

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY,)
ET AL.,)
 Petitioners,)
 v.) No. 18-587
REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF)
CALIFORNIA, ET AL.,)
 Respondents.)

DONALD J. TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE)
UNITED STATES, ET AL.,)
 Petitioners,)
 v.) No. 18-588
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE)
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, ET AL.,)
 Respondents,)

KEVIN K. McALEENAN, ACTING SECRETARY)
OF HOMELAND SECURITY, ET AL.,)
 Petitioners,)
 v.) No. 18-589
MARTIN JONATHAN BATALLA VIDAL, ET AL.,)
 Respondents,)

Pages: 1 through 93

Place: Washington, D.C.

Date: November 12, 2019

HERITAGE REPORTING CORPORATION

Official Reporters

1220 L Street, N.W., Suite 206

Washington, D.C. 20005

(202) 628-4888

www.hrccourtreporters.com

1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

2 - - - - -

3 DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY,)

4 ET AL.,)

5 Petitioners,)

6 v.) No. 18-587

7 REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF)

8 CALIFORNIA, ET AL.,)

9 Respondents.)

10 - - - - -

11 DONALD J. TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE)

12 UNITED STATES, ET AL.,)

13 Petitioners,)

14 v.) No. 18-588

15 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE)

16 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, ET AL.,)

17 Respondents.)

18 - - - - -

19 KEVIN K. McALEENAN, ACTING SECRETARY)

20 OF HOMELAND SECURITY, ET AL.,)

21 Petitioners,)

22 v.) No. 18-589

23 MARTIN JONATHAN BATALLA VIDAL, ET AL.,)

24 Respondents.)

25 - - - - -

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

Washington, D.C.

Tuesday, November 12, 2019

The above-entitled matter came on for oral argument before the Supreme Court of the United States at 10:06 a.m.

APPEARANCES:

GEN. NOEL J. FRANCISCO, Solicitor General,
Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.;
on behalf of the Petitioners.

THEODORE B. OLSON, ESQ., Washington, D.C.;
on behalf of the private Respondents.

MICHAEL J. MONGAN, Solicitor General,
San Francisco, California;
on behalf of the state Respondents.

1	C O N T E N T S	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	PAGE:
3	GEN. NOEL J. FRANCISCO, ESQ.	
4	On behalf of the Petitioners	4
5	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	
6	THEODORE B. OLSON, ESQ.	
7	On behalf of the private Respondents	43
8	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	
9	MICHAEL J. MONGAN, ESQ.	
10	On behalf of the state Respondents	66
11	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF:	
12	GEN. NOEL J. FRANCISCO, ESQ.	
13	On behalf of the Petitioners	87
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 (10:06 a.m.)

3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear
4 argument first this morning in Case 18-587, the
5 Department of Homeland Security versus Regents
6 of the University of California, and the related
7 cases.

8 General Francisco.

9 ORAL ARGUMENT OF GEN. NOEL J. FRANCISCO

10 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

11 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Mr. Chief Justice,
12 and may it please the Court:

13 In 2017, the Fifth Circuit held that
14 DAPA and the expansion of DACA were likely
15 unlawful, a judgment this Court affirmed by an
16 equally divided Court. In the face of those
17 decisions, the Department of Homeland Security
18 reasonably determined that it no longer wished
19 to retain the DACA policy based on its belief
20 that the policy was illegal, its serious doubts
21 about its illegality, and its general opposition
22 to broad non-enforcement policies.

23 That decision did not violate the APA
24 for two reasons. First, it's not subject to
25 judicial review. The rescission simply ended a

1 previous non-enforcement policy whereby the
2 Department agreed to not enforce the INA against
3 hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens.

4 But the decision whether or not to
5 enforce the law is committed to the agency's
6 unreviewable discretion, unless a statute
7 restricts it. And nothing in the INA requires
8 the Department, a law enforcement agency, to not
9 enforce the law.

10 Second, the decision to end this
11 non-enforcement policy was eminently reasonable.
12 DACA was a temporary stopgap measure that, on
13 its face, could be rescinded at any time. And
14 the Department's reasonable concerns about its
15 legality and its general opposition to broad
16 non-enforcement policies provided more than a
17 reasonable basis for ending it.

18 After all, an agency isn't required to
19 push its legally dubious power to not enforce
20 the law to its logical extreme since it
21 undermines confidence in the rule of law itself
22 and it conflicts with the agency's law
23 enforcement mission.

24 I'd like to begin with the
25 reviewability question. If the Attorney General

1 were to say that he wasn't going to seek death
2 penalty prosecutions because he thought the
3 death penalty was unconstitutional, that would
4 be immune from judicial review. And if a new
5 attorney general came in and reversed that
6 policy because he believed that the death
7 penalty was constitutional, that would likewise
8 be immune from judicial review because --

9 JUSTICE GINSBURG: General Francisco,
10 there's a strange element to your argument
11 because you're arguing this is a discretionary
12 matter; it's not reviewable because it's
13 committed to agency discretion.

14 But, on the other hand, you say the
15 agency had no discretion because this program
16 was illegal. In other words, the law requires
17 you to drop DACA. So how can it be committed to
18 your discretion when you're saying we have no
19 discretion; this is an illegal program?

20 GENERAL FRANCISCO: For two reasons,
21 Your Honor. First, we've put forward both legal
22 and policy reasons for the rescission, so this
23 case is on all fours with Chaney, where the FDA
24 likewise put forth legal and policy reasons.
25 Its principal argument was that it lacked

1 jurisdiction to reg -- to regulate state use of
2 drugs in carrying out the death penalty. Its
3 alternative argument was that even if it had the
4 legal authority to do so, it wouldn't have
5 exercised it.

6 And this Court found that that
7 decision was committed to the agency's
8 unreviewable discretion. Here, we are likewise
9 making alternative legal and policy arguments.

10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: What's your --

11 GENERAL FRANCISCO: But, secondly --

12 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Oh, I'm sorry.
13 Go ahead.

14 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Secondly, even if
15 we were making purely a legal argument, and
16 we're not, but even if we were, review would be
17 foreclosed by this Court's decision in BLE.
18 What the BLE case held was that if an action is
19 committed to an agency's unreviewable
20 discretion, then it doesn't matter what reason
21 it gives for taking that action; it's still
22 unreviewable. And the specific example this
23 Court provided in BLE was a prosecutor who
24 decided not to indict for a purely legal reason.
25 And the Court indicated that that was still

1 unreviewable because the underlying action, the
2 enforcement discretion, was committed to the
3 agency's unreviewable discretion.

4 So, here, we think we win under
5 Chaney, and we also think we win under BLE.

6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: What if the
7 Attorney General said he, in his exercise of
8 prosecutorial discretion, was not going to
9 enforce any of the immigration laws?

10 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Uh --

11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Would that
12 still be non-reviewable?

13 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Your Honor, then I
14 think that you might run into Chaney's exception
15 for a complete abdication of authority, but
16 there's a critical difference between that and
17 this. Here, we are enforcing the law. You can
18 understand why Congress or the courts might say
19 that you can review a -- a decision not to
20 enforce the law. Congress, in fact, passes laws
21 so they'll be enforced, and you can understand
22 why it might restrict the government's ability
23 to not enforce the law.

24 Here, we are enforcing the law. And
25 it's very difficult to see why the Congress

1 would ever pass a law, say that something is
2 illegal, and then try to hamstring the
3 government's ability to enforce it. That's why
4 we think we clearly fall within the Chaney
5 presumption, that it's an exercise of
6 enforcement discretion, and we don't fall within
7 the Chaney exception, which would apply where
8 Congress itself restricts the discretion or
9 where there's a potential complete abdication of
10 enforcement authority, as Chaney made clear
11 might also be an exception.

12 JUSTICE ALITO: Was DACA --

13 JUSTICE KAGAN: Just to -- just to
14 understand what you're saying, General, you --
15 that would suggest that the original DACA is
16 reviewable, but the rescission of DACA is not.
17 In other words, are you suggesting that there's
18 an asymmetry in what's reviewable?

19 GENERAL FRANCISCO: There --

20 JUSTICE KAGAN: That they don't stand
21 and fall together?

22 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Yeah, there is,
23 because there's a difference in the two
24 policies. Both of them -- to be clear, both of
25 them fall within Chaney's presumption. Both of

1 them reflect an exercise of enforcement
2 discretion that are presumptively unreviewable.
3 The question then is whether Congress has done
4 anything to restrict that discretion.

5 With respect to DAPA, the case that
6 this Court had before it a couple of years ago,
7 Texas argued that the INA actually restricted
8 the agency's ability not to enforce the law.
9 And you can certainly understand why Congress
10 might try to hamstring the government's ability
11 not to enforce the laws that it passes. And the
12 Fifth Circuit agreed. So that fell within the
13 Chaney exception to the presumption.

14 Here, though, nobody is arguing,
15 nobody on either side, is arguing that the INA
16 somehow restricts our ability to enforce the
17 law. And it would be quite surprising if
18 Congress were to pass a law that says something
19 is illegal and then tries to somehow restrict
20 the government's ability from enforcing the laws
21 that it passes.

22 So, again, I think we fall four square
23 within the Chaney presumption, and the Chaney
24 exception doesn't apply. And that exception
25 applies -- that exception covers both where the

1 statute itself restricts the discretion, and,
2 Chief Justice, to your question, it could also
3 apply where there was a complete abdication of
4 law enforcement responsibilities. That was one
5 of the areas that Chaney reserved in that
6 critical Footnote 4.

7 But, here, we're not not enforcing the
8 law. We're enforcing the law. And there is
9 simply nothing in the INA that somehow says to
10 the Department of Homeland Security you are
11 restricted in any way or shape or form --

12 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Can I go back --

13 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- from enforcing
14 the laws we pass.

15 JUSTICE GINSBURG: The response that
16 you -- that you gave to me, I didn't see -- I
17 thought that what you call it, the Duke
18 Memorandum, Duke Memorandum said DACA is
19 illegal. I didn't see where it said, whether
20 it's illegal or not, as a matter of
21 administration policy, we are withdrawing it.

22 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Uh-huh. So --

23 JUSTICE GINSBURG: I didn't see that.

24 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Yeah.

25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: You said there were

1 alternate arguments. I saw only the first, we
2 can't enforce DACA; we can't adhere to DACA
3 because it's illegal.

4 GENERAL FRANCISCO: So two responses,
5 Your Honor. First of all, Secretary Nielsen's
6 memoranda clearly encompasses all of the
7 different arguments. It sets them forth in
8 great detail. And we think that the Nielsen
9 memorandum is clearly properly before the Court.
10 The district court in Washington, D.C.,
11 specifically asked for it. We specifically
12 provided it. The district court reviewed it.
13 So the only question really is, what does it
14 mean?

15 And Secretary Nielsen in her
16 memorandum effectively ratified Secretary Duke's
17 decision for the reasons given, using precisely
18 the same mechanism that Secretary Duke used
19 herself to issue the memo in the first place,
20 the same mechanism that was issued -- used to
21 issue the DACA memo, and the same mechanism used
22 to issue the DAPA memo.

23 So this isn't a post hoc
24 rationalization of agency action. It is agency
25 action. The whole point of the post hoc

1 rationalization rule is to prevent courts from
2 invading into executive branch decision-making.

3 JUSTICE BREYER: I thought the point
4 -- I mean, this is an old argument.

5 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Yeah.

6 JUSTICE BREYER: And there have been
7 two bases. The first base is a big argument
8 between Ken Davis and Burger, you know, and is
9 -- is it that you can't review an agency, does
10 that little thing about you cannot -- commit it
11 to agency discretion by law, does it mean that
12 there's certain -- just mean that there are
13 certain things an agency might do. Don't review
14 them even if they're totally wrong, like Panama
15 Canal tolls.

16 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

17 JUSTICE BREYER: Okay? That isn't
18 here, I don't think.

19 The Chaney argument, I thought was the
20 reason this is unreviewable, is because there's
21 a long history and tradition of a prosecutor
22 saying, I know that guy over there, or that
23 woman here, and they may be guilty, but, in my
24 discretion, no, I don't want to prosecute them.
25 There's a long history of that.

1 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Uh-huh.

2 JUSTICE BREYER: And if that history,
3 an understandable power to give to a prosecutor,
4 is to be valid, courts, stay out of it. Now
5 that does not apply where what's at issue is not
6 a prosecutor making an individualized decision
7 but, rather, an agency's policies --

8 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

9 JUSTICE BREYER: -- generalized,
10 written down, and I can't think of a reason why
11 in such a case you wouldn't review it in a
12 court.

13 GENERAL FRANCISCO: So, respectfully,
14 Your Honor, I strongly disagree because Chaney
15 itself involved not a prosecutor but an agency
16 and not a single shot enforcement action but a
17 general policy.

18 Here's what the FDA said in the letter
19 denying the petition brought by the inmates to
20 have it regulate the state exercise of the death
21 penalty. This is their principal conclusion.

22 JUSTICE BREYER: Yeah.

23 GENERAL FRANCISCO: "For the reasons
24 given below, we conclude that the use of lethal
25 injection by state penal systems is a practice

1 over which FDA has no jurisdiction and,
2 therefore, that FDA has no authority to take the
3 actions your petition requests. Accordingly,
4 your petition is denied."

5 It later provided as the alternative
6 rationale a policy rationale, and it says later:
7 "Thus, as a secondary and separate basis of
8 denial, we decline as a matter of enforcement
9 discretion to pursue supplies of drugs under
10 state control that will be used for execution by
11 lethal injection."

12 So, in Chaney, the FDA clearly was
13 announcing a categorical policy that it wasn't
14 going to regulate the state use of drugs in
15 carrying out the death penalty. And it wasn't a
16 criminal prosecution. So I think it's on all
17 fours in favor of us.

18 Here, we have an exercise of
19 enforcement discretion that is committed to the
20 agency's unreviewable discretion under Chaney.
21 It doesn't fall with any -- within any of the
22 exceptions to Chaney, where Congress either
23 restricts the exercise of that discretion,
24 because, here, we're talking about enforcement,
25 not non-enforcement, and it doesn't fall under

1 the complete abdication exception to Chaney
2 because, again, we're talking about enforcement
3 and not non-enforcement. And Judge --

4 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Wouldn't what --
5 wouldn't what you just read also have made DACA
6 itself unreviewable, to pick up on Justice
7 Kagan's question from earlier?

8 GENERAL FRANCISCO: No, Your Honor,
9 and, again, because, critically, it falls within
10 --

11 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: What -- what's the
12 distinction between DACA and the FDA policy?

13 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Oh, the DACA and
14 the FDA policy?

15 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Yeah.

16 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Well, because, in
17 the FDA policy, nobody was claiming that somehow
18 a statute restricted the FDA's ability to not
19 enforce the law. Nobody made that argument.

20 In the DAPA litigation, I think is
21 maybe what you're referencing, Texas
22 specifically argued that the INA did, in fact,
23 restrict the agency's authority to exercise its
24 enforcement discretion to not enforce the law.

25 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, one of the --

1 GENERAL FRANCISCO: And, again --

2 JUSTICE ALITO: -- things that -- one
3 of the things that Texas argued in the DAPA case
4 was that the agency action in question there
5 conferred certain benefits on the individuals
6 who were affected.

7 And if that was sufficient to make
8 that reviewable, does the wind-down of DACA
9 remove certain benefits that individuals would
10 have?

11 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

12 JUSTICE ALITO: And, if it does, would
13 that make this reviewable?

14 GENERAL FRANCISCO: I -- I -- I think
15 the answer is no and no. And the reason why is,
16 first of all, the rescission of DACA doesn't
17 rescind any benefits. Those benefits are
18 allowed to expire on their own terms.

19 But, even putting that to the side,
20 the work authorization and the other benefits
21 are simply a collateral consequence of the
22 exercise of prosecutorial discretion itself.

23 So they don't recognize -- they don't
24 make the prosecutorial discretion itself
25 reviewable; otherwise, every grant or denial of

1 deferred action would be subject to APA review
2 because every grant and denial of deferred
3 action has collateral consequences that impact
4 work authorization.

5 If I could give you a hypothetical
6 that I think makes it more concrete: Suppose a
7 prosecutor has a drug diversion program, and he
8 says that I'm not going to prosecute this
9 particular category of drug offenses if the
10 individuals agree to enter into drug treatment.

11 The drug treatment is a collateral
12 consequence of and a benefit that flows from the
13 prosecutorial decision, but it doesn't render
14 the prosecutorial decision itself subject to
15 review. And, likewise, if a new prosecutor
16 comes in and says, I don't like drug diversion
17 programs, I want to have a zero tolerance policy
18 for drug offenses, that isn't reviewable either.

19 But I do think that the challenge to
20 DAPA in the prior litigation was reviewable --
21 to be clear, it was reviewable because it fell
22 within the Chaney exception. Texas argued, the
23 Fifth Circuit agreed, that the INA, in fact,
24 restricted the Department of Homeland Security's
25 ability to not enforce the law. And, frankly,

1 we -- we -- we agree with that.

2 But the problem here is that there's
3 no argument by anybody or any possible argument
4 that could be made that somehow the INA
5 restricts the Department of Homeland Security's
6 authority to enforce the law. After all,
7 Congress typically wants the executive branch to
8 enforce the laws --

9 JUSTICE GORSUCH: General --

10 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- that it passes.

11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- are you -- is
12 this an appropriate moment to move to, assuming
13 reviewability, the merits?

14 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Any time you want
15 to move there, Your Honor --

16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: All right.

17 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- I'll move
18 there.

19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: One -- one -- one
20 argument that the other side makes along those
21 lines is similar to this one we've just been
22 considering, the reliance interests that have
23 grown up around DACA.

24 And what do -- what do you say to that
25 and whether they've been adequately considered

1 in this case?

2 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Sure. Two things,
3 Your Honor. First, I would say that to the
4 extent there are any reliance interests, they're
5 extremely limited. DACA was always meant to be
6 a temporary stopgap measure that could be
7 rescinded at any time, which is why it was only
8 granted in two-year increments. So I don't
9 think anybody could have reasonably assumed that
10 DACA was going to remain in effect in
11 perpetuity.

12 Even putting that to the side here,
13 the agency considered the reliance interests.
14 Secretary Nielsen did so quite clearly and
15 explicitly.

16 The agency mitigated the reliance
17 interests through the orderly wind-down, and it
18 simply concluded that beyond that it didn't
19 justify maintaining in perpetuity a program that
20 actively facilitated violations of the law by
21 hundreds of thousands of individuals.

22 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: May I ask --

23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: If I --

24 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm sorry.

25 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I'm sorry.

1 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: No, no, continue.

2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Thank you. If I
3 understand, though, your colleague's argument on
4 the other side, it's not that Secretary Nielsen
5 failed to consider reliance interests. There's
6 that paragraph, I believe, in the petition
7 appendix around 125, somewhere in there.
8 There's a -- there's a paragraph.

9 But that -- but that given the extent
10 of the reliance interests and the size of the
11 class, more needed to be said, more could be
12 said, and it wouldn't be a huge burden to
13 require the government on remand to -- to say
14 more.

15 What -- what -- what -- what do you
16 say to that?

17 GENERAL FRANCISCO: So --

18 JUSTICE GORSUCH: As I understand
19 that, that's the nature of the argument.

20 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right. And I
21 guess I'd have a couple of responses to that.
22 The first is that I -- I don't think it reflects
23 an accurate understanding of APA review. As
24 this Court has repeatedly made clear, really,
25 the only thing that matters is whether the

1 agency -- and I think I'm quoting from the case
2 law -- completely failed to consider an
3 important aspect of the question.

4 And I don't think that you can even
5 remotely argue here, under State Farm, that we
6 completely failed to consider an important
7 aspect of the question.

8 Secondly, I think that Secretary
9 Duke's memorandum under the proper standard
10 clearly satisfies the APA standard for -- for
11 considering reliance interests. She does so
12 explicitly in -- in the portion of the
13 memorandum that you referenced.

14 And, in addition, what I'd point out
15 is that at the very beginning of her memorandum,
16 page 2, she specifically says that one of the
17 things that she considered were the judicial
18 opinions reviewing the Duke Memorandum, all of
19 the district court decisions.

20 And so then, when she gets to the
21 specific discussion of reliance interests, she
22 says that she is keenly aware that people have
23 ordered their lives in light of the DACA
24 decision. So I think it's quite clear that she
25 is fully taking into account the whole panoply

1 of reliance interests that were discussed ad
2 nauseam in the district court decisions and
3 simply concluding that they didn't just --
4 justify maintaining the policy.

5 JUSTICE BREYER: If I could continue
6 the same question because, look, the best
7 statement of the law in my mind -- this is a
8 very old principle -- again, was Justice
9 Scalia's writing for the Court in Fox.

10 He says, when an agency's "prior
11 policy has engendered serious reliance
12 interests, it must be taken into account." All
13 right. That's this case, I think.

14 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Uh-huh.

15 JUSTICE BREYER: All right. So I
16 counted -- I had my law clerks count, actually,
17 not just the people who came in, you know, the
18 700,000 --

19 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

20 JUSTICE BREYER: -- they've never been
21 anywhere else. They -- they never have to. But
22 there are all kinds of reliance interests.

23 I counted briefs in this Court, as I'm
24 sure you have, which state different kinds of
25 reliance interests. There are 66 healthcare

1 organizations. There are three labor unions.
2 There are 210 educational associations. There
3 are six military organizations. There are three
4 home builders, five states plus those involved,
5 108, I think, municipalities and cities, 129
6 religious organizations, and 145 businesses.

7 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Uh-huh.

8 JUSTICE BREYER: And they all list
9 reliance interests, or most of them list
10 interest reliance --

11 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

12 JUSTICE BREYER: -- interests
13 applicable to them, which are not quite the
14 same, they are not quite the same as those of
15 the 700,000 who have never seen any other
16 country. And so then I did read what you just
17 read to me.

18 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Uh-huh.

19 JUSTICE BREYER: Now you want to say
20 anything about the statement you just read to me
21 being adequate to take into account that broad
22 range of interests?

23 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Yes, Your Honor, I
24 do, because the first thing I want to say is
25 that State Farm itself says, and, here, I've got

1 the quote, you violate the APA only where you
2 "entirely fail to consider an important aspect
3 of the problem." Here, Secretary Nielsen
4 explicitly considered the reliance interests,
5 including all of the things that you just listed
6 that were set forth in -- in excruciating detail
7 in the numerous district court decisions that
8 have ruled -- had ruled against us --

9 JUSTICE KAGAN: But -- but not --

10 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- which she says
11 --

12 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- but not in her --

13 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- she
14 specifically considered.

15 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- but not in her
16 memo.

17 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Well, Your Honor,
18 I, frankly, think that she does. But the other
19 thing that I would say is that under this
20 conception of APA review, DACA and DAPA likewise
21 would have failed arbitrary and capricious
22 review because there is not a single word in the
23 DACA memo itself or the DAPA memo itself
24 explaining any of the potential costs or
25 benefits or impacts on other people that the

1 implementation of the --

2 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Just -- just back

3 --

4 JUSTICE KAGAN: If --

5 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- DACA program

6 would have had.

7 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Go ahead.

8 JUSTICE KAGAN: Go ahead.

9 (Laughter.)

10 GENERAL FRANCISCO: I'll take either

11 one, Your Honor.

12 (Laughter.)

13 JUSTICE KAGAN: If -- if I understand

14 Secretary Nielsen's memo correctly, Secretary

15 Nielsen said that she -- she did have a -- a

16 conclusory statement about weighing the reliance

17 interests, but she weighs them against what she

18 calls -- I think it's the questionable legality

19 of the program.

20 Now that assumes one of the things

21 that we're all here to discuss, which is that

22 the program was of questionable legality. If

23 the program turns out not to be of questionable

24 legality, in other words, if some or many of us

25 think that the original program was legal, how

1 does her memo suffice to do that balancing?

2 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Sure. For a
3 couple of reasons, Your Honor. First, because
4 she sets forth separate and independent bases
5 justifying the rescission: first, her belief
6 that it's illegal; second, her belief that there
7 are serious doubts about its illegality; and,
8 third, her conclusion that, as a matter of
9 enforcement policy, the Department of Homeland
10 Security is against these kinds of broad-based
11 non-enforcement decisions.

12 Any one of those, as her memo
13 explicitly says --

14 JUSTICE KAGAN: But in her --

15 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- is a separate
16 and independent basis.

17 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- in her statement
18 about reliance, she particularly says it
19 outweighs this questionably legal program.

20 GENERAL FRANCISCO: I think what she
21 is saying here is that it outweighs -- is that,
22 given that there are extremely limited reliance
23 interests in the first place, any limited
24 reliance interests that exist are outweighed --
25 are -- are outweighed by all of the different

1 reasons that she has articulated as separate and
2 independent grounds for rescinding DACA.

3 I think that's the only fair way --

4 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: General --

5 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- that you can
6 read that memorandum.

7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- I'm -- I have
8 always had some difficulty in understanding the
9 illegality of DACA. DAPA I put aside because,
10 in DAPA --

11 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- there was
13 actually a process for attaining a pathway to
14 residency. And I saw the argument that what
15 DAPA did was contrary, directly contrary, to
16 that path.

17 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Uh-huh.

18 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But there -- I
19 don't see anything in the INA that takes away
20 the discretion of the agency in ordering its
21 enforcement policies.

22 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

23 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: We all know it has
24 limited resources. It can't, even when it wants
25 to --

1 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Uh-huh.

2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- remove the vast
3 majority of aliens we have here. And so I've
4 always had some difficulty in understanding
5 what's wrong with an agency saying, we're going
6 to prioritize our removals, and for those
7 people, like the DACA people --

8 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- who haven't
10 committed crimes, who are lawfully employed, who
11 are paying taxes, who pose no threat to our
12 security, and there's a whole list of
13 prerequisites, we're not going to exercise our
14 limited resources --

15 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Yeah.

16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- to try to get
17 rid of those people. I -- I still have an
18 impossible time. I know you're going to argue
19 contrary to what I just said.

20 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Sure. So I guess
21 I have three responses, Your Honor.

22 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: All right. But
23 let me just finish my question.

24 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Oh, sure.

25 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Okay?

1 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Yeah.

2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So putting aside
3 that, the Secretary, in giving these extra
4 reasons, because none of this was in the Duke
5 memo, and I thought basic administrative law is
6 you look at what's first given to you, not what
7 this -- you add later, but assuming you ignore
8 that and even look at the Nielsen memo, I think
9 my colleagues have rightly pointed there's a
10 whole lot of reliance interests that weren't
11 looked at, including the very President of --
12 current President telling DACA-eligible people
13 that they were safe under him and that he would
14 find a way to keep them here.

15 And so he hasn't and, instead, he's
16 done this. And that, I think, has something to
17 be considered before you rescind the policy.

18 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

19 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Not just say I'll
20 give you six months to do it --

21 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right. So --
22 so --

23 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- to destroy your
24 lives.

25 GENERAL FRANCISCO: So --

1 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Putting all of
2 that aside -- and I'm going to get to my
3 question.

4 (Laughter.)

5 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: And maybe we'd
6 have an opportunity to hear the three answers.

7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, don't forget
8 the three. I know you won't.

9 But, really, where is all of this in
10 the memo?

11 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Sure, Your Honor.

12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Where -- where is
13 all of this really considered and weighed?

14 GENERAL FRANCISCO: So --

15 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And where is the
16 political decision made clearly?

17 GENERAL FRANCISCO: So -- so I --

18 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: That this is not
19 about the law; this is about our choice to
20 destroy lives?

21 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Yeah. So, Your
22 Honor, four responses now. I think I've added
23 one.

24 (Laughter.)

25 GENERAL FRANCISCO: The first one is

1 that I -- I think that the prior President
2 didn't, couldn't, and hasn't made any kind of
3 promise that DACA would remain in effect in
4 perpetuity because it would have been impossible
5 to make that promise. In fact, every one of my
6 friends on the other side, I think, has agreed
7 that we could rescind DACA at any time if, at
8 least in their view, we did provide a little bit
9 more detailed of an explanation.

10 So I think that is four square against
11 the notion that there are some significant
12 reliance interests because all that they seem to
13 be saying is we have to write a few more words.

14 Putting that entirely to the side and
15 turning to the legality question, ultimately, I
16 don't think you -- my first point is I don't
17 think you have to decide ultimately whether DACA
18 is legal or illegal because I think the other
19 reasons we've given are more than sufficient to
20 justify the rescission, both our serious doubts
21 about its legality, as well as our general
22 opposition to broad-based non-enforcement
23 policies.

24 After all, the Department of Homeland
25 Security is a law enforcement agency, and a law

1 enforcement agency doesn't have to push its
2 dubious power to not enforce the law to its
3 logical extreme. So --

4 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But don't you have
5 to -- don't you have to set up some kind of
6 categories? I mean, everybody agrees, what is
7 that, how many, 11 million people?

8 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

9 JUSTICE GINSBURG: They don't have the
10 resources, so you have to prioritize. Everybody
11 agrees you have to prioritize.

12 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Absolutely, Your
13 Honor.

14 JUSTICE GINSBURG: How do you -- how
15 do you do it other than categorically?

16 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Well, and that's
17 my second point, Your Honor. My second point is
18 that DACA goes far beyond simply diverting
19 resources to higher priority targets, which you
20 are absolutely right, every law enforcement
21 agency has to divert resources to higher
22 priority targets. DACA goes materially further
23 than that because it actively facilitates
24 violations of the law by providing advance
25 forbearance, coupling it with affirmative

1 benefits like work authorization and Social
2 Security benefits, doing it on a categorical
3 basis.

4 And, significantly -- and this was my
5 third point -- it has no limiting principle. On
6 the --

7 JUSTICE GINSBURG: So the -- the
8 forbearance would be okay if it -- there weren't
9 attendant benefits? This -- we're not going to
10 -- we're not going to immediately deport the
11 Dreamers, period?

12 GENERAL FRANCISCO: I think that would
13 be -- if -- if you provided just the advanced
14 forbearance, I think that would be a lot closer
15 of a question, but, here, it's a lot easier
16 because you're coupling that with work
17 authorization.

18 And my final and critical point is
19 that there's no limiting principle. The theory
20 on which DACA rests effectively allows the
21 government to create a shadow INA for any
22 category of aliens that it chooses to make
23 low-priority targets, a shadow second-tier INA.

24 And you, at the very least, need to
25 locate something in the INA that confers that

1 kind of broad and unfettered discretion. And
2 there is simply nothing there. But, again --

3 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well -- well, if --

4 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- I don't think
5 you --

6 JUSTICE KAGAN: You know, the INA does
7 give quite a lot of discretion to administrative
8 officers, as you yourself admit and have argued
9 on previous occasions and, indeed, in part here.

10 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

11 JUSTICE KAGAN: So are you saying that
12 -- are you saying that DACA was -- violated any
13 particular provision of the INA? What are you
14 saying it violated?

15 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Sure.

16 JUSTICE KAGAN: Because --

17 GENERAL FRANCISCO: So I'm saying --

18 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- because there's a
19 big delegation, right, that says you get to make
20 national policy. So what did DACA violate?

21 GENERAL FRANCISCO: I'm saying two
22 things, Your Honor. First, I'm saying you don't
23 really have to address this issue because we
24 think all of the other --

25 JUSTICE KAGAN: I got that.

1 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- reasons are
2 more than sufficient.

3 But, secondly, we're not saying that
4 there's a specific provision that it conflicts
5 with. But what we are saying is that when you
6 adopt this kind of broad and historically
7 unprecedented program, you need to at least
8 locate the authority to do so somewhere in the
9 INA.

10 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, they did --

11 GENERAL FRANCISCO: And this goes --

12 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- you know, they
13 located the authority in the INA's grant of
14 broad discretion over national immigration
15 enforcement policy.

16 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Your Honor, I
17 think that the most that does is it gives you
18 the authority to set policies and priorities,
19 but there's a big leap between that and saying
20 that you can affirmatively facilitate violations
21 of the INA by hundreds of thousands of
22 individuals to whom Congress has repeatedly
23 declined a pathway to lawful status.

24 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: What about --

25 JUSTICE KAGAN: I guess --

1 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Again, though, I
2 -- I don't think this is an issue you need to
3 ultimately resolve because I think the other
4 reasons we've given for rescinding DACA are more
5 than sufficient to justify it, including our
6 serious doubts about its legality alone.

7 Simply as a matter of law enforcement
8 policy, it is eminently reasonable for a law
9 enforcement agency to say, I'm not going to push
10 this doubtful authority to its logical extreme
11 when it does three things: It undermines
12 confidence in the rule of law itself. It
13 conflicts with the agency's law enforcement
14 mission. And, in a case like this, it creates
15 the serious possibility of a court-ordered
16 shutdown of the program, rather than an orderly
17 wind-down within --

18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Counsel, you
19 --

20 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- the agency's
21 control.

22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- if -- if
23 DACA was illegal, that means that when the
24 government was giving out these benefits it was
25 acting illegally, right?

1 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Yes.

2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Now it's not
3 always the case when the government acts
4 illegally in a way that affects other people
5 that we go back and untangle all of the
6 consequences of that.

7 Did Secretary Nielsen, when she was
8 considering the reliance interests, was she
9 looking simply to the question of a wind-down,
10 or was she looking more generally, for example,
11 to the application of something like the de
12 facto officer doctrine --

13 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right. I think --

14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- when
15 officers acted illegally, but we don't go back
16 and invalidate their prior actions?

17 GENERAL FRANCISCO: I think both, Your
18 Honor, both. The orderly wind-down to a certain
19 extent takes into account reliance interests.
20 It doesn't fully account for everything. But
21 the whole idea was that you're giving people an
22 opportunity to -- to -- to order their lives in
23 -- in -- in a time period to allow them to do
24 that.

25 But she also specifically states in

1 the memorandum that, in addition, the notion of
2 ad hoc deferred action will be able to take care
3 of reliance interests in truly extraordinary
4 circumstances, the way that it has been used
5 sporadically in the past to address those types
6 of scenarios.

7 JUSTICE BREYER: So now the basic --
8 the basic hornbook rule -- we have three
9 hornbook rules in this case, is -- is -- was
10 mentioned, Chenery: "It is a foundational
11 principle of administrative law that a court may
12 uphold agency action only on the grounds that
13 the agency invoked when it took the action."

14 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Right.

15 JUSTICE BREYER: In which case we look
16 to Ms. Duke's memo, not to Ms. Nielsen's. Isn't
17 that when it took the action? And, if so -- I
18 want to hear you say no, it isn't so -- but --
19 but, if so, why don't we just affirm the
20 district court, which sends it back? And if you
21 have all these reasons and you really want to
22 consider the reliance and all those things
23 should be considered carefully, you can do it.

24 So -- so what's wrong?

25 GENERAL FRANCISCO: For two related --

1 JUSTICE BREYER: With very -- yeah, go
2 ahead.

3 GENERAL FRANCISCO: For two related
4 reasons, Your Honor.

5 JUSTICE BREYER: Yeah.

6 GENERAL FRANCISCO: First, sending it
7 back would make no sense because the agency has
8 already acted. Secretary Nielsen has already
9 ratified Secretary Duke's decision for the
10 reasons set forth in her memorandum. It's not a
11 post hoc rationalization. It's the official
12 position of the agency set forth by the agency
13 itself.

14 And, secondly, there is no reason why
15 Secretary Nielsen should have had to reinstate
16 DACA and then rescind it again.

17 JUSTICE BREYER: Not reinstate it.

18 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Well, but -- but
19 --

20 JUSTICE BREYER: What you do is, there
21 are 50 cases on this, if it's important, what
22 you do is you say it is good reason for holding
23 the status quo until we can go back, and courts
24 have affirmed that, we hold the status quo, and
25 we go back now and we look if there are reasons

1 beyond the contemporaneous reason, which is the
2 Duke memo.

3 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Well, that's --

4 JUSTICE BREYER: And we see if there
5 will --

6 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- that's
7 precisely what Secretary Nielsen's memo did. It
8 did two things.

9 First, it explained the basis for
10 Secretary Nielsen -- Secretary Duke's decision,
11 but, secondly, it set forth her own independent
12 judgment. And if I could point you to --

13 JUSTICE BREYER: You mean we have all
14 these 100 and 350 briefs with all these
15 different reasons and she had that in front of
16 her?

17 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Your Honor, that
18 may go to whether you think her memo is
19 sufficient, but it doesn't go to whether you
20 think her memo is an operative document with
21 this -- in this litigation. I'd like to point
22 you to two places in her memorandum.

23 First, page 121A of the Regents
24 Petitioners' appendix. This is the second page
25 of her memorandum: The explanation reflects,

1 the first thing, my understanding of the Duke
2 Memorandum, and, second thing, why the decision
3 to rescind the DACA policy was and remains
4 sound.

5 If you look at the end of her
6 memorandum, she states in the very last
7 sentence: For the reasons in -- for these
8 reasons in setting -- in setting DHS enforcement
9 policies and priorities, I concur with and
10 decline to disturb Acting Secretary Duke's
11 decisions to rescind the DACA policy.

12 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Can I pick up on
13 Justice Kagan's question earlier? Does the
14 Nielsen memo ever say, even if DACA was lawful,
15 I would still exercise my policy discretion to
16 discontinue?

17 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Yes, Your Honor.
18 So, if you look at the memo --

19 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: What -- what --
20 what sentence are you looking at?

21 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Okay. I'm looking
22 at two sentences. Page 123A -- this is after
23 she says it's illegal -- page 123A.

24 Second, regardless of whether the DACA
25 policy is ultimately illegal, it was

1 appropriately rescinded by the DHS because there
2 are at a minimum serious doubts about its
3 legality. May I make one more sentence?

4 And then, third, if you look further
5 down the page, it says: Regardless of whether
6 these concerns about the DACA policy render it
7 illegal or legally questionable, there are sound
8 reasons of enforcement policy to rescind the
9 DACA policy.

10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
11 counsel.

12 Mr. Olson.

13 ORAL ARGUMENT OF THEODORE B. OLSON ON
14 BEHALF OF THE PRIVATE RESPONDENTS

15 MR. OLSON: Thank you, Mr. Chief
16 Justice, and may it please the Court:

17 The government's termination of DACA
18 triggered abrupt, tangible, adverse consequences
19 and substantial disruptions in the lives of
20 700,000 individuals, their families, employers,
21 communities, and Armed Forces.

22 That decision required the government
23 to provide an accurate, reasoned, rational, and
24 legally sound explanation.

25 It utterly failed to do so, asserting

1 only the Attorney General's unexplained
2 assertion that he had no discretion because DACA
3 was an unconstitutional exercise of authority by
4 the executive branch.

5 The decision overturned a five-year
6 enforcement policy of deferred action that had
7 enabled DACA recipients under other unchallenged
8 laws and regulations to apply for employment
9 authorization, seek driver's licenses, and other
10 benefits.

11 Its abrupt reversal removed a
12 condition precedent to these rights and exposed
13 DACA recipients and their employers to
14 immediate, potential, coercive government
15 measures.

16 It was impermissible to do so based on
17 an unexplained, unsupported, and erroneous legal
18 conclusion that the policy that two
19 administrations had enforced and implemented,
20 had supported and implemented for five years,
21 was unlawful and unconstitutional.

22 The decision to rescind DACA was
23 reviewable. This Court has said several times
24 in the -- just in the past few years that
25 there's -- we start with a strong presumption of

1 reviewability of agency decisions. This is the
2 strong presumption that the Court described in
3 the Weyerhaeuser case just one year ago.

4 Unless agency discretion is limited by
5 law, and there's no citation to any limitation
6 in the law, limitations on administration --
7 reviewability by the courts are quite narrowly
8 construed, and there are rare circumstances.
9 These are the Mach Mining case and the Judulang
10 case.

11 These Weyerhaeuser, Mach Mining and
12 Judulang case are three cases within the past
13 eight years where this Court has talked about
14 the presumption of reviewability as a strong
15 presumption, narrowly -- exceptions narrowly
16 construed, and all three of those decisions were
17 unanimous decisions by this Court.

18 JUSTICE ALITO: Would you say that
19 whenever a law enforcement agency has guidelines
20 for the exercise of prosecutorial discretion and
21 it then tightens those guidelines so that cases
22 that previously would not have been prosecuted
23 may now be prosecuted, that is agency action
24 that is subject to review under the APA?

25 MR. OLSON: I would not say that,

1 Justice Alito. But this is a very, very
2 different circumstance. This is an agency
3 decision initially, and -- and the Attorney
4 General refers to it as an illegal decision, but
5 it's an initial decision that is responsive to
6 explicit congressional direction to DHS to
7 establish enforcement priorities.

8 That's what DACA was all about. It
9 said it did not establish any status, it did not
10 provide any benefits, it articulated an
11 enforcement priority which Congress not only
12 directed DHS to make but, in fact, required it
13 to make because only 400,000 people --

14 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, I'm not sure --

15 MR. OLSON: -- out of 11 --

16 JUSTICE ALITO: -- I'm not sure that
17 really responds to my question, so I'll give you
18 an example. Let's say that a -- that there is a
19 policy that certain -- a certain category of
20 drug cases will not be prosecuted in federal
21 court. Let's say they are cases involving less
22 than five kilos of cocaine. So case -- cocaine
23 cases with lesser amounts of drugs will not be
24 prosecuted in federal court as a matter of
25 enforcement priority. And then that is changed.

1 So the five kilos is reduced to three.

2 Would that be reviewable?

3 MR. OLSON: No, I don't think it would
4 be.

5 JUSTICE ALITO: What is -- well,
6 what's the difference?

7 MR. OLSON: Well, I think that the
8 Justice Department, through the attorney
9 general, every new attorney general establishes
10 new enforcement priorities with respect to
11 pornography or drug cases or things like that.

12 Those -- that's completely different
13 than this, which singled out a category of
14 persons and, pursuant to congressional
15 authorization, invited them into the program,
16 provided other statutes which have not been
17 challenged by the government, provided benefits
18 that were associated with that decision, and
19 other people -- and individuals relied upon that
20 for five years. The administration, when it
21 does that kind of a decision with respect to the
22 lives of hundreds of thousands of people, which
23 has engendered reliance, which reverses not only
24 a position of the -- of two administrations, but
25 the Office of Legal Counsel, changes policy,

1 then all we're saying is that there's a
2 presumption of reviewability of that decision.

3 JUSTICE ALITO: But you're -- you're
4 saying it's reviewable because DACA conferred
5 certain benefits.

6 MR. OLSON: DACA did not confer --

7 JUSTICE ALITO: Beyond deferred
8 prosecution.

9 MR. OLSON: DACA --

10 JUSTICE ALITO: Is that -- is that
11 what you just said?

12 MR. OLSON: DACA -- no, I said the
13 benefits were conferred -- were triggered by the
14 decision of enforcement policy in DACA, but
15 those benefits are triggered by other statutes
16 enacted by Congress, funded by Congress
17 throughout all this entire period of time, and
18 the government hasn't challenged those.

19 So those benefits, the driver's
20 license business and the -- and the work
21 authorization, if you apply for it, if you come
22 forward, identify yourself, put yourself into
23 the program, take risks --

24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But, Mr.
25 Olson, the whole thing was about work

1 authorization and these other benefits. Both
2 administrations have said they're not going to
3 deport people. So the deferred prosecution or
4 deferred deportation, that's not what the focus
5 of the policy was. Yes, the other statutes
6 provided that, but it was triggered by -- by the
7 memo.

8 MR. OLSON: Yeah.

9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So I don't
10 understand sort of putting what the policy
11 really was about, which is the work
12 authorization and the other things, off to one
13 side is very helpful.

14 MR. OLSON: Well, I think that it --
15 you -- one has to focus on the fact that this
16 was -- Congress authorized the IN -- the
17 Department of Homeland Security to identify
18 enforcement priorities. Once it did -- because
19 it -- it was required to do so and it had no
20 choice because of the funding. Once it did so,
21 and it identified the persons -- and this is
22 helpful to the agents in the field to identify
23 which individuals are going to be subject to
24 enforcement and which individuals are not.

25 Other statutes provided that benefit.

1 You're correct that it triggers that, but it's
2 triggered by other benefits and so forth. If
3 the government is opposed to those benefits
4 given to individuals who are not in an
5 enforcement priority category to support
6 themselves, to go to work, rather than put
7 themselves in the hands of the government to
8 support them, and to become a part -- since
9 they're not going to be deported, at least for
10 the short period of time, those are the things
11 that if the government wanted to get rid of, the
12 government should be challenging those.

13 It should not be challenging a
14 decision that's essentially required by
15 Congress. And let there be no mistake about why
16 this decision was made.

17 The Attorney General specifically said
18 that DACA was illegal and unconstitutional. I
19 don't know where the unconstitutional came from
20 because it didn't come from the Fifth Circuit.
21 But let's say it was an un- -- an illegal
22 enforcement priority.

23 And there's no doubt about why this
24 happened. In the cert petition or in the
25 government's brief that refers to the questions

1 presented, it specifically says the original
2 DACA policy was unlawful and then goes on to
3 say, thus, it had to be terminated.

4 There's no question about that. So
5 the Duke Memorandum, which was -- the Attorney
6 General's decision and opinion under statute is
7 enforceable and binding on the government
8 agencies. There's a statute that specifically
9 says that. So the Duke Memorandum had no
10 discretion, no choice. The Attorney General of
11 the United States --

12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Mr. Olson, I -- I
13 think you've moved on to the merits, and I -- I
14 guess I'm still struggling with Justice Alito's
15 question on -- on reviewability. Can you help
16 me understand what is the limiting principle?

17 I -- I -- I hear a lot of facts,
18 sympathetic facts, you put out there, and -- and
19 they speak to all of us. But what's the
20 limiting principle between, you say,
21 reviewability here for an enforcement, a classic
22 kind of prosecutorial discretion that one might
23 have thought would have fallen under Heckler
24 versus Chaney, and the example Justice Alito
25 gave or Heckler versus Chaney itself? What's --

1 MR. OLSON: Heckler --

2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- what's the --
3 what's the limiting legal principle --

4 MR. OLSON: Well, there's a --

5 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- you'd have this
6 Court adopt?

7 MR. OLSON: -- it's a composite -- in
8 this case, it's a composite of principles, a
9 determination that -- a categorical
10 determination involving a substantial number of
11 people --

12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. But I -- I --

13 MR. OLSON: -- to make decisions --

14 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- I think --

15 MR. OLSON: -- based upon that.

16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: All right. Let --
17 let -- let me just stop you there, though,
18 because, if it's categorical and a large number
19 of people, I can think of a lot of prosecutorial
20 decisions involving drug cases, the treatment of
21 marijuana in -- in -- in our society today under
22 federal law, perhaps it would be cocaine, five
23 kilograms. Whatever is in the attorney general
24 memo affects lots of people on a categorical
25 basis every day.

1 And --

2 MR. OLSON: Yes.

3 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- and you're not --
4 you -- you, I think, would not have us review
5 those decisions.

6 MR. OLSON: That's -- no, but may I
7 refer to --

8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: So, if it's not
9 categorical and it's not a large number of
10 people --

11 MR. OLSON: Well --

12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- what's the
13 limiting principle?

14 MR. OLSON: -- there -- as I said,
15 it's a combination of factors which include the
16 government inviting people to rely upon and make
17 decisions based upon that policy, the provision
18 of benefits connected with it, individuals
19 making choices, and -- and then -- and the
20 Heckler case --

21 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Don't -- don't other
22 --

23 MR. OLSON: -- specifically --

24 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- people rely on
25 the attorney general guidance memos and

1 documents? There's an entire industry in a lot
2 of states involving marijuana that would argue
3 they're relying on memos issued by the attorney
4 general that we will not enforce marijuana laws,
5 for example. Do they now have a right to --

6 MR. OLSON: No, I think that is
7 completely different. They are not invited to
8 participate into a program, to reveal the
9 business that they're in, to come forward, to
10 take advantage --

11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, they --

12 MR. OLSON: -- of benefits --

13 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- have a lot of
14 economic interests at stake that, I think, under
15 Fox and -- what we heard about earlier from
16 Justice Breyer, they would say our economic
17 interests are very real, billions of dollars are
18 at stake, we've relied on the attorney general's
19 guidance memos.

20 MR. OLSON: But there's -- but there
21 -- but -- and I just would like to quote this
22 one paragraph -- or one sentence from the
23 Heckler versus Chaney decision itself. "When an
24 agency does act to enforce, the action itself
25 provides a focus for judicial review because it

1 imposes the coercive power of the government
2 with respect to individual liberty and
3 property," and that is the kind of decision that
4 judicial review is intended to give.

5 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Doesn't every
6 prosecutorial decision affect individual liberty
7 or property?

8 MR. OLSON: Prosecution --
9 prosecutorial --

10 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I think the answer
11 is yes, isn't it?

12 MR. OLSON: Prosecutorial decisions,
13 yes, of course.

14 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay.

15 MR. OLSON: This is a -- an
16 announcement of a policy -- this is a reversal
17 of a policy that the government created that
18 triggered -- to use the words of this Court,
19 engendered reliance interests. And all we're
20 saying is that it should be subject to review in
21 the context of this big picture.

22 It isn't to say that every decision by
23 a prosecutor that I'm going to now enforce
24 murder cases or kidnapping cases or child porn
25 cases or serious drug cases. It doesn't cause

1 individuals to come forward to participate in a
2 program, to make decisions. Businesses, health,
3 educational institutions, the Armed Forces, all
4 are making decisions based upon this.

5 No one was saying that the policy
6 can't be changed. But when the policy does --
7 if the government wishes to change a broad
8 policy like this which affects so many people in
9 so many serious ways --

10 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, if I might ask
11 a question about that if we're talking about the
12 merits then, and then I -- I'll pass off the
13 baton. The reliance interests that we've --
14 we've talked about earlier, I -- I think your --
15 your friend on the other side would say we did
16 address reliance interests in a paragraph and we
17 could do it in 15 pages, but we'd say pretty
18 much the same thing at the end of the day, and
19 it would take another six years, and it would
20 leave this class of persons under a continuing
21 cloud of uncertainty and continue stasis in the
22 political branches because they would not have a
23 baseline rule of decision from this Court still
24 on this issue.

25 MR. OLSON: It's -- it's what this

1 Court has said --

2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: What do you say to
3 -- what do you say to that? And that's the line
4 of argument, as I understand it, from the
5 government.

6 MR. OLSON: Yes, I know it is. And
7 the government is saying all we needed was a few
8 more words. That is not what this Court has
9 said with respect to administrative review of --
10 of -- judicial review of administrative
11 decisions.

12 You must have a rational explanation.
13 It must make sense. It must be contemporaneous.
14 The -- I will get to the Nielsen memorandum
15 which was not contemporaneous. It was not a new
16 decision.

17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I -- I understand
18 that. If you could just address it, though, on
19 the merits. Why was that insufficient, I think
20 is one of the questions, and the other is what
21 would -- what good would another five years of
22 litigation over the adequacy of that --

23 MR. OLSON: We don't --

24 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- explanation
25 serve?

1 MR. OLSON: -- we don't know what the
2 administration would do. The administration did
3 not want to own this decision.

4 When the Attorney General decided that
5 this -- I'm making this decision because the
6 DACA --

7 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I guess I'm asking
8 about the reliance interests question.

9 MR. OLSON: I -- I'm trying to get to
10 that.

11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I -- I wish -- I
12 wish you would.

13 MR. OLSON: The reliance interests
14 were triggered, to use the words of this Court
15 in the Fox case, the LTV case, and various other
16 cases, those reliance interests were engendered
17 by the decision by the government that caused
18 people to come forward --

19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I understand that.
20 The question is: What more would you have the
21 government say about those reliance interests?
22 If it's a failure of adequacy of explaining,
23 what more is left to be said?

24 MR. OLSON: What -- what they could
25 have said is that we understand all of these

1 people, working for all these people, we
2 understand what people are going through,
3 provide a reasoned, rational explanation, to use
4 the words of this Court just a few months ago in
5 the Census case, to explain those things, to
6 explain why a policy is being changed and make a
7 contemporaneous decision.

8 The Nielsen memorandum came along nine
9 months later, was based upon a different
10 individual -- by a different individual.

11 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But --

12 MR. OLSON: It didn't have an
13 administrative record.

14 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Assuming -- well,
15 go ahead and finish.

16 MR. OLSON: Well, well, it'll take
17 another sentence or two. But there were a lot
18 of things wrong.

19 The -- the Nielsen memorandum was not
20 an independent decision. She was bound just as
21 the earlier administrator, acting administrator,
22 was because the Attorney General said this is
23 illegal.

24 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But the Nielsen
25 memo then goes on to say, as you heard Mr.

1 Francisco say to my question, that regardless of
2 whether these concerns about the DACA policy
3 rendered it illegal or legally questionable,
4 there are sound reasons of enforcement policy to
5 rescind the DACA policy.

6 And it goes on to explain the policy
7 rationales to rescind it. So what is your --

8 MR. OLSON: Well --

9 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- response to Mr.
10 Francisco?

11 MR. OLSON: -- in the first place,
12 they were not independent. They were not
13 contemporaneous. They were not accompanied by
14 an administrative record.

15 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: She --

16 MR. OLSON: They were not --

17 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- she says -- she
18 says they're independent in that sentence.

19 MR. OLSON: She says they're
20 independent.

21 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: At least that's
22 what Mr. Francisco says to you.

23 MR. OLSON: Well, Mr. Francisco said
24 that and she said that, but they weren't
25 independent because she was bound by the

1 Attorney General's decision. And the government
2 itself in its brief, and I quoted a moment ago,
3 said DACA was unlawful; thus, we had to
4 terminate it.

5 Now -- and it does -- and it's not
6 contemporaneous. And then, basically, the
7 policy decisions are saying we understand people
8 may have relied on this, but that's just too
9 bad.

10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. Olson --

11 MR. OLSON: That's basically all it
12 was. There were not -- and then the litigation
13 risk issue --

14 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Right. I got
15 that.

16 MR. OLSON: -- is like a rubber stamp
17 that the agencies can put on anything. Every
18 decision an agency makes could involve --

19 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Do you -- do you
20 agree that the executive has the legal authority
21 to rescind DACA?

22 MR. OLSON: Yes.

23 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Okay. So the
24 question then comes down to the explanation.
25 And if it's the Nielsen memo paragraph on

1 reliance that it comes down to, so which is the
2 last --

3 MR. OLSON: Well, it wasn't -- it --
4 first of all, it was not explained --

5 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Just -- can I just
6 ask the question in this way, which is, assume
7 the Nielsen memo comes in and assume it comes
8 down to whether the Nielsen memo adequately
9 explained the reliance interests.

10 What was the shortfall in the Nielsen
11 memo in addressing reliance interests? Because
12 she does acknowledge that a lot of people have
13 relied. She does it --

14 MR. OLSON: And she --

15 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- briefly.

16 MR. OLSON: Yeah, she says just too
17 bad. People relied, so too bad. Too bad about
18 that.

19 Camp versus Pitts specifically says,
20 when an explanation for an agency decision is
21 given, however curt, they must stand or fall on
22 that explanation.

23 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Do you -- do you
24 think --

25 MR. OLSON: This is a new --

1 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- do you think
2 you could explain the reliance or the
3 justifications for the policy in a way that
4 would overcome the reliance interests?

5 MR. OLSON: They would -- yes, I -- I
6 believe that that's possible. They could have
7 -- they -- the analysis of costs and benefits
8 explaining why an OLC decision is being thrown
9 out the window, why a policy is being changed
10 that the administration is -- that's exactly
11 what you have said.

12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. Olson, can I
13 go back to something Justice Gorsuch asked,
14 which is what's the benefit of delaying this
15 further?

16 It has been -- at least looking at the
17 deferred action decisions, the dozens that have
18 gone on through the decades, Congress has
19 responded, sometimes changing the policy,
20 sometimes limiting it, sometimes expanding it.
21 It -- it has responded.

22 But the dynamic is very different,
23 isn't it, when an executive says, I don't have
24 the power, and when it says, even if I had the
25 power --

1 MR. OLSON: Hypothetical.

2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- I choose not to
3 do this. Aren't the dynamics of what happens
4 between Congress and the President dramatically
5 different in those circumstances?

6 MR. OLSON: Exactly. This is what is
7 called virtual reality. One said, I can't do --
8 I don't have the power to do it, but, if I did
9 in the sky, I might have done it for this
10 reason.

11 The answer, the short answer to your
12 question, Justice Sotomayor, and it's a very
13 good one, someone say I might have done it if
14 I'd had the power to do it, but I have no
15 discretion, I have no power to do it, it -- we
16 don't know what the administration would do if
17 it had to make this decision and take ownership
18 and accountability of this decision.

19 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: That's your point
20 about given the Attorney General decision and
21 the law that says they have to change it.
22 That's a very different circumstance than
23 saying, even if I don't have to, I won't.

24 MR. OLSON: That's exactly right. The
25 administration would then have to explain we

1 want to take responsibility for throwing these
2 people out of work, removing people that came
3 here when they were maybe two years old, who
4 have not committed a crime, and who have -- and
5 volunteered for this program, have -- have --
6 have conducted themselves properly and so forth.

7 JUSTICE ALITO: Mr. Olson, I -- I
8 understand that litany. But do you seriously
9 want to argue that if this case were to go back
10 and the agency were to say, again, exactly what
11 General Francisco interprets the Nielsen memo as
12 saying, giving all of these reasons and saying
13 that each one is an alternatively -- is an
14 independently sufficient basis for the -- the
15 action, would -- would that be unlawful?

16 Let's say they -- they go into great
17 length in explaining every --

18 MR. OLSON: Well --

19 JUSTICE ALITO: -- every -- every
20 factor, every basis.

21 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Certainly.

22 MR. OLSON: If they explained and
23 provided a rational explanation instead of just
24 pushing a button or putting a rubber stamp on
25 it, that's what judicial review is all about.

1 That means the agency would have taken
2 responsibility for making the consequences of
3 those decisions, explaining why it thought about
4 it and why it decided what to do.

5 That's what your decisions require by
6 judicial review.

7 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
8 counsel.

9 Mr. Mongan.

10 ORAL ARGUMENT OF MICHAEL J. MONGAN ON
11 BEHALF OF THE STATE RESPONDENTS

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

14 It was up to Petitioners to decide how
15 to frame their decision to terminate DACA. They
16 could have taken responsibility for a
17 discretionary decision, rescinding a policy that
18 affects hundreds of thousands of lives.

19 Instead, they chose to end the policy based on
20 the ground that DACA was unlawful. They told
21 the public that the law deprived them of any
22 discretion to continue it. And when Judge Bates
23 invited them to make a new decision, they stood
24 by the old one.

25 That's their prerogative, but it has

1 the consequence that they have to defend that
2 decision based on the legal rationale they
3 originally offered, and the decision is
4 reviewable and cannot be sustained on that
5 basis.

6 Now the problem with the rationale is,
7 yes, they don't take serious account of the
8 dramatic costs to DACA recipients and the
9 economy and their employers and families of
10 terminating this policy, and also that it is
11 founded on the incorrect legal premise that DACA
12 is unlawful.

13 This Court can review the lack of --
14 and affirm based on the lack of an adequate
15 explanation for that ground or the fact that it
16 is an incorrect conclusion and it is legal
17 error.

18 Now, if I can turn to the question of
19 reviewability, the APA says that it commits
20 agency actions that are committed to agency
21 discretion by law are unreviewable.

22 And the central point here is that
23 when a agency finds a decision on a public
24 announcement that it lacks any discretion to
25 continue a policy, that can't fairly be

1 described as committed to agency discretion in
2 any meaningful sense.

3 This is the concept that the Court
4 reserved in Footnote 4 of Chaney, because that
5 is not a discretionary choice that the law has
6 committed to agency discretion.

7 I think that it is critical for us to
8 consider on the merits what my friend's position
9 is with respect to DACA and deferred action. My
10 friend appears to agree that they can grant
11 deferred action to compelling individuals, that
12 they can grant work authorization to deferred
13 action recipients, and they seem to agree that
14 this is a very worthy class of individuals.

15 So their position boils down to the
16 assertion that the INA prohibits them from
17 adopting a transparent framework that guides the
18 exercise of individualized discretion with
19 respect to this very compelling population of
20 individuals.

21 And that's not consistent with the
22 broad authority that Congress has granted the
23 Secretary under the INA and under 6 U.S.C. 202,
24 and it's not consistent with historical
25 practice, where the agency, over the decades,

1 has frequently adopted class-based discretionary
2 relief policies that allow it to channel the
3 exercise of recognized forms of discretion with
4 respect to particular individuals in a defined
5 class.

6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, that --
7 that history is not close to the number of
8 people covered by DACA.

9 MR. MONGAN: Well, Your Honor, there's
10 a history of class-based deferred action
11 policies, and they are narrower, to be sure, but
12 there are other class-based policies that have
13 applied to hundreds of thousands of individuals.
14 The family fairness policy, when announced,
15 would have applied to up to 40 percent of --

16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Fifty --
17 50,000 people, right? That's the number that
18 availed themselves of that policy?

19 MR. MONGAN: That's right, because it
20 was short-lived. But, at the time it was
21 announced, it was not clear that Congress was
22 going to act, and the executive told Congress
23 that this would apply to up to 40 percent of the
24 undocumented population at the time.

25 When Congress did act in that statute,

1 they signaled their approval of the executive
2 policy. The statute didn't have an effective
3 date for another year. And Congress said that
4 this is not intended to express disapproval of
5 the existing executive policy.

6 And that's one example, but there are
7 more examples of --

8 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: That sounds --
9 that percentage was 1.5 million people, very
10 comparable to this decision.

11 MR. MONGAN: Yes, and at a time when
12 the total undocumented population was much
13 smaller than it is today.

14 Now it -- it is critical for the
15 executive, in an area where it has broad
16 discretionary authority, to be able to set
17 policies that channel the exercise of that
18 authority, and this is a transparent framework
19 that has the benefit of allowing for some
20 measure of consistency and an even-handed
21 approach in the exercise of deferred action.

22 JUSTICE KAGAN: General, suppose that
23 this administration had not relied on legal
24 grounds to rescind the policy, which is very
25 different from what they did, but let's just

1 suppose otherwise, that they had immediately and
2 only relied on policy considerations.

3 Are you saying even then it would --
4 the -- the rescission would be reviewable? And
5 why would that be?

6 MR. MONGAN: So, if it were a pure
7 policy rationale, it would fall outside of
8 Chaney. It would be presumptively reviewable,
9 as most agency actions are. I think it would be
10 challenged, and the challengers would likely
11 argue that there's sufficient general standards
12 in this area to allow for a minimal level of
13 rationality review.

14 JUSTICE KAGAN: Why would it fall
15 outside of Chaney, do you think?

16 MR. MONGAN: I think that Chaney was
17 very specific about the type of agency action
18 that it addressed. It was a concrete decision
19 by the agency not to enforce a statute with
20 respect to particular actors.

21 Now that is different from a broad
22 policy that guides the exercise of deferred
23 action decisions prospectively. And Chaney was
24 founded on a recognized tradition of non-review.
25 It pointed to cases going back to the 19th

1 Century.

2 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, when you say
3 "particular actors," did it not apply to anybody
4 who was facing execution using -- using -- by --
5 by lethal injection?

6 MR. MONGAN: Well, as General
7 Francisco has noted, there were broad policy
8 considerations underlying the decision, but, as
9 it was described by the Court, it was a decision
10 not to enforce with respect to particular prison
11 administrators and drug companies.

12 And I think a -- a different point
13 here is that --

14 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, hasn't that been
15 FDA policy for all of the years since Chaney?

16 MR. MONGAN: Sure, Your Honor, but
17 that's a --

18 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, that's a big
19 class of people.

20 MR. MONGAN: But that's a flat
21 determination not to enforce, as opposed to a
22 policy guiding future decisions about whether to
23 grant deferred action, which itself is not a
24 flat or final non-enforcement decision. They
25 have argued that deferred action is revocable at

1 any time and could be -- and is not a defense to
2 removal.

3 So we're dealing with a different type
4 of policy here than the one that the agency
5 dealt with in Chaney.

6 JUSTICE BREYER: Well, what is it
7 exactly? I mean, look, I -- I -- I've always
8 thought, well, it means the individualized kind
9 of decision, but, quite rightly, the -- the
10 solicitor general reads me the language, which
11 is programmatic. But agency -- the United
12 States has hundreds, thousands of agencies which
13 do enforce all kinds of things, which make
14 programmatic rules all the time.

15 And so what -- it can't mean that
16 Heckler is interpreting this, committed to
17 agency discretion, to make serious inroads in
18 the principle of judicial review, but
19 everybody's struggling, including me, what's the
20 line? And what's the line generally?

21 It can't be so broad of all programs.
22 It can't be so narrow as an individualized
23 decision. Just what is it?

24 MR. MONGAN: Well, I think we can look
25 to the language of the Chaney decision. It

1 describes a decision not to take enforcement
2 action. So perhaps if there is a broad policy
3 that is a flat categorical decision that we will
4 not take enforcement action, that would be one
5 thing. But the --

6 JUSTICE BREYER: Imagine an SEC rule
7 or imagine an HHS rule and what it says is we
8 are not going to take action to give a certain
9 category of people their benefits. Not
10 reviewable? I mean, nobody would think that.

11 MR. MONGAN: Well --

12 JUSTICE BREYER: So -- so -- so we're
13 struggling still.

14 MR. MONGAN: Yes.

15 JUSTICE BREYER: And I'm saying
16 honestly I am struggling to get the right rule.

17 MR. MONGAN: I -- I understand and
18 there may be ambiguities at the margins here,
19 but I do want to focus it on this case because,
20 here, Acting Secretary Duke identified one
21 ground for terminating this policy. She said
22 that she was -- she pointed to the Attorney
23 General's letter, which concluded that the
24 policy was unconstitutional and beyond statutory
25 authority.

1 And whether or not this might
2 conceivably fall under Chaney, if it does, it
3 still is subject to review.

4 JUSTICE BREYER: So you're saying at
5 the minimum, one, an action to enforce is
6 different from an action not to enforce. Here,
7 we have one to enforce. And you're saying as
8 well that the ground being purely legal, it is
9 not a discretionary ground. He said it was
10 illegal, and, therefore, it is not within
11 discretion. Okay, have I got those two right?

12 MR. MONGAN: That's right, Your Honor.

13 JUSTICE BREYER: Anything else?

14 MR. MONGAN: I think those are what we
15 have focused on in this case and that --

16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, counsel, I --
17 I'm sorry to interrupt there, but I actually had
18 understood your answer on the second one to be
19 different when you were posed that question by
20 Justice Kagan. And I thought you had indicated
21 that whether it was based on policy grounds or
22 on an illegal assessment wouldn't alter the
23 reviewability analysis in your view.

24 So I guess I'm just curious, which is
25 it?

1 MR. MONGAN: So, to be more precise,
2 if we're operating in a world where we assume
3 that Chaney applies, our point is, regardless,
4 this is reviewable because this is within a
5 sub-category where the agency has disclaimed any
6 discretionary choice. It has said we have no
7 authority over the matter. And that can't --

8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: That wasn't my --
9 I'm sorry, that wasn't my question.

10 So -- so if -- if -- assuming we're
11 living in a world in which the agency had
12 alternative grounds and one of which was policy
13 grounds, I had thought you told Justice Kagan
14 that this would be reviewable.

15 And now I thought I understood you to
16 say something slightly different to -- to -- to
17 Justice Breyer. Perhaps -- perhaps I'm missing
18 something.

19 MR. MONGAN: Well, let me try and --
20 and clarify. We believe that a broad policy is
21 not the type of action that's referred to by
22 Chaney, consistent with some of the D.C. Circuit
23 authority that's been cited in the -- in the
24 briefs that General --

25 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, I think

1 Justice Breyer -- that just takes us back to the
2 beginning of the discussion with Justice Breyer,
3 which is that can't be so necessarily because
4 every prosecutorial discretion affects a lot of
5 people. You had that discussion with Justice
6 Alito as well. So I -- I -- I guess I -- I'll
7 let you go, but I'm still struggling with this
8 line that you're asking us to draw.

9 MR. MONGAN: Well, it may be a
10 difficult line to draw in the general case, but,
11 in this case, with respect, it is an easy line
12 to draw because we know that this decision was
13 founded on a binding legal determination by the
14 Attorney General that they could not continue
15 this policy.

16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: What if it --

17 MR. MONGAN: And that's the --

18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- what if it
19 were less, as you view, in categorical terms?
20 What if the Attorney General said, I've looked
21 at this, it's -- it's -- it's a close case, but,
22 on balance, I don't think we have the authority?
23 Or if he said, I'm pretty sure we don't have the
24 authority, but a court might come out
25 differently? Does your analysis change, or is

1 it only when he says this is -- as far as I'm
2 concerned, this is definite; it's illegal?

3 MR. MONGAN: No, Your Honor, we would
4 argue that it's a type of action that's
5 presumptively reviewable, and if the agency
6 decides to base a decision on some discretionary
7 choice but with an explanation or rationale
8 that's founded on litigation risk or legal
9 doubt, that that would be a rationale that
10 courts --

11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Is it enough
12 --

13 MR. MONGAN: -- would be equipped to
14 review.

15 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- for him to
16 say, look, I've got a decision from the Fifth
17 Circuit that tells me this is illegal, it's been
18 affirmed by the Supreme Court by an equally
19 divided vote? That's enough for me to say we're
20 not going to do it?

21 MR. MONGAN: It's not enough to
22 sustain the decision, Your Honor. I think that,
23 under these circumstances, given the nature of
24 this program and the interests at stake, we
25 don't think that any genuine statement of legal

1 doubt or litigation risk would be adequate.

2 But that's not what we have here.

3 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, even if you went
4 through a legitimate balancing exercise, in
5 other words, you talked about the law and what
6 you were worried about, and then you talked
7 about the reliance interests, and -- and then
8 you said here's is what we're weighing and
9 here's our judgment, do you think that that
10 would be sufficient?

11 MR. MONGAN: I think, as a general
12 matter, an agency could base a discretionary
13 decision on a -- a reasoned analysis like that.
14 I suspect that if we saw that decision, we would
15 challenge it under the particular circumstances
16 here.

17 But a court might agree that if there
18 were some substantial and detailed consideration
19 of the actual costs of this and the reasoned
20 legal analysis, then maybe that would be, in a
21 court's eyes, sufficient, but that's absolutely
22 not what we have here.

23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So --

24 MR. MONGAN: We have a --

25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- so if this

1 -- if you prevail and the case goes back, is it
2 enough to say, look, we've read the amicus
3 briefs that Justice Breyer pointed out about the
4 reliance interests; we've read, you know, the
5 Fifth Circuit's opinion in -- in the Texas
6 litigation, presumably, they would cite that as
7 well, would that be enough?

8 MR. MONGAN: I think that it would
9 have to begin with the deficiencies that Judge
10 Bates identified, which is that the agency has
11 not actually identified with any particularity
12 the legal grounds that it's concerned with. It
13 does cite --

14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, it's
15 not --

16 MR. MONGAN: -- the DAPA case.

17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yeah, I mean,
18 what -- do you need more than that? You've got
19 a court of appeals decision affirmed by an
20 equally divided Supreme Court. Can't he just
21 say that's the basis on which I'm making this
22 decision?

23 MR. MONGAN: Your Honor, no, and I
24 think Judge Bates is exactly right on this. The
25 reasoned explanation requirement is meant to

1 facilitate judicial review and inform the
2 public.

3 And, yes, they point to the DAPA case,
4 but there's four or five theories of illegality
5 floating around there ranging from the notice
6 and comment to the Take Care Clause claim. And
7 we don't know which ground the agency based its
8 decision on.

9 So that is a lack of a reasoned
10 explanation, in addition to the fact that --

11 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, what would an
12 adequate explanation look like? I mean, what do
13 you think they would have to do to be in the
14 clear on this?

15 MR. MONGAN: Well, I think that they
16 would at least have to identify the particular
17 grounds that they're relying on to facilitate
18 further judicial review of their underlying
19 legal conclusion and explain why they believe it
20 applies to the DACA policy when they pointed to
21 a case about a different policy, and then have
22 some serious, and more serious than what we see
23 in the Nielsen memo, accounting of the very
24 substantial --

25 JUSTICE BREYER: But suppose they say,

1 yeah, we'll do that, we'll do that. And now the
2 authorities are legion on -- that -- that you --
3 we should decide on the basis of that Duke memo.
4 That was the decision, rested on that. And
5 we've heard that, okay.

6 There's another case where Justice
7 Fortas wrote, you shouldn't play ping pong with
8 the agency, okay? So they're saying that's what
9 the -- a lot of their argument was.

10 What's the point? What's the point?
11 I mean, you'll send it back, and they'll say,
12 okay, right, DAPA was different; in DAPA, the
13 court said that, here, the DAPA program makes
14 4.2 million people citizens with a run-around of
15 the normal way to become citizens when you have
16 a child who's a citizen. And, here, that has
17 nothing to do with this case.

18 They're not -- no run-around. Okay,
19 you point that out, they point -- okay, we're
20 going to come out the same way. It's close
21 enough.

22 So should -- what's the argument
23 against playing -- as there is a sentence for,
24 against you, playing ping pong with the agency?

25 MR. MONGAN: I think that there is a

1 very substantial meaning to a remand in this
2 case, Your Honor. We don't truly know what the
3 agency would do if confronted with a
4 discretionary choice.

5 If they knew that DACA were lawful,
6 there's a new Secretary, and the administration
7 has expressed broad sympathy for this
8 population, and they very well might continue
9 the policy or stop short of wholesale
10 termination.

11 And if we are remanding in light of
12 the lack of a reasoned explanation, my friend
13 has --

14 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But it --

15 MR. MONGAN: -- said --

16 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- it was remanded
17 by Judge Bates or -- or given time, and
18 Secretary Nielsen did what you just said and
19 said, even if DACA was legal, you heard Mr.
20 Francisco on that, I would exercise my
21 discretion to rescind, and then explained her
22 consideration of the reliance interests.

23 So why is -- there's already been, in
24 effect, a remand.

25 MR. MONGAN: There -- there is a

1 boilerplate assertion in that memo of
2 independence, I will grant you that. I think if
3 we look at the circumstances --

4 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, can I just
5 stop you on boilerplate?

6 MR. MONGAN: Yeah.

7 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: I mean, this is a
8 serious decision. We all agree with that. And
9 -- and it was for the Secretary, presumably.

10 And to say in writing, even if it's
11 lawful, I nonetheless am going to exercise my
12 discretion, I assume that was a very considered
13 decision. Now we can agree with it or disagree
14 with the -- the merits of it, but it seems --

15 MR. MONGAN: Yes, and I think it's
16 important to look to the penultimate paragraph
17 in that memorandum, where she conducts her
18 collective weighing and she considers those
19 policy rationales along with the legal
20 rationales and say that, together, they outweigh
21 the purported costs of terminating DACA.

22 I also think it's critical to
23 understand the context of this in that --

24 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: So your point,
25 just so I understand, I think this is your

1 point, is that the legal considerations, while
2 she said that, end up being intertwined in the
3 subsequent paragraphs with the policy
4 considerations?

5 MR. MONGAN: That -- that's absolutely
6 right. And this was, after all, in a context of
7 a memo that they submitted to the district court
8 in ongoing litigation intended to defend and
9 explain the prior decision.

10 And I do want to note here that to the
11 extent that my friend has suggested this is a
12 new decision or a new action and has been
13 presented as such, that's not consistent with
14 what they told the district court.

15 The district court said quite plainly,
16 please notify me if there's a new decision.
17 They submitted this memo and said, this is a
18 motion to revise your order with respect to the
19 original Duke decision; we want you to sustain
20 the Duke decision. And the district court took
21 them at their word and treated it accordingly.

22 So I don't think that they can come to
23 this Court and suggest that it is a fresh
24 decision and every rationale is before the
25 Court. Under Camp --

1 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: In that
2 penultimate paragraph, what is the shortfall in
3 the discussion of reliance interests, in your
4 view?

5 MR. MONGAN: Well, I'm not sure that
6 there are -- there is much of a discussion. She
7 expresses some sympathy and then ultimately says
8 that it is up to Congress to consider and weigh
9 the -- the reliance interests and the costs.

10 It's not a detailed discussion of the
11 dramatic harm to hundreds of thousands of young
12 people, to their families, to their employers,
13 to the states, to the economy that would arise
14 from this decision.

15 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, she does say
16 that in a sentence. If we remanded and it were
17 detailed more fully, would it still fall short?

18 MR. MONGAN: I think the great value
19 of a remand is that --

20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Please.

21 MR. MONGAN: -- to date, they have not
22 made a decision that actually takes ownership of
23 a discretionary choice to end this policy. And
24 if they had a remand, if that is their intent,
25 they could issue a new decision that actually

1 does that so the public could hold them
2 accountable for the choice they've made.

3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
4 counsel.

5 Five minutes, Mr. -- oh, I'm sorry,
6 General Francisco.

7 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF GEN. NOEL J. FRANCISCO
8 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

9 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Thank you,
10 Mr. Chief Justice.

11 I think I want to focus on three basic
12 points. First, Justice Kavanaugh, I want to
13 make sure you have all of the relevant portions
14 in the Nielsen Memorandum that I think make this
15 all quite clear. Page 122a, and I'm at the
16 Regents Petitioners' appendix. "In considering
17 how DHS's discretion to establish enforcement
18 policies and priorities should be exercised, the
19 DACA policy properly was and should be rescinded
20 for several separate and independently
21 sufficient reasons." She then gives the first
22 reason, the legality question.

23 Then if you go to page 123a. Second,
24 "regardless of whether the DACA policy is
25 ultimately illegal, it was appropriately

1 rescinded by DHS because there are at a minimum
2 serious doubts about its legality."

3 Further down the page, third,
4 "regardless of whether these concerns about the
5 DACA policy render it illegal or legally
6 questionable, there are sound reasons of
7 enforcement policy to rescind the DACA policy."
8 And then she sets out the enforcement policy.

9 If you move to page 121 -- 125a, where
10 she's discussing reliance, "I do not believe
11 that the asserted reliance interests outweigh
12 the questionable legality of the DACA policy and
13 the other reasons for ending the policy
14 discussed above."

15 And, finally, when you get to the
16 conclusion on page 126a, "for these reasons, in
17 setting DHS enforcement policies and priorities,
18 I concur with and decline to disturb Acting
19 Secretary Duke's decisions to rescind the DACA
20 policies."

21 So, frankly --

22 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But we don't know
23 from --

24 GENERAL FRANCISCO: -- I don't
25 understand --

1 JUSTICE GINSBURG: -- from all of
2 that, we don't know how she would respond if
3 there were a clear recognition that there was
4 nothing illegal about DACA.

5 Her whole memo is infected by the idea
6 that this is, one, illegal. It leaves
7 substantial doubt about its illegality.

8 If we take that out, then -- the
9 independent ground that you're asserting, then
10 she would be saying, we stand up and say this is
11 the policy of our administration. We don't like
12 DACA and we're taking responsibility for that,
13 instead of trying to put the blame on the law.

14 GENERAL FRANCISCO: Respectfully, Your
15 Honor, I very much disagree. She sets forth
16 explicitly on page 121a several separate and
17 independently sufficient reasons.

18 We own this. We both own the policy
19 rationale set forth in Secretary Nielsen's
20 memorandum. Also, because we think this is not
21 subject to judicial review at all, we own the
22 legal judgment set forth in Secretary Nielsen's
23 memoranda.

24 So simply stated, the fact that we've
25 got alternative and legal policy grounds for

1 making this decision make two things clear.

2 First, it is four square within Chaney
3 under the reviewability issue because Chaney,
4 likewise, was -- rested on alternative legal
5 grounds. The FDA believed it lacked
6 jurisdiction and policy grounds.

7 And, secondly, it shows how this was
8 plainly and eminently reasonable rescission,
9 even if you disagree with us on the legal issue,
10 because we've set forth separate and independent
11 policy issues for the decision.

12 So that was basically my first point.

13 JUSTICE KAGAN: But even what you just
14 read, General, in that key paragraph where the
15 Secretary weighs the -- the -- the -- the
16 reliance interests against the reasons in her
17 memo, everything's wrapped up. And we really
18 don't know how she would have conducted that
19 balance, how she would have weighed those two,
20 if the legal had been taken away from it.

21 GENERAL FRANCISCO: I -- I simply
22 disagree with that. When she specifically says
23 that she's setting forth separate -- separate
24 and independent grounds justifying the
25 rescission, I don't think that there's any fair

1 way to read that but by saying that she would
2 have rescinded it based on any of the
3 independent grounds, which brings me --

4 JUSTICE BREYER: Look at the
5 independent grounds. Number one -- number one,
6 "we should not adopt a policy of non-enforcement
7 of those laws for broad classes and categories."
8 Okay. And Congress she thinks agrees with us.

9 Well, I don't know. Maybe they do;
10 maybe they don't. But, aside from that, that --
11 that's a conclusion.

12 Look at the second one: "We should do
13 it on a truly individualized case-by-case
14 basis." That's a conclusion. That isn't a
15 reason.

16 And the third one is a reason. The
17 third one: "It is important to project the
18 message that leaves no doubt regarding the
19 clear," et cetera, "enforcement of immigration
20 against all class" -- that's an independent
21 reason.

22 GENERAL FRANCISCO: With respect, may
23 I finish? May I finish?

24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yes.

25 GENERAL FRANCISCO: I'm going to try

1 to squeeze in two points in a single sentence.

2 JUSTICE BREYER: That's all right.

3 Good luck. I'm sorry.

4 GENERAL FRANCISCO: The first -- the
5 -- the first point is that I very much disagree.
6 All of those articulate the basic same policy
7 rationale that this is a law enforcement agency.
8 They are against general policies that actively
9 facilitate violations of the law.

10 And the last point I will make is,
11 while we don't think you need to address the
12 legality question if you agree with us on any of
13 our other arguments, if you disagree with us on
14 any of our other arguments, you absolutely must
15 address the ultimate legality question because
16 we simply cannot be forced to maintain a policy
17 that this Court concludes that is illegal.

18 So, if you decide to get there, then
19 we do think that DACA is illegal and was
20 justifiably -- was justifiably rescinded on that
21 basis as well.

22 Thank you, Your Honor.

23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
24 counsel. The case is submitted.

25

1 (Whereupon, at 11:30 a.m., the case
2 was submitted.)
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

Official - Subject to Final Review

1	19,20 67:7 accountability [1] 64:18 accountable [1] 87:2 accounting [1] 81:23 accurate [2] 21:23 43:23 acknowledge [1] 62:12 act [3] 54:24 69:22,25 acted [2] 38:15 40:8 ACTING [6] 1:19 37:25 42:10 59:21 74:20 88:18 action [35] 7:18,21 8:1 12:24,25 14:16 17:4 18:1,3 39:2,12,13,17 44:6 45:23 54:24 63:17 65:15 68:9,11,13 69:10 70:21 71:17,23 72:23,25 74:2,4,8 75:5,6 76:21 78:4 85:12 actions [4] 15:3 38:16 67:20 71:9 actively [3] 20:20 33:23 92:8 actors [2] 71:20 72:3 acts [1] 38:3 actual [1] 79:19 actually [7] 10:7 23:16 28:13 75:17 80:11 86:22,25 ad [2] 23:1 39:2 add [1] 30:7 added [1] 31:22 addition [3] 22:14 39:1 81:10 address [6] 35:23 39:5 56:16 57:18 92:11,15 addressed [1] 71:18 addressing [1] 62:11 adequacy [2] 57:22 58:22 adequate [4] 24:21 67:14 79:1 81:12 adequately [2] 19:25 62:8 adhere [1] 12:2 administration [11] 11:21 45:6 47:20 58:2,2 63:10 64:16,25 70:23 83:6 89:11 administrations [3] 44:19 47:24 49:2 administrative [7] 30:5 35:7 39:11 57:9,10 59:13 60:14 administrator [2] 59:21,21 administrators [1] 72:11 admit [1] 35:8 adopt [3] 36:6 52:6 91:6 adopted [1] 69:1 adopting [1] 68:17 advance [1] 33:24 advanced [1] 34:13 ADVANCEMENT [1] 1:16 advantage [1] 54:10 adverse [1] 43:18 affect [1] 55:6 affected [1] 17:6 affects [5] 38:4 52:24 56:8 66:18 77:4 affirm [2] 39:19 67:14 affirmative [1] 33:25 affirmatively [1] 36:20 affirmed [4] 4:15 40:24 78:18 80:19 agencies [3] 51:8 61:17 73:12	agency [57] 5:8,18 6:13,15 12:24,24 13:9,11,13 14:15 17:4 20:13,16 22:1 28:20 29:5 32:25 33:1,21 37:9 39:12,13 40:7,12,12 45:1,4,19,23 46:2 54:24 61:18 62:20 65:10 66:1 67:20,20,23 68:1,6,25 71:9,17,19 73:4,11,17 76:5,11 78:5 79:12 80:10 81:7 82:8,24 83:3 92:7 agency's [12] 5:5,22 7:7,19 8:3 10:8 14:7 15:20 16:23 23:10 37:13,20 agents [1] 49:22 ago [4] 10:6 45:3 59:4 61:2 agree [9] 18:10 19:1 61:20 68:10,13 79:17 84:8,13 92:12 agreed [4] 5:2 10:12 18:23 32:6 agrees [3] 33:6,11 91:8 ahead [5] 7:13 26:7,8 40:2 59:15 AL [6] 1:4,8,12,16,20,23 aliens [3] 5:3 29:3 34:22 ALITO [19] 9:12 16:25 17:2,12 45:18 46:1,14,16 47:5 48:3,7,10 51:24 65:7,19 72:2,14,18 77:6 Alito's [1] 51:14 allow [3] 38:23 69:2 71:12 allowed [1] 17:18 allowing [1] 70:19 allows [1] 34:20 alone [1] 37:6 already [3] 40:8,8 83:23 alter [1] 75:22 alternate [1] 12:1 alternative [6] 7:3,9 15:5 76:12 89:25 90:4 alternatively [1] 65:13 ambiguities [1] 74:18 amicus [1] 80:2 amounts [1] 46:23 analysis [5] 63:7 75:23 77:25 79:13,20 announced [2] 69:14,21 announcement [2] 55:16 67:24 announcing [1] 15:13 another [5] 56:19 57:21 59:17 70:3 82:6 answer [5] 17:15 55:10 64:11,11 75:18 answers [1] 31:6 anybody [3] 19:3 20:9 72:3 APA [8] 4:23 18:1 21:23 22:10 25:1,20 45:24 67:19 appeals [1] 80:19 APPEARANCES [1] 2:8 appears [1] 68:10 appendix [3] 21:7 41:24 87:16 applicable [1] 24:13 application [1] 38:11 applied [2] 69:13,15 applies [3] 10:25 76:3 81:20 apply [8] 9:7 10:24 11:3 14:5 44:8 48:21 69:23 72:3 approach [1] 70:21 appropriate [1] 19:12	appropriately [2] 43:1 87:25 approval [1] 70:1 arbitrary [1] 25:21 area [2] 70:15 71:12 areas [1] 11:5 Aren't [1] 64:3 argue [6] 22:5 29:18 54:2 65:9 71:11 78:4 argued [6] 10:7 16:22 17:3 18:22 35:8 72:25 arguing [3] 6:11 10:14,15 argument [27] 2:5 3:2,5,8,11 4:4,9 6:10,25 7:3,15 13:4,7,19 16:19 19:3,3,20 21:3,19 28:14 43:13 57:4 66:10 82:9,22 87:7 arguments [5] 7:9 12:1,7 92:13,14 arise [1] 86:13 Armed [2] 43:21 56:3 around [3] 19:23 21:7 81:5 articulate [1] 92:6 articulated [2] 28:1 46:10 aside [4] 28:9 30:2 31:2 91:10 aspect [3] 22:3,7 25:2 asserted [1] 88:11 asserting [2] 43:25 89:9 assertion [3] 44:2 68:16 84:1 assessment [1] 75:22 associated [1] 47:18 ASSOCIATION [1] 1:15 associations [1] 24:2 assume [4] 62:6,7 76:2 84:12 assumed [1] 20:9 assumes [1] 26:20 assuming [4] 19:12 30:7 59:14 76:10 asymmetry [1] 9:18 attaining [1] 28:13 attendant [1] 34:9 Attorney [21] 5:25 6:5 8:7 44:1 46:3 47:8,9 50:17 51:5,10 52:23 53:25 54:3,18 58:4 59:22 61:1 64:20 74:22 77:14,20 authorities [1] 82:2 authority [20] 7:4 8:15 9:10 15:2 16:23 19:6 36:8,13,18 37:10 44:3 61:20 68:22 70:16,18 74:25 76:7,23 77:22,24 authorization [10] 17:20 18:4 34:1,17 44:9 47:15 48:21 49:1,12 68:12 authorized [1] 49:16 availed [1] 69:18 aware [1] 22:22 away [2] 28:19 90:20
2	2 [1] 22:16 2017 [1] 4:13 2019 [1] 2:2 202 [1] 68:23 210 [1] 24:2		
3	350 [1] 41:14		
4	4 [3] 3:4 11:6 68:4 4.2 [1] 82:14 40 [2] 69:15,23 400,000 [1] 46:13 43 [1] 3:7		
5	50 [1] 40:21 50,000 [1] 69:17		
6	6 [1] 68:23 66 [2] 3:10 23:25		
7	700,000 [3] 23:18 24:15 43:20		
8	87 [1] 3:13		
A	a.m [3] 2:6 4:2 93:1 abdication [4] 8:15 9:9 11:3 16:1 ability [8] 8:22 9:3 10:8,10,16,20 16:18 18:25 able [2] 39:2 70:16 above [1] 88:14 above-entitled [1] 2:4 abrupt [2] 43:18 44:11 Absolutely [5] 33:12,20 79:21 85:5 92:14 accompanied [1] 60:13 Accordingly [2] 15:3 85:21 account [6] 22:25 23:12 24:21 38:		
B	back [14] 11:12 26:2 38:5,15 39:20 40:7,23,25 63:13 65:9 71:25 77:1 80:1 82:11 bad [4] 61:9 62:17,17,17 balance [2] 77:22 90:19 balancing [2] 27:1 79:4 base [3] 13:7 78:6 79:12		

Official - Subject to Final Review

<p>based ^[12] 4:19 44:16 52:15 53:17 56:4 59:9 66:19 67:2,14 75:21 81:7 91:2</p> <p>baseline ^[1] 56:23</p> <p>bases ^[2] 13:7 27:4</p> <p>basic ^[5] 30:5 39:7,8 87:11 92:6</p> <p>basically ^[3] 61:6,11 90:12</p> <p>basis ^[13] 5:17 15:7 27:16 34:3 41:9 52:25 65:14,20 67:5 80:21 82:3 91:14 92:21</p> <p>BATALLA ^[1] 1:23</p> <p>Bates ^[4] 66:22 80:10,24 83:17</p> <p>baton ^[1] 56:13</p> <p>become ^[2] 50:8 82:15</p> <p>begin ^[2] 5:24 80:9</p> <p>beginning ^[2] 22:15 77:2</p> <p>behalf ^[11] 2:12,14,17 3:4,7,10,13 4:10 43:14 66:11 87:8</p> <p>belief ^[3] 4:19 27:5,6</p> <p>believe ^[5] 21:6 63:6 76:20 81:19 88:10</p> <p>believed ^[2] 6:6 90:5</p> <p>below ^[1] 14:24</p> <p>benefit ^[4] 18:12 49:25 63:14 70:19</p> <p>benefits ^[24] 17:5,9,17,17,20 25:25 34:1,2,9 37:24 44:10 46:10 47:17 48:5,13,15,19 49:1 50:2,3 53:18 54:12 63:7 74:9</p> <p>best ^[1] 23:6</p> <p>between ^[6] 8:16 13:8 16:12 36:19 51:20 64:4</p> <p>beyond ^[5] 20:18 33:18 41:1 48:7 74:24</p> <p>big ^[5] 13:7 35:19 36:19 55:21 72:18</p> <p>billions ^[1] 54:17</p> <p>binding ^[2] 51:7 77:13</p> <p>bit ^[1] 32:8</p> <p>blame ^[1] 89:13</p> <p>BLE ^[4] 7:17,18,23 8:5</p> <p>boilerplate ^[2] 84:1,5</p> <p>boils ^[1] 68:15</p> <p>both ^[10] 6:21 9:24,24,25 10:25 32:20 38:17,18 49:1 89:18</p> <p>bound ^[2] 59:20 60:25</p> <p>branch ^[3] 13:2 19:7 44:4</p> <p>branches ^[1] 56:22</p> <p>BREYER ^[34] 13:3,6,17 14:2,9,22 23:5,15,20 24:8,12,19 39:7,15 40:1,5,17,20 41:4,13 54:16 73:6 74:6,12,15 75:4,13 76:17 77:1,2 80:3 81:25 91:4 92:2</p> <p>brief ^[2] 50:25 61:2</p> <p>briefly ^[1] 62:15</p> <p>briefs ^[4] 23:23 41:14 76:24 80:3</p> <p>brings ^[1] 91:3</p> <p>broad ^[16] 4:22 5:15 24:21 35:1 36:6,14 56:7 68:22 70:15 71:21 72:7 73:21 74:2 76:20 83:7 91:7</p> <p>broad-based ^[2] 27:10 32:22</p> <p>brought ^[1] 14:19</p> <p>builders ^[1] 24:4</p> <p>burden ^[1] 21:12</p>	<p>Burger ^[1] 13:8</p> <p>business ^[2] 48:20 54:9</p> <p>businesses ^[2] 24:6 56:2</p> <p>button ^[1] 65:24</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">C</p> <hr/> <p>CALIFORNIA ^[3] 1:8 2:16 4:6</p> <p>call ^[1] 11:17</p> <p>called ^[1] 64:7</p> <p>calls ^[1] 26:18</p> <p>came ^[6] 2:4 6:5 23:17 50:19 59:8 65:2</p> <p>Camp ^[2] 62:19 85:25</p> <p>Canal ^[1] 13:15</p> <p>cannot ^[3] 13:10 67:4 92:16</p> <p>capricious ^[1] 25:21</p> <p>care ^[2] 39:2 81:6</p> <p>carefully ^[1] 39:23</p> <p>carrying ^[2] 7:2 15:15</p> <p>Case ^[38] 4:4 6:23 7:18 10:5 14:11 17:3 20:1 22:1 23:13 37:14 38:3 39:9,15 45:3,9,10,12 46:22 52:8 53:20 58:15,15 59:5 65:9 74:19 75:15 77:10,11,21 80:1,16 81:3,21 82:6,17 83:2 92:24 93:1</p> <p>case-by-case ^[1] 91:13</p> <p>cases ^[15] 4:7 40:21 45:12,21 46:20,21,23 47:11 52:20 55:24,24,25,25 58:16 71:25</p> <p>categorical ^[8] 15:13 34:2 52:9,18,24 53:9 74:3 77:19</p> <p>categorically ^[1] 33:15</p> <p>categories ^[2] 33:6 91:7</p> <p>category ^[6] 18:9 34:22 46:19 47:13 50:5 74:9</p> <p>cause ^[1] 55:25</p> <p>caused ^[1] 58:17</p> <p>Census ^[1] 59:5</p> <p>central ^[1] 67:22</p> <p>Century ^[1] 72:1</p> <p>cert ^[1] 50:24</p> <p>certain ^[9] 13:12,13 17:5,9 38:18 46:19,19 48:5 74:8</p> <p>certainly ^[2] 10:9 65:21</p> <p>cetera ^[1] 91:19</p> <p>challenge ^[2] 18:19 79:15</p> <p>challenged ^[3] 47:17 48:18 71:10</p> <p>challengers ^[1] 71:10</p> <p>challenging ^[2] 50:12,13</p> <p>Chaney ^[32] 6:23 8:5 9:4,7,10 10:13,23,23 11:5 13:19 14:14 15:12,20,22 16:1 18:22 51:24,25 54:23 68:4 71:8,15,16,23 72:15 73:5,25 75:2 76:3,22 90:2,3</p> <p>Chaney's ^[2] 8:14 9:25</p> <p>change ^[3] 56:7 64:21 77:25</p> <p>changed ^[4] 46:25 56:6 59:6 63:9</p> <p>changes ^[1] 47:25</p> <p>changing ^[1] 63:19</p> <p>channel ^[2] 69:2 70:17</p> <p>Chenery ^[1] 39:10</p> <p>CHIEF ^[34] 4:3,11 7:10,12 8:6,11 11:2 31:5 37:18,22 38:2,14 43:10,15 48:24 49:9 65:21 66:7,12 69:6,</p>	<p>16 77:16,18 78:11,15 79:23,25 80:14,17 86:20 87:3,10 91:24 92:23</p> <p>child ^[2] 55:24 82:16</p> <p>choice ^[9] 31:19 49:20 51:10 68:5 76:6 78:7 83:4 86:23 87:2</p> <p>choices ^[1] 53:19</p> <p>choose ^[1] 64:2</p> <p>chooses ^[1] 34:22</p> <p>chose ^[1] 66:19</p> <p>Circuit ^[6] 4:13 10:12 18:23 50:20 76:22 78:17</p> <p>Circuit's ^[1] 80:5</p> <p>circumstance ^[2] 46:2 64:22</p> <p>circumstances ^[6] 39:4 45:8 64:5 78:23 79:15 84:3</p> <p>citation ^[1] 45:5</p> <p>cite ^[2] 80:6,13</p> <p>cited ^[1] 76:23</p> <p>cities ^[1] 24:5</p> <p>citizen ^[1] 82:16</p> <p>citizens ^[2] 82:14,15</p> <p>claim ^[1] 81:6</p> <p>claiming ^[1] 16:17</p> <p>clarify ^[1] 76:20</p> <p>class ^[6] 21:11 56:20 68:14 69:5 72:19 91:20</p> <p>class-based ^[3] 69:1,10,12</p> <p>classes ^[1] 91:7</p> <p>classic ^[1] 51:21</p> <p>Clause ^[1] 81:6</p> <p>clear ^[11] 9:10,24 18:21 21:24 22:24 69:21 81:14 87:15 89:3 90:1 91:19</p> <p>clearly ^[7] 9:4 12:6,9 15:12 20:14 22:10 31:16</p> <p>clerks ^[1] 23:16</p> <p>close ^[3] 69:7 77:21 82:20</p> <p>closer ^[1] 34:14</p> <p>cloud ^[1] 56:21</p> <p>cocaine ^[3] 46:22,22 52:22</p> <p>coercive ^[2] 44:14 55:1</p> <p>collateral ^[3] 17:21 18:3,11</p> <p>colleague's ^[1] 21:3</p> <p>colleagues ^[1] 30:9</p> <p>collective ^[1] 84:18</p> <p>COLORED ^[1] 1:16</p> <p>combination ^[1] 53:15</p> <p>come ^[8] 48:21 50:20 54:9 56:1 58:18 77:24 82:20 85:22</p> <p>comes ^[5] 18:16 61:24 62:1,7,7</p> <p>comment ^[1] 81:6</p> <p>commit ^[1] 13:10</p> <p>commits ^[1] 67:19</p> <p>committed ^[13] 5:5 6:13,17 7:7,19 8:2 15:19 29:10 65:4 67:20 68:1,6 73:16</p> <p>communities ^[1] 43:21</p> <p>companies ^[1] 72:11</p> <p>comparable ^[1] 70:10</p> <p>compelling ^[2] 68:11,19</p> <p>complete ^[4] 8:15 9:9 11:3 16:1</p> <p>completely ^[4] 22:2,6 47:12 54:7</p> <p>composite ^[2] 52:7,8</p> <p>conceivably ^[1] 75:2</p>	<p>concept ^[1] 68:3</p> <p>conception ^[1] 25:20</p> <p>concerned ^[2] 78:2 80:12</p> <p>concerns ^[4] 5:14 43:6 60:2 88:4</p> <p>conclude ^[1] 14:24</p> <p>concluded ^[2] 20:18 74:23</p> <p>concludes ^[1] 92:17</p> <p>concluding ^[1] 23:3</p> <p>conclusion ^[8] 14:21 27:8 44:18 67:16 81:19 88:16 91:11,14</p> <p>conclusory ^[1] 26:16</p> <p>concrete ^[2] 18:6 71:18</p> <p>concur ^[2] 42:9 88:18</p> <p>condition ^[1] 44:12</p> <p>conducted ^[2] 65:6 90:18</p> <p>conducts ^[1] 84:17</p> <p>confer ^[1] 48:6</p> <p>conferred ^[3] 17:5 48:4,13</p> <p>confers ^[1] 34:25</p> <p>confidence ^[2] 5:21 37:12</p> <p>conflicts ^[3] 5:22 36:4 37:13</p> <p>confronted ^[1] 83:3</p> <p>Congress ^[24] 8:18,20,25 9:8 10:3,9,18 15:22 19:7 36:22 46:11 48:16,16 49:16 50:15 63:18 64:4 68:22 69:21,22,25 70:3 86:8 91:8</p> <p>congressional ^[2] 46:6 47:14</p> <p>connected ^[1] 53:18</p> <p>consequence ^[3] 17:21 18:12 67:1</p> <p>consequences ^[4] 18:3 38:6 43:18 66:2</p> <p>consider ^[7] 21:5 22:2,6 25:2 39:22 68:8 86:8</p> <p>consideration ^[2] 79:18 83:22</p> <p>considerations ^[4] 71:2 72:8 85:1,4</p> <p>considered ^[9] 19:25 20:13 22:17 25:4,14 30:17 31:13 39:23 84:12</p> <p>considering ^[4] 19:22 22:11 38:8 87:16</p> <p>considers ^[1] 84:18</p> <p>consistency ^[1] 70:20</p> <p>consistent ^[4] 68:21,24 76:22 85:13</p> <p>constitutional ^[1] 6:7</p> <p>construed ^[2] 45:8,16</p> <p>contemporaneous ^[6] 41:1 57:13,15 59:7 60:13 61:6</p> <p>context ^[3] 55:21 84:23 85:6</p> <p>continue ^[7] 21:1 23:5 56:21 66:22 67:25 77:14 83:8</p> <p>continuing ^[1] 56:20</p> <p>contrary ^[3] 28:15,15 29:19</p> <p>control ^[2] 15:10 37:21</p> <p>correct ^[1] 50:1</p> <p>correctly ^[1] 26:14</p> <p>costs ^[6] 25:24 63:7 67:8 79:19 84:21 86:9</p> <p>couldn't ^[1] 32:2</p> <p>Counsel ^[7] 37:18 43:11 47:25 66:8 75:16 87:4 92:24</p> <p>count ^[1] 23:16</p> <p>counted ^[2] 23:16,23</p>
--	---	---	---

Official - Subject to Final Review

<p>country ^[1] 24:16 couple ^[3] 10:6 21:21 27:3 coupling ^[2] 33:25 34:16 course ^[1] 55:13 COURT ^[52] 1:1 2:5 4:12,15,16 7:6, 23,25 10:6 12:9,10,12 14:12 21: 24 22:19 23:2,9,23 25:7 39:11,20 43:16 44:23 45:2,13,17 46:21,24 52:6 55:18 56:23 57:1,8 58:14 59: 4 66:13 67:13 68:3 72:9 77:24 78: 18 79:17 80:19,20 82:13 85:7,14, 15,20,23,25 92:17 Court's ^[2] 7:17 79:21 court-ordered ^[1] 37:15 courts ^[6] 8:18 13:1 14:4 40:23 45: 7 78:10 covered ^[1] 69:8 covers ^[1] 10:25 create ^[1] 34:21 created ^[1] 55:17 creates ^[1] 37:14 crime ^[1] 65:4 crimes ^[1] 29:10 criminal ^[1] 15:16 critical ^[6] 8:16 11:6 34:18 68:7 70:14 84:22 critically ^[1] 16:9 curious ^[1] 75:24 current ^[1] 30:12 curt ^[1] 62:21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">D</p> <hr/> <p>D.C ^[5] 2:1,11,13 12:10 76:22 DACA ^[80] 4:14,19 5:12 6:17 9:12, 15,16 11:18 12:2,2,21 16:5,12,13 17:8,16 19:23 20:5,10 22:23 25: 20,23 26:5 28:2,9 29:7 32:3,7,17 33:18,22 34:20 35:12,20 37:4,23 40:16 42:3,11,14,24 43:6,9,17 44: 2,7,13,22 46:8 48:4,6,9,12,14 50: 18 51:2 58:6 60:2,5 61:3,21 66:15, 20 67:8,11 68:9 69:8 81:20 83:5, 19 84:21 87:19,24 88:5,7,12,19 89:4,12 92:19 DACA-eligible ^[1] 30:12 DAPA ^[16] 4:14 10:5 12:22 16:20 17:3 18:20 25:20,23 28:9,10,15 80:16 81:3 82:12,12,13 date ^[2] 70:3 86:21 Davis ^[1] 13:8 day ^[2] 52:25 56:18 de ^[1] 38:11 dealing ^[1] 73:3 dealt ^[1] 73:5 death ^[6] 6:1,3,6 7:2 14:20 15:15 decades ^[2] 63:18 68:25 decide ^[4] 32:17 66:14 82:3 92:18 decided ^[3] 7:24 58:4 66:4 decides ^[1] 78:6 decision ^[85] 4:23 5:4,10 7:7,17 8: 19 12:17 14:6 18:13,14 22:24 31: 16 40:9 41:10 42:2 43:22 44:5,22 46:3,4,5 47:18,21 48:2,14 50:14, 16 51:6 54:23 55:3,6,22 56:23 57: 16 58:3,5,17 59:7,20 61:1,18 62: 20 63:8 64:17,18,20 66:15,17,23 67:2,3,23 70:10 71:18 72:8,9,24 73:9,23,25 74:1,3 77:12 78:6,16, 22 79:13,14 80:19,22 81:8 82:4 84:8,13 85:9,12,16,19,20,24 86:14, 22,25 90:1,11 decision-making ^[1] 13:2 decisions ^[24] 4:17 22:19 23:2 25: 7 27:11 42:11 45:1,16,17 52:13, 20 53:5,17 55:12 56:2,4 57:11 61: 7 63:17 66:3,5 71:23 72:22 88:19 decline ^[3] 15:8 42:10 88:18 declined ^[1] 36:23 defend ^[2] 67:1 85:8 defense ^[1] 73:1 deferred ^[16] 18:1,2 39:2 44:6 48: 7 49:3,4 63:17 68:9,11,12 69:10 70:21 71:22 72:23,25 deficiencies ^[1] 80:9 defined ^[1] 69:4 definite ^[1] 78:2 delaying ^[1] 63:14 delegation ^[1] 35:19 denial ^[3] 15:8 17:25 18:2 denied ^[1] 15:4 denying ^[1] 14:19 DEPARTMENT ^[13] 1:3 2:11 4:5, 17 5:2,8 11:10 18:24 19:5 27:9 32: 24 47:8 49:17 Department's ^[1] 5:14 deport ^[2] 34:10 49:3 deportation ^[1] 49:4 deported ^[1] 50:9 deprived ^[1] 66:21 described ^[3] 45:2 68:1 72:9 describes ^[1] 74:1 destroy ^[2] 30:23 31:20 detail ^[2] 12:8 25:6 detailed ^[4] 32:9 79:18 86:10,17 determination ^[4] 52:9,10 72:21 77:13 determined ^[1] 4:18 DHS ^[6] 42:8 43:1 46:6,12 88:1,17 DHS's ^[1] 87:17 difference ^[3] 8:16 9:23 47:6 different ^[21] 12:7 23:24 27:25 41: 15 46:2 47:12 54:7 59:9,10 63:22 64:5,22 70:25 71:21 72:12 73:3 75:6,19 76:16 81:21 82:12 differently ^[1] 77:25 difficult ^[2] 8:25 77:10 difficulty ^[2] 28:8 29:4 directed ^[1] 46:12 direction ^[1] 46:6 directly ^[1] 28:15 disagree ^[7] 14:14 84:13 89:15 90: 9,22 92:5,13 disapproval ^[1] 70:4 disclaimed ^[1] 76:5 discontinue ^[1] 42:16 discretion ^[48] 5:6 6:13,15,18,19 7:8,20 8:2,3,8 9:6,8 10:2,4 11:1 13:11,24 15:9,19,20,23 16:24 17: 22,24 28:20 35:1,7 36:14 42:15 44:2 45:4,20 51:10,22 64:15 66: 22 67:21,24 68:1,6,18 69:3 73:17 75:11 77:4 83:21 84:12 87:17 discretionary ^[11] 6:11 66:17 68: 5 69:1 70:16 75:9 76:6 78:6 79:12 83:4 86:23 discuss ^[1] 26:21 discussed ^[2] 23:1 88:14 discussing ^[1] 88:10 discussion ^[6] 22:21 77:2,5 86:3, 6,10 disruptions ^[1] 43:19 distinction ^[1] 16:12 district ^[10] 12:10,12 22:19 23:2 25:7 39:20 85:7,14,15,20 disturb ^[2] 42:10 88:18 diversion ^[2] 18:7,16 divert ^[1] 33:21 diverting ^[1] 33:18 divided ^[3] 4:16 78:19 80:20 doctrine ^[1] 38:12 document ^[1] 41:20 documents ^[1] 54:1 doing ^[1] 34:2 dollars ^[1] 54:17 DONALD ^[1] 1:11 done ^[4] 10:3 30:16 64:9,13 doubt ^[5] 50:23 78:9 79:1 89:7 91: 18 doubtful ^[1] 37:10 doubts ^[6] 4:20 27:7 32:20 37:6 43:2 88:2 down ^[7] 14:10 43:5 61:24 62:1,8 68:15 88:3 dozens ^[1] 63:17 dramatic ^[2] 67:8 86:11 dramatically ^[1] 64:4 draw ^[3] 77:8,10,12 Dreamers ^[1] 34:11 driver's ^[2] 44:9 48:19 drop ^[1] 6:17 drug ^[11] 18:7,9,10,11,16,18 46:20 47:11 52:20 55:25 72:11 drugs ^[4] 7:2 15:9,14 46:23 dubious ^[2] 5:19 33:2 Duke ^[13] 11:17,18 12:18 22:18 30: 4 41:2 42:1 51:5,9 74:20 82:3 85: 19,20 Duke's ^[7] 12:16 22:9 39:16 40:9 41:10 42:10 88:19 dynamic ^[1] 63:22 dynamics ^[1] 64:3</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">E</p> <hr/> <p>each ^[1] 65:13 earlier ^[5] 16:7 42:13 54:15 56:14 59:21 easier ^[1] 34:15 easy ^[1] 77:11 economic ^[2] 54:14,16 economy ^[2] 67:9 86:13 educational ^[2] 24:2 56:3 effect ^[3] 20:10 32:3 83:24</p>	<p>effective ^[1] 70:2 effectively ^[2] 12:16 34:20 eight ^[1] 45:13 either ^[4] 10:15 15:22 18:18 26:10 element ^[1] 6:10 eminently ^[3] 5:11 37:8 90:8 employed ^[1] 29:10 employers ^[4] 43:20 44:13 67:9 86:12 employment ^[1] 44:8 enabled ^[1] 44:7 enacted ^[1] 48:16 encompasses ^[1] 12:6 end ^[6] 5:10 42:5 56:18 66:19 85:2 86:23 ended ^[1] 4:25 ending ^[2] 5:17 88:13 enforce ^[28] 5:2,5,9,19 8:9,20,23 9: 3 10:8,11,16 12:2 16:19,24 18:25 19:6,8 33:2 54:4,24 55:23 71:19 72:10,21 73:13 75:5,6,7 enforceable ^[1] 51:7 enforced ^[2] 8:21 44:19 enforcement ^[45] 5:8,23 8:2 9:6, 10 10:1 11:4 14:16 15:8,19,24 16: 2,24 27:9 28:21 32:25 33:1,20 36: 15 37:7,9,13 42:8 43:8 44:6 45:19 46:7,11,25 47:10 48:14 49:18,24 50:5,22 51:21 60:4 74:1,4 87:17 88:7,8,17 91:19 92:7 enforcing ^[6] 8:17,24 10:20 11:7,8, 13 engendered ^[4] 23:11 47:23 55: 19 58:16 enough ^[6] 78:11,19,21 80:2,7 82: 21 enter ^[1] 18:10 entire ^[2] 48:17 54:1 entirely ^[2] 25:2 32:14 equally ^[3] 4:16 78:18 80:20 equipped ^[1] 78:13 erroneous ^[1] 44:17 error ^[1] 67:17 ESQ ^[5] 2:13 3:3,6,9,12 essentially ^[1] 50:14 establish ^[3] 46:7,9 87:17 establishes ^[1] 47:9 ET ^[7] 1:4,8,12,16,20,23 91:19 even ^[18] 7:3,14,16 13:14 17:19 20: 12 22:4 28:24 30:8 42:14 63:24 64:23 71:3 79:3 83:19 84:10 90:9, 13 even-handed ^[1] 70:20 everybody ^[2] 33:6,10 everybody's ^[1] 73:19 everything ^[1] 38:20 everything's ^[1] 90:17 exactly ^[6] 63:10 64:6,24 65:10 73: 7 80:24 example ^[6] 7:22 38:10 46:18 51: 24 54:5 70:6 examples ^[1] 70:7 exception ^[9] 8:14 9:7,11 10:13, 24,24,25 16:1 18:22</p>
--	--

Official - Subject to Final Review

<p>exceptions [2] 15:22 45:15 excruciating [1] 25:6 execution [2] 15:10 72:4 executive [9] 13:2 19:7 44:4 61:20 63:23 69:22 70:1,5,15 exercise [20] 8:7 9:5 10:1 14:20 15:18,23 16:23 17:22 29:13 42:15 44:3 45:20 68:18 69:3 70:17,21 71:22 79:4 83:20 84:11 exercised [2] 7:5 87:18 exist [1] 27:24 existing [1] 70:5 expanding [1] 63:20 expansion [1] 4:14 expire [1] 17:18 explain [7] 59:5,6 60:6 63:2 64:25 81:19 85:9 explained [5] 41:9 62:4,9 65:22 83:21 explaining [5] 25:24 58:22 63:8 65:17 66:3 explanation [16] 32:9 41:25 43:24 57:12,24 59:3 61:24 62:20,22 65:23 67:15 78:7 80:25 81:10,12 83:12 explicit [1] 46:6 explicitly [5] 20:15 22:12 25:4 27:13 89:16 exposed [1] 44:12 express [1] 70:4 expressed [1] 83:7 expresses [1] 86:7 extent [4] 20:4 21:9 38:19 85:11 extra [1] 30:3 extraordinary [1] 39:3 extreme [3] 5:20 33:3 37:10 extremely [2] 20:5 27:22 eyes [1] 79:21</p>	<p>Farm [2] 22:5 24:25 favor [1] 15:17 FDA [10] 6:23 14:18 15:1,2,12 16:12,14,17 72:15 90:5 FDA's [1] 16:18 federal [3] 46:20,24 52:22 fell [2] 10:12 18:21 few [4] 32:13 44:24 57:7 59:4 field [1] 49:22 Fifth [6] 4:13 10:12 18:23 50:20 78:16 80:5 Fifty [1] 69:16 final [2] 34:18 72:24 finally [1] 88:15 find [1] 30:14 finish [4] 29:23 59:15 91:23,23 first [30] 4:4,24 6:21 12:1,5,19 13:7 17:16 20:3 21:22 24:24 27:3,5,23 30:6 31:25 32:16 35:22 40:6 41:9,23 42:1 60:11 62:4 87:12,21 90:2,12 92:4,5 five [9] 24:4 44:20 46:22 47:1,20 52:22 57:21 81:4 87:5 five-year [1] 44:5 flat [3] 72:20,24 74:3 floating [1] 81:5 flows [1] 18:12 focus [5] 49:4,15 54:25 74:19 87:11 focused [1] 75:15 Footnote [2] 11:6 68:4 forbearance [3] 33:25 34:8,14 forced [1] 92:16 Forces [2] 43:21 56:3 foreclosed [1] 7:17 forget [1] 31:7 form [1] 11:11 forms [1] 69:3 Fortas [1] 82:7 forth [14] 6:24 12:7 25:6 27:4 40:10,12 41:11 50:2 65:6 89:15,19,22 90:10,23 forward [5] 6:21 48:22 54:9 56:1 58:18 found [1] 7:6 foundational [1] 39:10 founded [4] 67:11 71:24 77:13 78:8 found's [1] 67:23 four [5] 10:22 31:22 32:10 81:4 90:2 fours [2] 6:23 15:17 Fox [3] 23:9 54:15 58:15 frame [1] 66:15 framework [2] 68:17 70:18 FRANCISCO [112] 2:10,16 3:3,12 4:8,9,11 6:9,20 7:11,14 8:10,13 9:19,22 11:13,22,24 12:4 13:5,16 14:1,8,13,23 16:8,13,16 17:1,11,14 19:10,14,17 20:2 21:17,20 23:14,19 24:7,11,18,23 25:10,13,17 26:5,10 27:2,15,20 28:5,11,17,22 29:1,8,15,20,24 30:1,18,21,25 31:11,14,17,21,25 33:8,12,16 34:12</p>	<p>35:4,10,15,17,21 36:1,11,16 37:1,20 38:1,13,17 39:14,25 40:3,6,18 41:3,6,17 42:17,21 60:1,10,22,23 65:11 72:7 83:20 87:6,7,9 88:24 89:14 90:21 91:22,25 92:4 frankly [3] 18:25 25:18 88:21 frequently [1] 69:1 fresh [1] 85:23 friend [4] 56:15 68:10 83:12 85:11 friend's [1] 68:8 friends [1] 32:6 front [1] 41:15 fully [3] 22:25 38:20 86:17 funded [1] 48:16 funding [1] 49:20 further [5] 33:22 43:4 63:15 81:18 88:3 future [1] 72:22</p>	<p>56:7 57:5,7 58:17,21 61:1 government's [6] 8:22 9:3 10:10,20 43:17 50:25 grant [7] 17:25 18:2 36:13 68:10,12 72:23 84:2 granted [2] 20:8 68:22 great [3] 12:8 65:16 86:18 ground [7] 66:20 67:15 74:21 75:8,9 81:7 89:9 grounds [14] 28:2 39:12 70:24 75:21 76:12,13 80:12 81:17 89:25 90:5,6,24 91:3,5 grown [1] 19:23 guess [7] 21:21 29:20 36:25 51:14 58:7 75:24 77:6 guidance [2] 53:25 54:19 guidelines [2] 45:19,21 guides [2] 68:17 71:22 guiding [1] 72:22 guilty [1] 13:23 guy [1] 13:22</p>
G			
<p>face [2] 4:16 5:13 facilitate [4] 36:20 81:1,17 92:9 facilitated [1] 20:20 facilitates [1] 33:23 facing [1] 72:4 fact [9] 8:20 16:22 18:23 32:5 46:12 49:15 67:15 81:10 89:24 facto [1] 38:12 factor [1] 65:20 factors [1] 53:15 facts [2] 51:17,18 fail [1] 25:2 failed [5] 21:5 22:2,6 25:21 43:25 failure [1] 58:22 fair [2] 28:3 90:25 fairly [1] 67:25 fairness [1] 69:14 fall [12] 9:4,6,21,25 10:22 15:21,25 62:21 71:7,14 75:2 86:17 fallen [1] 51:23 falls [1] 16:9 families [3] 43:20 67:9 86:12 family [1] 69:14 far [2] 33:18 78:1</p>	<p>gave [2] 11:16 51:25 GEN [5] 2:10 3:3,12 4:9 87:7 General [134] 2:10,15 4:8,11,21 5:15,25 6:5,9,20 7:11,14 8:7,10,13 9:14,19,22 11:13,22,24 12:4 13:5,16 14:1,8,13,17,23 16:8,13,16 17:1,11,14 19:9,10,14,17 20:2 21:17,20 23:14,19 24:7,11,18,23 25:10,13,17 26:5,10 27:2,15,20 28:4,5,11,17,22 29:1,8,15,20,24 30:1,18,21,25 31:11,14,17,21,25 32:21 33:8,12,16 34:12 35:4,10,15,17,21 36:1,11,16 37:1,20 38:1,13,17 39:14,25 40:3,6,18 41:3,6,17 42:17,21 46:4 47:9,9 50:17 51:10 52:23 53:25 54:4 58:4 59:22 64:20 65:11 70:22 71:11 72:6 73:10 76:24 77:10,14,20 79:11 87:6,9 88:24 89:14 90:14,21 91:22,25 92:4,8 General's [5] 44:1 51:6 54:18 61:1 74:23 generalized [1] 14:9 generally [2] 38:10 73:20 genuine [1] 78:25 gets [1] 22:20 GINSBURG [11] 6:9 11:12,15,23,25 33:4,9,14 34:7 88:22 89:1 give [7] 14:3 18:5 30:20 35:7 46:17 55:4 74:8 given [12] 12:17 14:24 21:9 27:22 30:6 32:19 37:4 50:4 62:21 64:20 78:23 83:17 gives [3] 7:21 36:17 87:21 giving [4] 30:3 37:24 38:21 65:12 GORSUCH [35] 19:9,11,16,19 20:23,25 21:2,18 51:12 52:2,5,12,14,16 53:3,8,12,21,24 54:11,13 55:5,10,14 56:10 57:2,17,24 58:7,11,19 63:13 75:16 76:8,25 got [7] 24:25 35:25 61:14 75:11 78:16 80:18 89:25 government [22] 21:13 34:21 37:24 38:3 43:22 44:14 47:17 48:18 50:3,7,11,12 51:7 53:16 55:1,17</p>	<p>gave [2] 11:16 51:25 GEN [5] 2:10 3:3,12 4:9 87:7 General [134] 2:10,15 4:8,11,21 5:15,25 6:5,9,20 7:11,14 8:7,10,13 9:14,19,22 11:13,22,24 12:4 13:5,16 14:1,8,13,17,23 16:8,13,16 17:1,11,14 19:9,10,14,17 20:2 21:17,20 23:14,19 24:7,11,18,23 25:10,13,17 26:5,10 27:2,15,20 28:4,5,11,17,22 29:1,8,15,20,24 30:1,18,21,25 31:11,14,17,21,25 32:21 33:8,12,16 34:12 35:4,10,15,17,21 36:1,11,16 37:1,20 38:1,13,17 39:14,25 40:3,6,18 41:3,6,17 42:17,21 46:4 47:9,9 50:17 51:10 52:23 53:25 54:4 58:4 59:22 64:20 65:11 70:22 71:11 72:6 73:10 76:24 77:10,14,20 79:11 87:6,9 88:24 89:14 90:14,21 91:22,25 92:4,8 General's [5] 44:1 51:6 54:18 61:1 74:23 generalized [1] 14:9 generally [2] 38:10 73:20 genuine [1] 78:25 gets [1] 22:20 GINSBURG [11] 6:9 11:12,15,23,25 33:4,9,14 34:7 88:22 89:1 give [7] 14:3 18:5 30:20 35:7 46:17 55:4 74:8 given [12] 12:17 14:24 21:9 27:22 30:6 32:19 37:4 50:4 62:21 64:20 78:23 83:17 gives [3] 7:21 36:17 87:21 giving [4] 30:3 37:24 38:21 65:12 GORSUCH [35] 19:9,11,16,19 20:23,25 21:2,18 51:12 52:2,5,12,14,16 53:3,8,12,21,24 54:11,13 55:5,10,14 56:10 57:2,17,24 58:7,11,19 63:13 75:16 76:8,25 got [7] 24:25 35:25 61:14 75:11 78:16 80:18 89:25 government [22] 21:13 34:21 37:24 38:3 43:22 44:14 47:17 48:18 50:3,7,11,12 51:7 53:16 55:1,17</p>	<p>H hamstring [2] 9:2 10:10 hand [1] 6:14 hands [1] 50:7 happened [1] 50:24 happens [1] 64:3 harm [1] 86:11 health [1] 56:2 healthcare [1] 23:25 hear [4] 4:3 31:6 39:18 51:17 heard [4] 54:15 59:25 82:5 83:19 Heckler [6] 51:23,25 52:1 53:20 54:23 73:16 held [2] 4:13 7:18 help [1] 51:15 helpful [2] 49:13,22 herself [1] 12:19 HHS [1] 74:7 higher [2] 33:19,21 historical [1] 68:24 historically [1] 36:6 history [5] 13:21,25 14:2 69:7,10 hoc [4] 12:23,25 39:2 40:11 hold [2] 40:24 87:1 holding [1] 40:22 home [1] 24:4 HOMELAND [10] 1:3,20 4:5,17 11:10 18:24 19:5 27:9 32:24 49:17 honestly [1] 74:16 Honor [31] 6:21 8:13 12:5 14:14 16:8 19:15 20:3 24:23 25:17 26:11 27:3 29:21 31:11,22 33:13,17 35:22 36:16 38:18 40:4 41:17 42:17 69:9 72:16 75:12 78:3,22 80:23 83:2 89:15 92:22 hornbook [2] 39:8,9 however [1] 62:21 huge [1] 21:12 hundreds [8] 5:3 20:21 36:21 47:22 66:18 69:13 73:12 86:11 hypothetical [2] 18:5 64:1</p>

Official - Subject to Final Review

<p>I</p> <p>idea [2] 38:21 89:5</p> <p>identified [4] 49:21 74:20 80:10, 11</p> <p>identify [4] 48:22 49:17,22 81:16</p> <p>ignore [1] 30:7</p> <p>illegal [30] 4:20 5:3 6:16,19 9:2 10:19 11:19,20 12:3 27:6 32:18 37:23 42:23,25 43:7 46:4 50:18,21 59:23 60:3 75:10,22 78:2,17 87:25 88:5 89:4,6 92:17,19</p> <p>illegality [5] 4:21 27:7 28:9 81:4 89:7</p> <p>illegally [3] 37:25 38:4,15</p> <p>Imagine [2] 74:6,7</p> <p>immediate [1] 44:14</p> <p>immediately [2] 34:10 71:1</p> <p>immigration [3] 8:9 36:14 91:19</p> <p>immune [2] 6:4,8</p> <p>impact [1] 18:3</p> <p>impacts [1] 25:25</p> <p>impermissible [1] 44:16</p> <p>implementation [1] 26:1</p> <p>implemented [2] 44:19,20</p> <p>important [6] 22:3,6 25:2 40:21 84:16 91:17</p> <p>imposes [1] 55:1</p> <p>impossible [2] 29:18 32:4</p> <p>INA [18] 5:2,7 10:7,15 11:9 16:22 18:23 19:4 28:19 34:21,23,25 35:6,13 36:9,21 68:16,23</p> <p>INA's [1] 36:13</p> <p>include [1] 53:15</p> <p>including [4] 25:5 30:11 37:5 73:19</p> <p>incorrect [2] 67:11,16</p> <p>increments [1] 20:8</p> <p>indeed [1] 35:9</p> <p>independence [1] 84:2</p> <p>independent [15] 27:4,16 28:2 41:11 59:20 60:12,18,20,25 89:9 90:10,24 91:3,5,20</p> <p>independently [3] 65:14 87:20 89:17</p> <p>indicated [2] 7:25 75:20</p> <p>indict [1] 7:24</p> <p>individual [4] 55:2,6 59:10,10</p> <p>individualized [5] 14:6 68:18 73:8,22 91:13</p> <p>individuals [17] 17:5,9 18:10 20:21 36:22 43:20 47:19 49:23,24 50:4 53:18 56:1 68:11,14,20 69:4,13</p> <p>industry [1] 54:1</p> <p>infected [1] 89:5</p> <p>inform [1] 81:1</p> <p>initial [1] 46:5</p> <p>initially [1] 46:3</p> <p>injection [3] 14:25 15:11 72:5</p> <p>inmates [1] 14:19</p> <p>inroads [1] 73:17</p> <p>instead [4] 30:15 65:23 66:19 89:13</p> <p>institutions [1] 56:3</p>	<p>insufficient [1] 57:19</p> <p>intended [3] 55:4 70:4 85:8</p> <p>intent [1] 86:24</p> <p>interest [1] 24:10</p> <p>interests [44] 19:22 20:4,13,17 21:5,10 22:11,21 23:1,12,22,25 24:9,12,22 25:4 26:17 27:23,24 30:10 32:12 38:8,19 39:3 54:14,17 55:19 56:13,16 58:8,13,16,21 62:9,11 63:4 78:24 79:7 80:4 83:22 86:3,9 88:11 90:16</p> <p>interpreting [1] 73:16</p> <p>interprets [1] 65:11</p> <p>interrupt [1] 75:17</p> <p>intertwined [1] 85:2</p> <p>invading [1] 13:2</p> <p>invalidate [1] 38:16</p> <p>invited [3] 47:15 54:7 66:23</p> <p>inviting [1] 53:16</p> <p>invoked [1] 39:13</p> <p>involve [1] 61:18</p> <p>involved [2] 14:15 24:4</p> <p>involving [4] 46:21 52:10,20 54:2</p> <p>isn't [10] 5:18 12:23 13:17 18:18 39:16,18 55:11,22 63:23 91:14</p> <p>issue [11] 12:19,21,22 14:5 35:23 37:2 56:24 61:13 86:25 90:3,9</p> <p>issued [2] 12:20 54:3</p> <p>issues [1] 90:11</p> <p>it'll [1] 59:16</p> <p>itself [18] 5:21 9:8 11:1 14:15 16:6 17:22,24 18:14 24:25 25:23,23 37:12 40:13 51:25 54:23,24 61:2 72:23</p> <p>J</p> <p>JONATHAN [1] 1:23</p> <p>Judge [5] 16:3 66:22 80:9,24 83:17</p> <p>judgment [4] 4:15 41:12 79:9 89:22</p> <p>judicial [13] 4:25 6:4,8 22:17 54:25 55:4 57:10 65:25 66:6 73:18 81:1,18 89:21</p> <p>Judulang [2] 45:9,12</p> <p>jurisdiction [3] 7:1 15:1 90:6</p> <p>Justice [223] 2:11 4:3,11 6:9 7:10,12 8:6,11 9:12,13,20 11:2,12,15,23,25 13:3,6,17 14:2,9,22 16:4,6,11,15,25 17:2,12 19:9,11,16,19 20:22,23,24,25 21:1,2,18 23:5,8,15,20 24:8,12,19 25:9,12,15 26:2,4,7,8,13 27:14,17 28:4,7,12,18,23 29:2,9,16,22,25 30:2,19,23 31:1,5,7,12,15,18 33:4,9,14 34:7 35:3,6,11,16,18,25 36:10,12,24,25 37:18,22 38:2,14 39:7,15 40:1,5,17,20 41:4,13 42:12,13,19 43:10,16 45:18 46:1,14,16 47:5,8 48:3,7,10,24 49:9 51:12,14,24 52:2,5,12,14,16 53:3,8,12,21,24 54:11,13,16 55:5,10,14 56:10 57:2,17,24 58:7,11,19 59:11,14,24 60:9,15,17,21 61:10,14,19,23 62:5,15,23 63:1,12,13 64:2,</p>	<p>12,19 65:7,19,21 66:7,12 69:6,16 70:8,22 71:14 72:2,14,18 73:6 74:6,12,15 75:4,13,16,20 76:8,13,17,25 77:1,2,5,16,18 78:11,15 79:3,23,25 80:3,14,17 81:11,25 82:6 83:14,16 84:4,7,24 86:1,15,20 87:3,10,12 88:22 89:1 90:13 91:4,24 92:2,23</p> <p>justifiably [2] 92:20,20</p> <p>justifications [1] 63:3</p> <p>justify [4] 20:19 23:4 32:20 37:5</p> <p>justifying [2] 27:5 90:24</p> <p>K</p> <p>KAGAN [26] 9:13,20 25:9,12,15 26:4,8,13 27:14,17 35:3,6,11,16,18,25 36:10,12,25 70:22 71:14 75:20 76:13 79:3 81:11 90:13</p> <p>Kagan's [2] 16:7 42:13</p> <p>KAVANAUGH [30] 16:4,11,15 26:2,7 36:24 42:12,19 59:11,14,24 60:9,15,17,21 61:14,19,23 62:5,15,23 63:1 83:14,16 84:4,7,24 86:1,15 87:12</p> <p>keenly [1] 22:22</p> <p>keep [1] 30:14</p> <p>Ken [1] 13:8</p> <p>KEVIN [1] 1:19</p> <p>key [1] 90:14</p> <p>kidnapping [1] 55:24</p> <p>kilograms [1] 52:23</p> <p>kilos [2] 46:22 47:1</p> <p>kind [8] 32:2 33:5 35:1 36:6 47:21 51:22 55:3 73:8</p> <p>kinds [4] 23:22,24 27:10 73:13</p> <p>L</p> <p>labor [1] 24:1</p> <p>lack [4] 67:13,14 81:9 83:12</p> <p>lacked [2] 6:25 90:5</p> <p>lacks [1] 67:24</p> <p>language [2] 73:10,25</p> <p>large [2] 52:18 53:9</p> <p>last [3] 42:6 62:2 92:10</p> <p>later [4] 15:5,6 30:7 59:9</p> <p>Laughter [4] 26:9,12 31:4,24</p> <p>law [51] 5:5,8,9,20,21,22 6:16 8:17,20,23,24 9:1 10:8,17,18 11:4,8,8 13:11 16:19,24 18:25 19:6 20:20 22:2 23:7,16 30:5 31:19 32:25,25 33:2,20,24 37:7,8,12,13 39:11 45:5,6,19 52:22 64:21 66:21 67:21 68:5 79:5 89:13 92:7,9</p> <p>lawful [4] 36:23 42:14 83:5 84:11</p> <p>lawfully [1] 29:10</p> <p>laws [9] 8:9,20 10:11,20 11:14 19:8 44:8 54:4 91:7</p> <p>leap [1] 36:19</p> <p>least [7] 32:8 34:24 36:7 50:9 60:21 63:16 81:16</p> <p>leave [1] 56:20</p> <p>leaves [2] 89:6 91:18</p> <p>left [1] 58:23</p> <p>legal [32] 6:21,24 7:4,9,15,24 26:</p>	<p>25 27:19 32:18 44:17 47:25 52:3 61:20 67:2,11,16 70:23 75:8 77:13 78:8,25 79:20 80:12 81:19 83:19 84:19 85:1 89:22,25 90:4,9,20</p> <p>legality [13] 5:15 26:18,22,24 32:15,21 37:6 43:3 87:22 88:2,12 92:12,15</p> <p>legally [5] 5:19 43:7,24 60:3 88:5</p> <p>legion [1] 82:2</p> <p>legitimate [1] 79:4</p> <p>length [1] 65:17</p> <p>less [2] 46:21 77:19</p> <p>lesser [1] 46:23</p> <p>lethal [3] 14:24 15:11 72:5</p> <p>letter [2] 14:18 74:23</p> <p>level [1] 71:12</p> <p>liberty [2] 55:2,6</p> <p>license [1] 48:20</p> <p>licenses [1] 44:9</p> <p>light [2] 22:23 83:11</p> <p>likely [2] 4:14 71:10</p> <p>likewise [6] 6:7,24 7:8 18:15 25:20 90:4</p> <p>limitation [1] 45:5</p> <p>limitations [1] 45:6</p> <p>limited [6] 20:5 27:22,23 28:24 29:14 45:4</p> <p>limiting [7] 34:5,19 51:16,20 52:3 53:13 63:20</p> <p>line [6] 57:3 73:20,20 77:8,10,11</p> <p>lines [1] 19:21</p> <p>list [3] 24:8,9 29:12</p> <p>listed [1] 25:5</p> <p>litany [1] 65:8</p> <p>litigation [9] 16:20 18:20 41:21 57:22 61:12 78:8 79:1 80:6 85:8</p> <p>little [2] 13:10 32:8</p> <p>lives [7] 22:23 30:24 31:20 38:22 43:19 47:22 66:18</p> <p>living [1] 76:11</p> <p>locate [2] 34:25 36:8</p> <p>located [1] 36:13</p> <p>logical [3] 5:20 33:3 37:10</p> <p>long [2] 13:21,25</p> <p>longer [1] 4:18</p> <p>look [17] 23:6 30:6,8 39:15 40:25 42:5,18 43:4 73:7,24 78:16 80:2 81:12 84:3,16 91:4,12</p> <p>looked [2] 30:11 77:20</p> <p>looking [5] 38:9,10 42:20,21 63:16</p> <p>lot [12] 30:10 34:14,15 35:7 51:17 52:19 54:1,13 59:17 62:12 77:4 82:9</p> <p>lots [1] 52:24</p> <p>low-priority [1] 34:23</p> <p>LTV [1] 58:15</p> <p>luck [1] 92:3</p> <p>M</p> <p>Mach [2] 45:9,11</p> <p>made [10] 9:10 16:5,19 19:4 21:24 31:16 32:2 50:16 86:22 87:2</p> <p>maintain [1] 92:16</p> <p>maintaining [2] 20:19 23:4</p>
---	---	--	---

Official - Subject to Final Review

<p>majority ^[1] 29:3 many ^[4] 26:24 33:7 56:8,9 margins ^[1] 74:18 marijuana ^[3] 52:21 54:2,4 MARTIN ^[1] 1:23 materially ^[1] 33:22 matter ^[10] 2:4 6:12 7:20 11:20 15:8 27:8 37:7 46:24 76:7 79:12 matters ^[1] 21:25 McALEENAN ^[1] 1:19 mean ^[13] 12:14 13:4,11,12 33:6 41:13 73:7,15 74:10 80:17 81:12 82:11 84:7 meaning ^[1] 83:1 meaningful ^[1] 68:2 means ^[3] 37:23 66:1 73:8 meant ^[2] 20:5 80:25 measure ^[3] 5:12 20:6 70:20 measures ^[1] 44:15 mechanism ^[3] 12:18,20,21 memo ^[34] 12:19,21,22 25:16,23, 23 26:14 27:1,12 30:5,8 31:10 39:16 41:2,7,18,20 42:14,18 49:7 52:24 59:25 61:25 62:7,8,11 65:11 81:23 82:3 84:1 85:7,17 89:5 90:17 memoranda ^[2] 12:6 89:23 Memorandum ^[23] 11:18,18 12:9, 16 22:9,13,15,18 28:6 39:1 40:10 41:22,25 42:2,6 51:5,9 57:14 59:8, 19 84:17 87:14 89:20 memos ^[3] 53:25 54:3,19 mentioned ^[1] 39:10 merits ^[6] 19:13 51:13 56:12 57:19 68:8 84:14 message ^[1] 91:18 MICHAEL ^[3] 2:15 3:9 66:10 might ^[14] 8:14,18,22 9:11 10:10 13:13 51:22 56:10 64:9,13 75:1 77:24 79:17 83:8 military ^[1] 24:3 million ^[3] 33:7 70:9 82:14 mind ^[1] 23:7 minimal ^[1] 71:12 minimum ^[3] 43:2 75:5 88:1 Mining ^[2] 45:9,11 minutes ^[1] 87:5 missing ^[1] 76:17 mission ^[2] 5:23 37:14 mistake ^[1] 50:15 mitigated ^[1] 20:16 moment ^[2] 19:12 61:2 MONGAN ^[4] 2:15 3:9 66:9,10,12 69:9,19 70:11 71:6,16 72:6,16,20 73:24 74:11,14,17 75:12,14 76:1, 19 77:9,17 78:3,13,21 79:11,24 80:8,16,23 81:15 82:25 83:15,25 84:6,15 85:5 86:5,18,21 months ^[3] 30:20 59:4,9 morning ^[1] 4:4 most ^[3] 24:9 36:17 71:9 motion ^[1] 85:18 move ^[4] 19:12,15,17 88:9 moved ^[1] 51:13</p>	<p>Ms ^[2] 39:16,16 much ^[5] 56:18 70:12 86:6 89:15 92:5 municipalities ^[1] 24:5 murder ^[1] 55:24 must ^[6] 23:12 57:12,13,13 62:21 92:14</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">N</p> <hr/> <p>narrow ^[1] 73:22 narrower ^[1] 69:11 narrowly ^[3] 45:7,15,15 NATIONAL ^[3] 1:15 35:20 36:14 nature ^[2] 21:19 78:23 nauseam ^[1] 23:2 necessarily ^[1] 77:3 need ^[5] 34:24 36:7 37:2 80:18 92:11 needed ^[2] 21:11 57:7 never ^[3] 23:20,21 24:15 new ^[12] 6:4 18:15 47:9,10 57:15 62:25 66:23 83:6 85:12,12,16 86:25 Nielsen ^[24] 12:8,15 20:14 21:4 25:3 26:15 30:8 38:7 40:8,15 41:10 42:14 57:14 59:8,19,24 61:25 62:7,8,10 65:11 81:23 83:18 87:14 Nielsen's ^[6] 12:5 26:14 39:16 41:7 89:19,22 nine ^[1] 59:8 nobody ^[5] 10:14,15 16:17,19 74:10 NOEL ^[5] 2:10 3:3,12 4:9 87:7 non-enforcement ^[10] 4:22 5:1, 11,16 15:25 16:3 27:11 32:22 72:24 91:6 non-review ^[1] 71:24 non-reviewable ^[1] 8:12 none ^[1] 30:4 nonetheless ^[1] 84:11 normal ^[1] 82:15 note ^[1] 85:10 noted ^[1] 72:7 nothing ^[5] 5:7 11:9 35:2 82:17 89:4 notice ^[1] 81:5 notify ^[1] 85:16 notion ^[2] 32:11 39:1 November ^[1] 2:2 number ^[7] 52:10,18 53:9 69:7,17 91:5,5 numerous ^[1] 25:7</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <hr/> <p>occasions ^[1] 35:9 offenses ^[2] 18:9,18 offered ^[1] 67:3 Office ^[1] 47:25 officer ^[1] 38:12 officers ^[2] 35:8 38:15 official ^[1] 40:11 Okay ^[14] 13:17 29:25 34:8 42:21 52:12 55:14 61:23 75:11 82:5,8, 12,18,19 91:8</p>	<p>OLC ^[1] 63:8 old ^[4] 13:4 23:8 65:3 66:24 OLSON ^[62] 2:13 3:6 43:12,13,15 45:25 46:15 47:3,7 48:6,9,12,25 49:8,14 51:12 52:1,4,7,13,15 53:2, 6,11,14,23 54:6,12,20 55:8,12,15 56:25 57:6,23 58:1,9,13,24 59:12, 16 60:8,11,16,19,23 61:10,11,16, 22 62:3,14,16,25 63:5,12 64:1,6, 24 65:7,18,22 Once ^[2] 49:18,20 one ^[41] 11:4 16:25 17:2 19:19,19, 19,21 22:16 26:11,20 27:12 31:23, 25 32:5 43:3 45:3 49:12,15 51:22 54:22,22 56:5 57:20 64:7,13 65:13 66:24 70:6 73:4 74:4,20 75:5,7, 18 76:12 89:6 91:5,5,12,16,17 ongoing ^[1] 85:8 only ^[13] 12:1,13 20:7 21:25 25:1 28:3 39:12 44:1 46:11,13 47:23 71:2 78:1 operating ^[1] 76:2 operative ^[1] 41:20 opinion ^[2] 51:6 80:5 opinions ^[1] 22:18 opportunity ^[2] 31:6 38:22 opposed ^[2] 50:3 72:21 opposition ^[3] 4:21 5:15 32:22 oral ^[7] 2:5 3:2,5,8 4:9 43:13 66:10 order ^[2] 38:22 85:18 ordered ^[1] 22:23 ordering ^[1] 28:20 orderly ^[3] 20:17 37:16 38:18 organizations ^[3] 24:1,3,6 original ^[4] 9:15 26:25 51:1 85:19 originally ^[1] 67:3 other ^[35] 6:14,16 9:17 17:20 19:20 21:4 24:15 25:18,25 26:24 32:6,18 33:15 35:24 37:3 38:4 44:7,9 47:16,19 48:15 49:1,5,12,25 50:2 53:21 56:15 57:20 58:15 69:12 79:5 88:13 92:13,14 otherwise ^[2] 17:25 71:1 out ^[17] 7:2 14:4 15:15 22:14 26:23 37:24 46:15 47:13 51:18 63:9 65:2 77:24 80:3 82:19,20 88:8 89:8 outside ^[2] 71:7,15 outweigh ^[2] 84:20 88:11 outweighed ^[2] 27:24,25 outweighs ^[2] 27:19,21 over ^[6] 13:22 15:1 36:14 57:22 68:25 76:7 overcome ^[1] 63:4 overturned ^[1] 44:5 own ^[6] 17:18 41:11 58:3 89:18,18, 21 ownership ^[2] 64:17 86:22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <hr/> <p>PAGE ^[13] 3:2 22:16 41:23,24 42:22,23 43:5 87:15,23 88:3,9,16 89:16 pages ^[1] 56:17 Panama ^[1] 13:14</p>	<p>panoply ^[1] 22:25 paragraph ^[8] 21:6,8 54:22 56:16 61:25 84:16 86:2 90:14 paragraphs ^[1] 85:3 part ^[2] 35:9 50:8 participate ^[2] 54:8 56:1 particular ^[8] 18:9 35:13 69:4 71:20 72:3,10 79:15 81:16 particularity ^[1] 80:11 particularly ^[1] 27:18 pass ^[4] 9:1 10:18 11:14 56:12 passes ^[4] 8:20 10:11,21 19:10 past ^[3] 39:5 44:24 45:12 path ^[1] 28:16 pathway ^[2] 28:13 36:23 paying ^[1] 29:11 penal ^[1] 14:25 penalty ^[6] 6:2,3,7 7:2 14:21 15:15 penultimate ^[2] 84:16 86:2 PEOPLE ^[39] 1:16 22:22 23:17 25:25 29:7,7,17 30:12 33:7 38:4,21 46:13 47:19,22 49:3 52:11,19,24 53:10,16,24 56:8 58:18 59:1,1,2 61:7 62:12,17 65:2,2 69:8,17 70:9 72:19 74:9 77:5 82:14 86:12 percent ^[2] 69:15,23 percentage ^[1] 70:9 Perhap ^[1] 76:17 perhaps ^[3] 52:22 74:2 76:17 period ^[4] 34:11 38:23 48:17 50:10 perpetuity ^[3] 20:11,19 32:4 persons ^[3] 47:14 49:21 56:20 petition ^[5] 14:19 15:3,4 21:6 50:24 Petitioners ^[9] 1:5,13,21 2:12 3:4, 13 4:10 66:14 87:8 Petitioners' ^[2] 41:24 87:16 pick ^[2] 16:6 42:12 picture ^[1] 55:21 ping ^[2] 82:7,24 Pitts ^[1] 62:19 place ^[3] 12:19 27:23 60:11 places ^[1] 41:22 plainly ^[2] 85:15 90:8 play ^[1] 82:7 playing ^[2] 82:23,24 please ^[5] 4:12 43:16 66:13 85:16 86:20 plus ^[1] 24:4 point ^[24] 12:25 13:3 22:14 32:16 33:17,17 34:5,18 41:12,21 64:19 67:22 72:12 76:3 81:3 82:10,10, 19,19 84:24 85:1 90:12 92:5,10 pointed ^[5] 30:9 71:25 74:22 80:3 81:20 points ^[2] 87:12 92:1 policies ^[16] 4:22 5:16 9:24 14:7 28:21 32:23 36:18 42:9 69:2,11, 12 70:17 87:18 88:17,20 92:8 policy ^[98] 4:19,20 5:1,11 6:6,22, 24 7:9 11:21 14:17 15:6,13 16:12, 14,17 18:17 23:4,11 27:9 30:17 35:20 36:15 37:8 42:3,11,15,25</p>
---	---	--	--

Official - Subject to Final Review

<p>43:6,8,9 44:6,18 46:19 47:25 48:14 49:5,10 51:2 53:17 55:16,17 56:5,6,8 59:6 60:2,4,5,6 61:7 63:3,9,19 66:17,19 67:10,25 69:14,18 70:2,5,24 71:2,7,22 72:7,15,22 73:4 74:2,21,24 75:21 76:12,20 77:15 81:20,21 83:9 84:19 85:3 86:23 87:19,24 88:5,7,8,12,13 89:11,18,25 90:6,11 91:6 92:6,16</p> <p>political [2] 31:16 56:22</p> <p>pong [2] 82:7,24</p> <p>population [4] 68:19 69:24 70:12 83:8</p> <p>porn [1] 55:24</p> <p>pornography [1] 47:11</p> <p>portion [1] 22:12</p> <p>portions [1] 87:13</p> <p>pose [1] 29:11</p> <p>posed [1] 75:19</p> <p>position [4] 40:12 47:24 68:8,15</p> <p>possibility [1] 37:15</p> <p>possible [2] 19:3 63:6</p> <p>post [3] 12:23,25 40:11</p> <p>potential [3] 9:9 25:24 44:14</p> <p>power [9] 5:19 14:3 33:2 55:1 63:24,25 64:8,14,15</p> <p>practice [2] 14:25 68:25</p> <p>precedent [1] 44:12</p> <p>precise [1] 76:1</p> <p>precisely [2] 12:17 41:7</p> <p>premise [1] 67:11</p> <p>prerequisites [1] 29:13</p> <p>prerogative [1] 66:25</p> <p>presented [2] 51:1 85:13</p> <p>PRESIDENT [5] 1:11 30:11,12 32:1 64:4</p> <p>presumably [2] 80:6 84:9</p> <p>presumption [9] 9:5,25 10:13,23 44:25 45:2,14,15 48:2</p> <p>presumptively [3] 10:2 71:8 78:5</p> <p>pretty [2] 56:17 77:23</p> <p>prevail [1] 80:1</p> <p>prevent [1] 13:1</p> <p>previous [2] 5:1 35:9</p> <p>previously [1] 45:22</p> <p>principal [2] 6:25 14:21</p> <p>principle [9] 23:8 34:5,19 39:11 51:16,20 52:3 53:13 73:18</p> <p>principles [1] 52:8</p> <p>prior [5] 18:20 23:10 32:1 38:16 85:9</p> <p>priorities [7] 36:18 42:9 46:7 47:10 49:18 87:18 88:17</p> <p>prioritize [3] 29:6 33:10,11</p> <p>priority [6] 33:19,22 46:11,25 50:5,22</p> <p>prison [1] 72:10</p> <p>private [3] 2:14 3:7 43:14</p> <p>problem [3] 19:2 25:3 67:6</p> <p>process [1] 28:13</p> <p>program [19] 6:15,19 18:7 20:19 26:5,19,22,23,25 27:19 36:7 37:16 47:15 48:23 54:8 56:2 65:5 78:24 82:13</p>	<p>programmatic [2] 73:11,14</p> <p>programs [2] 18:17 73:21</p> <p>prohibits [1] 68:16</p> <p>project [1] 91:17</p> <p>promise [2] 32:3,5</p> <p>proper [1] 22:9</p> <p>properly [3] 12:9 65:6 87:19</p> <p>property [2] 55:3,7</p> <p>prosecute [2] 13:24 18:8</p> <p>prosecuted [4] 45:22,23 46:20,24</p> <p>prosecution [4] 15:16 48:8 49:3 55:8</p> <p>prosecutions [1] 6:2</p> <p>prosecutor [8] 7:23 13:21 14:3,6,15 18:7,15 55:23</p> <p>prosecutorial [12] 8:8 17:22,24 18:13,14 45:20 51:22 52:19 55:6,9,12 77:4</p> <p>prospectively [1] 71:23</p> <p>provide [4] 32:8 43:23 46:10 59:3</p> <p>provided [10] 5:16 7:23 12:12 15:5 34:13 47:16,17 49:6,25 65:23</p> <p>provides [1] 54:25</p> <p>providing [1] 33:24</p> <p>provision [3] 35:13 36:4 53:17</p> <p>public [4] 66:21 67:23 81:2 87:1</p> <p>pure [1] 71:6</p> <p>purely [3] 7:15,24 75:8</p> <p>purported [1] 84:21</p> <p>pursuant [1] 47:14</p> <p>pursue [1] 15:9</p> <p>push [3] 5:19 33:1 37:9</p> <p>pushing [1] 65:24</p> <p>put [8] 6:21,24 28:9 48:22 50:6 51:18 61:17 89:13</p> <p>putting [7] 17:19 20:12 30:2 31:1 32:14 49:10 65:24</p>	<p>rationale [10] 15:6,6 67:2,6 71:7 78:7,9 85:24 89:19 92:7</p> <p>rationales [3] 60:7 84:19,20</p> <p>rationality [1] 71:13</p> <p>rationalization [3] 12:24 13:1 40:11</p> <p>read [9] 16:5 24:16,17,20 28:6 80:2,4 90:14 91:1</p> <p>reads [1] 73:10</p> <p>real [1] 54:17</p> <p>reality [1] 64:7</p> <p>really [9] 12:13 21:24 31:9,13 35:23 39:21 46:17 49:11 90:17</p> <p>reason [13] 7:20,24 13:20 14:10 17:15 40:14,22 41:1 64:10 87:22 91:15,16,21</p> <p>reasonable [5] 5:11,14,17 37:8 90:8</p> <p>reasonably [2] 4:18 20:9</p> <p>reasoned [7] 43:23 59:3 79:13,19 80:25 81:9 83:12</p> <p>reasons [28] 4:24 6:20,22,24 12:17 14:23 27:3 28:1 30:4 32:19 36:1 37:4 39:21 40:4,10,25 41:15 42:7,8 43:8 60:4 65:12 87:21 88:6,13,16 89:17 90:16</p> <p>REBUTTAL [2] 3:11 87:7</p> <p>recipients [4] 44:7,13 67:8 68:13</p> <p>recognition [1] 89:3</p> <p>recognize [1] 17:23</p> <p>recognized [2] 69:3 71:24</p> <p>record [2] 59:13 60:14</p> <p>reduced [1] 47:1</p> <p>refer [1] 53:7</p> <p>referenced [1] 22:13</p> <p>referencing [1] 16:21</p> <p>referred [1] 76:21</p> <p>refers [2] 46:4 50:25</p> <p>reflect [1] 10:1</p> <p>reflects [2] 21:22 41:25</p> <p>reg [1] 7:1</p> <p>regarding [1] 91:18</p> <p>regardless [6] 42:24 43:5 60:1 76:3 87:24 88:4</p> <p>REGENTS [4] 1:7 4:5 41:23 87:16</p> <p>regulate [3] 7:1 14:20 15:14</p> <p>regulations [1] 44:8</p> <p>reinstate [2] 40:15,17</p> <p>related [3] 4:6 39:25 40:3</p> <p>relevant [1] 87:13</p> <p>reliance [46] 19:22 20:4,13,16 21:5,10 22:11,21 23:1,11,22,25 24:9,10 25:4 26:16 27:18,22,24 30:10 32:12 38:8,19 39:3,22 47:23 55:19 56:13,16 58:8,13,16,21 62:1,9,11 63:2,4 79:7 80:4 83:22 86:3,9 88:10,11 90:16</p> <p>relied [7] 47:19 54:18 61:8 62:13,17 70:23 71:2</p> <p>relief [1] 69:2</p> <p>religious [1] 24:6</p> <p>rely [2] 53:16,24</p> <p>relying [2] 54:3 81:17</p> <p>remain [2] 20:10 32:3</p>	<p>remains [1] 42:3</p> <p>remand [5] 21:13 83:1,24 86:19,24</p> <p>remanded [2] 83:16 86:16</p> <p>remanding [1] 83:11</p> <p>remotely [1] 22:5</p> <p>removal [1] 73:2</p> <p>removals [1] 29:6</p> <p>remove [2] 17:9 29:2</p> <p>removed [1] 44:11</p> <p>removing [1] 65:2</p> <p>render [3] 18:13 43:6 88:5</p> <p>rendered [1] 60:3</p> <p>repeatedly [2] 21:24 36:22</p> <p>requests [1] 15:3</p> <p>require [2] 21:13 66:5</p> <p>required [5] 5:18 43:22 46:12 49:19 50:14</p> <p>requirement [1] 80:25</p> <p>requires [2] 5:7 6:16</p> <p>rescind [15] 17:17 30:17 32:7 40:16 42:3,11 43:8 44:22 60:5,7 61:21 70:24 83:21 88:7,19</p> <p>rescinded [7] 5:13 20:7 43:1 87:19 88:1 91:2 92:20</p> <p>rescinding [3] 28:2 37:4 66:17</p> <p>rescission [9] 4:25 6:22 9:16 17:16 27:5 32:20 71:4 90:8,25</p> <p>reserved [2] 11:5 68:4</p> <p>residency [1] 28:14</p> <p>resolve [1] 37:3</p> <p>resources [5] 28:24 29:14 33:10,19,21</p> <p>respect [13] 10:5 47:10,21 55:2 57:9 68:9,19 69:4 71:20 72:10 77:11 85:18 91:22</p> <p>respectfully [2] 14:13 89:14</p> <p>respond [1] 89:2</p> <p>responded [2] 63:19,21</p> <p>Respondents [9] 1:9,17,24 2:14,17 3:7,10 43:14 44:11</p> <p>responds [1] 46:17</p> <p>response [2] 11:15 60:9</p> <p>responses [4] 12:4 21:21 29:21 31:22</p> <p>responsibilities [1] 11:4</p> <p>responsibility [4] 65:1 66:2,16 89:12</p> <p>responsive [1] 46:5</p> <p>rested [2] 82:4 90:4</p> <p>restrict [4] 8:22 10:4,19 16:23</p> <p>restricted [4] 10:7 11:11 16:18 18:24</p> <p>restricts [6] 5:7 9:8 10:16 11:1 15:23 19:5</p> <p>rests [1] 34:20</p> <p>retain [1] 4:19</p> <p>reveal [1] 54:8</p> <p>reversal [2] 44:11 55:16</p> <p>reversed [1] 6:5</p> <p>reverses [1] 47:23</p> <p>review [30] 4:25 6:4,8 7:16 8:19 13:9,13 14:11 18:1,15 21:23 25:20,22 45:24 53:4 54:25 55:4,20</p>
Q			
<p>question [31] 5:25 10:3 11:2 12:13 16:7 17:4 22:3,7 23:6 29:23 31:3 32:15 34:15 38:9 42:13 46:17 51:4,15 56:11 58:8,20 60:1 61:24 62:6 64:12 67:18 75:19 76:9 87:22 92:12,15</p> <p>questionable [7] 26:18,22,23 43:7 60:3 88:6,12</p> <p>questionably [1] 27:19</p> <p>questions [2] 50:25 57:20</p> <p>quite [10] 10:17 20:14 22:24 24:13,14 35:7 45:7 73:9 85:15 87:15</p> <p>quo [2] 40:23,24</p> <p>quote [2] 25:1 54:21</p> <p>quoted [1] 61:2</p> <p>quoting [1] 22:1</p>	R		
<p>range [1] 24:22</p> <p>ranging [1] 81:5</p> <p>rare [1] 45:8</p> <p>rather [3] 14:7 37:16 50:6</p> <p>ratified [2] 12:16 40:9</p> <p>rational [4] 43:23 57:12 59:3 65:23</p>			

Official - Subject to Final Review

<p>57:9,10 65:25 66:6 67:13 71:13 73:18 75:3 78:14 81:1,18 89:21 reviewability ^[1] 5:25 19:13 45:1, 7,14 48:2 51:15,21 67:19 75:23 90:3 reviewable ^[19] 6:12 9:16,18 17:8, 13,25 18:18,20,21 44:23 47:2 48: 4 67:4 71:4,8 74:10 76:4,14 78:5 reviewed ^[1] 12:12 reviewing ^[1] 22:18 revise ^[1] 85:18 revocable ^[1] 72:25 rid ^[2] 29:17 50:11 rightly ^[2] 30:9 73:9 rights ^[1] 44:12 risk ^[3] 61:13 78:8 79:1 risks ^[1] 48:23 ROBERTS ^[29] 4:3 7:10,12 8:6,11 31:5 37:18,22 38:2,14 43:10 48: 24 49:9 65:21 66:7 69:6,16 77:16, 18 78:11,15 79:23,25 80:14,17 86: 20 87:3 91:24 92:23 rubber ^[2] 61:16 65:24 rule ^[8] 5:21 13:1 37:12 39:8 56:23 74:6,7,16 ruled ^[2] 25:8,8 rules ^[2] 39:9 73:14 run ^[1] 8:14 run-around ^[2] 82:14,18</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">S</p> <p>safe ^[1] 30:13 same ^[9] 12:18,20,21 23:6 24:14, 14 56:18 82:20 92:6 San ^[1] 2:16 satisfies ^[1] 22:10 saw ^[3] 12:1 28:14 79:14 saying ^[31] 6:18 9:14 13:22 27:21 29:5 32:13 35:11,12,14,17,21,22 36:3,5,19 48:1,4 55:20 56:5 57:7 61:7 64:23 65:12,12 71:3 74:15 75:4,7 82:8 89:10 91:1 says ^[31] 10:18 11:9 15:6 18:8,16 22:16,22 23:10 24:25 25:10 27:13, 18 35:19 42:23 43:5 51:1,9 60:17, 18,19,22 62:16,19 63:23,24 64:21 67:19 74:7 78:1 86:7 90:22 Scalia's ^[1] 23:9 scenarios ^[1] 39:6 SEC ^[1] 74:6 Second ^[10] 5:10 27:6 33:17,17 41: 24 42:2,24 75:18 87:23 91:12 second-tier ^[1] 34:23 secondary ^[1] 15:7 secondly ^[7] 7:11,14 22:8 36:3 40: 14 41:11 90:7 SECRETARY ^[29] 1:19 12:5,15,16, 18 20:14 21:4 22:8 25:3 26:14,14 30:3 38:7 40:8,9,15 41:7,10,10 42: 10 68:23 74:20 83:6,18 84:9 88: 19 89:19,22 90:15 SECURITY ^[10] 1:3,20 4:5,17 11: 10 27:10 29:12 32:25 34:2 49:17 Security's ^[2] 18:24 19:5</p>	<p>see ^[7] 8:25 11:16,19,23 28:19 41: 4 81:22 seek ^[2] 6:1 44:9 seem ^[2] 32:12 68:13 seems ^[1] 84:14 seen ^[1] 24:15 send ^[1] 82:11 sending ^[1] 40:6 sends ^[1] 39:20 sense ^[3] 40:7 57:13 68:2 sentence ^[9] 42:7,20 43:3 54:22 59:17 60:18 82:23 86:16 92:1 sentences ^[1] 42:22 separate ^[9] 15:7 27:4,15 28:1 87: 20 89:16 90:10,23,23 serious ^[15] 4:20 23:11 27:7 32:20 37:6,15 43:2 55:25 56:9 67:7 73: 17 81:22,22 84:8 88:2 seriously ^[1] 65:8 serve ^[1] 57:25 set ^[10] 25:6 33:5 36:18 40:10,12 41:11 70:16 89:19,22 90:10 sets ^[4] 12:7 27:4 88:8 89:15 setting ^[4] 42:8,8 88:17 90:23 several ^[3] 44:23 87:20 89:16 shadow ^[2] 34:21,23 shape ^[1] 11:11 she's ^[2] 88:10 90:23 short ^[4] 50:10 64:11 83:9 86:17 short-lived ^[1] 69:20 shortfall ^[2] 62:10 86:2 shot ^[1] 14:16 shouldn't ^[1] 82:7 shows ^[1] 90:7 shutdown ^[1] 37:16 side ^[9] 10:15 17:19 19:20 20:12 21:4 32:6,14 49:13 56:15 signaled ^[1] 70:1 significant ^[1] 32:11 significantly ^[1] 34:4 similar ^[1] 19:21 simply ^[12] 4:25 11:9 17:21 20:18 23:3 33:18 35:2 37:7 38:9 89:24 90:21 92:16 since ^[3] 5:20 50:8 72:15 single ^[3] 14:16 25:22 92:1 singled ^[1] 47:13 six ^[3] 24:3 30:20 56:19 size ^[1] 21:10 sky ^[1] 64:9 slightly ^[1] 76:16 smaller ^[1] 70:13 Social ^[1] 34:1 society ^[1] 52:21 Solicitor ^[3] 2:10,15 73:10 somehow ^[5] 10:16,19 11:9 16:17 19:4 someone ^[1] 64:13 sometimes ^[3] 63:19,20,20 somewhere ^[2] 21:7 36:8 sorry ^[7] 7:12 20:24,25 75:17 76:9 87:5 92:3 sort ^[1] 49:10 SOTOMAYOR ^[27] 20:22,24 21:1</p>	<p>28:4,7,12,18,23 29:2,9,16,22,25 30:2,19,23 31:1,7,12,15,18 61:10 63:12 64:2,12,19 70:8 sound ^[9] 42:4 43:7,24 60:4 88:6 sounds ^[1] 70:8 specific ^[4] 7:22 22:21 36:4 71:17 specifically ^[12] 12:11,11 16:22 22:16 25:14 38:25 50:17 51:1,8 53:23 62:19 90:22 sporadically ^[1] 39:5 square ^[3] 10:22 32:10 90:2 squeeze ^[1] 92:1 stake ^[3] 54:14,18 78:24 stamp ^[2] 61:16 65:24 stand ^[3] 9:20 62:21 89:10 standard ^[2] 22:9,10 standards ^[1] 71:11 start ^[1] 44:25 stasis ^[1] 56:21 state ^[11] 2:17 3:10 7:1 14:20,25 15:10,14 22:5 23:24 24:25 66:11 stated ^[1] 89:24 statement ^[5] 23:7 24:20 26:16 27: 17 78:25 STATES ^[10] 1:1,12 2:6 24:4 38: 25 42:6 51:11 54:2 73:12 86:13 status ^[4] 36:23 40:23,24 46:9 statute ^[8] 5:6 11:1 16:18 51:6,8 69:25 70:2 71:19 statutes ^[4] 47:16 48:15 49:5,25 statutory ^[1] 74:24 stay ^[1] 14:4 still ^[11] 7:21,25 8:12 29:17 42:15 51:14 56:23 74:13 75:3 77:7 86: 17 stood ^[1] 66:23 stop ^[3] 52:17 83:9 84:5 stopgap ^[2] 5:12 20:6 strange ^[1] 6:10 strong ^[3] 44:25 45:2,14 strongly ^[1] 14:14 struggling ^[5] 51:14 73:19 74:13, 16 77:7 sub-category ^[1] 76:5 subject ^[8] 4:24 18:1,14 45:24 49: 23 55:20 75:3 89:21 submitted ^[4] 85:7,17 92:24 93:2 subsequent ^[1] 85:3 substantial ^[6] 43:19 52:10 79:18 81:24 83:1 89:7 suffice ^[1] 27:1 sufficient ^[11] 17:7 32:19 36:2 37: 5 41:19 65:14 71:11 79:10,21 87: 21 89:17 suggest ^[2] 9:15 85:23 suggested ^[1] 85:11 suggesting ^[1] 9:17 supplies ^[1] 15:9 support ^[2] 50:5,8 supported ^[1] 44:20 Suppose ^[4] 18:6 70:22 71:1 81: 25 SUPREME ^[4] 1:1 2:5 78:18 80:20 surprising ^[1] 10:17</p>	<p>suspect ^[1] 79:14 sustain ^[2] 78:22 85:19 sustained ^[1] 67:4 sympathetic ^[1] 51:18 sympathy ^[2] 83:7 86:7 systems ^[1] 14:25</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">T</p> <p>talked ^[4] 45:13 56:14 79:5,6 tangible ^[1] 43:18 targets ^[3] 33:19,22 34:23 taxes ^[1] 29:11 tells ^[1] 78:17 temporary ^[2] 5:12 20:6 terminate ^[2] 61:4 66:15 terminated ^[1] 51:3 terminating ^[3] 67:10 74:21 84:21 termination ^[2] 43:17 83:10 terms ^[2] 17:18 77:19 Texas ^[5] 10:7 16:21 17:3 18:22 80:5 themselves ^[4] 50:6,7 65:6 69:18 THEODORE ^[3] 2:13 3:6 43:13 theories ^[1] 81:4 theory ^[1] 34:19 there's ^[35] 6:10 8:16 9:9,17,23 13: 12,20,25 19:2 21:5,8,8 29:12 30:9 34:19 35:18 36:4,19 44:25 45:5 48:1 50:23 51:4,8 52:4 54:1,20 69: 9 71:11 81:4 82:6 83:6,23 85:16 90:25 therefore ^[2] 15:2 75:10 they'll ^[2] 8:21 82:11 they've ^[3] 19:25 23:20 87:2 thinks ^[1] 91:8 third ^[6] 27:8 34:5 43:4 88:3 91:16, 17 though ^[5] 10:14 21:3 37:1 52:17 57:18 thousands ^[8] 5:3 20:21 36:21 47: 22 66:18 69:13 73:12 86:11 threat ^[1] 29:11 three ^[11] 24:1,3 29:21 31:6,8 37: 11 39:8 45:12,16 47:1 87:11 throughout ^[1] 48:17 throwing ^[1] 65:1 thrown ^[1] 63:8 tightens ^[1] 45:21 today ^[2] 52:21 70:13 together ^[2] 9:21 84:20 tolerance ^[1] 18:17 tolls ^[1] 13:15 took ^[3] 39:13,17 85:20 total ^[1] 70:12 totally ^[1] 13:14 tradition ^[2] 13:21 71:24 transparent ^[2] 68:17 70:18 treated ^[1] 85:21 treatment ^[3] 18:10,11 52:20 tries ^[1] 10:19 triggered ^[7] 43:18 48:13,15 49:6 50:2 55:18 58:14 triggers ^[1] 50:1 truly ^[3] 39:3 83:2 91:13</p>
--	--	---	---

Official - Subject to Final Review

<p>TRUMP ^[1] 1:11 try ^[5] 9:2 10:10 29:16 76:19 91:25 trying ^[2] 58:9 89:13 Tuesday ^[1] 2:2 turn ^[1] 67:18 turning ^[1] 32:15 turns ^[1] 26:23 two ^[20] 4:24 6:20 9:23 12:4 13:7 20:2 35:21 39:25 40:3 41:8,22 42: 22 44:18 47:24 59:17 65:3 75:11 90:1,19 92:1 two-year ^[1] 20:8 type ^[4] 71:17 73:3 76:21 78:4 types ^[1] 39:5 typically ^[1] 19:7</p>	<p>valid ^[1] 14:4 value ^[1] 86:18 various ^[1] 58:15 vast ^[1] 29:2 versus ^[5] 4:5 51:24,25 54:23 62: 19 VIDAL ^[1] 1:23 view ^[4] 32:8 75:23 77:19 86:4 violate ^[3] 4:23 25:1 35:20 violated ^[2] 35:12,14 violations ^[4] 20:20 33:24 36:20 92:9 virtual ^[1] 64:7 volunteered ^[1] 65:5 vote ^[1] 78:19</p>	<p>wrapped ^[1] 90:17 write ^[1] 32:13 writing ^[2] 23:9 84:10 written ^[1] 14:10 wrote ^[1] 82:7</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Y</p> <hr/> <p>year ^[2] 45:3 70:3 years ^[9] 10:6 44:20,24 45:13 47: 20 56:19 57:21 65:3 72:15 young ^[1] 86:11 yourself ^[3] 35:8 48:22,22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Z</p> <hr/> <p>zero ^[1] 18:17</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">U</p> <hr/> <p>U.S.C ^[1] 68:23 ultimate ^[1] 92:15 ultimately ^[6] 32:15,17 37:3 42:25 86:7 87:25 un ^[1] 50:21 unanimous ^[1] 45:17 uncertainty ^[1] 56:21 unchallenged ^[1] 44:7 unconstitutional ^[6] 6:3 44:3,21 50:18,19 74:24 under ^[23] 8:4,5 15:9,20,25 22:5,9 25:19 30:13 44:7 45:24 51:6,23 52:21 54:14 56:20 68:23,23 75:2 78:23 79:15 85:25 90:3 underlying ^[3] 8:1 72:8 81:18 undermines ^[2] 5:21 37:11 understand ^[20] 8:18,21 9:14 10: 9 21:3,18 26:13 49:10 51:16 57:4, 17 58:19,25 59:2 61:7 65:8 74:17 84:23,25 88:25 understandable ^[1] 14:3 understanding ^[4] 21:23 28:8 29: 4 42:1 understood ^[2] 75:18 76:15 undocumented ^[2] 69:24 70:12 unexplained ^[2] 44:1,17 unfettered ^[1] 35:1 unions ^[1] 24:1 UNITED ^[5] 1:1,12 2:6 51:11 73:11 UNIVERSITY ^[2] 1:7 4:6 unlawful ^[7] 4:15 44:21 51:2 61:3 65:15 66:20 67:12 unless ^[2] 5:6 45:4 unprecedented ^[1] 36:7 unreviewable ^[11] 5:6 7:8,19,22 8: 1,3 10:2 13:20 15:20 16:6 67:21 unsupported ^[1] 44:17 untangle ^[1] 38:5 until ^[1] 40:23 up ^[11] 16:6 19:23 33:5 42:12 66: 14 69:15,23 85:2 86:8 89:10 90: 17 uphold ^[1] 39:12 using ^[3] 12:17 72:4,4 utterly ^[1] 43:25</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">W</p> <hr/> <p>wanted ^[1] 50:11 wants ^[2] 19:7 28:24 Washington ^[4] 2:1,11,13 12:10 way ^[10] 11:11 28:3 30:14 38:4 39: 4 62:6 63:3 82:15,20 91:1 ways ^[1] 56:9 weigh ^[1] 86:8 weighed ^[2] 31:13 90:19 weighing ^[3] 26:16 79:8 84:18 weighs ^[2] 26:17 90:15 Weyerhaeuser ^[2] 45:3,11 Whatever ^[1] 52:23 whenever ^[1] 45:19 whereby ^[1] 5:1 Whereupon ^[1] 93:1 whether ^[17] 5:4 10:3 11:19 19:25 21:25 32:17 41:18,19 42:24 43:5 60:2 62:8 72:22 75:1,21 87:24 88: 4 who's ^[1] 82:16 whole ^[7] 12:25 22:25 29:12 30:10 38:21 48:25 89:5 wholesale ^[1] 83:9 whom ^[1] 36:22 will ^[10] 15:10 39:2 41:5 46:20,23 54:4 57:14 74:3 84:2 92:10 win ^[2] 8:4,5 wind-down ^[5] 17:8 20:17 37:17 38:9,18 window ^[1] 63:9 wish ^[2] 58:11,12 wished ^[1] 4:18 wishes ^[1] 56:7 withdrawing ^[1] 11:21 within ^[13] 9:4,6,25 10:12,23 15:21 16:9 18:22 37:17 45:12 75:10 76: 4 90:2 woman ^[1] 13:23 word ^[2] 25:22 85:21 words ^[9] 6:16 9:17 26:24 32:13 55:18 57:8 58:14 59:4 79:5 work ^[10] 17:20 18:4 34:1,16 48:20, 25 49:11 50:6 65:2 68:12 working ^[1] 59:1 world ^[2] 76:2,11 worried ^[1] 79:6 worthy ^[1] 68:14</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">V</p>		