1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	x
3	UNITED STATES, ET AL., :
4	Petitioners : No. 15-674
5	v. :
6	TEXAS, ET AL., :
7	Respondents. :
8	x
9	Washington, D.C.
10	Monday, April 18, 2016
11	
12	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
13	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
14	at 10:04 a.m.
15	APPEARANCES:
16	GEN. DONALD B. VERRILLI, JR., ESQ., Solicitor General,
17	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
18	Petitioners.
19	THOMAS A. SAENZ, ESQ., Los Angeles, Cal.; on behalf of
20	Intervenor-Respondents in support of Petitioners.
21	SCOTT A. KELLER, ESQ., Solicitor General of Texas,
22	Austin, Tex.; on behalf of Respondents.
23	ERIN E. MURPHY, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; for United
24	States House of Representatives, as amicus curiae,
25	supporting Respondents.

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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 (10:04 a.m.) 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear argument 4 first this morning in Case No. 15-674, United States v. 5 Texas, et al. 6 General Verrilli. 7 ORAL ARGUMENT OF GENERAL DONALD B. VERRILLI, JR. ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS 8 9 GENERAL VERRILLI: Mr. Chief Justice, and 10 may it please the Court: 11 The Secretary of Homeland Security has 12 decided to defer removal of the class of aliens who are 13 parents of U.S. citizens and LPRs, have lived in the 14 country continuously since 2010, and not committed 15 crimes. That policy is lawful and Respondents concede it is lawful. It is fully justified by the fundamental 16 17 reality that DHS has resources only to remove a fraction of the unlawful aliens, the aliens presently -- present 18 unlawfully in the country now. 19 20 This class of aliens is the lowest priority. And there is a pressing humanitarian concern in avoiding 21 22 the breakup of families that contain U.S. citizen 23 children. 24 The principal --25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Couldn't the government

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1 simply, as was suggested in one of the briefs, have 2 given these children -- parents of citizens or LPRs, 3 given them identity cards that say "low priority," and 4 would there be any difference between that and what this 5 DAPA Guidance does? 6 GENERAL VERRILLI: That is -- that's a very 7 important point, Justice Ginsburg. That -- that is 8 precisely what deferred action is. Deferred action is a 9 decision that you were -- that you are a low priority for removal, and it's an official notification to you of 10 that decision. And Respondents have conceded that we 11 12 have the lawful authority to do both things: To make 13 that judgment and to give an identification card. 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: General, maybe it 15 would make logical progression if you began with your 16 standing argument first. GENERAL VERRILLI: Yes. And I think this 17 18 does lead right into the standing argument. 19 I think the principal bone of contention 20 between the -- the Respondents and the United States is over whether the Secretary can also authorize these 21 22 people to work and accrue ancillary benefits, and 23 Respondents lack standing to challenge that for three 24 fundamental reasons. First, there's -- the injury is not 25

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1 redressable, because even if they achieve the -- even if 2 they achieve the injunction that they want, barring us 3 from providing work authorization ancillary benefits, we 4 can, for the reason Justice Ginsburg identified, still 5 provide them with deferred action. And under Texas law, 6 they still qualify for a license under deferred action, 7 so there's no redressability. 8 Second, they have not alleged a concrete 9 particularized injury because the costs that they claim 10 now to be an injury are actually the expected and 11 desired result of the policy that exists in current 12 Texas law --13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but if -- if 14 they change that policy to avoid the injury that they 15 allege, in other words, if they did not confer -- offer driver's licenses to those who are lawfully present 16 17 because of your policy, avoided that injury, you would sue them, wouldn't you? 18 19 GENERAL VERRILLI: I'm not sure at all that we would sue them. It would depend on what they did. 20 But the fundamental --21 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: No, no. What they 23 did -- I'm hypothesizing -- is that they offered 24 driver's license to everyone, but not those who were

25 here under your -- under DAPA, under your proposal.

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1	GENERAL VERRILLI: Chief Justice, the key
2	word in your question is "hypothesize." And that's the
3	point, it seems to me. They have not made that change
4	in their law. What they
5	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: No, because they
6	have what seems to me a perfectly legitimate policy, is
7	they want driver's license to be available to people who
8	are lawfully present here. And if you, the Federal
9	government, say, well, these people are lawfully
10	present, that means they have to give a driver's license
11	to however many of them, more than half a million
12	people, who would be potentially eligible for them.
13	And as I understand from your brief, your
14	answer is, well, just don't give them driver's licenses.
15	GENERAL VERRILLI: The current policy is not
16	as Your Honor describes it. The current policy
17	reflected in the existing law and regulation is quite
18	different, and that's the point. They will give a
19	driver's license now to any category of person who has a
20	document from the Federal government, not only saying
21	you're lawfully present, but that you're officially
22	we're officially tolerating your presence.
23	There are vast numbers of people under
24	existing Texas law that are eligible for a license even
25	though they are not lawfully present. For example, the

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1 people who receive deferred action for -- based on 2 childhood arrival. But beyond that, for example, people 3 who are applicants for adjustment of status of whom there are hundreds of thousands --4 5 JUSTICE KENNEDY: But suppose -- suppose the 6 State of Texas said this policy that the government has 7 announced is invalid; it violates separation of powers; therefore, we will not issue licenses to this class of 8 9 persons? 10 GENERAL VERRILLI: Well, I think the 11 point --12 JUSTICE KENNEDY: It seems to me that the 13 Federal government could say this is not for you to say. 14 GENERAL VERRILLI: That's correct. We could 15 and we probably would. But the point is, they haven't done it. And so in order to establish --16 17 JUSTICE ALITO: But that's the whole point of this suit, isn't it? They don't want to give 18 driver's licenses to the beneficiaries of DAPA. 19 20 GENERAL VERRILLI: Well, I think --JUSTICE ALITO: And unless you can tell us 21 22 that there is some way that they could achieve that, 23 then I don't see how there is not injury in fact. 24 GENERAL VERRILLI: I disagree with that, Justice Alito, but --25

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1 JUSTICE ALITO: You disagree with which part 2 of it? 3 GENERAL VERRILLI: I think all of it. 4 (Laughter.) 5 GENERAL VERRILLI: Texas law and policy now 6 does not express that judgment. You look to their law 7 to tell you what their policy is now, and what the 8 policy is now --9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: General, when you say 10 that, I'm looking at their law. And their law says that they will give licenses to persons granted deferred 11 12 action on the basis of immigration documentation 13 received with an alien number and from the government. 14 So that's what -- you're saying they've 15 already made the determination that they'll give 16 licenses to people with deferred action. 17 GENERAL VERRILLI: Yes, Justice Sotomayor. That's one thing I'm saying that's quite important, but 18 it even goes beyond that. They're --19 20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Oh, but they want to 21 do that. Is there anything wrong with their policy 22 saying if you're lawfully present, you ought to have a 23 driver's license? 24 GENERAL VERRILLI: No, but I guess, Mr. Chief Justice, what I'm trying to get across is that the 25

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1 policy, as it's written down and which, it seems to me, 2 has to be taken as the authoritative statement of the 3 Texas policy, is not just that they want to give 4 licenses to people who are lawfully present. They give 5 licenses to all -- to numerous categories of people who, 6 under the substantive theory of law that they are 7 advancing now, would not be eligible --8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Okay. So what your 9 argument is then, they should take these people out of 10 eligibility, too. 11 GENERAL VERRILLI: No. My argument --12 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Their argument is, 13 we're going to give driver's license to people subject 14 to deferred action. And you're saying, okay, that's 15 your injury? You can take that away. 16 And I just think that's a real catch-22. 17 If -- if you're injured, you have standing. But you're not injured because you can change your policy and not 18 give driver's license to these people. 19 20 And I suggest that -- I think you would 21 want -- you would sue them instantly if they said, 22 people here lawfully present under the Federal authority 23 are being discriminated against. It's a preemption 24 argument the government makes on a regular basis. And if you don't, the intervenors will sue them. They've 25

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1	already said that they think that's illegal.
2	GENERAL VERRILLI: The fundamental problem,
3	Mr. Chief Justice, is with that theory is that it
4	requires this Court essentially to issue an advisory
5	opinion about whether this new law of theirs would, in
6	fact, be preempted. After all, we might think it's
7	preempted, but it's up to the judiciary ultimately to
8	decide whether it's preempted. So in order for that
9	injury to occur, they the law the judiciary would
10	have to decide it's preempted. And the normal way
11	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So you're saying
12	they would not have injury because they can do this, and
13	you might lose the suit.
14	GENERAL VERRILLI: That's correct. It's
15	it's hypothetical at this point.
16	JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, General, I don't
17	understand why you wouldn't lose the suit. I mean,
18	Section 1621 says, "States aren't required to give State
19	benefits to nonqualified aliens, including deferred
20	action recipients."
21	I guess I don't really understand what the
22	basis of a preemption suit would be given that section.
23	GENERAL VERRILLI: Justice Kagan, I'd like
24	to be able to agree with you about that. We don't think
25	1621 actually applies to driver's licenses. And it

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1 depending on what they did, we might or might not think 2 the law is preempted. But until they actually take that 3 step, which would be a significant change from Texas law 4 as it now exists, they really are asking you for an 5 advisory opinion about whether the thing they want to do 6 would be preempted. I mean, if you think about it --7 JUSTICE ALITO: You're saying they have 8 inflicted this injury on themselves because they have 9 options. And one of the options, and I assume the one that they would like to pursue, is to deny driver's 10 licenses to the beneficiaries of DAPA. And if you're 11 12 going to make the argument that they lack standing 13 because they have a viable legal option, I think you 14 have to tell us whether, in the view of the United 15 States, it would be lawful for them to do that. 16 GENERAL VERRILLI: So, it would --JUSTICE ALITO: I think the Chief Justice 17 asked you that question before, and you didn't get a 18 chance to answer it. Maybe you could answer it now. 19 20 GENERAL VERRILLI: It would depend on what they did and why they did it. But it does seem to me, 21 22 it's fundamental that they have to do it. I mean, think 23 about it this way --24 JUSTICE ALITO: I mean, if you're saying to -- you're saying to us they lack standing because 25

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1 they have an option, but we're not going to tell you now whether it's a lawful option. You'll have to wait down 2 3 the -- wait to some point in the future. GENERAL VERRILLI: We might -- depending on 4 5 what they, we might well think it's unlawful. For 6 example, if they did try to enact this new law that 7 said, we're going to give licenses to everybody we're 8 giving them to now --9 JUSTICE KENNEDY: But there's Article III 10 standing for declaratory relief all the time. You say 11 this course of action is being compelled on me. I want a declaratory suit that says that it's void. 12 13 GENERAL VERRILLI: And I think that gets to 14 the point -- that gets to the point, Justice Kennedy. 15 If right now, tomorrow, today instead of suing us they had come into court and said we want a declaratory 16 17 judgment, we are thinking about -- in light of this change in Federal law, we're thinking about changing our 18 19 State law to a different law, and we want a declaratory 20 judgment that if we do so, it won't be preempted, I think you would throw that case out in a nanosecond as 21 22 hypothetical, and that is this case. 23 That is precisely the situation we are in

right now. You have to render a judgment on that issue to decide whether they have injury in fact with respect 25

24

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1 to --

2	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Do we really, or is
3	it enough is it enough that they would have to be put
4	through litigation in order to escape the policy? You
5	say, well, they can just not do this. And I think
6	it's you won't dispute, I think, that they will be
7	put through litigation if they do take that out.
8	GENERAL VERRILLI: I don't think that could
9	be enough, Mr. Chief Justice, because you could have
10	said that in Pennsylvania v. New Jersey or in any number
11	of cases, that they may have to incur some cost with
12	respect to
13	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, how is that
14	different? If I if I own, say, a parcel of land and
15	it's subject to some government regulatory program that
16	I think is a taking under under existing law, why
17	isn't the answer, well, you should go buy some other
18	land that's not subject to it. You can avoid the injury
19	by your own action.
20	And it seems to me that's what you're saying
21	here. Texas says, our injury is we have to give
22	driver's license here, and that costs us money. And
23	your answer is, well, maybe you don't have to give
24	driver's license. Go change the policy.

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1	between in your in your proposed hypothetical,
2	Mr. Chief Justice, that's a direct action against the
3	land owner by the government. In this case, we're not
4	acting directly against Texas. We're regulating
5	individual aliens, and there's an indirect and
6	incidental effect on Texas. And that gets to, it seems
7	to me, the deeper and broader point of importance here,
8	which is that if you're going to recognize and it
9	would be the first time, I think, in in our
10	history you're going to recognize that kind of
11	incidental/indirect effect as a basis for allowing one
12	government to sue another another, then there's
13	really no limit on the kinds of
14	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. General, in the
15	normal course of things, let's assume that Texas decides
16	tomorrow to change its law, and it says, now, contrary
17	to what the its law says right at this moment that
18	it's not going to give licenses to immigrants with
19	deferred action. Presumably, the immigrant who wants
20	that license would sue the State, correct?
21	GENERAL VERRILLI: Precisely.
22	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And make either an equal
23	protection or any number of preemption argument,
24	whatever. The State could then defend that action,
25	correct?

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1 GENERAL VERRILLI: Of course. 2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And it could raise 3 legitimately full standing to raise any defense in law, 4 correct? 5 GENERAL VERRILLI: Yes. 6 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: It could then say that DAPA is illegal --7 GENERAL VERRILLI: Yes. 8 9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- correct? So there is a cause. It is -- there is a 10 11 way for it to defend its actions and a way that it will 12 defends its actions. 13 GENERAL VERRILLI: And -- and I think that 14 points out -- I mean, it really goes to what the Court 15 said in Raines v. Byrd. You know, it may seem like this 16 is an important issue that is -- is teed up in front of 17 you, and it is an important issue. But, you know, the point is that the legitimacy of the citing issues of 18 19 this importance come from deciding the context of a 20 concrete case or controversy, and you don't have that 21 here yet --22 JUSTICE BREYER: Your argument is -- do I have this right? Imagine a Federal statute. Every 23 24 State must give a driver's license to a member of the Federal armed forces. That's a statute. Second 25

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statute: We are transferring one quarter of a million
 soldiers to Rhode Island.

Now, Rhode Island thinks the first statute is unconstitutional, and it also thinks that the second statute, for some technical reason, is unlawful. We're only talking about standing. In that circumstance, does Rhode Island have standing?

8 See, totally analogous. I'm trying to say 9 there is a law, which you say is vague. I'm imagining 10 it's there. It says, Texas, you have to give a driver's license to certain people. And then there's a second 11 12 law which says, we are sending you a million of those 13 people. Now, all I want to know is: Can Texas, under 14 those circumstances -- your argument is we don't know if that's true here or not -- but under the ones I 15 16 hypothesize, is there standing, in your opinion? 17 Texas would say the first law is wrong, unconstitutional for some reason. The second is wrong 18 because it technically failed for some reason. Do they 19 20 have standing to say that?

GENERAL VERRILLI: The -- I have to -- I have to caveat my answer, because I think if the second law is an immigration law that says we're going to make an immigration policy judgment that's going to result in additional people being in the State, then I don't think

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1 they would have standing. 2 But the fundamental point, I think, of 3 importance here is that the premise that the first -- of 4 the first law that they are required to give driver's 5 licences is not present here. 6 JUSTICE BREYER: I have no doubt it isn't present here. I asked the question to clarify what it 7 is I'm supposed to say if I agree with you. 8 9 GENERAL VERRILLI: And I tried to answer that and tell you why I think the premise is different. 10 I did try to answer you and then tell you why I think 11 12 the premise is different. 13 But I -- but I do think -- and I think this 14 is -- you know, there's a sort of a shoe-on-the-other-foot issue here. If you really think 15 16 that a State can sue the Federal government based on these kinds of indirect and incidental effects, then it 17 seems to me you'd have to also say that if a State 18 decided, for example, that it wasn't going to enforce 19 20 its minimum wage law anymore, and as a result, the Federal government had to increase its enforcement costs 21 22 for Federal minimum wage laws in that State, that the 23 Federal government would then have standing to go into 24 State court and say that the State is violating State law? I don't think anybody would think that's a valid 25

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claim. But that's just the flip side of this kind of a
 claim.

3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Is the injury here 4 any more indirect and speculative than the injury in 5 Massachusetts against EPA?

6 GENERAL VERRILLI: Yes. I -- yes. I think 7 definitely, Mr. Chief Justice. I mean, that was 8 obviously a closely-divided Court in that case, but with 9 respect to the majority opinion, it seems to me there 10 were -- there are two fundamental differences, at least 11 two fundamental differences.

12 One is what the Court said is that under 13 the -- under the Clean Air Act, that Congress had 14 charged the EPA with protecting States and others from 15 the effects of air pollution and then given a specific 16 cause of action to the people whose protection EPA was 17 charged with to sue if EPA wasn't doing its job. And 18 that -- and I think this is at page 520 of the opinion -- the Court said was indispensable, was 19 20 critical to the finding that States got special solicitude and were allowed to sue in a manner where, 21 22 under Article III, they normally wouldn't be able to 23 sue.

In addition -- and in addition, I do think that you do have a quite different situation in that

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1 there was no way for Massachusetts to avoid the effects 2 about which it was complaining, and there is a way here. 3 So -- so there is a difference. 4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Maybe I could ask 5 you to switch. 6 GENERAL VERRILLI: I was just going to ask whether I could. Thank you. 7 8 So I think it's important, again, to frame 9 where we are on the merits here, that the -- their --Texas agrees that the -- that DHS has the authority to 10 11 defer removal of this class of alien parents of U.S. 12 citizens and LPRs. They agree that that judgment is 13 unreviewable. 14 What we disagree about is whether --15 principally, whether we also have the authority to 16 authorize them to work and to accrue some ancillary benefits based on that work. 17 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Before you get to 19 that, could I ask you a question about the scope of your 20 argument? 21 GENERAL VERRILLI: Sure. 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Under your argument, 23 could the President grant deferred removal to every 24 unlawful -- unlawfully present alien in the United States right now? 25

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1 GENERAL VERRILLI: Definitely not. 2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Why not? 3 GENERAL VERRILLI: Here are the limits. 4 Because the deferred action has -- over time, there have 5 been built up a set of administrative limits, which I'll 6 talk about, some administrative policy limits, and then 7 there's substantive statutory limits. The administrative policy limits are these: 8 9 Deferred action has always been for the lowest priorities for removal. And everybody agrees --10 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I'm sorry. By "administrative," you mean by the Executive branch? 12 13 GENERAL VERRILLI: Correct. Yes. But --14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So that somehow 15 binds the Executive branch now, the fact that -- I mean, 16 this hasn't been approved by the Executive branch prior 17 to this point, either, and yet it's a fairly significant 18 departure. 19 GENERAL VERRILLI: Let me -- let me -- I 20 don't -- I wouldn't agree with that premise, Mr. Chief 21 Justice, but let me walk through it. 22 So it's -- you've got to be the lowest 23 priority. It's -- there are -- the regulations going 24 back decades that talk about work authorization related to people at deferred action say that there's got to be 25

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1	a tie to a statutory policy that the Secretary has the
2	authority to implement, such things as foreign
3	relations, humanitarian concerns, or keeping or
4	family unity when one family member or more is a U.S.
5	citizen. So those so you've got to ground it
6	they've got to be lowest priority; it's got to be
7	grounded in those policy concerns; and then are a number
8	of
9	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But the Chief is going
10	more fundamentally, General. Those are the parameters
11	that the Executive has set for itself now. He's asking
12	what keeps you from changing those parameters in the
13	future and simply saying, I have under your theory of

14 the case, I have discretion to defer action on 15 everybody? I think that's his question.

16 GENERAL VERRILLI: A couple -- a couple of 17 things about that. One is there are statutory constraints that exist now. For example, Congress has 18 19 told DHS that it has to prioritize the removal of 20 criminal aliens and aliens detained at the border. 21 There's no way we could give deferred action to those 22 populations consistent with --CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Okay. So not -- not 23

24 criminals. Who else?

25 GENERAL VERRILLI: Not aliens detained at

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1 the border.

22

23

24

25

everyone here.

2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Okay. So that's 3 another -- criminals --

GENERAL VERRILLI: Seems to me it would 4 5 follow from that, that people who are recently 6 arrived -- recently made it into the country, if they 7 aren't detained at the border, we couldn't give deferred action to them either, because seems to me that would 8 9 undermine the policy judgment of trying to maximize --CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Okay. So you have 10 11 to -- everyone has been here for two years. 12 GENERAL VERRILLI: And then -- and then 13 there are specific statutory provisions that cover some 14 categories of aliens like people with asylum. So then a 15 whole host of things that impose manageable limits. And I think if -- you know, if -- if the 16 17 Court were to conclude that there is standing -obviously, we don't think there is, but if the Court 18 were to conclude --19 20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I'm sorry. Just so -- so the categories you say would have to be 21

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excluded are criminals, people detained at the border,

and people who've been granted asylum. And other than

that, the President could grant deferred removal to

GENERAL VERRILLI: No. I'm not saying that. 1 2 You've got to ground it in affirmative policies like --3 like the one here. And that -- you know, for example, 4 if you look it the OLC opinion, OLC reached the 5 conclusion that DHS couldn't grant deferred action to 6 the parents of the children who -- parents who -- of 7 people who got deferred action for childhood arrival --8 JUSTICE ALITO: But if the President did 9 what the Chief Justice hypothesized, suppose the 10 President said, you know, there was a time when we had open borders in the United States, and I think that's 11 12 the right policy, so we're just not going to remove 13 anybody. Who could challenge that? 14 GENERAL VERRILLI: Well, obviously, we're 15 doing more or less the opposite now in terms of what we're doing --16 JUSTICE ALITO: I understand. 17 It's a hypothetical question. Could anybody, in your view, 18 19 challenge that? 20 GENERAL VERRILLI: Yeah, I -- yes. I think 21 that would be challengeable under the -- you know, the 22 footnote in Heckler against Chaney. It says if you just 23 decide that you're not going to enforce the law at all, 24 then there may well be a cause of action to challenge it 25 there, and -- but that's -- that's a million miles from

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1 where we are now. 2 And I think the key point is that the 3 policy --JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, it's four million 4 5 people from where we are now. 6 GENERAL VERRILLI: Well, you know, that's a big number. You're right, Justice Kennedy. 7 8 JUSTICE KENNEDY: And that's -- and that's 9 the whole point, is that you've talked about discretion here. What we're doing is defining the limits of 10 discretion. And it seems to me that that is a 11 12 legislative, not an executive act. 13 GENERAL VERRILLI: So --14 JUSTICE KENNEDY: All of the cases -- the 15 briefs go on for pages to the effect that the President 16 has admitted a certain number of people and then 17 Congress approves it. That seems to me to have it 18 backwards. It's as if -- that the President is setting 19 the policy and the Congress is executing it. That's 20 just upside down. GENERAL VERRILLI: I don't -- I don't think 21 22 it's upside down. I think it's different, and it's 23 different in recognition of the -- of the unique nature 24 of immigration policy. 25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: General Verrilli, how

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1 much -- please, how much of a factor is the reality that 2 we have 11.3 million undocumented aliens in the country, 3 and Congress, the Legislature, has provided funds for 4 removing about four million. So inevitably, priorities 5 have to be set. 6 GENERAL VERRILLI: Right. Exactly. 7 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You started out 8 telling us that the enforcement priorities were not at 9 issue; that -- that the problem was the benefits that 10 flow from that, the work authorization, the earned 11 income tax credit, the Social Security benefits, the 12 Medicare benefits. 13 So as I understand it -- and I think this is 14 the point you made -- the other side is not disputing 15 the fact that you have authority to exercise discretion. 16 GENERAL VERRILLI: Correct. And that, I 17 think is the answer to -- that I was going to give to your question, Justice Kennedy. And it seems to me, 18 19 with respect to this --20 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. General, before you 21 go on, I -- just to make sure we have -- we're on the 22 same page, you only deport 400,000, not four million. 23 GENERAL VERRILLI: It's not four million. 24 Forgive me. JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So we have --25

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1	GENERAL VERRILLI: yes. We have
2	resources for about 400,000. Right.
3	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So we have we have
4	basically 10 million, nine hundred thousand people that
5	cannot be deported because there's not enough resources,
6	correct?
7	GENERAL VERRILLI: That's correct.
8	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So they are here whether
9	we want them or not.
10	GENERAL VERRILLI: And the key point is that
11	we have always had a policy that says when you have
12	when your presence is going to be officially tolerated,
13	you're not here, you're violating the immigration laws
14	by being here. You don't have any rights, but your
15	presence is going to be officially tolerated. When
16	you're in that circumstance, we allow you to work
17	because it makes sense to allow you to work. Because
18	otherwise you're going to be here, and otherwise, if
19	you can't work lawfully, you're going to either not be
20	able to support yourself and be forced into the
21	underground economy. We've had
22	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I have to ask you
23	about two pages in your reply brief. On page 16, you
24	quote the Guidance that says, "The individuals covered
25	are lawfully present in the United States." And less

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1 than a page later, you say, "Aliens with deferred action 2 are present in violation of the law." 3 Now, that must have been a hard sentence to 4 write. I mean, they're -- they're lawfully present, and 5 yet, they're present in violation of the law. 6 GENERAL VERRILLI: I actually had no trouble 7 writing it, Mr. Chief Justice. 8 (Laughter.) 9 GENERAL VERRILLI: The reason I had no 10 problem writing it is because that phrase, "lawful presence," has caused a terrible amount of confusion in 11 12 this case; I realize it. But the reality is it means --13 it means something different to people in the 14 immigration world. 15 What it means in the immigration world is 16 not that you have a legal right to be in the United 17 States, that your status has changed in any way. That you have any defense to removal. It doesn't mean any of 18 those things, and it never has. And -- and so it 19 20 doesn't -- and so at that fundamental level, we are not 21 trying to change anybody's legal status on the 22 immigration --23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Lawfully present 24 does not mean you're legally present in the United 25 States.

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1	GENERAL VERRILLI: Right. Tolerated
2	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I'm sorry, that
3	just so I get that right.
4	GENERAL VERRILLI: Yes.
5	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Lawfully present
6	does not mean you're legally present.
7	GENERAL VERRILLI: Correct.
8	JUSTICE ALITO: But they are the DAPA
9	beneficiaries are may lawfully work in the United
10	States; isn't that correct?
11	GENERAL VERRILLI: That's right.
12	JUSTICE ALITO: And how is it possible to
13	lawfully work in the United States without lawfully
14	being in the United States?
15	GENERAL VERRILLI: There are millions of
16	people, millions of people other than the DAPA
17	recipients about whom this is true right now. And this
18	gets to the point of why their reading of Section 1324
19	is completely wrong.
20	JUSTICE ALITO: I'm just talking about the
21	English language. I just don't understand it. How can
22	you be
23	GENERAL VERRILLI: Well, let me
24	JUSTICE ALITO: How can you how can it be
25	lawful to work here but not lawful to be here?

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1 GENERAL VERRILLI: It's -- let me just go 2 through the reality here, and -- and I'll give you some 3 sense of just how disruptive a ruling would be to accept 4 their theory on -- on who can lawfully work in the 5 United States.

6 Right now, since 2008, one category of people who can get work authorization are people 7 applying for adjustment of status. We've given out 3.5 8 9 million of those to that category of people since 2008, and in the decades before, it was hundreds of thousands 10 11 of people a year. They are not lawfully present in the 12 United States on the theory of having -- on the sense of 13 having lawful status. People who have applied for 14 cancellation of removal, those are people in removal proceedings now since 2008, we've given out 325,000 of 15 16 those.

JUSTICE ALITO: But those are statutorycategories, are they not?

19 GENERAL VERRILLI: No, no. There's no 20 statutory authority to do either one of two things: 21 either to say that they're lawfully present in the 22 United States; there's no authority for that. And this 23 is the key thing for their work authorization argument. 24 There is no statutory authority to grant work 25 authorization to those categories of people --

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	с С
1	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: In those other in
2	those other categories, did you say that those people
3	were lawfully present in the United States?
4	GENERAL VERRILLI: No. But
5	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But you said that
6	here.
7	GENERAL VERRILLI: But the but the key
8	point is that their argument about why we can't give
9	work authorization is a statutory argument. They say
10	that it's under that 1324 passed in 1986 extinguished
11	our right to give our our authority to give work
12	authorization to people whose presence we are officially
13	tolerating.
14	What I'm saying is that that is not a
15	plausible reading it's not a plausible reading of
16	the text. There's a 1987 regulation that that INS
17	promulgated which considered that very question of
18	whether passage of that statute restricted INS to giving
19	out work authorization only to people who are in the
20	category specifically identified in the statute. INS
21	rejected that as implausible and inconsistent with the
22	theory. That's been on the books for 30 years. It's a
23	part of the Chevron deference.
24	And then the third point

25 JUSTICE KAGAN: General -- please. I'm

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1 sorry. Go ahead. 2 GENERAL VERRILLI: The third point is the 3 consequences point. This argument they are making 4 says -- you know, if you -- if you go through the reg 5 that's in the petition, the Appendix that lists all the 6 different categories of people who get work 7 authorization, their reading of 1324 knocks out like 15 or 16 of those categories. It just doesn't -- it's 8 9 not -- it doesn't just apply here. 10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Do they have a way of 11 attacking that 1986 --12 GENERAL VERRILLI: Yes, they could --13 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- regulation? 14 GENERAL VERRILLI: Absolutely. They could 15 petition for rulemaking. JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And that would be under 16 Section 553(c)? 17 18 GENERAL VERRILLI: Right. They could 19 petition the --20 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Did they do that here? GENERAL VERRILLI: No, they did not do that 21 22 here. If --23 JUSTICE KAGAN: Could --24 GENERAL VERRILLI: I'm sorry, Justice Kagan. 25 JUSTICE KAGAN: Could you have done the

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1 exact same thing without using that phrase in the DAPA
2 documents?

3 GENERAL VERRILLI: Yeah, absolutely. And, 4 in fact, if the Court thinks it's a problem and wants to 5 put a red pencil through it, it's totally -- it's 6 totally fine. Really. It doesn't -- I -- I understand 7 the -- the issues that it's caused. But its legal 8 significance is a technical legal significance with 9 respect to eligibility for Social Security benefits and for this tolling provision, and that really -- you know, 10 those -- that's the tail on the dog and the flea on the 11 12 tail of the dog. 13 JUSTICE KENNEDY: You were asked about an 14 APA action. If they brought an APA action, would they 15 be entitled at least to ask for a preliminary injunction 16 while the notice-and-comment procedure was --17 GENERAL VERRILLI: I don't --18 JUSTICE KENNEDY: -- commencing? 19 GENERAL VERRILLI: You know, forgive me, 20 Justice Kennedy. I haven't thought about that. I have 21 my doubts if they would be entitled to get a preliminary 22 injunction under those circumstances. 23 JUSTICE KENNEDY: They would have -- they would have standing to object if the rulemaking hearing 24 25 came out the wrong way.

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1	GENERAL VERRILLI: Oh, I think if we're
2	if we're talking about whether there's a a
3	notice-and-comment issue here, I you've decided that
4	they have standing. So if they have standing if you
5	have standing to get to the notice-and-comment issue
6	here, they'd have standing in a notice-and-comment
7	proceeding, sure.
8	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: General, when he
9	announced
10	JUSTICE BREYER: But they don't have
11	standing in the Court, necessarily. I mean, loads of
12	people have standing
13	GENERAL VERRILLI: Yeah, no
14	JUSTICE BREYER: to bring actions in
15	GENERAL VERRILLI: Sorry, I wasn't clear,
16	Justice Breyer.
17	If this Court decides if this Court gets
18	to the notice-and-comment issue here, this Court will
19	have decided that they have Article III standing. And
20	if they do, then they would then, too.
21	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: When he announced
22	when he announced the President announced DACA, the
23	predecessor provision, he said that if you broadened it
24	this is a quote, "Then, essentially, I would be
25	ignoring the law in a way that I think would be very

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1 difficult to defend legally." What was he talking
2 about?

3 GENERAL VERRILLI: So -- so I think two -there's two possible things. One is what DACA does is 4 5 what DAPA does, which is provide tolerated presence and 6 essentially the ability to work. If he had said, I'm 7 actually going to give these people lawful permanent 8 resident status or legal status, that would be going 9 further. 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Or say -- or say

11 they were lawfully present.
12 GENERAL VERRILLI: And -- and well, but --

but as I said, I -- you know, I really think that --

13

14 And then -- and then second, the other thing 15 is, you know, maybe he thought he couldn't extend it at 16 that time to DAPA. But, you know, what happened here is 17 that the President and the Secretary went to the Office of Legal Counsel and asked for an opinion about the 18 scope of their authority to -- to -- the scope of this 19 20 discretionary authority, and they got one. And they exercised it consistently with that and up to the limits 21 22 of that and no further.

And so, you know, I do think whatever the President may have met -- meant, we went through that process, we came to that conclusion, and we -- and acted

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1 on that conclusion and respecting the limits that OLC 2 decided. 3 JUSTICE GINSBURG: There's -- there's no 4 challenge to DAPA in it? 5 GENERAL VERRILLI: No, right, which, as a 6 legal matter is no different. 7 If I might reserve the balance of my time. 8 Thank you. 9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, General. 10 Mr. Saenz. 11 ORAL ARGUMENT OF THOMAS A. SAENZ 12 ON BEHALF OF THE INTERVENOR-RESPONDENTS 13 IN SUPPORT OF THE PETITIONERS 14 MR. SAENZ: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it 15 please the Court: 16 The Jane Does, three Texas mothers of U.S. 17 citizen children, seek the opportunity to apply for discretionary, temporary and revocable relief from the 18 daily fear that they will be separated from their 19 20 families and detained or removed from their homes under the current nonuniform and frequently arbitrary Federal 21 22 immigration enforcement system, which fails to provide 23 any reliable opportunity to be identified as low 24 priority. 25 Their own State of Texas, through this suit,

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1	has blocked the Guidance that would secure the Jane Does
2	an opportunity to step forward, register and apply and
3	obtain a timely decision with respect to deferred
4	action. Texas does so based on asserted indirect and
5	speculative budgetary injury that contradicts the
6	State's own legislative decision, after balancing all
7	policy considerations to subsidize and encourage the
8	acquisition of driver's licenses with no annual or
9	cumulative limit on subsidies in that form.
10	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Do you think it
11	would be illegal if Texas adopted a policy saying
12	everyone lawfully present in Texas except people subject
13	to DAPA get a driver's license?
14	MR. SAENZ: I think it would be, in candor,
15	subject to a challenge that would revolve around the
16	circumstances and the reasoning behind that new
17	legislation. It's important, of course, to note that
18	Texas has not done that. And there's no indication that
19	its legislative process would result in determining that
20	its previous decision that subsidized licenses make
21	sense without limit has some endpoint. The circumstance
22	that you've described where it specifically targets one
23	set of deferred action recipients would certainly raise
24	questions. It would be resolved if
25	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: How about if they just

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1	said let's take it out of DAPA if they just said,
2	you know something? There's too many deferred action
3	people. It doesn't matter why you're deferred
4	political refugee, the people waiting for a different
5	status we're just going to do it for everybody.
6	MR. SAENZ: In that circumstance, I think
7	it, too, would be subject to challenge. It would be a
8	different challenge because of circumstances, and the
9	reasoning would be different. There would be equal
10	protection claims. There might be preemption claims.
11	And those would be resolved in the kind of concrete
12	clash of real interest that this Court has indicated
13	Article III supports. You would have the State of Texas
14	defending a decision it has made to change its law and
15	to keep that law in place. Then you would have
16	aggrieved individuals who would have been denied a
17	driver's license because of that change.
18	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Not every State grants
19	licenses to deferred action individuals, do they?
20	MR. SAENZ: That's correct, Your Honor. In
21	this case, it would arise in the context of a change
22	which could raise equal protection concerns to be
23	resolved in the kind of concrete clash of interest that
24	this Court has indicated are behind Article III.
25	I think it's important to note that not only

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1 has Texas not changed its policy --

JUSTICE KAGAN: Do I take it from the way you are phrasing this that you actually think that the equal protection concerns would be more serious than the preemption concerns?

6 MR. SAENZ: I think it depends on the 7 circumstances of how Texas is to make its decision. All 8 the more reason to wait until it's actually made a 9 decision through a legislative process where there would 10 be a record of why the legislators chose to change from a policy that currently provides licenses to anyone who 11 12 can demonstrate that they are authorized to be in the 13 United States, to something that would leave some folks 14 in that category out.

15 If they would decide that tolerated presence 16 is not authorization, for example, we would have a 17 record of why they made that decision. Of course, we 18 are not there yet because Texas has not made a decision 19 to change what its current policy is, and there is no 20 indication that --

JUSTICE BREYER: In -- in the record, that you're more familiar with than I, and I would ask the other side the same question, I've read in the briefs quite a lot that the reason that they don't want to give driver's licenses to these 500,000 extra people is it's

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1 expensive. 2 Is there any other reason that's in this 3 record, such as -- we could imagine other reasons. Is 4 there any serious effort to rest their claim? We don't 5 want to give them licenses on anything other than money? 6 MR. SAENZ: Yes, Your Honor. 7 JUSTICE BREYER: What? MR. SAENZ: Governor Abbot has indicated 8 9 that, in the record --JUSTICE BREYER: In the record here. 10 11 MR. SAENZ: Yes, it's in the record here, I 12 believe, Your Honor, that, in fact, this is a political 13 dispute. They do not agree with the policy adopted by 14 the Administration, though they have conceded in this case that it is within the Executive's discretionary 15 16 authority. 17 JUSTICE BREYER: You're talking about in general. I'm focusing on the narrow question of how 18 Texas is hurt, specifically, not a political 19 20 disagreement. How are they specifically hurt by giving these people driver's licenses? 21 22 MR. SAENZ: Your Honor, they --23 JUSTICE BREYER: One way is it costs them 24 money. 25 MR. SAENZ: Yes.

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1 JUSTICE BREYER: Are there other ways? 2 MR. SAENZ: No, Your Honor. That's the only 3 thing they put forward in one --JUSTICE BREYER: That's the answer. 4 5 MR. SAENZ: And, in fact, it shows that they 6 believe they would face additional expenses, though 7 there's not really enough to conclude that it would change the State's previous determination, taking into 8 9 account those costs from every subsidized license --CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Isn't -- isn't 10 11 losing money the classic case for standing? 12 MR. SAENZ: It's a classic case for a 13 private individual, Your Honor, but here, we're talking 14 about a State that has made a decision, as States often 15 do, to spend money by subsidizing licenses because it's balanced other considerations, including --16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We said in 17 Massachusetts against EPA that we have a special 18 solicitude for the claims of the States. 19 20 MR. SAENZ: Yes. In that case, it was not a financial claim. As you know, Your Honor, it was a 21 22 claim related to the State's quasi-sovereign interest 23 over land. 24 In addition, as General Verrilli has indicated, there was a procedural right within the Clean 25

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1 Air Act that does not exist here. Indeed, if a 2 procedural right were to be established under the APA 3 itself, there is no limit to the number of States that 4 could come forward to challenge any domestic policy of 5 any kind by this or any future Administration. 6 JUSTICE ALITO: If an employer took the position that the employer was not going to hire a DAPA 7 8 beneficiary because the employer believes that they are 9 not -- that they are not lawfully authorized to work, 10 would prefer someone else over them, could that person sue on any theory of discrimination, for example, under 11 12 Section 1981? 13 MR. SAENZ: They could, Your Honor. And --14 and the outcome of that case, I think, has not been 15 clearly established by precedent so far. But it would be a clash between folks with concrete interest, an 16 17 employer who wants to hire someone, not the individual 18 who --19 JUSTICE ALITO: If that's true then, DAPA 20 gives them a legal right. It's more than just putting them in a low-priority prosecution status. 21 22 MR. SAENZ: I think it's important to note, 23 Your Honor, that work authorization is a separate 24 determination from deferred action itself. Not everyone who receives deferred action will receive work 25

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1 authorization. I also think --2 JUSTICE ALITO: But work authorization, in 3 your view, gives them a legal right they did not have 4 before. 5 MR. SAENZ: It gives them the right to work 6 with authorization, certainly. However, I also need to go back to standing and point out that work 7 authorization has nothing whatsoever to do with driver's 8 9 licenses in Texas, where the test is authorized to be in the U.S. --10 11 JUSTICE GINSBURG: When you -- when you answered the question about -- you said there might be a 12 13 1981 suit. You are not saying who would win that suit. 14 MR. SAENZ: That's correct. 15 JUSTICE GINSBURG: You're saying it's a 16 question. Not that they have a legal right, but anyone 17 can sue. You can always sue. MR. SAENZ: It's far from clear, I think. 18 19 The precedent is not clear enough to determine the 20 outcome of that case. 21 JUSTICE ALITO: What is -- but what is your 22 position on that? 23 MR. SAENZ: Our position would be that it is 24 something to be litigated. In fact, to be -- in all candor, we have litigated it to a settlement. So, no, 25

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no established precedent to make it clear one way or the
 other.

3 JUSTICE ALITO: But you believe they do have
4 the right?

5 MR. SAENZ: They do have work authorization, 6 and that certainly means that they ought not be subject 7 to unreasonable discriminatory bases for denying their work. It's different from when they don't have work 8 9 authorization. But going back to the work 10 authorization, it has no relationship to the driver's 11 licenses. In fact, they could receive licenses without ever applying or receiving work authorization. 12

13 There's no connection between the two.
14 Therefore, any concerns about work authorization would
15 not redress -- redress the injury behind standing of the
16 State of Texas.

17 JUSTICE ALITO: In the Whiting case a few terms ago, the Court upheld an Arizona statute that 18 imposed pretty severe civil penalties on an employer who 19 20 employed individuals who were not authorized to work. 21 So if an employer in Arizona hires DAPA beneficiaries 22 and the State attempts to impose those civil penalties 23 on that employer, I assume that you believe that DAPA 24 would provide a legal defense to that? 25 MR. SAENZ: I believe there would be a

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as authorized workers.

you've described.

defense, but before that, because the Whiting case involved a requirement to use either by system under the verified system, those who were work authorized, whether through deferred action or otherwise, should come back So I think the State of Arizona, which premised its statute in part to receive this Court's blessing of that statute on relying on Federal decision makers, would not be in a position to engage in what JUSTICE ALITO: Well, prior to DAPA, if the employer had employed these individuals, the employer would be subject to those penalties, would it not? MR. SAENZ: That is correct. JUSTICE ALITO: And after DAPA, it would not

MR. SAENZ: Work authorization is an 17 authorization to work that is separate from the 18 deferred-action determination. Basically, the State of 19 20 Texas has conceded the deferred-action determination and seems to be focusing on work authorization. But that 21 22 work authorization has absolutely no relationship to the 23 alleged injury of driver's licenses. 24 I see my time is up, Your Honor.

25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,

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1 Mr. Saenz. 2 General Keller. 3 ORAL ARGUMENT OF SCOTT A. KELLER 4 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS 5 MR. KELLER: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, 6 and may it please the Court: 7 DAPA is an unprecedented unlawful assertion 8 of executive power. DAPA would be one of the largest 9 changes in immigration policy in our nation's history --JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: How can you say that? 10 I 11 mean, we have the Fairness Act that happened in 1990. 12 It granted basically the same thing, deferred action and 13 work authorization, to 1.5 million people out of 4 14 million. That was a -- 40 percent of the immigrant 15 population of the time was affected. Here, the best estimate is that only 35 percent are affected. 16 So at least once before, the President has 17 taken action that has a greater percentage effect than 18 now. So why is it the largest? Is it the number of 19 20 people? 21 MR. KELLER: Well, the Family Fairness 22 Program, first of all, was done pursuant to statutory 23 authority. It was a voluntary departure program. It was not an extra statutory deferred action program. 24 25 Also, I believe only 47,000 people actually

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1 got relief there.

25

And what Congress did in 1996 after the
Family Fairness Program --

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, that's because Congress decided to step in. Here, we have a Congress that's decided -- some members of the Congress have decided they don't like it, and so Congress has remained silent. It doesn't mean that at some later point after the election or whenever, Congress can't step in and do what it wants to do.

MR. KELLER: But -- but, Justice Sotomayor, 11 12 I think that's backwards. Congress has to grant the 13 statutory authority first for the Executive to be able 14 to act. And to do so, on a question that's of this deep 15 economic significance, it would have to do so expressly. 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You know, you keep saying that, "deep economic significance." Those nearly 17 11 million unauthorized aliens are here in the shadows. 18 19 They are affecting the economy whether we want to or 20 not. The answer is, if Congress really wanted not 21 22 to have an economic impact, it would -- it would allot

23 the amount of money necessary to deport them, but it 24 hasn't.

MR. KELLER: But what Congress did in 1986

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1 with work authorization, and 1996 with benefits, is it 2 restricted work and benefits as an alternative mechanism 3 to enforce immigration law. Those judgments acknowledge 4 there are going to be people in the country that are 5 unlawfully present, and yet, Congress put forward those 6 barriers to work and to benefits precisely to deter 7 unlawful immigration. What the Executive is trying to do here is flout that determination. 8 9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Except that the -- the 10 work authorization ability of the Attorney General to do has been clearly stated since 1986, and Congress hasn't 11 12 taken that away. It may at some later point, but it 13 still has not undone the 1986 regulation. 14 MR. KELLER: But in 1986, Congress passed a 15 comprehensive framework for combatting the employment of unauthorized aliens. That was a decision to repudiate 16

17 the past practice and enact a general Federal ban on the 18 employment of unauthorized aliens.

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And -- and the regulation permitting the Attorney General to give work authorization to deferred-action individuals has stood since that time.

23 MR. KELLER: But when that regulation was 24 passed in 1987, the Executive said that the number 25 covered by that regulation was so small as, quote, "to

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be not worth recording statistically," unquote, and, quote, "the impact on the labor market is minimal," unquote.

4 So regardless of what Congress may have 5 acquiesced to afterwards, that regulation has always 6 been known as being for a small class of individuals 7 for deferred action.

8 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But it's been applied to 9 a large class. It was applied to a large class in 1990. 1.5 million out of four million. 40 percent of the 10 illegal population. That was a fairly significant 11 12 number, and Congress didn't act thereafter. In fact, it 13 expanded the program the President had started. 14 MR. KELLER: No. The 1990 Family Fairness 15 Program was voluntary departure with statutory 16 authority. Congress responded in 1996 by capping it at 17 120 days. And the Executive acknowledged that when 18 Congress did that, it could no longer authorize 19 employment under that voluntary departure program. 20 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Exactly. 21 MR. KELLER: But here, with deferred action, 22 when they've only -- the Executive has only been 23 granting 500 to 1000 deferred action permits a year, 24 there's no way Congress would have acquiesced to 25 granting four million permits than in a program like

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1 this --

2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, it has -- it has 3 acquiesced to larger numbers of Salvadorians, Guatemalans, Hondurans, Haitians, Chinese, the TNU visa 4 5 applications, those numbers have been much larger than 6 the limited numbers you're quoting right now. 7 MR. KELLER: And those programs would have 8 been under temporary protective status; humanitarian 9 parole, deferred enforced departure, which is justified -- and has been, at least, under the President's Article 10 11 II power, and there's no suggestion that -- here DAPA is 12 unprecedented because this is a extra statutory deferred 13 action program that is not bridging lawful status. The 14 aliens do not have a preexisting status, and they don't 15 have an eminent status. 16 JUSTICE KAGAN: General, could I take you 17 back a few steps? General Verrilli said a couple of times that you've essentially conceded the legality of 18 DAPA taking out the work authorization and the Social 19 20 Security benefits; is that correct? 21 MR. KELLER: No. I'll be very clear. When 22 the Executive is forbearing from removal on a 23 case-by-case basis, that is what this Court in Reno 24 noted was deferred action enforcement discretion. But when the Executive is transforming unlawful presence 25

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1 into lawful presence, and granting eligibility for work 2 authorization and Medicare --

3 JUSTICE KAGAN: Let me make sure I 4 understand that. You're saying that the government 5 could do this case-by-case, one by one with respect to 6 all the people in the class, but that the government 7 cannot identify the entire class and say we're forbearing from enforcement; is that correct? 8 9 MR. KELLER: While that would be a harder, 10 tougher case, I do believe that they could do it class 11 based if they were simply forbearing from removal. 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: So that's what I asked 13 originally. If they were simply forbearing from 14 removal, and there was not work authorization attached 15 to it, and there was not Social Security or any other benefits attached to it, are you conceding that? 16 17 MR. KELLER: In this case, given that they are removing 400,000 people a year, we admit that they 18 could do forbearance from removal. But what they can't 19 20 do is grant authorization to be in the country. 21 There's a --22 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Can I -- can I ask you 23 specifically? You have a statement in your brief, and 24 that's -- it says that the Executive could give cards, identification cards to all these people saying "low 25

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1 priority." Are you adhering to that? Is -- is that 2 what -- what you mean? These people you're objecting to 3 work authorizations, Social Security, but the 4 government, not one by one, but to give everyone who 5 fits into this category a card that says low priority? 6 MR. KELLER: The government, as part of its 7 enforcement discretion, could do that. But that's very different than what they're doing here where they're 8 9 granting lawful presence. And that matters because that's why we have to grant driver's license. That's 10 11 why they get --

12 JUSTICE KAGAN: General, are you -- are you 13 just referring to that single phrase in the DAPA 14 memorandum? Is that what you're referring to? Because 15 General Verrilli, of course, says you could strike that 16 phrase today if you wanted to; that that phrase really 17 has no legal consequence whatsoever; that all this document does is do exactly what you said, which is to 18 grant forbearance, to tell people we are -- you are not 19 20 our enforcement priority, we are not going to deport you until we say otherwise, which we can tomorrow too. 21 22 MR. KELLER: That lawful presence phrase is

key because that's the first time in a deferred-action program the Executive has taken that position. But even if that phrase were struck, that would still not cure

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1	the defect. And the reason is because what the
2	Executive is doing when they're granting deferred action
3	is they are affirmatively granting a status. And we
4	know that from their own benefits regulations, which say
5	this is H.C.F.R. 1.3. Sub A says lawfully present
6	qualifies if you're in deferred action status. And then
7	sub B says, well, just because we're forbearing from
8	removal, that doesn't necessarily mean that you're
9	lawfully present.
10	And so what is going on here is a
11	transformation of deferred action from what this Court
12	recognized in Reno to something far more than
13	forbearance from removal. It is granting a status, and
14	that status then entails certain things beyond even
15	Medicare and Social Security. For instance
16	JUSTICE KAGAN: I guess I really did want
17	to know, just take out the work authorization, take out
18	the Social Security, and take out that phrase. Can the
19	can the government say to all of these people, and
20	say it all at once, not one by one, yes, you're a low
21	all of you are low priority, and we will not be coming

22 after you, and we will not deport you unless we change 23 our minds.

24 MR. KELLER: And Justice Kagan, they can do 25 that, and they can do that under the unchallenged

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1 prioritization memo. But what they can't do is say it's 2 deferred action that grants a status under the benefits 3 regulation --4 JUSTICE KAGAN: I think that's just a label. 5 Can they do that? 6 MR. KELLER: It is a label, but it's a label 7 that Congress created --8 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, my hypothetical is --9 I mean, you're suggesting that the label has some legal consequence. And my hypothetical is we just say to 10 these however many million people it is, you will not be 11 12 deported unless we change our minds. Can they do that? 13 MR. KELLER: If that's all they were doing 14 yes. But as soon as they link it --15 JUSTICE KAGAN: Even though it's many 16 millions of people they could do that? And they can do it all at once. 17 18 MR. KELLER: Yes, as long as they're not 19 abdicating. And here, we are not challenging the 20 prioritization --21 JUSTICE KAGAN: Okay. So if that's right, 22 then it seems to me your real gripe here -- and you --23 maybe it's a real gripe -- your real gripe here is to 24 the work authorization piece and to the benefits pieces; is that right? 25

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1	MR. KELLER: And the granting of lawful
2	presence, because that is what's going to
3	JUSTICE KAGAN: Well and that's just a
4	label that General Verrilli says they could strike out
5	in a moment.
6	MR. KELLER: Well, that's that's their
7	position, but that's wrong. And the reason it's
8	wrong
9	JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, it's their memorandum.
10	MR. KELLER: It is their memorandum.
11	(Laughter.)
12	MR. KELLER: And it's
13	JUSTICE ALITO: But isn't it a statutory
14	term?
15	MR. KELLER: It is
16	JUSTICE ALITO: Does the term "lawful
17	presence" appear in statutes enacted by Congress?
18	MR. KELLER: It does. It appears in IIRIRA,
19	the re-entry bar, it appears in the Social Security and
20	Medicare's it it appears in the gun possession
21	statute. "Lawful presence" allows an alien to possess
22	guns. That's the Oriana case that we cite from the
23	Fifth Circuit. And their treating it is also allowing
24	advanced parole, which we now know apparently some DACA
25	recipients have gotten green cards and a path to

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1 citizenship. 2 JUSTICE KAGAN: But then it seems to me, 3 General Keller, that your -- that what you should be 4 attacking is not DAPA. What you should be attacking is 5 the work authorization regulations that the DHS, or 6 before that the INA, has had for 30 years. Or you 7 should be attacking other connections that DHS is making 8 with respect to these people, but not DAPA itself. 9 MR. KELLER: But Justice Kagan, I think it 10 is DAPA itself that we're challenging. And the reason why is because that is what is transforming unlawful 11 12 conduct into authorized lawful conduct --13 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Where does it say that in 14 DAPA? We have the DAPA directive. I didn't see 15 anything in it about work authorization or about Social 16 Security. MR. KELLER: The DAPA directive does not 17 18 mention Social Security. It does mention work authorization. This is Pet. App. 413a. And I'll quote 19 20 from it: "Deferred action means that for a specified period of time, an individual is permitted to be 21 22 lawfully present in the United States." 23 Now, the Executive wants to take the 24 position that that has no legal consequence. Of course,

25 the OLC memo at JA 76 -- and this has been misquoted in

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1 their reply brief -- said that what's going on with 2 tolerated presence is it is -- the forward action will 3 be toleration of an alien's continued unlawful presence. 4 Now, if it's continued unlawful presence, 5 they're not authorized to be in the country; we don't 6 have to issue driver's license. They can't get deferred 7 action and gun -- sorry -- they can't get Medicare, Social Security, gun possession. 8 9 JUSTICE GINSBURG: You tie the driver's 10 license to work authorization? Let's say somebody is in 11 this deferred status but isn't working. Do they -under Texas law, do they get driver's licenses? 12 13 MR. KELLER: Under Texas law -- and this is 14 our Texas statute -- if someone is authorized to be in 15 the United States, they're eligible for a driver's license. 16 JUSTICE GINSBURG: And it -- it sounds like 17 they don't have to have any work authorization. 18 19 MR. KELLER: That's correct. They need to 20 be authorized to be in the country. 21 But to give some context to how this works, 22 we have to rely on the Federal government immigration 23 classifications. I mean, we determine whether someone 24 is eligible for a driver's license. We run that through the Federal save background system. So we ask the 25

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1 Federal government, is this individual authorized to be 2 in the country? They say yes or no. 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, the government 4 also says you don't have to do that, or maybe you don't 5 have to do that and maybe -- maybe or not they won't sue 6 you. But why don't you go ahead and not give them 7 driver's license? 8 MR. KELLER: Well, I -- I think, as 9 Your Honor had suggested before, that we are in a catch-22 here. Either we have to not incur millions of 10 dollars of financial harm, which -- which is a 11 12 quintessential Article III injury, or we have to change 13 our law and somehow we have to come up with a different 14 background check system. We wouldn't have a uniform 15 policy. 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm sorry. How does 17 somebody get a license in Texas? I know how to do it in New York and Washington, because I lived in both places. 18 19 But I don't know how to do it in Texas. Do you go up, 20 and you do what? 21 MR. KELLER: You -- you would go to a 22 Department of Motor Vehicles. You would show the 23 documentation showing who you are and that you're 24 eligible for a license.

25 Now, in the context of aliens -- and this is

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1 at JA 377 to 382 outlining the process -- then the State 2 verifies that the individual has authorization to be in 3 the country. And that's sort of the Federal --4 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: All right. Now, I do 5 know, because I've experienced it, that lines are very 6 long at DMVs. Sometimes people wait the entire day. 7 And I know that they leave the next day when they 8 haven't gotten to them. And they keep coming back. 9 It's not an ideal situation. Most States, to avoid the 10 frustration, do ramp up, but many States don't. People just keep coming back until their license can be 11 12 processed. 13 So why is it that you have to spend all this 14 money? Why can't you just have your regular process and 15 let people wait on line? MR. KELLER: Well, first of all, under the 16 Federal REAL ID Act, if our State's driver's license 17 recipients want to be able to use that license to get 18 through airport securities, TSA security, there has to 19 20 be integrity in the license for the Federal government. 21 And so we have to check whether an alien is actually --22 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Fine. I was just

23 saying, why do you have to ramp up? This -- I mean, one 24 of the allegations -- I haven't really gone through it 25 carefully enough or assume it's true -- claims that your

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1	affidavit estimating losses in your process is made up
2	basically because A, there's already a built-in profit
3	from profiting licenses of \$25, that you really don't
4	know if you have to add all this personnel, because
5	every five million people are not going to walk into DMV
6	in one day. And that the numbers are going to be much
7	less no matter what, because not everybody not all
8	5 million are going to want licenses to start with.
9	So the question I have is, why do you have
10	to ramp up? Why can't you just let people wait on line?
11	MR. KELLER: Yeah. So this is at JA 377 to
12	382. And the reason is, is because there's going to be
13	a spike in the applicants for driver's licenses, and
14	there are much more to do than simply granting a
15	license. There would have to be processing the
16	paperwork, making other determinations.
17	But in any event, that
18	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But you do that in the
19	speed you do it in. Meaning, I got a temporary piece of
20	paper when I was there, and it took weeks for me to get
21	the regular license while the motor vehicle bureau did
22	what it was going to do as fast or as slow as it wanted
23	to do it.
24	MR. KELLER: Well, and here, we have a
25	factfinding that we would incur these costs. Neither

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1 parties or my friends on the other side of -- said that 2 this clear error. The budget document --3 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: This is a jurisdictional 4 standing question. 5 MR. KELLER: It is a jurisdictional standing 6 question. 7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Do we just accept at face value something that might -- might not be true? 8 9 MR. KELLER: But we have --10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Can we give you standing just on the basis of you saying, I'm going to do this 11 12 when it makes no sense? 13 MR. KELLER: We have a factfinding here. 14 They have not alleged it's clear error. We also have declarations in from Wisconsin and Indiana that have not 15 been challenged. The bottom line is, if we're going to 16 17 have to issue more driver's licenses, it's going to cost 18 more money. 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Breyer. 20 JUSTICE BREYER: I would like to ask a 21 question. 22 The only thing I found here is about money, 23 really. If there's something else that's worrying you, 24 it's -- it's sort of hidden. But money is money; I understand that. And my question is about standing. 25

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1	And this is technical, but it's important to me.
2	Looking at the briefs, awful lot of briefs,
3	senators, both sides. Awful lot of briefs from States,
4	both sides. Members of Congress. Why? Because this
5	has tremendous political valence. Keep that in mind.
6	Now, keeping that in mind, let's go back to
7	two old cases which are scarcely mentioned. But old
8	Supreme Court cases never die
9	(Laughter.)
10	JUSTICE BREYER: unless, luckily, they're
11	overruled. And a few have been. They're submerged like
12	icebergs.
13	(Laughter.)
14	JUSTICE BREYER: The one I'm thinking of is
15	Frothingham v. Mellon, Massachusetts v. Mellon. And
16	there, in those cases, the Federal government had given
17	something to some people. There were beneficiaries.
18	Other people wanted to sue because they said that means
19	we're going to have to pay more money. And the Court
20	said, you other people from Massachusetts, I'm sorry
21	Massachusetts lost, but lo and behold, it did.
22	That's just because I'm from Massachusetts.
23	(Laughter.)
24	JUSTICE BREYER: But the point is they lost,
25	because, says the Court, we can't let you just sue on

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1 the basis that you, as a taxpayer, will have to spend 2 more money. Because if we do, taxpayers all over the 3 country will be suing in all kinds of cases, many of 4 which will involve nothing more than political disagreements of all kinds. And before you know it, 5 6 power will be transferred from the President and the 7 Congress, where power belongs, to a group of unelected 8 judges.

9 And for that reason, we say you individuals 10 who will have to pay more money will; cannot just sue on that basis. And as for the State, it cannot represent 11 12 you parens patriae because this is between the Federal 13 government and the citizens. They're the ones who have 14 to pay. And as far as Massachusetts is concerned, 15 again, bringing up to a case that they won, that was 16 their own coastline. And that's not money. That's the 17 physical territory belonging to Massachusetts. And, of course, they have standing to protect that. 18

Now, I want your -- think for a second. I'm finished. You see -- you see my point. And I want to know how you get around that, Frothingham, Massachusetts v. Mellon, that when you give a benefit here, hurt the taxpayer via money over there, he doesn't have the kind of interest that gives him standing.

25 MR. KELLER: First, we're raising financial

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harms from our own State's fisc. That's not a parens patriae. And we're also raising sovereign harms, and that's Massachusetts v. EPA. We have ceded to the Federal government the authority to determine who's lawfully present within the borders of the 26 States. Now --

7 JUSTICE BREYER: Well, sovereign harms, you 8 realize, would follow a fortiori, because if a State 9 cannot sue and its citizens cannot sue to stop the Feds 10 from giving somebody a benefit on the ground that it 11 will cost the State or the individuals more money, 12 surely they cannot sue just by announcing it requires a 13 change in law in general, or because it requires --14 hurts our sovereign interest, for then every case of 15 political disagreement where States disagree would come before the Court. 16

MR. KELLER: Well, but I think a lot of 17 those cases would be taken care of through causation 18 19 requirements, injury-in-fact requirements, and the zone of interest test, for instance, the adjusted gross 20 21 income example and the veterans benefits example that 22 the other side has brought up. I think that all those 23 cases would be screened out through the zone-of-interest 24 test.

25 Here, we put forward over a thousand pages

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1	of evidence into the preliminary injunction record with
2	over a dozen declarations and have factfindings
3	establishing exactly what Arizona v. United States said,
4	which is that the States bear the consequences of
5	illegal immigration.
6	And when we can come to court and show a
7	concrete injury and a policy that is causing that
8	injury, and by enjoying that policy, we wouldn't have to
9	incur either the financial harm or the sovereign harm,
10	that's precisely when
11	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, but that
12	MR. KELLER: you have Article III
13	cases
14	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: that really pits the
15	States against every Federal agency. And any harm,
16	financial harm that indirectly flows from a change in
17	policy would be subject to attack.
18	Let me give you a prime example. Okay?
19	Imagine Texas passed a law forbidding its State pension
20	plan from investing in any financial company whatsoever
21	that the Federal Stability Oversight Council declares
22	systematically important. Too big to fail.
23	Texas reasonably doesn't want to invest
24	money in companies that if they fail are going to tank
25	the economy. Now, let's say the Federal government sets

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1 out a policy memorandum that says, in our discretion, we 2 are not going to declare some insurance firms under a 3 certain size as too big to fail. We just don't think we 4 should. Okay? 5 Why can't the States sue that Federal agency 6 and say the law mandates that you tell us who's too big 7 to fail? MR. KELLER: I don't think States would be 8 9 protected by laws governing which banks are too big to 10 fail, but States absolutely are protected by immigration 11 laws saying who is lawfully present within our borders. 12 And I think -- so that would be -- we did that under the 13 zone of interest test. So even if --14 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: We already said in 15 Arizona v. Whiting that you can't tell the Federal 16 government who to say is legally or not legally present 17 here. You don't have a right to set immigration policy. 18 MR. KELLER: And that's precisely --19 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You're not in the zone 20 of interest of this -- of this -- of the immigration 21 law. 22 MR. KELLER: Oh, we absolutely are, and 23 that's precisely why I a.m. standing here. Because as 24 the Court recognized in Arizona, just because the Federal government pervasively regulates immigration, 25

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1 that doesn't mean that the States don't have a 2 significant interest in who's within their borders. We 3 have an easily identifiable sovereign interest on who's within our borders. However --4 5 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But the State can't 6 remove anyone, and we still go back to the basic 7 problem: 11.3 million people. Congress is not 8 appropriating money to -- to remove more than -- what is 9 it? -- four million of them. 10 So there are these people that are -- who 11 are here to stay no matter what. And you have conceded 12 that the Federal government can say, low priority, 13 here's your card. Not going to deport you unless we 14 change our mind. 15 So the only thing that's involved is the 16 work, and you haven't challenged that separately. 17 You're challenging DAPA. 18 MR. KELLER: And -- and DAPA itself purports to grant not only work authorization, but also transform 19 20 lawful conduct into lawful conduct. 21 JUSTICE GINSBURG: We've already gone 22 through that. We've -- we have agreed that that means 23 tolerated presence. The government has said, take out 24 that word. It was unfortunate that we used it. What we 25 mean is tolerated presence.

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1 MR. KELLER: But it's not just an 2 unfortunate slip. When they're granting deferred-action 3 status, under their regulations, that is lawful 4 presence. So they want you to take out "lawful 5 presence" from the DAPA memo and pretend "lawful 6 presence" isn't in there. But then when you go into the 7 regulations --

8 JUSTICE KAGAN: But then why aren't you 9 challenging the regulations? I mean, I understand what 10 you're saying that DAPA in some sense triggers the regulations, but only because the regulations say what 11 12 they say, that your real challenge is not to DAPA, which 13 is the nonenforcement part of this. Your real challenge 14 is to the regulations, the fact that nonenforcement 15 leads to a certain set of results and yet you're not 16 here challenging those regulations.

MR. KELLER: Well, insofar as you'd conceive of our case of challenging those regulations, it would be challenging them as applied to DAPA, but when Congress --

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The problem is that you haven't exhausted administratively, and we always require you to do that. There isn't an exception, as I understand it, under the APA, for your failure to exhaust your avenues in the agency first.

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1 MR. KELLER: Well -- but this is -- we are 2 challenging DAPA. We are challenging that memo. 3 JUSTICE KAGAN: Can I -- please. Go ahead. MR. KELLER: And when we bring forth that 4 5 suit, which only occurred as of November 20, 2014, just 6 because we're challenging DAPA's granting of deferred 7 action doesn't mean in the four narrow categories that Congress has passed statutes allowing deferred action --8 9 for VAWA self-petitioners, T- and U-visa applicants, and 10 widows and widowers -- that somehow we'd have to also be 11 challenging --12 JUSTICE KAGAN: Do you think this? Suppose 13 that instead of doing DAPA, DHS had decided to go one by 14 one by one and it just -- you know, it sent a notice to 15 each person. Do you think at that point that -- that 16 DHS could also say, and this will include work 17 authorization because of our preexisting regulations? MR. KELLER: Insofar as they were granting 18 19 lawful presence, no. Work authorization, I think at 20 most look, you'd look at, well, has there been 21 congressional acquiescence to this minimal program --22 JUSTICE KAGAN: I quess -- I'm not sure I 23 understood the first part of that because let's just,

24 like, take out the labels. Just -- it notifies a single 25 person, you're low priority. We're not going to deport

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1 you unless we change our minds. And by virtue of 2 preexisting regulations, you now can work on the books. 3 Is that legal? Could -- could DHS do that? 4 MR. KELLER: I don't think there's statutory 5 authorization. There may have been congressional 6 acquiescence to a practice in a -- very small cases 7 that's bridging lawful --8 JUSTICE KAGAN: See, that's interesting 9 because I thought -- and as you said, there's not 10 statutory authorization with respect to that, and I thought your entire argument is that they can't do this, 11 12 except for statutory authorization. And now you're 13 saying, well, in some cases they can do it. 14 MR. KELLER: Well, Justice Kagan, we have 15 multiple arguments. The first is a statutory argument. 16 And our backup argument, which is a response to the 17 Executive's congressional acquiescence argument, is that at most, Congress would have acquiesced to a practice of 18 very small uses that were bridged --19 20 JUSTICE KAGAN: And how about this? How 21 about DHS doesn't do it one by one. How about DHS says, 22 it's senseless to do it one by one. We should use some 23 categories. Here's the category. You've been here for 24 25 years. You're entitled to -- not entitled. You can stay unless we change our minds. 25

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1 So that's the category. So it's a smaller 2 category, but, you know, there's some -- there's a lot 3 of people in that. 4 MR. KELLER: If there was no previous lawful 5 status or an eminent lawful status, there's no way 6 Congress has acquiesced to that. 7 And if I can back up --JUSTICE KAGAN: So wait a minute. So -- so 8 9 that's important. So -- so DHS could not say to all the 10 people who have been here for 25 years and perfectly law 11 abiding, Congress could not say to those, you know, tens 12 of thousands of people, let's say, not millions, tens of 13 thousands, all right, you -- we won't deport you unless we change our minds, and you can work, you can feed your 14 15 families, you can do that. Congress -- DHS could not do 16 that? 17 MR. KELLER: Congress could. DHS does not have statutory authority right now, of carte blanche 18 19 authority to grant lawful --JUSTICE KAGAN: So this has nothing to do 20 with the scope of this policy. This has nothing to do 21 22 with, oh, how many millions of people are in this 23 policy. You're saying even with respect to a much 24 smaller policy of the kind that DHS or its predecessor agencies have done literally every year for the last 25

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1 three decades, that all of that was ultra vires. 2 MR. KELLER: Mr. Chief Justice, my time is 3 up. 4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Please, you may 5 answer the question. 6 MR. KELLER: When we're talking about the scope of the program as opposed to bridging lawful 7 status, the scope goes to, is this a question of deep 8 9 economic significance? It also goes to when the 1987 10 work authorization was justified, the Executive was 11 telling everyone through the administrative process that 12 this was for a minuscule number of people, and it 13 wouldn't affect the labor market. 14 And this also brings to light that here, the Executive didn't even use notice-and-comment in 15 16 promulgating this sweeping -- their theory is that they 17 can grant deferred action where there's not going to be lawful status, that no court can review it, and they 18 didn't even use notice-and-comment procedure. 19 20 That is unprecedented, is a sweeping assertion as Justice Jackson said in Youngstown. "It is 21 22 the duty of the Court to be last, not first to give up 23 the separation of powers." 24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, General. MR. KELLER: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice. 25

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1 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Ms. Murphy. 2 ORAL ARGUMENT OF ERIN E. MURPHY 3 FOR UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AS AMICUS CURIAE, SUPPORTING THE RESPONDENTS 4 5 MS. MURPHY: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it 6 please the Court: 7 Three years ago the Executive asked Congress 8 to enact legislation that would have given it the power 9 to authorize most of the people that are living in this country unlawfully to stay, work, and receive benefits, 10 11 and Congress declined. 12 Now the Executive comes before this Court 13 with the extraordinary claim that it has had the power 14 to achieve the same --15 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Excuse me. Was that 16 really all -- was that part of a package for a pathway 17 to citizenship? MS. MURPHY: It was not a pathway to 18 19 citizenship. It was a pathway to lawful presence in the 20 country that would have allowed individuals to have a 21 legal status, to remain in this country, and Congress 22 has not created a legal status for the category of 23 individuals covered by DAPA. 24 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: That's correct. Why do you think this is a legal status in the way that that 25

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bill imagines?

2 MS. MURPHY: It is a legal status because 3 under the agency's own regulations, it is a status that 4 has consequences. And I would point you in particular 5 to 8 C.F.R. 1.3. This is the statute that defines the 6 term "lawfully present." Under that statute, if you are 7 in deferred-action status, you are lawfully present and eligible for benefits. 8 9 Now that statute goes on to say if you are 10 just an individual as to whom DHS has declined to pursue removal proceedings, you are not lawfully present. So 11 12 whether you are in deferred-action status makes a 13 difference under the agency's own regulations. It's 14 that affirmative act of not just forbearing and making 15 the decision not to remove somebody, but putting them 16 into deferred-action status that triggers the availability of work authorization and eligibility to 17 18 receive benefits. 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So why don't we just 20 cross -- why don't we just cross out "lawfully present," as the SG has suggested? 21 22 MS. MURPHY: You can't cross it out and 23 achieve what DAPA is supposed to achieve, because what 24 really matters in DAPA is that it is allowing the grant

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of deferred-action status.

25

Whatever the Executive wants to label that, 1 2 under its own regulations, deferred-action status is 3 equated with lawful presence. So if you cross it out of the DAPA memo, it's still part of the regulatory scheme 4 5 that says once we've taken this extra step, not just of 6 deferring the removal of you, but of putting you into 7 this status, that changes your eligibility for work authorization and benefits in this country. And once 8 9 the Executive is doing that, we are far outside the notion of mere enforcement discretion. 10

JUSTICE GINSBURG: But you would agree with the clause that says low priority, that -- that -nothing about work authorization, nothing about Social Security, if you are low priority, which means we'll probably never get to you because Congress hasn't given us the money to remove you.

17 MS. MURPHY: Well, we would not necessarily concede that you could actually grant people cards that 18 say we're not going to enforce the law as to you. But 19 20 that's all not at issue in this case, because what the Executive wants to do is something much more than that. 21 22 If all they wanted to do was say we're not 23 going to enforce as to you, the only memo they would 24 have issued is the Enforcement Priorities Memo, because in order to qualify for DAPA, you have to already not be 25

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an enforcement priority under the Enforcement Priorities
 Memorandum.

What the Executive wanted to accomplish was something more: To say not only are you not an enforcement priority, but we want you to be eligible to work and to receive benefits. And the way that we do that is by taking this affirmative act of converting you into a status that, under our own regulation, changes your eligibility --

10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, we'll hear in 11 a second --

JUSTICE KENNEDY: Why wouldn't the appropriate way for Texas to proceed have been to challenge the regulation under the APA -- I think it's Section 553 -- and then if there were concern about notice-and-comment taking too long, asking for a preliminary injunction?

MS. MURPHY: I -- I don't think that's the way that it actually makes sense for this to proceed, because there's nothing inherently problematic about a regulation that ties deferred-action status to work authorization.

23 Congress has passed multiple statutes --24 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, but the point -- the 25 point of the suit, I guess -- I'm not going to tell

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people how to design their suit -- the point of the suit would be the -- the areas of discretion have been so vastly changed that the regulation now -- now has been -- has been superseded.

5 MS. MURPHY: And I don't mean to suggest 6 that that's not a way you could challenge. But I don't think it's the way you have to challenge this, because 7 8 to me, the real problem is not the linking of 9 deferred-action status and work authorization, it's the 10 abuse of deferred-action status. That's not a power 11 that includes the power to grant deferred action status 12 to individuals who are on -- on a class-based program --13 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Then you disagree with 14 General Keller, because I think he did say -- came up a 15 few times, it's in his brief -- you could give an ID 16 card to these people saying low priority -- the whole 17 category of people, give them that. But you can't give them work authorization or Social Security. 18

MS. MURPHY: What I would say is we would have concerns if this case were challenging just the Enforcement Priorities Memorandum, and we would have the same concerns if you had that and invited people in and gave them an enforcement priority card.

That's not what this case is challenging.So ultimately, whether the House has concerns about the

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1 Enforcement Priorities Memorandum is really beside the 2 point here, because what this case is challenging is the 3 DAPA memorandum that goes beyond the mere enforcement discretion --4 5 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So can we -- can we take 6 it -- break it down? 7 MS. MURPHY: Sure. 8 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Are you arguing that the 9 Executive does not have the power to defer -- to defer action of removal against this class of aliens? 10 11 MS. MURPHY: It all depends by what you mean by "defer action." 12 13 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I just said deferred 14 action, but they're not --MS. MURPHY: Well, I can't answer the 15 16 question unless I understand whether you're talking 17 about mere forbearance or putting them into 18 deferred-action status. 19 We don't believe the Executive has the power 20 to put this class of individuals into deferred-action status. First of all, there's plainly no statutory 21 22 authority to do so. But even if you get into the world 23 of their congressional acquiescence theory, the types of 24 deferred-action status programs that existed in the past are fundamentally different, both in kind and in scope, 25

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1 from this one.

2	Before 1997, you didn't even have
3	class-based deferred-action programs. All of the
4	programs they're talking about pre-1997 are exercises of
5	different powers, powers pursuant to statutes that
6	existed at the time, such as the voluntary departure
7	statute that no longer is a path for Executive
8	JUSTICE BREYER: Can I can I ask you
9	this, then? Because you're an amicus; you're not a
10	party. It's Texas who's the party, and they've made
11	their objections.
12	But suppose we played suppose I picked up
13	your thought and also coupled it with what the SG said,
14	cross out the words that say "special status." And
15	suppose that would it work to say, look, the question is
16	whether Texas has standing to complain about simply the
17	change in priorities for action. We don't know yet if
18	that affects driver's licenses, or could, or could
19	affect benefits, or will. But should the Administration
20	do so, then they might have a case that they could bring
21	challenging that aspect of the situation.
22	All we're saying is that they do not have
23	that case now, given the SG's concession or agreement or

24 desire to strike those words out. Does that work or

25 not, in your opinion?

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1 MS. MURPHY: I'm not sure I completely --2 I'm sorry. 3 JUSTICE BREYER: If I a.m. not clear, I will 4 not repeat it, but you can forget it. 5 MS. MURPHY: No, no. I want to be 6 responsive. I just want to be sure I understand the --7 the question. I mean, I think -- I -- I -- I quess my 8 9 point is that I don't think anything, either in Texas's 10 view of the case, or in our view of the case, that turns on these words "lawful presence" being in the DAPA 11 12 memorandum, because what matters is the DAPA memorandum, 13 as it says, is designed to make it a path for 14 individuals to be eligible for work authorization, and 15 without DAPA they're not. 16 And it's also a path to make them -- I mean, 17 once they are in deferred-action status, that is why they are considered lawfully present. You're not 18 considered lawfully present just because the Executive 19 20 is not actively pursuing removal proceedings against 21 you. 22 Again, C.F.R. -- 8 C.F.R. 1.3, it 23 specifically says the decision not to pursue a removal 24 proceeding does not render you lawfully present. So it matters. You know, the -- the words that were used 25

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1 here, and the program being created, matters. It's not 2 enough to have mere forbearance. You need this 3 additional step to achieve what the Executive wants to 4 accomplish. 5 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So your position is that 6 in 1989, when George H. W. Bush granted deferred 7 enforced departure for Chinese residents after the 8 Tiananmen Square situation, that he acted illegally? 9 MS. MURPHY: No. Because that program was 10 justified on a different power than the power here. It was deferred -- that -- the deferred enforced departure 11 12 in Article II --13 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But there was no 14 statutory authority for him to do that. 15 MS. MURPHY: It is a power that the 16 Executive has always grounded in Article II foreign affairs power. A nationality, country-based concern 17 18 power. 19 Now, there's currently a statute on the 20 books, the temporary protected status statute, that says it is the exclusive authority through which the -- the 21 22 Executive can grant nationality based, but --23 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: That came after this. 24 MS. MURPHY: Right. And at the time, that

25 statute didn't exist --

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JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: At the time, there was
 no statutory authority.

MS. MURPHY: Whatever was happening before 1990 doesn't tell you very much about what Congress has acquiesced in when Congress passed a statute in 1990 that said these are the circumstances under which you can grant --

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I -- I appreciate that.
9 And that may be what Congress does here. It may come
10 back and say deferred action is limited in this way.
11 But it hasn't yet.

12 So assuming that we have a history of 13 deferred action for categories of people, then what 14 you're really arguing about it -- and you -- and I 15 stopped, or you got interrupted when you were answering 16 me earlier -- why are you -- are you arguing that the 17 1986 regulation, which gives the Attorney General the right to grant work authorizations to individuals who 18 have been provided deferred action, are you arguing 19 20 that's unconstitutional? MS. MURPHY: No. Because there are statutes 21

21 MS. MORPHY: No. Because there are statutes 22 on the books that say deferred action status also comes 23 with work authorization. So, of course --

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Except that the statute says that the -- those people, deferred action, can be

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1 granted under the statute --2 MS. MURPHY: Yes. 3 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- or by the Attorney 4 General. 5 MS. MURPHY: I'm not --6 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The ones if -- you're striking out by the Attorney General? 7 8 MS. MURPHY: I was talking about different 9 statutes, not 1324a(h)(3). I was talking about the 10 statutes that actually refer to deferred action. And 11 they say that the Executive can grant deferred action 12 and work authorization. So there's nothing inherently 13 problematic about a regulation that implements 14 Congress's precise understanding that in the 15 circumstances where the Executive is authorized to grant deferred action --16 17 JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. Murphy, suppose something is not statutorily authorized. Suppose --18 this is a version of the hypothetical that I gave to 19 20 General Keller. Suppose DHS decided to do this one by 21 one by one. And in doing it one by one by one, also 22 said and you're entitled to work on the books. Could --23 could DHS do that? 24 MS. MURPHY: I think it would -- it would

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25

ultimately in that instance start to become a question

1 of scope and a point at which you have a policy that is 2 inconsistent with the use of deferred action status. 3 Because in the past, I mean, there have been this kind 4 of ad hoc de minimis, case-by-case use of deferred 5 action status. 6 JUSTICE KAGAN: Okay. So suppose, then -again, same kind of question that I gave to 7 8 General Keller. Suppose that there was a policy, but it 9 was of much less significance scope. Let's say a policy 10 that said if you've been in the United States for 30 years and you have children here, we're not going to 11 12 deport you unless we decide otherwise, and you're 13 entitled to work on the books. Could DHS do that? MS. MURPHY: No. There is not any 14 15 congressional authority that allows it, and there is no 16 past practice like it. 17 JUSTICE KAGAN: But this is very significant, right? No past practice like it? I 18 19 mean --20 MS. MURPHY: There's not any past practice. 21 JUSTICE KAGAN: What was that family --22 MS. MURPHY: That was not a --23 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- policy -- fairness? 24 MS. MURPHY: -- voluntary departure. There was a statute on the books at the time that permitted 25

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1 extended voluntary departure. You no longer can do 2 that. There is no past deferred action program that was 3 for a category of individuals that had no path to loss 4 of status.

JUSTICE KAGAN: So, but this is important. Because you're -- you're basically saying that DHS, going forward, any administration cannot have any kind of policy, even if it's limited, much more limited than this kind of policy is that allows undocumented aliens to work.

MS. MURPHY: Congress has passed a statute that says if you are living in this country without legal authority, you cannot work. That's Congress's policy judgment in 1324a.

15 JUSTICE KAGAN: That's --

MS. MURPHY: You may disagree with --JUSTICE KAGAN: Yeah, yeah, yeah. I understand the point. All, I guess, I'm just saying is this would be an enormous change in practice.

MS. MURPHY: Not at all, Your Honor, because the past practices, there are none. They have not pointed to a single deferred action program that granted it to a class of individuals who had no lawful path to status in this country.

25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Is that true of all other

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1 deferred actions mentioned in the Appendix, the one that 2 the Congressional Research Service did? MS. MURPHY: Yes. Most of those are not 3 4 deferred action programs. They're extended voluntary --5 JUSTICE GINSBURG: I mean, they are 6 different. MS. MURPHY: There's really -- there's only 7 8 about four deferred action programs that were 9 class-based. Those all were path to lawful status. 10 U visas, T visas, people who held F1 visas during 11 Hurricane Katrina. 12 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel. 13 Five minutes, General Verrilli. 14 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF GENERAL DONALD B. VERRILLI, JR. ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS 15 16 GENERAL VERRILLI: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice. 17 First, on standing, I would note that they 18 have no answer to our redressability point. You didn't 19 20 hear one today. They don't have one. Second, even if you think they got over the 21 22 Article III hurdle, there's just no way that this 23 license cost injury constitutes something within the 24 zone of interest in any provision within the APA, and they haven't tried to establish that. 25

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1 And then third with respect to standing, I 2 think Justice Breyer's point about the analogy between 3 the kind of theory that they are advocating here and 4 taxpayer standing and parens patriae is dead on correct. 5 This would invite exactly the same kind of flood of 6 litigation that you have always said Article III is 7 designed to prevent, and if you want proof of that, it already exists. Texas is already using this theory to 8 9 sue the United States based on the resettlement of Syrian refugees in Texas, and that will just be the 10 11 beginning.

12 Now, Justice Alito, you raised a couple of 13 points I want to get to with some specifics. You asked 14 about whether an employee with a deferred action work authorization could sue if an employer refused to hire. 15 16 I would direct Your Honor to 8 U.S.C. 1324b. Actually, Congress has determined the situations in which an 17 employee -- well, with -- an alien with work 18 19 authorization has a discrimination claim and when the employee doesn't. That statute says if you're a lawful 20 public resident, you do. Deferred action is on the side 21 22 where you don't. 23 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, I was asking about

24 Section 1981.

25 GENERAL VERRILLI: Well, but I think that if

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1 you have a -- you'd have a hard time making that claim 2 given that Congress has made that kind of a judgment. 3 Now, with respect to another point 4 Your Honor made --5 JUSTICE ALITO: So your position is that --6 that there could not be a suit under 1981. 7 GENERAL VERRILLI: What I'm saying is that 8 Congress made a judgment there that -- that bears very 9 directly on it. 10 But now, with respect to another point that Your Honor raised about specific statutory references to 11 12 lawful presence, my friends on the other side made a 13 huge deal about this, in particular 8 C.F.R. 1.3, which 14 I think they cite seven or eight times. 15 I urge you to go to look at it. I urge you to, in fact, read the rulemaking order that went along 16 with it from -- from 1996. What you'll -- you'll see 17 what it says, that it applies to one thing and one thing 18 only. That's the accrual of Social Security benefits 19 20 under Section 1611(b). And the rulemaking order -- and we quoted this in our reply brief -- specifically says 21 22 that although we're counting deferred action as lawful 23 presence for the purpose of accruing Social Security 24 benefits for the reason that if you can work lawfully, you ought to be able to accrue benefits. This does not 25

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confer any lawful status under the immigration laws. It
 specifically says that.

3 And so we can argue about whether the 4 Executive has the authority to consider people with 5 deferred action as lawfully present in that narrow 6 sense. We think we're right. Maybe they're right, but 7 that is the tail on the dog here. That's not --JUSTICE ALITO: Well, if you -- if the 8 9 phrase "lawful presence" were stricken from the 10 Guidance, would you take the position that DAPA beneficiaries are not lawfully present for purposes of 11 12 -- under certain statutes that use that phrase for the re-entry bar, for eligibility for Federal benefits? 13 14 GENERAL VERRILLI: It's -- the only Federal 15 benefit is Social Security. 16 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, would you say they 17 were lawfully present for those two statutory purposes? 18 GENERAL VERRILLI: No. There are regulations that say that they are, but we -- and we can 19 20 fight about that. But that doesn't -- but that -- as I 21 said, that is the tail on the dog. 22 Now, if I could go to the merits. 23 Repeatedly, you've heard that the Family Fairness policy 24 was pursuant to statutory authorization. That's just flat wrong. There's a D.C. Circuit case, and you can 25

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1 read Judge Silverman's opinion in that case that we cite 2 at page 49 in our brief which specifically describes it 3 as extra-statutory, which is what it was.

4 Now, the other key point, and I think this 5 is really important. Their theory about the scope of 6 who can get work authorization is that either Congress 7 has to specifically say you get work authorization, or 8 Congress has to specifically authorize the Attorney 9 General, now DHS, to get -- to grant -- to decide 10 whether people in this particular category can get work 11 authorization.

12 Forget about deferred action. There are 13 millions of people who get work authorization under 14 existing law now who -- who couldn't get it if -- if 15 that were the proper interpretation of the law. These 16 millions of people are in proceedings for adjustments of 17 status. The hundreds of thousands of people who are in proceedings for cancellation of removal. The hundreds 18 19 of those of people that have parole. None of those 20 people qualify under reading of the statute.

That is why in 1987, when -- when INS had a rulemaking proceeding about this, they rejected it. It would completely and totally upend the administration of the immigration laws, and, frankly, it's a reckless suggestion. And it just -- and -- and they

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1 just never --2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: People who have asylum 3 don't have a pathway to citizenship. GENERAL VERRILLI: Exactly. And there are 4 5 all kinds of statuses that don't qualify as lawful 6 status that people have always been allowed to get work 7 authorization during the period in which -- time where their presence is tolerated. 8 9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: How -- how many people are we talking about with those? 10 11 GENERAL VERRILLI: Millions. Millions. 12 There are --13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: The asylum 14 applications? GENERAL VERRILLI: No, but the adjustment of 15 status, 4.5 million since 2008, and cancellation 16 removal, 325,000 since 2008. Huge numbers. 17 18 Thank you. 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, General. 20 The case is submitted. 21 (Whereupon, at 11:36 a.m., the case in the 22 above-entitled matter was submitted.) 23 24 25

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