:20
Schechter 14:9	shipper 12:21	4:9,25 5:6 6:4	39:23 40:2	supersede 16:7
15:15	shop 48:21	9:1,10 10:4,25	41:7,17 42:4	22:3,17 38:15
scheme 25:5	show 18:14	10:25 11:12	42:10 44:21	42:18 49:5
40:6 42:11,12	sick 14:8	12:22 13:24	45:14 48:18	supersedes
42:12	side 15:19 47:1	15:22,25 16:1	statute's 4:10	38:17 41:8
scope 4:12 5:21	sight 40:11	16:21 19:23,24	statutes 16:21	supervised 12:1
6:2 13:22	significant	21:17,20 22:3	statutes 10.21 statutory 9:5	supervision 11:6
0.2 10.22	Significant	21.17,20 22.3	Statutory 7.3	supervision 11.0
L				

12:9 13:11	48:19	48:7	Uh-huh 14:13	victim 29:4
support 1:22 2:8	text 7:10 9:1	thought 3:24	14:16 15:20	view 5:23 43:15
SUPPORTING	28:6 37:10	three 3:14,23	ultimately 11:8	views 9:19
17:22	textual 30:18	8:24 18:1 26:8	27:8 48:15	violation 12:3
suppose 10:1	32:19,22	31:14 46:18	umbrella 22:10	Virginia 21:4
14:20	thank 3:9 6:15	threshold 8:3	unaccountable	33:24 35:19
Supremacy 4:1	17:16,18 23:3	tied 11:4 19:3	48:13	virtue 24:8
22:7,19 24:4	23:7 46:17,21	time 17:17 25:11	unambiguously	vision 22:24
38:11 40:18,22	49:11,12	25:19 26:12	38:9	
41:24 43:12,15	theory 47:25	35:2 39:7	unconstitutio	W
Supreme 1:1,15	48:14	46:16	24:4	W.H 1:24 2:10
3:13,24 4:20	they'd 14:20	today 23:11	uncritically	23:5
49:10	thing 21:1 28:23	34:23	31:25	wading 43:11
sure 5:2 21:21	31:19 34:11	ton 13:23	undermines	want 6:12 12:6
31:16 32:17	36:12 40:20	tool 12:10	4:10	13:12,21 18:24
34:11	45:4	tort 23:25 26:11	understand 7:10	19:16,17 24:19
surgery 48:23	things 11:2,21	27:11,19,20,21	13:5,7 15:9	30:3,5
susceptible 7:16	19:8 42:17	28:24,25 29:1	16:12 21:13,14	wanted 9:11
system 7:3 13:21	think 7:9,17	29:1,2 43:1	32:17 41:6	21:15 28:12
	8:14,15 9:3,4	trade 11:25	understanding	30:14
T	10:7 11:15	traditional	28:5,7	wanting 9:11
T 2:1,1	14:2,6 16:19	20:15 23:18	understood	18:23
take 8:25 10:7	18:3,6,15,16	32:7,25	19:16 30:6	wants 46:13
18:11 21:16	18:24 19:22	transforming	undertake 15:25	47:19
31:3	20:1,3,6,23	7:6	undo 33:5	warned 23:17
talking 11:11	21:2,11,21,23	tried 15:15 45:5	unelected 48:13	Washington
15:21 20:8	22:8,15,16,20	Tripp 1:20 2:6	unfair 14:21	1:11,18,21,24
28:17 33:2	22:24 24:3,6,7	17:19,20,23	uniform 24:14	wasn't 24:21
44:2	24:9,12 26:8	18:5,8,11,22	uniformity 4:10	way 16:19 18:15
tap 24:23	26:24 27:15,23	20:1 21:18,21	unimpeded	19:9 20:10
targets 6:4	27:23,24 28:5	22:15	16:22	21:1 22:8
tax 5:16 49:2	28:8 29:10,23	true 10:24 23:11	United 1:1,15,22	24:19 27:16,16
taxation 5:12	29:24 30:10,16	42:4,14,18,19	2:7 7:20 17:21	27:17,18 28:2
telling 15:25	30:17 31:6,7	truly 14:7 40:16	unjustly 47:25	35:14 38:5
term 34:10	31:22 32:2,18	Trust 17:9	unnecessary 8:7	43:8 45:11
39:15	34:2,5,24	trying 10:24	unprecedented	ways 5:23 45:25
terms 5:22 6:25	35:15 36:7,8	35:2 36:13	35:1 37:25	46:4
16:6,9,23	36:21,24 37:2	turn 4:2 15:14	unseen 40:11	We'll 3:3
19:25 22:2,5	37:4,9,19,24	21:23 37:16	upheld 3:13	we're 15:21 17:1
23:21 24:9	38:20,20 41:5	two 3:20 6:11,13	urged 7:19	20:7 28:17
26:1,1 37:23	41:7,19,23	12:19 15:5	use 12:10 47:4,9	33:2 34:22
38:2,10,14,18	42:7 43:10,13	18:13,18 19:8	$\overline{\mathbf{V}}$	40:10 44:2
39:4,4,6 40:11	43:14,17,23,23	20:4 46:4		45:24
40:13 41:21,22	44:1,5,19	type 9:13 15:14	v 1:7 3:5,17 4:23	we've 18:12
41:25 42:6,23	45:24	38:1	9:8 35:16	32:21
43:6 44:17	thinking 45:24		vary 4:9	Wednesday 1:12
45:21 46:7	third 4:10 15:6	U	versions 45:14	weight 36:9
	1	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

went 25:15	wrote 7:24 38:8	62A 48:6		
weren't 28:13	W10tc 7.24 30.0	63A 48:6		
Wessler 1:24	X	UJA 70. 0		
2:10 23:4,5,7	x 1:2,10 26:23	7		
′ ′		70 36:21		
24:3 26:7,18	Y	70s 25:9		
26:24 27:6,23	Yeah 15:17	70323.7		
29:5,10,23	21:18	8		
31:6,11,16,22	years 29:15	8 9:18 10:10		
32:10,17 33:6	36:15,21 45:20	14:15		
33:8,10,13,16	yield 41:23	8902(d) 19:5		
34:5,11 35:15	Jielu 11.23	20:20		
36:3,6,13,20	\mathbf{Z}	8902(m)(1) 4:1		
37:2,4 38:20	ZACHARY	23:12 24:2		
39:3,18 40:1	1:20 2:6 17:20	25:18		
41:12,16,18				
42:7,19 43:23	0	8909(f) 5:12		
44:5		8913 47:17		
whip 35:11	1	9		
whiplash 35:11	1 1:12 9:18			
whoa 31:13,13	10:10			
31:13	10 13:19,23			
willing 38:24	10:09 1:16 3:2			
win 20:2	11:01 49:14			
wipe 33:5	154 47:11			
won 30:25	16-149 1:6 3:4			
wording 38:13	17 2:8			
words 12:21	1959 24:13			
13:18 14:21	1978 25:20 30:3			
16:9 23:12	38:9			
31:14	30.7			
work 18:2,24	2			
19:9 20:10	2 5:4 21:25			
24:20 46:1,12	2017 1:12			
worker 26:15,25	23 2:11			
workers 20:12	20 2.11			
20:17 21:7	3			
24:17 44:23	3 2:4 21:25			
workforce 17:6	30 13:20,23			
working 21:7	4			
works 45:11	46 2:14			
world 28:24				
34:23 43:24	5			
wouldn't 36:7	502 6:23			
written 24:5	54 47:12			
41:17				
wrong 3:14 4:21	6			
4:22 21:11				
	I	l	1	