SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES CHARLES G. MOORE, ET UX.,) Petitioners,) v.) No. 22-800 UNITED STATES,) Respondent.)

Pages: 1 through 145 Place: Washington, D.C. Date: December 5, 2023

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1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES 2 _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ CHARLES G. MOORE, ET UX.,) 3 Petitioners,) 4) No. 22-800 5 v. 6 UNITED STATES,) 7 Respondent.) 8 9 10 Washington, D.C. 11 Tuesday, December 5, 2023 12 The above-entitled matter came on for 13 14 oral argument before the Supreme Court of the 15 United States at 10:09 a.m. 16 APPEARANCES: 17 18 19 ANDREW M. GROSSMAN, ESQUIRE, Washington, D.C.; on 20 behalf of the Petitioners. 21 GEN. ELIZABETH B. PRELOGAR, Solicitor General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf 22 23 of the Respondent. 24 25

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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 (10:09 a.m.) 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We will -we'll hear argument this morning in Case 22-800, 4 Moore versus United States. 5 6 Counsel. 7 ORAL ARGUMENT OF ANDREW M. GROSSMAN ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS 8 MR. GROSSMAN: Mr. Chief Justice, and 9 10 may it please the Court: 11 The word "income" is not an inkblot. 12 "Income" was understood at the time of the Sixteenth Amendment's adoption to refer to gains 13 14 coming into the taxpayer, like wages, rents, and 15 dividends. Appreciation in the value of a home, 16 a stock investment, or other property is not and 17 never has been taxed as income. The reason is 18 that a gain is not income unless and until it 19 has been realized by the taxpayer. 20 The Court squarely held as much in 21 Eisner versus Macomber just a few years 22 following adoption of the amendment, and the 23 Court's decisions have held that line for a 24 century. 25 That precedent makes easy work of this

1 case. It is undisputed that the Petitioners 2 realized nothing from their stock investment. They were taxed not because they had any income 3 but because, in 2017, they happened to own 4 shares in a corporation carrying retained 5 earnings on its books. 6 7 This is a tax on the ownership of property. It therefore must be apportioned. 8 Dispensing with the need for 9 10 realization sweeps away what the Framers 11 regarded as the essential check on Congress's 12 power to tax property. The government cannot 13 identify a single thing that Congress couldn't 14 tax as income under its position that 15 realization is unnecessary. Without realization, there is no limiting principle. 16 17 Accepting the government's position on 18 income would make a hash of the current law. 19 The Tax Code's gateway definition of "gross income" exerts the full measure of Congress's 20 21 taxing power under the Sixteenth Amendment by 2.2 reaching all income from whatever source derived. 23 24 If the government's position in this 25 case is right, then current law already requires

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| 1 | taxpayers to report and pay tax on appreciation |
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| 2 | in the value of all their assets, on corporate |
| 3 | earnings for any stocks that they own, and on |
| 4 | any paper gains from their contracts and loans. |
| 5 | That's not how the income tax has ever |
| 6 | worked going back to 1913. Again, the reason |
| 7 | the law doesn't work that way is the obvious |
| 8 | one. Unrealized gains are not income. The only |
| 9 | way to make sense of the income tax as it's |
| 10 | existed for a century is to stick with the |
| 11 | original meaning of the Sixteenth Amendment. |
| 12 | The Court should reaffirm that there |
| 13 | is no income without realization. |
| 14 | I welcome the Court's questions. |
| 15 | JUSTICE THOMAS: When you say |
| 16 | "realization," what do you have a definition |
| 17 | for that or an explanation as to exactly what it |
| 18 | is, and and how is it different from, say, |
| 19 | attribution? |
| 20 | MR. GROSSMAN: Thank you, Justice |
| 21 | Thomas. Realization in the main is going to be |
| 22 | receipt, but in other instances, it would be |
| 23 | other types of enjoyment of an economic gain |
| 24 | such that the taxpayer can put that gain to his |
| 25 | or her own uses and benefits. That might be |

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| 1 | forgiveness of a loan or it might be assignment |
|----|--|
| 2 | of income to a third party. |
| 3 | CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, there |
| 4 | certainly is realization here by the |
| 5 | corporation, if not the taxpayers, right? It |
| б | isn't a case like appreciation of property where |
| 7 | nothing has happened. You know, you buy |
| 8 | property, you're holding it for 20 years, you |
| 9 | haven't sold it, nothing has happened. Here, |
| 10 | something has happened, and income has gone to |
| 11 | the corporation, isn't that right? |
| 12 | MR. GROSSMAN: Yes. The corporation |
| 13 | has income, and we we don't dispute that the |
| 14 | corporation realized income over the decade-plus |
| 15 | years that are being taxed by the MRT. But I |
| 16 | I think it really is like the instance of simply |
| 17 | appreciation of property from the point of view |
| 18 | of the shareholders. |
| 19 | The shareholders' interest in the |
| 20 | corporation is solely a capital interest, a |
| 21 | property interest, and so the value of their |
| 22 | capital has increased. It has appreciated. |
| 23 | But, as shareholders, no, they have not realized |
| 24 | any income. |
| 25 | JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So tell me, what's |
| | |

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1 -- why do we permit taxing of individual partners when either state law or their 2 partnership agreement doesn't realize the income 3 to them? In many states, a partner doesn't have 4 personal ownership, doesn't get the value of the 5 6 partnership, yet we've permitted that tax. 7 MR. GROSSMAN: Thank you, Justice 8 Sotomayor. A partnership is a fundamentally different form of organization than a 9 10 corporation. The law has always recognized that 11 a corporation is a person separate from the 12 shareholders in that corporation. And there 13 simply isn't that separate personhood that 14 applies to partnerships. The partnerships are 15 simply a group of people who come together to 16 undertake a business activity, and when they do 17 so, the income that comes in to them is their 18 income directly. That's --19 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So what do you do 20 with Subpart F or Subpart S or all of the other 21 ways in which we have attributed corporate 2.2 income to individuals? 23 MR. GROSSMAN: The actual --24 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You don't 25 challenge -- you don't challenge the

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1 constitutionality of Subpart F. 2 MR. GROSSMAN: That isn't at issue in 3 this case. JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But, in your 4 brief, you don't appear to be challenging it. 5 6 MR. GROSSMAN: We think that Subpart F 7 follows the commonly accepted method that Congress has used to address situations when a 8 9 taxpayer has interposed a corporate structure 10 between themselves and income that is 11 otherwise theirs. It would be --12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, but that's 13 the whole purpose of a corporate structure. 14 People do that all the time, particularly for 15 that purpose. You don't incorporate unless you 16 want the corporate shield. You don't 17 incorporate unless you want the benefits of the 18 corporate protection. 19 So, under your theory, Subpart F, 20 Subpart S -- these are longstanding taxing 21 mechanisms by the government -- your theory would undermine those as well, wouldn't it? 2.2 23 MR. GROSSMAN: I don't think that's 24 right. Subpart F, again, works on simply 25 categories of income on a current basis where

1 those categories of income are properly viewed 2 as being -- and -- and Congress determined are 3 properly viewed as being earned by the shareholders due to the nature of the categories 4 of income that are addressed under the statute. 5 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, it seems --6 7 I'm sorry. Go ahead. 8 JUSTICE BARRETT: I would -- so you concede that Subpart F is constitutional? I 9 10 just want to be sure that I understand your 11 answer. 12 MR. GROSSMAN: We think that the 13 defect with the MRT doesn't really apply to 14 Subpart F. You know, Sub -- the Court has never 15 considered the constitutionality of Subpart F, 16 but, as we take it, we don't think that there's 17 a constitutional issue there. 18 JUSTICE BARRETT: So what is the 19 distinction? Is it just that other parts of 20 Subpart F, to the extent that they tax income, 21 do it on an annual basis and the MRT was a one 2.2 shot that went backwards? 23 MR. GROSSMAN: I think that's part of 24 it. But, again, I think what -- what it really is is that the MR -- is that the MR -- is -- I'm 25

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1 sorry -- is that Subpart F addresses this 2 fundamental income-shifting concept, whereas the 3 MRT doesn't, and that's so in two respects. First of all, Subpart F operates on a 4 current basis while the corporation is subject 5 to the control of the controlling shareholders, 6 7 whereas the MRT takes no account of whether --JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I -- I'm sorry. 8 9 There's no question that you meet the definition 10 of Subpart F. You need in Subpart F at least 10 11 percent of the company's share, and the company 12 has to be owned more than 50 percent by U.S. owners. So it's identical in terms of the 13 14 percentage of ownership or the percentage of 15 shares. 16 MR. GROSSMAN: That's right, but 17 Subpart F, unlike the MRT, aligns the control 18 and the ability to redirect income with the year 19 that it is applicable to. The MRT takes account 20 _ _ 21 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Sounds to me that 22 what you're attacking is only a due process 23 issue of how long the tax is for, not the 24 ability to tax. 25 MR. GROSSMAN: I don't think that's

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1 right for the reason that -- I -- I think 2 whether you owned a particular piece of property on a given date, which is the guestion that the 3 MRT asks, is sort of the sine qua non of a tax 4 on property, whereas Subpart F looks at income 5 6 as it comes in while the controlling shareholder 7 has the ability to redirect that stream of income. 8

JUSTICE BARRETT: But isn't that then 9 just a question of whether it's fair to 10 11 attribute -- fair from a due process point of 12 view, as Justice Sotomayor was saying, whether 13 it's fair to attribute the income generated by 14 KisanKraft to the Moores, which is a distinct 15 question of whether there was income within the meaning of the Sixteenth Amendment, right? 16 17 MR. GROSSMAN: Well, I think it 18 ultimately comes down to a Sixteenth Amendment 19 question for the same reason that the Court thought so in Macomber, which is that a 20 21 shareholder's interest in a corporation, 2.2 including in its income, is a capital interest and therefore a property interest. 23 24 And so, if there is some reason to 25 look beyond that and attribute income to the

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1 shareholder, that would necessarily raise a question of income and why it is that the 2 shareholder isn't being taxed on what would 3 otherwise be a property interest. 4 So I think the Court has always 5 addressed this sort of question as a question of 6 7 income as a -- and that includes, for example, all of the assignment-of-income cases that the 8 9 Court has decided over the years. 10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Can I go back to 11 square -- to first principles? 12 The concept of realization was very well established at the time that the Sixteenth 13 14 Amendment was adopted, but the Amendment does 15 not reference realization. All that the 16 drafters had to do was add the word "realize" 17 after "income" to lay and collect taxes on 18 income realized, but they never used the word 19 "realize." 20 And then I look at the history both before and after the ratification, as far back 21 2.2 as 1864, not so far back, Congress taxed -- from 23 the ratification -- Congress taxed "gains and profits of all companies, whether incorporated 24 25 or partnerships, in" -- "in estimating the

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1 annual gains, profits, or income of any person 2 entitled to the same, whether divided or 3 undivided." In 1913, just eight months after the 4 ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment, 5 6 Congress included undistributed corporate 7 earnings to certain shareholders. Your brief tries to distinguish all 8 9 these things, but I come back to the main point. 10 Both sides can point to congressional actions 11 that taxed some realized income, some -- or 12 didn't unrealize -- didn't tax unrealized 13 income, but we have examples of Congress taxing 14 realized -- unrealized income. 15 Why don't I take it that the plain 16 text of the amendment doesn't make reference to 17 realization? 18 MR. GROSSMAN: I think there are two 19 central features of the text of the amendment that reflect that it does apply only to realized 20 21 gains. 2.2 The first is simply the use of the 23 word "income." I would particularly commend to the Court's attention the amicus brief follow --24 25 filed by the Professors of Law and Linguistics,

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1 which analyzes the use of the word "income" in 2 period text --3 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: As I go back, all of this goes back and forth, because the 4 government has other definitions. We're --5 6 we're -- we're back in square one if what we're 7 doing is weighing historical definitions. MR. GROSSMAN: The weighing in this 8 case, Your Honor, is quite lopsided. 9 The government relies principally on two definitions 10 11 that were -- that were put forward by economists 12 in the years following the amendment's adoption, and -- neither of which reflects the common 13 14 understanding at the time. 15 One of the economists recognized that 16 he was simply espousing his own economic views 17 divorced from any question of law or common 18 understanding, and the second economist 19 recognized that the common understanding of "income" is what we say that it was, a realized 20 21 qain. 2.2 So far as the common understanding of 23 the term was concerned, the -- the only 24 indication that the Court has before it, aside 25 from dictionaries, which, again, lopsidedly

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| 1 | favor our position, is is the corpus |
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| 2 | linguistics analysis of the Professors of Law |
| 3 | and Linguistics, which looks at how the word was |
| 4 | used in everyday language at that time, and it |
| 5 | concludes that unanimously, where it's possible |
| б | to distinguish, "income" meant realized gains. |
| 7 | There's also in the amendment the |
| 8 | language "from whatever source derived." As we |
| 9 | pointed out, "derived" was generally meant to |
| 10 | refer to concepts like receipts. And, indeed, |
| 11 | again, the amicus brief of the Professors of Law |
| 12 | and Linguistics recognize that when income was |
| 13 | described as being derived, it was always used |
| 14 | in that fashion. |
| 15 | JUSTICE KAGAN: I thought that |
| 16 | JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: I guess I'm not |
| 17 | sure go ahead. |
| 18 | JUSTICE KAGAN: Go ahead. |
| 19 | JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Go ahead. |
| 20 | JUSTICE KAGAN: I I thought that |
| 21 | that was just a response to Pollock, which had |
| 22 | distinguished between income on personal |
| 23 | property and other forms of income, and all that |
| 24 | the Sixteenth Amendment authors were were |
| 25 | doing is to say that distinction that Pollock |

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drew, we don't approve of that distinction. 1 2 MR. GROSSMAN: Right. I think that 3 what the Sixteenth Amendment did was remove the necessity to consider whether income came from 4 one source, particularly property, versus other 5 6 types of sources. But, in so doing, it 7 necessarily required as a precedent that the 8 amounts -- that what was being taxed, in fact, 9 be income and not something else. 10 JUSTICE JACKSON: But why should we 11 take the common meaning of "income" rather than 12 the legal meaning given the context that Justice 13 Kagan points out? 14 I mean, if the Sixteenth Amendment was 15 specifically responding to this -- this Court's 16 legal precedent related to the meaning of 17 "income," I guess I'm curious as to why you 18 think that the common meaning of "income" is 19 what we should be focused on when we try to understand what the Sixteenth Amendment meant 20 21 when it used that term. 2.2 MR. GROSSMAN: Well, that's certainly 23 the approach the Court typically takes in 24 addressing questions of original meaning, but 25 that aside, that's what the Court's -- Court's

1 cases have said for Merchants' Bank and Macomber 2 again and again, that -- that the Sixteenth 3 Amendment is to be construed according to its ordinary meaning. 4 And I would note that if the Court 5 6 were to depart from that and say, for example, 7 that personal property was not subject to apportionment, which I take it to be the thrust 8 9 of the -- the questions in this direction, taxes 10 on personal property, that is, that would more 11 -- that would upend pretty much the entire line 12 of the Court's Sixteenth Amendment jurisprudence 13 over the past century --14 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But why? 15 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Are we --16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm sorry. I --17 qo ahead. 18 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: No, go ahead. 19 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: All right. But 20 why? If what we do is to think about a particular tax, which would -- seems to be what 21 2.2 we've been doing for over a hundred years, to see whether that tax is -- is income as 23 understood by attribution or as an excise tax or 24 25 by other principles, we wouldn't have to give --

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1 we would consider each tax on its own form. 2 You're asking us to just announce what realization is out of context. And for the last 3 hundred years, we've been studiously avoiding 4 doing that because we recognize that it's 5 dangerous to do that. To -- to state a -- a 6 7 word like "realization," we then have to come up with a working definition that applies to every 8 9 piece of property and every way in which people 10 gain wealth. It doesn't seem logical to me. 11 MR. GROSSMAN: Respect --12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Why don't you just 13 concentrate on why Congress can't say that in 14 certain situations it's going to ignore the 15 corporate form and attribute to the individual 16 shareholders certain income? That's what it's 17 been doing all along. And, here, it doesn't 18 need realization because Congress has attributed 19 this to the individual owners of the 20 corporation. 21 Respectfully, the Court MR. GROSSMAN: 2.2 has already said in multiple occasions that 23 realization is, in fact, required for there to be income under the Sixteenth Amendment. 24 It's 25 not only Macomber. It's also MacLaughlin versus

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1 Alliance Insurance. It's the Safety Car 2 Heating. 3 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Yes, on certain types of property but not all. 4 MR. GROSSMAN: It's Ivan Allen. 5 6 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But we also said 7 that taxes can -- that partnerships can be taxed 8 individually even when the partners are not 9 receiving the property. 10 We have Subchapter F and S. We have 11 had all sorts of different forms of wealth that 12 we have attributed to individuals rather than to the corporate -- to -- to the legal forms of 13 14 ownership. 15 MR. GROSSMAN: And all of those taxes 16 rely on the principle that the Court expressed 17 in cases like Horst and Banks, which is -- which 18 is that income should be taxed to he who earns it and enjoys its benefits. 19 20 JUSTICE KAGAN: And putting aside, 21 Mr. Grossman, whether there's any realization 22 requirement at all, I mean, there is quite the 23 history in this country of Congress taxing American shareholders on their gains from 24 25 foreign corporations, and you can see why,

1 right? 2 Congress -- the -- the U.S. Government 3 can't tax those foreign corporations directly, and they wanted to make sure that Americans 4 5 didn't kind of stash their money in the foreign 6 corporations, watch their money grow, and never 7 pay taxes on them. So, you -- you know, there's a long 8 century-old history of these kinds of taxes on 9 10 gains from your holdings in a foreign 11 corporation. Why is this any different and why 12 shouldn't we understand that to be quite well 13 settled, that Congress can implement those taxes 14 and enforce those taxes for those purposes? 15 MR. GROSSMAN: The -- the taxes in 16 that area have -- have followed the pattern that 17 I described of simply a taxpayer interposing a 18 corporation between themselves and income that 19 would otherwise be theirs, and those provisions 20 from the beginning --21 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, that's this --2.2 MR. GROSSMAN: Those --23 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- isn't it? 24 MR. GROSSMAN: It isn't. Those 25 provisions from the beginning have typically --

1 JUSTICE KAGAN: These are the same 2 shareholders as in Subpart F. MR. GROSSMAN: The difference is that 3 those provisions have typically addressed things 4 like passive income and related party 5 6 transactions that are properly attributable to, 7 say, a parent corporation. In other words, a parent corporation 8 9 could own an income-generating asset itself, or 10 it could simply shift that into a corporation, 11 into a foreign corporation, and thereby avoid 12 the income. 13 And what the law has recognized is 14 that just as in cases like Horst and Banks, 15 that's effectively an assignment of income and 16 that -- and that it can be attributed to the --17 to the person who -- the parent corporation for that reason because the parent corporation is 18 19 the one that controls the flow of the income as 20 it's coming in. 21 The MRT, by contrast, operates as a 2.2 tax on property. It doesn't take account of any 23 power that the shareholder had over the income as it was coming in the door to the corporation. 24 25 It only takes account of the ownership in 2017.

1 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: That seems to be 2 an argument about timing. In other words, we 3 have realization in this case. The entity realized income. The question then is 4 attribution, and we've long held that Congress 5 6 may attribute the income of the company to the 7 shareholders or the partnership to the partners, and the only real wrinkle, I think, here is that 8 9 it goes back and captures prior years' income. 10 MR. GROSSMAN: I think there are two 11 -- two wrinkles. One is that, with respect to 12 those prior years, the statute doesn't require that the shareholders being taxed had any 13 14 ability to control the disposition of the income 15 in those years. That's a fundamental 16 distinction. 17 The second is that Subpart F --18 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: That's not true 19 for the facts of this case, though, correct? MR. GROSSMAN: It is not true for the 20 facts of this case, but -- but --21 2.2 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But you're saying 23 generally. Yeah. MR. GROSSMAN: Well, I think -- I 24 25 think it just demonstrates that this is a tax on

1 property. In other words, do you own something 2 on a particular date, as opposed to what do you 3 do with the past? Did you have that power in 4 the past? But, second, the provisions --5 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: 6 If it had been 7 taxed year by year, would that have been 8 permissible? MR. GROSSMAN: No, and that's the 9 10 second wrinkle, so to speak. 11 In this -- the -- the MRT is sort --12 is the inverse of what -- of its press -- of its 13 predecessors in the statutes. All the 14 predecessors, like the foreign personal holding 15 company provisions, as well as Subpart F, focus 16 on categories of income. They're susceptible to 17 being reassigned into the corporate form. Congress has never reached so far as 18 19 to tax shareholders of foreign corporations on the active business income of those 20 21 corporations, but --2.2 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, why is --23 why is that different analytically? I mean, this was all part of a big change from a 24 25 worldwide tax system to a territorial tax

1 system, and this is one piece of that, but I 2 guess I'm not sure why the -- which kind of 3 income is at issue matters for the ultimate 4 analysis of whether the attribution is 5 permissible.

Because all of these MR. GROSSMAN: 6 7 attribution schemes going back to the very beginning have focused on effectively the 8 fraudulent or improper availment of the 9 10 corporate form to avoid income, and they've 11 always done that historically by focusing on 12 particular categories of income that are 13 susceptible to that type of abuse.

14 Congress took that to the max as it 15 amended Subpart F over the years to capture more 16 and more types of that sort of income avoidance.

17 What's interesting is that Subpart F 18 says you've captured the field, now let's get 19 everything else, and the -- the "everything else" is the active business income that's 20 21 attributable solely to the foreign corporation's 2.2 own legitimate business activities overseas. 23 And so a -- the shareholder in a foreign corporation stands in no different position with 24 25 respect to that income than a shareholder in,

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1 say, Microsoft or any other corporation. 2 This isn't the type of income that that shareholder would, in the ordinary course 3 of affairs or as a matter of reality, be able to 4 shift around into a corporate form and thereby 5 6 avoid receiving it themselves. 7 I also want to address just the 8 difficulties that the government's 9 interpretation would raise with respect to the 10 current Tax Code. 11 As I noted, the Tax Code already --12 already reaches the full extent of Congress's 13 authority under the Sixteenth Amendment. And if 14 the government is right, therefore, that certain 15 novel categories of income -- of -- of --16 certain novel categories of what had heretofore 17 been regarded as unrealized income or unrealized depreciation were -- were subject to taxation 18 19 under the Sixteenth Amendment, then those would 20 already be subject to taxation under existing 21 law. 2.2 JUSTICE JACKSON: Can I ask you a 23 question about your argument before you go on 24 with the government's? 25 So, if we agree with you that the

1 Sixteenth Amendment's use of income requires 2 realization and that the MRT does not meet the realization requirement -- those are two, I 3 think, different steps of your analysis -- it 4 seems to me that all we've done is demonstrate 5 that the Sixteenth Amendment doesn't justify the 6 7 MRT. Don't you still have to demonstrate 8 that the MRT is a direct tax in order to 9 establish that the Constitution has been 10 11 violated? 12 MR. GROSSMAN: Well, if the MRT is not 13 a tax on income, then I think it stands to 14 reason that it would be a tax on the ownership 15 of shares, because, otherwise, there's --16 JUSTICE JACKSON: Well, the government 17 makes another argument in their -- in their brief. For example, they offer that it could be 18 19 an excise tax. So I guess my point is just any 20 indirect tax I would think just has to be 21 uniform under the Constitution. So it seems 2.2 it's -- as though it's your burden, regardless 23 of this issue about realization, to -- to establish that this tax is a direct tax in order 24 to sustain your constitutional argument. 25

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1 Am I wrong about that? MR. GROSSMAN: We alleged below that 2 3 it was a direct tax. The government filed a motion to dismiss. It argued that it was, in 4 fact, a tax on income. It did not dispute --5 6 JUSTICE JACKSON: So I appreciate that 7 people haven't argued this. But would we then send it back to the Ninth Circuit to determine 8 this issue of whether or not it's a direct tax? 9 10 MR. GROSSMAN: I think --11 JUSTICE JACKSON: Or is it your 12 argument that we can -- we can sustain its constitutionality just because we haven't had 13 14 briefing on this particular aspect of it? 15 MR. GROSSMAN: Well, I -- I think what 16 the Court could do is answer the question 17 presented. As to whether or not there would be 18 anything left for remand, I think it's at the 19 Court's discretion as to whether it wishes to 20 reach the government's excise tax argument. 21 So far as that argument is concerned, 2.2 again, the bare text of the statute operates 23 based solely on ownership of a particular piece 24 of property on a particular date and takes no 25 account of any type of business operations of

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the people whom it's taxing. 1 2 That is the sort of tax that Flint, 3 which I think is the high water mat -- mark of the Court's excise tax jurisprudence, indicates 4 is, in fact, a tax on property and cannot be 5 sustained as an excise tax. So I think the 6 7 Court could very easily make short work of that argument. 8 9 Go -- go -- going to the government's position in regard --10 11 JUSTICE ALITO: Is that argument 12 within the question presented? 13 MR. GROSSMAN: No, Your Honor. 14 JUSTICE ALITO: Was it preserved? 15 MR. GROSSMAN: No, Your Honor. It --16 it was raised for the first time before this 17 Court. 18 So far as the government's position is concerned, I mean, just think about, for 19 20 example, if someone has a contract to sell 21 widgets to a third party in a future year. Ιf 2.2 the price of widgets goes down so that they're 23 less expensive to manufacture or acquire, then 24 necessarily that person has received an economic 25 gain. Under the government's position, that

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1 would be taxable. Thank you. 2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, 3 counsel. Justice Thomas, anything further? 4 JUSTICE THOMAS: Would your case be 5 6 any different or your argument be any stronger 7 if you -- we were talking about real estate 8 rather than owning stocks in a corporation or an 9 interest in a corporation? 10 MR. GROSSMAN: No, Your Honor. Pretty 11 much all of the Court's Sixteenth Amendment 12 cases over the course of the last century have 13 concerned personal property in the form of investments. I think it's well established at 14 15 this time that taxes on personal property --16 JUSTICE THOMAS: Well, actually, what 17 I'm more interested in is not necessarily a distinction between real and personal property 18 19 but rather being invest -- having an investment 20 in a corporate form or partnership where you can 21 actually -- there is an argument that -- that 2.2 the income had been realized by the corporation 23 or income hadn't been realized, as you've heard 24 this morning, by the partnership and whether or 25 not that should then be attributed to the --

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1 those who invest in those -- in those companies, 2 whereas, in real estate, unless there is a transaction, a sale or a lease or something, 3 there's no taxable transaction. 4 So would there be a difference between 5 a stake in a corporation or partnership, as 6 7 opposed to real estate or personal -- other 8 personal property? MR. GROSSMAN: I don't think so. 9 Т mean, the Court has applied the same principles 10 11 across the sweep of its Sixteenth Amendment 12 cases. Pretty much all of the early ones 13 applying the principle that we put forward did 14 involve corporate investments and different 15 types of corporate reorganizations that the 16 government argued resulted in income to the shareholders. 17 18 But the Court applied the same 19 principles in cases like Horst, for -- I'm sorry -- Bruun, for example, that involved real 20 21 property and recognized that in that instance 2.2 there equally had to be realization. Likewise, 23 in Blatts, the Court reached the opposite 24 results in Bruun with -- again, with respect to 25 an improvement made to real property.

1 So we don't think the constitutional 2 principles are any different. I think the only 3 difference perhaps with respect to corporate shares is that the government might have an 4 argument that there is some type of constructive 5 realization under the -- under the statute that 6 7 imposes the tax. JUSTICE THOMAS: But isn't that a --8 9 as a -- just based on the questions this 10 morning, that seemed to be a vulnerability that 11 you would not have with real property, for 12 instance. I don't think it's a 13 MR. GROSSMAN: 14 vulnerability given that the -- given the 15 general principle that's required and given the 16 nature of this tax. I think it would be a more 17 difficult case if this tax were structured in an 18 entirely different fashion that didn't operate 19 in the way that it does, but that's obviously a hypothetical that's not before the Court. 20 21 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Alito? 2.2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: One last question. 23 Does your theory put at risk limited liability 24 companies, closely held corporations, limited 25 partnership corporations? I mean, there's all

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1 sorts of corporate forms that are there. You --2 your definition, I think, would affect the government's ability to tax those individual 3 partners, no? Those individual shareholders. 4 5 MR. GROSSMAN: No, Your Honor. 6 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Why not? 7 MR. GROSSMAN: We -- we don't think that those provisions present any constitutional 8 9 difficulty whatsoever. Again, a corporation is 10 different. The Court's cases have recognized 11 that. 12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: What -- I -- I don't know why. Meaning, whether it's limited 13 14 liability or -- or closely held, it's still a 15 corporation. 16 MR. GROSSMAN: Well, first of all, I 17 mean, you've got -- distinguishing a corporation 18 from partnership, I mean, again, you have the 19 doctrine of corporate personhood that the Court has long understood does make a difference in 20 21 these circumstances. 2.2 But so far as other types of 23 corporations like S corporations are concerned, 24 there is an election that is made by all of the 25 shareholders to those corporations to allow

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1 pass-through taxation. 2 If somebody wants to come to the 3 government and say, I am earning income and that's how I've organized my business and am 4 operating it, I think the government can accept 5 that as a concession. 6 7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: We're going back to whether attribution is legal. Thank you. 8 MR. GROSSMAN: I don't think it's a 9 10 question of attribution, Your Honor. I think 11 it's a question of a concession by the 12 shareholders. 13 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, no, that's 14 exactly the point, which is: Why should they 15 get to choose and not the government where to 16 attribute the income? MR. GROSSMAN: Well --17 18 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Thank you, 19 counsel. 20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Kagan? 21 JUSTICE KAGAN: So, at the risk of a 22 little bit repeating some of the discussion, 23 it -- it seems to me that there are four 24 principal -- there may be others, but there are 25 four principal kinds of taxation that Congress

1 has repeatedly countenanced and that this Court 2 certainly has done nothing to get in the way of 3 that you have to distinguish here, and I just want to make sure I understand your distinctions 4 and whether there's a single distinction that 5 sort of covers all of these or whether each one 6 7 has a different explanation. 8 So here are my four. It's Subpart F, 9 it's S Corporations, it's partnerships, and it's 10 taxing on an accrual basis. So give me why it 11 is that you think we can decide for you without 12 putting any of those kinds of very established 13 taxation schemes at risk. 14 MR. GROSSMAN: At a 10,000-foot level, 15 Your Honor, they all hew to the realization line 16 as it's been developed in the Court's cases and 17 by historical precedent. 18 JUSTICE KAGAN: See, I would have 19 thought that none of them hewed to the realization line. 20 21 MR. GROSSMAN: I -- I think that the 2.2 23 JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, that's why 24 this is my question, I guess. 25 (Laughter.)

| 1 | MR. GROSSMAN: Again, Subpart F uses |
|----|--|
| 2 | that familiar that familiar mechanism of |
| 3 | simply attributing income to the person who |
| 4 | earned it even if they've directed it somewhere |
| 5 | else, and it's long and taxes of that nature |
| 6 | have long been justified on that basis. |
| 7 | S corporations, again, are by election |
| 8 | of the shareholders. If they concede that this |
| 9 | is, in fact, their income and that's how they're |
| 10 | operating their business, I don't think that the |
| 11 | government would have any basis not to take them |
| 12 | at their word should the government choose to do |
| 13 | so. |
| 14 | So far as partnerships are concerned, |
| 15 | again, there's no separate person that sits |
| 16 | above the shareholders of of of a or, |
| 17 | I'm sorry, the partners of a partnership. And |
| 18 | those have always been treated differently going |
| 19 | back to I mean, gosh, going back to the |
| 20 | Dartmouth College case, and and where it |
| 21 | wasn't even new at that point. |
| 22 | But, with respect to income, going |
| 23 | back to Gibbons versus Mahon, which recognized |
| 24 | it as a well-established principle at that point |
| 25 | that corporations are different in that respect |

1 from partnerships, indeed, that was the basis on 2 which Macomber rejected the same -- the same 3 argument.

And then, finally, with respect to accrual, the Court already addressed that issue in the Safety Car Heating & Lighting case, where it held that standard Sixteenth Amendment realization principles -- and -- and it cited, among others, Macomber -- apply to the accrual method of accounting.

11 So, you know, whatever question there 12 might be about that methodology and -- and its 13 constitutional status, I think, at this point, 14 that's been long established and is water under 15 the bridge.

JUSTICE KAGAN: Mm-hmm. And can I go back to Justice Thomas's question, which is your own definition of "realization"? And I'm just going to give you Macomber's, and tell me if you agree with it or disagree with it or think it needs to be modified.

22 Macomber said, That which precedes 23 from the property is severed from the capital, 24 is received or drawn by the recipient, that is, 25 the taxpayer, for his separate use.

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1 Is that your definition too? 2 MR. GROSSMAN: I think subsequent case 3 law has recognized that the separation concept maybe doesn't necessarily apply in every 4 circumstance, although it does apply in the 5 circumstance of distinguishing shareholders 6 7 versus corporations. 8 JUSTICE KAGAN: Yeah. So, for 9 example, in Bruun, we've basically ignored the 10 separation requirement, correct? 11 MR. GROSSMAN: The Court said that it 12 was applicable in the corporate context but not necessarily in other contexts, in that example, 13 14 for example, an improvement that was made to 15 land that was not severable from the land. 16 JUSTICE KAGAN: And that -- that 17 definition really wouldn't be very good to -- to 18 explain Subpart F, is that correct too? MR. GROSSMAN: Well, I think what the 19 20 Court has recognized in subsequent cases is that it's really the concept of realization as 21 22 opposed to, say, actual receipt that is 23 important. 24 I mean, look, it's going to --25 JUSTICE KAGAN: So what you're saying

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1 is basically we've left Macomber behind? 2 MR. GROSSMAN: No. I think the Court's cases through Glenshaw Glass, you know, 3 up through as recently as, say, Indianapolis 4 Power & Light or Banks recognize that there is 5 something more that is need -- that is needed 6 7 than a mere economic gain. JUSTICE KAGAN: No, no, no. I wasn't 8 9 suggesting that we've left entirely behind any 10 concept of realization. I mean, that's a 11 different question, but that we've left the 12 Macomber definition of "realization" behind. 13 MR. GROSSMAN: I don't think -- I -- I 14 think that Macomber's holding in that respect 15 remains good law. I don't think that it's been 16 left behind. 17 Macomber goes on to recognize, for 18 example, regarding corporations that there may 19 be appropriate circumstances for the law to look 20 behind the corporate form to ascertain the true 21 right and actions of the shareholder with 2.2 respect to income. 23 And so I think take -- Macomber taken 24 as a whole does recognize this principle and it used the best language that occurred to the 25

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1 judges in the context of the case to express 2 that, look, in most cases, it's going to be 3 receipts, but in other cases, something else may well qualify. 4 5 JUSTICE KAGAN: Thank you. 6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice 7 Gorsuch? JUSTICE GORSUCH: I think the argument 8 we -- we've kind of heard from the other side 9 involves, okay, if there is a realization 10 11 requirement, it's met here because the 12 corporation realized the income, and then it 13 just becomes a question of attribution of that 14 realized income, and Congress has a free hand 15 there, and the Sixteenth Amendment says nothing. 16 Your response. 17 MR. GROSSMAN: My response is that 18 income is -- I mean, the Court has always looked 19 at questions of income from the point of view of the shareholder. If you point to a Sixteenth 20 21 Amendment case or a case involving gross income 2.2 under -- under the Tax Code, the Court has 23 always looked at the individual circumstances of the shareholder to ascertain whether or not 24 25 that -- that shareholder has actually realized a

1 gain. 2 And so, for example, Indianapolis 3 Power & Light, a 1990 case, the Court looked specifically at the facts regarding certain 4 types of customer security deposits. It didn't 5 look at it as some sort of abstract inquiry 6 7 where things might be assigned and so forth. Ιt sought to address the question as to whether or 8 not that's shareholder income. 9 10 Macomber did exactly the same thing 11 with respect to shareholders of corporations. I 12 think the Court would certainly have to reverse 13 Macomber, which the government has not asked it 14 to do, to get beyond the idea that, you know, to 15 some free-floating notion of income is 16 sufficient for the government to point at 17 something and tax it to a particular individual 18 as their income. 19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: It -- it -- you're 20 saying, if I -- if I can put a fine point on it 21 if I understand it, the question is whether it's 2.2 income to the taxpayer who's being taxed? 23 MR. GROSSMAN: Yes, Your Honor. 24 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. And then I'd 25 like for you to go back to a discussion you had

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with Justice Jackson, and I understand your 1 2 point that the excise argument has been 3 forfeited or perhaps even waived in this case. I just want your thoughts on it 4 generally as an original matter. You know, we 5 6 have the Hylton case from quite a long time ago, 7 carriages were thought perhaps not to be a direct tax. 8 9 Could the government as an original matter call this an excise tax? 10 11 MR. GROSSMAN: I think the answer 12 resoundingly would be no. The whole point of 13 the direct tax clauses was to make it difficult 14 for Congress to levy these types of taxes while 15 still leaving that authority available at -- you 16 know, in times of emergency. 17 And so far as taxes on personal 18 property and things like investments were 19 concerned, that was addressed extensively during the ratification debates of the -- for the 20 Constitution, and it was really -- it was really 21 2.2 one of the primary arguments of the 23 anti-federalists against ratification of the Constitution, was that permitting the 24 25 government -- permitting Congress to levy direct

1 taxes would simply be a step too far and would 2 -- and would allow Congress to destroy --3 destroy the states and reach all the property 4 that was known to all families across the 5 country.

6 So, I mean, that was one of the 7 foremost concerns, and the way the -- the way that the Framers addressed that was to render 8 9 these types of taxes specifically subject to 10 apportionment. I mean, this was addressed and 11 discussed at the Connecticut, the Pennsylvania, 12 and the Virginia ratifying convention by James Madison, by Chief -- Chief Justice Marshall. 13

14 It was a central concern at the time. 15 And as a matter of original meaning, this sort 16 of investment, this sort of property, is 17 something that necessarily was subject -- taxes 18 on it was subject to apportionment.

19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Sorry. One last 20 question returning to my first one. Apologies 21 to shift you about.

If the Court were to hold that the only realization requirement is some realization somewhere along the chain by a corporation antecedent to the taxpayer, what would be the

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1 consequences of a holding like that? 2 MR. GROSSMAN: The consequences would be to open the door to taxation of practically 3 I mean, all property that a person 4 everything. owns is the fruit of income at some point in 5 6 time, whether it might be income, you know, that 7 they received long in the past. I mean, ultimately, all property that 8 we have is made up of flows of income that have 9 then been invested. And so, if all that was 10 11 necessary was some level of income, then 12 Congress could simply point at anything and say, well, at some point, this was income to some 13 14 person at some level and, therefore, can be 15 subject to taxation without apportionment. 16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I suppose we could 17 and maybe would have to draw lines as to how far 18 back in -- in time one can go in assessing that 19 chain of realization. 20 MR. GROSSMAN: That's right. And I don't really understand how the Court would do 21 2.2 that based on the constitutional text. The 23 government's definition of "income" is simply 24 the increase in a person's wealth between two 25 points in time.

1 Well, if the time is set at a person's 2 birth or many decades in the past, that could reach some or potentially all of their property, 3 and I don't really understand what the limiting 4 principle would be. 5 6 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Thank you. 7 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice 8 Kavanauqh? 9 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: In your brief, to distinguish Subpart F and S corps and 10 11 partnerships, you used the phrase "constructive 12 realization," and I would ask if you could define what you mean by "constructive 13 realization." 14 15 MR. GROSSMAN: Sure. We use 16 "constructive realization" as a blanket term to 17 encompass such concepts as constructive 18 realization and assignment of income, and it 19 just generally -- it refers to the general 20 principle espoused in cases like Banks and like 21 Horst that income should be taxed to the person 2.2 who earns it and enjoys its benefits. 23 And Congress, when it has enacted 24 cases relying on that sort of doctrine, you 25 know, has approached it in that nature, in other

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1 words, assessing whether the income at issue is 2 something that in the ordinary course of affairs could be attributed to the person, to -- to the 3 particular taxpayer at issue regarding, say, 4 categories of income or abuse of the corporate 5 6 form and so forth. 7 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Okay. Thank you. CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice 8 9 Barrett? 10 JUSTICE BARRETT: Except there are 11 situations, you know, there are cases in which 12 state law said that partners couldn't have 13 control over the property or pull it out 14 unilaterally and which we've said it's okay for 15 that income to be attributed to the partner. I understand that partnerships are a 16 17 different kind of form because, as an ownership matter, the partners would own it equally, but I 18 19 quess I don't think our cases have established 20 control as the linchpin. Can you kind of point me in the right direction if you disagree? 21 2.2 MR. GROSSMAN: With respect to 23 partnerships, if you accept the view that simply 24 a partnership's income is directly the income of 25 its partners, then restrictions on the use to

which partnerships may put their income, such as distribution -- distributing it in certain circumstances, is no different from a state law preventing an individual from using their own income in some particular fashion, spending it on a particular item that they might wish to purchase.

JUSTICE BARRETT: But I quess I just 8 mean that control -- you know, when we're 9 thinking about how to define "income," I'm just 10 11 questioning whether control can really be the --12 the word to use, as opposed to just some sort of distinction between capital and income, you 13 14 know, the, you know, seed and its fruit, right? 15 I mean, it -- it seems to me that control might 16 qo a little bit too far.

MR. GROSSMAN: I don't -- well, I -control has always been an essential element of income attribution statutes because the general idea has to be that the taxpayer at issue has the ability to redirect that stream of income somewhere else and thereby avoid it and avoid taxes on it.

24 JUSTICE BARRETT: Why isn't that a due 25 process issue? I guess this goes back to

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1 Justice Gorsuch's point about what would the 2 consequences be and we would have to draw lines. You said that means that something that was 3 earned income anywhere along the line ultimately 4 lands in, you know, my bank account and then it 5 can be considered income to me. 6 7 But is that a Sixteenth Amendment problem, or is that a due process problem where 8 we have to draw lines about when it's fair to 9 attribute one person's income to someone else? 10 11 MR. GROSSMAN: I think it can raise 12 issues under both, but the Court has traditionally considered it to be a Sixteenth 13 14 Amendment issue not only in Macomber but in 15 trust cases like Corliss, where, again, the 16 Court considered it a question of did the 17 taxpayer have control over the -- over the --18 its stream of income that he had in that case 19 redirected into a trust for the benefit of his 20 close family members. 21 And -- I mean, that's the way the 2.2 Court has always analyzed it, from the point of 23 view of the taxpayer and whether that taxpayer 24 has actually received income or not. 25 JUSTICE BARRETT: And last questions

| 1 | about Subpart F. I just want to be sure that I |
|----|---|
| 2 | understand your position. |
| 3 | You say that income is about whether |
| 4 | the person has the ability to direct the income |
| 5 | stream. Am I accurately repeating what you said |
| 6 | when it's about attribution in these cases? |
| 7 | MR. GROSSMAN: I think that is a |
| 8 | necessary part of it, yes. |
| 9 | JUSTICE BARRETT: It's a necessary |
| 10 | part of it. And you've also said that Subpart F |
| 11 | corporations in general, of which, you know, |
| 12 | KisanKraft meets the definition, Subpart F |
| 13 | corporations and Subpart F do not pose the same |
| 14 | Sixteenth Amendment problem that you see here, |
| 15 | right? |
| 16 | MR. GROSSMAN: We we think that |
| 17 | oh, you do you mean with respect to the |
| 18 | application of Subpart F aside from the MRT? |
| 19 | JUSTICE BARRETT: Yes. |
| 20 | MR. GROSSMAN: Yes. |
| 21 | JUSTICE BARRETT: Okay. And is that |
| 22 | because kind of going back to your point |
| 23 | about control, is the distinction then between |
| 24 | MRT and the rest of Subpart F this idea that in |
| 25 | the other context, the shareholders have some |

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1 more ability to direct the stream? MR. GROSSMAN: Well, I think it's two 2 3 things. It's not that they have more ability; it's that they have any ability, because, again, 4 under the terms of the statute, the MRT doesn't 5 take account as to whether or not a shareholder 6 7 exercised control while that stream of income was coming in the door. It only focuses on 8 9 ownership in 2017. 10 But also, that degree of control has 11 also been -- has also been combined historically 12 with the question of whether or not the types of 13 income being taxed are those that are susceptible to that sort of abuse such that 14 15 attribution is appropriate. 16 JUSTICE BARRETT: You mean so there's 17 some sort of like fraud overlay to this, like is 18 this really functioning as a tax shelter, as 19 Justice Kagan was pointing out? 20 MR. GROSSMAN: That's how Congress addressed it in the very first --21 2.2 JUSTICE BARRETT: And that's a 23 constitutional requirement? 24 MR. GROSSMAN: I think Congress --25 Congress certainly viewed it that way in the

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| 1 | very first income tax statute. That provision |
|----|---|
| 2 | regarding fraudulent availment of corporations |
| 3 | to avoid income was specifically limited |
| 4 | specifically by many of the chief proponents of |
| 5 | the Sixteenth Amendment to avoid the precise |
| 6 | question that we're addressing the the |
| 7 | precise defect that we're addressing today. |
| 8 | Their view was that you could not |
| 9 | ordinarily attribute corporate income to |
| 10 | shareholders but could do so only in the |
| 11 | instance where there was some sort of fraudulent |
| 12 | abuse of a corporation to avoid income. And |
| 13 | that's |
| 14 | CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice |
| 15 | Jackson? |
| 16 | JUSTICE JACKSON: Yes. I'm interested |
| 17 | in your conversation with Justice Gorsuch about |
| 18 | the sort of original meaning of the direct tax |
| 19 | clause, and I'm trying to understand whether |
| 20 | it's your position that as as an original |
| 21 | |
| | matter, the direct tax clause was interpreted to |
| 22 | matter, the direct tax clause was interpreted to include income and all sorts of things, or was |
| | |
| 22 | include income and all sorts of things, or was |

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1 focused on capitations and taxes on land. Am I 2 wrong about that? 3 MR. GROSSMAN: The Hylton case had three seriatim opinions. Two of them viewed it 4 as a consumption tax regarding conveyance of 5 6 persons. The third of them, by Justice Iredell, 7 adopted the view that, well, if it's difficult to apportion something, then it should not be 8 9 subject to apportionment. 10 JUSTICE JACKSON: What about Justice 11 Patterson's explanation that this was a pretty 12 narrow clause and that it was designed to 13 protect southern states and slavery from federal 14 interference, that that was really what was 15 going on here, and, therefore, when you're 16 looking at direct taxes, you're talking about --17 or direct, yeah, taxes, as opposed to indirect, 18 you're talking about certain kinds of things and 19 that it's not necessarily others, income and 20 that sort of thing? 21 MR. GROSSMAN: Well, I think, as a 2.2 matter of original meaning, that's incorrect. 23 But I would note in the context of that opinion it was dicta. It certainly didn't stand for the 24 25 position of the Court.

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| 1 | JUSTICE JACKSON: Did the Court, until |
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| 2 | Macomber, hold that income was direct? |
| 3 | MR. GROSSMAN: Not with respect so |
| 4 | much to income, Your Honor |
| 5 | JUSTICE JACKSON: Or, I'm sorry, |
| 6 | Pollock is what I'm saying, Pollock. |
| 7 | MR. GROSSMAN: Well, prior I mean, |
| 8 | I think the the case that addressed this |
| 9 | issue prior to Pollock was Springer |
| 10 | JUSTICE JACKSON: Mm-hmm. |
| 11 | MR. GROSSMAN: which did adopt the |
| 12 | narrower interpretation of the direct tax |
| 13 | clauses. |
| 14 | JUSTICE JACKSON: So, up until |
| 15 | Pollock, which was addressed by the Sixteenth |
| 16 | Amendment, we had a very narrow conception of |
| 17 | direct tax? |
| 18 | MR. GROSSMAN: For a 20-year period, |
| 19 | there was. Subsequent to that, as I as I |
| 20 | said, pretty much all of the Court's Sixteenth |
| 21 | Amendment cases over the past century have |
| 22 | concerned taxes on personal property in the form |
| 23 | of investments. So I think the Court would |
| 24 | really have to upend its jurisprudence if it |
| 25 | were to decide at this late date that the direct |

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1 tax clauses ought to be given some other 2 interpretation. 3 JUSTICE JACKSON: All right. Let me ask you about realization, going back to Justice 4 Thomas -- Thomas's very first question, and what 5 the definition is. 6 7 I guess I'm trying to understand 8 whether you think Congress has the authority to define what constitutes realization or not. 9 Is 10 that something you are giving to the Court 11 through constitutional interpretation, or who --12 who gets to decide what the realization line is? MR. GROSSMAN: Well, I think, as an 13 14 initial matter, yes, I mean, Congress does get 15 deference on that. But it actually has to try to do that, which is not what it did in this 16 17 I mean, again, the tax here on its face case. turns on ownership of property on a particular 18 19 date, and it doesn't take into account it would 20 _ _ 21 JUSTICE JACKSON: No, I guess I don't 2.2 understand your answer. If Congress -- could we 23 find that there is realization in this case, 24 that there is realization? Like, who -- who 25 makes the definition of "realization"? Could

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1 the Court determine that there's realization 2 here under a definition that we are 3 appreciating? MR. GROSSMAN: I mean, the government 4 has never argued that there's realization in 5 6 this case. The government has simply presented 7 its alternate -- the other argument that realization is not required. So I think it 8 would be unusual for the Court to reach out and 9 10 decide a question of that import without the 11 government actually having addressed it. 12 JUSTICE JACKSON: But would -- are you asking us to -- maybe I'm -- let me put it this 13 14 way. Are you asking us to adopt a particular 15 definition of "realization" under which your 16 client wins in this case? If we disagree with 17 you about what "realization" means, do you lose? 18 MR. GROSSMAN: We're simply asking the 19 Court to adopt -- to reaffirm the definition 20 that it's applied since nearly the dawn of the Sixteenth Amendment. So I -- I don't think 21 2.2 we're asking --23 JUSTICE JACKSON: Even though the Sixteenth Amendment doesn't have realization in 24 25 it, you're saying that the implied realization

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| 1 | requirement has a definition that you're asking |
|----|---|
| 2 | the Court to adopt? |
| 3 | MR. GROSSMAN: We're simply asking the |
| 4 | Court to say that realization is necessary as |
| 5 | that concept has been espoused in the Court's |
| 6 | decisions over the course of a century. |
| 7 | JUSTICE JACKSON: Thank you. |
| 8 | CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, |
| 9 | counsel. |
| 10 | General Prelogar. |
| 11 | ORAL ARGUMENT OF GEN. ELIZABETH B. PRELOGAR |
| 12 | ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT |
| 13 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: Mr. Chief Justice, |
| 14 | and may it please the Court: |
| 15 | The MRT is firmly grounded in the |
| 16 | Sixteenth Amendment's text and history. The |
| 17 | amendment allows Congress to impose taxes on |
| 18 | incomes. That phrase had a well-established |
| 19 | meaning drawn from numerous preratification |
| 20 | income taxes that Congress enacted before this |
| 21 | Court's decision in Pollock. |
| 22 | Several of those taxes were like the |
| 23 | MRT in that they taxed shareholders on |
| 24 | undistributed corporate earnings, including the |
| 25 | income taxes in 1864, 1865, 1867, and 1870. And |

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| 1 | this Court upheld Congress's power to impose |
|----|---|
| 2 | those taxes in Hubbard. |
| 3 | The Sixteenth Amendment's drafters, |
| 4 | therefore, would have understood taxes on |
| 5 | incomes to include taxes like the MRT. |
| б | That's confirmed by the very first |
| 7 | income tax Congress enacted under the Sixteenth |
| 8 | Amendment. That 1913 law taxed certain |
| 9 | shareholders on their pro rata shares of |
| 10 | undistributed corporate earnings. And the trend |
| 11 | of pass-through taxation has continued |
| 12 | throughout the next century from taxes on |
| 13 | partners to S Corporation shareholders, to |
| 14 | foreign corporation shareholders under |
| 15 | Subpart F. |
| 16 | Against all that history, Petitioners |
| 17 | stake their case on Macomber. But the Court has |
| 18 | limited Macomber to taxes on particular stock |
| 19 | dividends that are not at issue here. If the |
| 20 | Court now extended Macomber's discussion to |
| 21 | invalidate all taxes on undistributed business |
| 22 | earnings, it would cause a sea change in the |
| 23 | operation of the Tax Code and cost several |
| 24 | trillions of dollars in lost tax revenue. |
| 25 | Petitioners say that every other |

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1 provision of the Tax Code could be saved under a 2 theory of constructive realization, but they don't provide a comprehensive definition of that 3 term or explain why it would rescue every 4 provision except the MRT. 5 My friend today said it's a blanket 6 7 term that's defined by the circumstances where you can say that constructive realization 8 9 occurred. But that's simply circular. 10 And by conceding constructive 11 realization, they've acknowledged Congress's 12 power to draw reasonable lines about what counts as income and who can be taxed on it, which is 13 14 exactly what Congress did in the MRT. 15 Finally, the Court doesn't actually 16 need to resolve any fundamental questions in 17 this case about whether the Sixteenth Amendment 18 requires realization. The MRT taxes income that 19 was actually realized by the foreign corporations, and Congress permissibly 20 21 attributed the tax on that realized income to 2.2 U.S. shareholders just as it has done in any 23 number of pass-through taxes throughout our 24 nation's history. The Court could say only that 25 and affirm.

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1 I welcome the Court's questions. 2 JUSTICE THOMAS: When you say "realized," "it has been realized," what do you 3 mean by that? 4 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think that this 5 6 is a paradigmatic case of realization, Justice 7 Thomas, insofar as the thing that's being taxed, the underlying tax base for the MRT, are the 8 9 earnings that actually were -- came into the corporation, the foreign corporation's coffers. 10 11 So the tax base here was the 12 substantial ordinary business income that the 13 foreign corporation generated through its 14 operations in the foreign country and that has 15 to date been subject to tax deferral. 16 That income has never been taxed at 17 the corporate or entity level. Instead, what 18 Congress did in the MRT is enact a pass-through 19 tax that attributed the liability on that actual income that was realized to the U.S. 20 21 shareholders. 2.2 JUSTICE THOMAS: Outside of that 23 context of the MRT, do you think that the -just the -- the increase in value of real 24 25 property could be a taxable event?

1 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So I think that 2 that raises a more difficult question. This presses on the idea of whether you can 3 characterize gains in the form of appreciation 4 as income that's taxable. 5 I think that there's a strong argument 6 that that falls within a definition of "income" 7 that looks to whether there have been economic 8 9 gains over time, and it's important to note that Congress has at various time imposed taxes on 10 11 that kind of appreciation. 12 Some of the Civil War era income tax 13 laws that I pointed to at the beginning of my 14 introduction had appreciation-based taxation for 15 certain property like livestock, and still today 16 there are really important provisions of the Tax 17 Code that effects -- effectively tax individuals 18 on appreciation. For example, the 19 mark-to-market taxes that my friend has conceded 20 are constitutional treat a taxpayer as though 21 there was a realizable event at the end of the 2.2 tax year for certain futures contracts, for 23 certain life insurance holdings, securities dealers holding, that mark the amount of the 24 25 value to the market price even in the absence of

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1 any kind of sale. 2 So I think that there is strong 3 support for the idea that you can tax at least 4 certain forms of --CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well --5 6 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- appreciation. 7 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: In -- in your --CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, if 8 9 you're --10 JUSTICE BARRETT: But --11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- there's 12 strong support -- I mean, you've -- you've buried Macomber, I mean, and that takes away a 13 14 lot of the strong support for a pretty basic 15 proposition that the -- the government can't tax 16 as income to the property owner the appreciation 17 in value of the property. 18 So, I mean, what is left to defend 19 that proposition without Macomber? GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, Mr. Chief 20 21 Justice, I -- I disagree with the suggestion 2.2 that Macomber involved a tax on appreciation. 23 The Court there instead concluded --24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but I 25 mean I know your -- your argument that it's

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| 1 | limited to stock dividends, but it also has been |
|----|--|
| 2 | recognized as the at least in the beginning, |
| 3 | before it certainly narrowed over time, as |
| 4 | standing for the proposition that the government |
| 5 | cannot tax the appreciation in in property. |
| б | And you've taken that off the board in |
| 7 | your presentation today. So I wonder if you |
| 8 | can give us a little more view or assurance in |
| 9 | what's left to defend that proposition once |
| 10 | you've stabbed Macomber. |
| 11 | (Laughter.) |
| 12 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, Mr. Chief |
| 13 | Justice, I want to say that we're invoking this |
| 14 | Court's own precedent about Macomber's scope and |
| 15 | reach. It's the Court itself that said that |
| 16 | Macomber is limited to the particular type of |
| 17 | stock dividend at issue there. And and that |
| 18 | type of stock dividend didn't actually represent |
| 19 | any kind of economic gain to the taxpayer. |
| 20 | In other words, in Macomber, the |
| 21 | taxpayer received additional shares in the |
| 22 | company, but it was a stock split and her shares |
| 23 | were diluted in a commensurate amount so that |
| 24 | the Court said, that from the taxpayer's |
| 25 | perspective, there was no difference in her |

1 ownership stake in the company both before and 2 after the stock --JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, I appreciate --3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: If you wanted 4 to -- if you wanted to defend the proposition 5 6 that the government cannot tax the appreciation 7 in property without -- without any other event of realization, what would you cite given the 8 fact that Macomber is not on the table? 9 10 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, the thing 11 that I would cite if the Court were looking for 12 a limiting principle that takes appreciation off the table at least in certain circumstances 13 14 would be history. 15 I -- I do think that there is a 16 different historical foundation for that type of 17 tax compared to what we have here, which is a 18 pass-through tax on actually realized corporate 19 So I think that the Court could reserve income. 20 judgment on whether there might be principled 21 lines based on the history of that type of tax 2.2 scheme to suggest that it wouldn't be what the 23 Framers of the Sixteenth Amendment had in mind. But, again, I -- I do want to 24 25 emphasize the fundamental distinction between a

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1 tax base that focuses on actually realized income and then attributes it to a different 2 3 taxpayer, which is a prevalent feature of the 4 Tax Code and which involves many of the provisions my friend today --5 6 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: And -- and your --7 your --GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- has conceded are 8 9 _ _ JUSTICE ALITO: One of your strongest 10 11 _ _ 12 GENERAL PRELOGAR: --13 constitutional --14 JUSTICE ALITO: -- one -- one of your -- the arguments that you press most strongly 15 16 and, certainly, it has resonated a lot in the 17 coverage of this case is that the adoption of 18 the Petitioners' arguments would have far-reaching consequences, isn't that correct? 19 20 GENERAL PRELOGAR: That's correct. 21 JUSTICE ALITO: So do you think it is 22 fair then to explore what the consequences of 23 your argument would be? 24 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I am happy to talk 25 about the consequences of our argument, although

1 I -- I want to say at the outset I think that 2 the Court could resolve this case guite 3 narrowly. JUSTICE ALITO: Now the -- the Ninth 4 Circuit held that "The Supreme Court has made 5 clear that realization of income is not a 6 7 constitutional requirement but is instead founded on administrative convenience." 8 9 Is that correct? 10 GENERAL PRELOGAR: The Ninth Circuit 11 was referring to this Court's decision in 12 Cottage Savings, where the Court did say that realization requirements are founded on 13 administrative convenience. 14 15 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, not -- not the 16 question whether that's a correct interpretation 17 of our prior precedents. Is it your position, 18 as I understand you to argue in your brief, that 19 realization is not required? The Sixteenth 20 Amendment simply permits the taxation of income 21 whether realized or not? 2.2 GENERAL PRELOGAR: We certainly think 23 that there is no bright-line realization rule or requirement under the Sixteenth Amendment and 24 25 that Congress is permitted to tax certain forms

1 of unrealized gains. I don't want to suggest that the Court 2 here needs to set out to define "income" for all 3 purposes or to announce any bright-line rules 4 about realization. I think it's sufficient here 5 for the Court to say that you have before you a 6 7 particular type of tax on undistributed corporate earnings that were actually realized 8 9 and to look at the history and tradition that 10 demonstrates that that fits well within 11 Congress's --12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: General -- General 13 14 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- income tax 15 authority. 16 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, what I'm trying 17 to do is to understand the breadth of your 18 argument, just as we need to understand the 19 consequences of -- of Petitioners' argument. 20 So I take it what you've said is that 21 realization is not a requirement. You say that 22 explicitly in your -- in your brief, unless you 23 want to walk back from that. 24 GENERAL PRELOGAR: We think they're 25 wrong to say it always is a requirement.

| 1 | JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: We don't have to |
|----|--|
| 2 | agree with you on that for you to prevail I |
| 3 | think you've said in your opening as well |
| 4 | because, even assuming or leaving open whether |
| 5 | realization is a constitutional requirement, |
| 6 | there was realized income here to the entity, |
| 7 | and then it's attributed to the shareholders in |
| 8 | a manner consistent with how Congress has done |
| 9 | that and this Court has allowed. |
| 10 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: That's correct, |
| 11 | Justice Kavanaugh. We think that here the |
| 12 | constitutional question is actually quite easy |
| 13 | and it doesn't require the Court to consider |
| 14 | some of the foundational questions about the |
| 15 | meaning of the Sixteenth Amendment in other |
| 16 | consequence other contexts because, here, we |
| 17 | have paradigmatic realized income at the entity |
| 18 | level, and this functions just like the |
| 19 | pass-through taxes on partnerships, the taxes on |
| 20 | other types of corporate shareholders, |
| 21 | S Corporation shareholders, and, particularly in |
| 22 | the context of foreign corporations, the tax |
| 23 | under Subpart F of which the MRT is just a part. |
| 24 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: Can General, if I |
| 25 | |

1 JUSTICE ALITO: So your answer is that 2 there need not be realization by the taxpayer; it's sufficient if there's realization by some 3 other entity, correct? 4 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Under the Sixteenth 5 Amendment, that's correct, although there is a 6 7 due process question in that context about the limits on Congress's ability to attribute income 8 9 that was realized by one taxpayer to another 10 taxpayer. 11 JUSTICE ALITO: All right. That --12 the due process question and that's a question 13 of substantive due process. 14 GENERAL PRELOGAR: That's how this 15 Court has analyzed it in cases like Burnet 16 versus Wells, where it was looking at the limits 17 on Congress's ability to make that kind of 18 attribution decision. 19 JUSTICE ALITO: And anything under 20 substantive due process involving an economic regulation like this, the only thing that would 21 need to be shown is that it was rational for 2.2 23 Congress to do what it did? GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. 24 The Court has 25 looked at whether Congress has made an arbitrary

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1 choice, whether it's acted unreasonably. But I 2 think that the Court's precedents reveal that the Court really has looked at whether the 3 taxpayer who owes the tax liability has a 4 relationship to the underlying income. 5 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, if this -- if 6 7 it's a rational basis review, then that's not much, right? So we could say the 30-year 8 9 requirement here is a substantive due process 10 issue, so we don't have to grapple with it here. 11 But, to be honest, we would be saying, 12 you know, unless you can show it was irrational, that would be sufficient. 13 14 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, I want to be 15 precise about the doctrine here. You mentioned 16 the 30-year lookback period. I think that that 17 actually has to do with retroactivity principles 18 under the Due Process Clause, and I think that 19 that's some -- somewhat different than the 20 attribution question that we had been discussing 21 about whether Congress can fairly attribute tax 2.2 liability to one person for income that was 23 earned at the entity level. 24 I recognize that maybe there are some 25 complicated questions out there that could exist

1 in this space, but the important point is that 2 here we have an enormous amount of history and tradition on our side to support the idea that 3 this particular attribution decision falls well 4 within constitutional bounds. 5 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, I -- I -- I 6 7 understand you want to talk about this case, and, ultimately, we have to talk about this 8 9 case, but I just want to understand how far your 10 argument goes, how far does it logically go. 11 So, under your argument, does the 12 Sixteenth Amendment allow the taxation -- it allows the taxation of income, and you define 13 14 income as an increase in -- an economic gain 15 between two points in time. So let's say that somebody graduates 16 17 from school and starts up a little business in his garage, and 20 years later, 30 years later, 18 19 the person is a billionaire. Can Congress --20 under your argument, can Congress tax all of 21 that on the ground that it's income? GENERAL PRELOGAR: So, if that has 2.2 23 already been taxed, as I imagine it would 24 through annual income taxes, then it sounds to 25 me like the hypothetical is actually functioning

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1 as a property tax --2 JUSTICE ALITO: All right. Let me --3 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- insofar as 4 looking --JUSTICE ALITO: -- let me change --5 6 let me change this. 7 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- at the total value of the assets. 8 9 JUSTICE ALITO: The appreciation in 10 stock value over 20 or 30 years, could Congress 11 say we want to reach back and tax all of that? 12 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So I think that's a 13 -- a hard --14 JUSTICE ALITO: That's economic gain 15 between two periods of time. 16 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. I --17 JUSTICE ALITO: Between two points in 18 time. 19 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think that's a 20 harder question, and here's why. I do think 21 that that would fit within an ordinary 22 conception of income as covering economic gain 23 between two points of time and focusing on the increment of gain, but we don't have the same 24 25 tradition to support Congress levying income

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1 taxes in that manner. 2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well --3 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Now the Court might conclude if it was --4 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- General --5 6 General, I'm sorry to interrupt, but on this 7 point, in -- in your brief at least, and I understand your argument is a little bit 8 different here today, but in your brief at 9 least, you confronted the -- the -- the question 10 11 whether Congress could tax millions of Americans 12 who hold small amounts of stock in their 13 retirement investment accounts, and you say yes, 14 and you point to the 19 -- 1864 Civil War laws. 15 And then you say, but that would be 16 administratively unworkable. 17 So, as I understood at least in your 18 brief, the answer to Justice Alito's question, I 19 think, is, yes, that could happen. GENERAL PRELOGAR: So I think this is 20 21 a really important point, Justice Gorsuch, and 2.2 let me clarify that that statement in the brief was referring to the idea of pass-through 23 24 taxation on all large -- or -- or all 25 corporate shareholders.

| 1 | That would function like the MRT. The |
|----|---|
| 2 | basis for the tax would be the corporation's |
| 3 | earnings. And then the shareholders would be |
| 4 | responsible for a pro rata share of the |
| 5 | corporation's earnings. That's a different type |
| б | |
| 7 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: I'm not sure |
| 8 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: of |
| 9 | pass-through tax |
| 10 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: that that |
| 11 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: and I understood |
| 12 | |
| 13 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: I'm not sure |
| 14 | that's clear. I it it seemed to me at |
| 15 | least that the argument was, that you were |
| 16 | dealing with, was the change in value over time |
| 17 | and stock prices increase. Could you tax that |
| 18 | unrealized otherwise what we'd consider |
| 19 | unrealized gain, treat that as a realized gain? |
| 20 | And and the answer is yes because they did |
| 21 | that in 1864 and because, if there's any |
| 22 | limitation, it has to do with administrative |
| 23 | workability. |
| 24 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: In 1864, they were |
| 25 | doing a pass-through tax on the corporate |

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1 earnings, and so the calculation of the tax was not based on the appreciation in the shares but 2 3 rather was based on what the corporation had actually earned as its income. I --4 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. 5 GENERAL PRELOGAR: And I don't want to 6 7 suggest that a tax on appreciation in stock would necessarily be invalid. As I had 8 9 mentioned to Justice Thomas, there are provisions on the books today that my friends 10 11 concede are constitutional. 12 But let me say that to the extent that 13 this question and Justice Alito's question is 14 pressing on the idea that maybe this kind of 15 appreciation should just be beyond the reach of 16 Congress's taxing power --17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: No, I'm -- I'm just 18 asking what the limits of your argument are, and 19 -- and it -- it seems to me there are none. GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, I certainly 20 21 think that Congress has broad taxing power. And 2.2 what I was about to say is that here the 23 relevant question is not whether Congress has 24 the power to tax in the first place. The Court 25 has said Congress has plenary power. It can tax

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1 people just for existing. The question is --2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And if I could --3 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- whether that's a direct tax that has to be apportioned --4 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Sure. 5 6 JUSTICE PRELOGAR: -- or whether it's 7 subject to the rule of uniformity as an indirect 8 tax. 9 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And if I might address what I now perceive to be kind of a 10 11 backup argument, so the first argument, the 12 brief argument, is no realization requirement. Today, I'm hearing, well, even if there is 13 14 realization, there was somewhere-in-the-chain 15 realization, and then Congress can attribute it 16 freely as it wishes. 17 And I -- I understand that argument, 18 but I'm not sure how we fit it with our 19 precedent. If we ditch Macomber, I -- I understand your argument. But let's assume 20 21 Macomber isn't completely misguided, okay? I 2.2 think those were your words, "misguided." I --23 I look at Phellis, I look at Bruun, I look at 24 Horst, and it seems to me at least as I read 25 them that they're all trying to work within

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1 Macomber's framework and talking about is it 2 fair to say that there was realization to the taxpayer, not realization somewhere back in the 3 chain of history and income realized by the 4 corporation or a parent or a subsidiary or 5 6 whomever. 7 And -- just as a matter of precedent now I'm talking, what -- what -- what's mistaken 8 about that? 9 10 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So, in those 11 subsequent cases, I wouldn't say that the Court 12 was mistaken there. It did happen to find a 13 realization on the facts of those particular 14 cases to the --15 JUSTICE GORSUCH: For the taxpayer, 16 right? 17 GENERAL PRELOGAR: For the taxpayer. 18 Of course, they involved different types of tax. 19 None of those cases involved a pass-through tax. 20 And so I think, looking at what is maybe the 21 closest precedent to the situation that we have 2.2 here, I'd point to the Court's decision in 23 Heiner versus Mellon, which considered the 24 propriety of the tax on partners even in a 25 circumstance where they couldn't actually access

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1 the partnership income --2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Sure. 3 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- because state 4 law prohibited a distribution to them. And the 5 Court said --6 JUSTICE GORSUCH: But you haven't 7 made an --GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- that was 8 9 perfectly fine. 10 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- you haven't made 11 an argument that there was realization to this 12 taxpayer, though, have you? 13 GENERAL PRELOGAR: But the whole 14 premise of pass-through taxation --15 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I mean, just -- just -- just answer that --16 17 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yeah. 18 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- before you launch 19 off. You haven't made that argument, right? GENERAL PRELOGAR: We don't think that 20 21 the tax's constitutionality depends on whether 22 these taxpayers get a distribution because this 23 is a pass-through tax just like the other contexts I've been mentioning. And I think that 24 25 there are kind of two ways --

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1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I'll take --2 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- to think about 3 it. JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- I'll take that as 4 5 a yes. (Laughter.) 6 7 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, I was about to say there are two ways to think about it. 8 One is to say that there was a realized income 9 10 at the entity level, and Congress can 11 permissibly attribute that to the taxpayer. 12 Another way to look at it would be to 13 say that the taxpayer has a close enough relationship to that underlying income for 14 15 Congress to permissibly treat it as income to 16 the taxpayer itself. 17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: But we don't have 18 that argument before us. What do we do about 19 that? That argument hasn't been made. 20 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, we certainly 21 intended to make that argument, and I understand 2.2 our briefing to focus on both aspects of this issue. We, of course, joined issue with 23 Petitioners on whether the Sixteenth Amendment 24 25 requires realization because that is a --

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: To the taxpayer or 2 to anybody, and you say no, it doesn't require 3 realization, and now today you're saying maybe it requires realization but not to the taxpayer. 4 The one argument that I'm missing is 5 6 that there was realization here to the taxpayer. 7 That's just not even in the briefs. It's not in the argument today. What do I do about that? 8 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, I think we 9 did say that --10 11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: If you think there 12 is realization to this taxpayer, why didn't -why didn't -- why didn't you make that argument? 13 14 GENERAL PRELOGAR: We are not 15 suggesting that there's anything like strict 16 realization in the sense of the taxpayer having 17 received something in hand. But I don't even 18 understand Petitioners now to be saying that's 19 what's required because --JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, of course --20 21 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- they concede 2.2 that any number of other --23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- not. And -- and our -- our cases in -- in -- in Bruun and Horst 24 25 say that there can be something like a

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1 constructive realization in a partnership 2 situation or a fraud situation or an S Corporation situation. We -- we've been clear 3 about that, that -- that -- that there's some 4 enjoyment that the taxpayer has over that money, 5 some control. He may assign it elsewhere. 6 He 7 may choose to keep it in the S Corp, whatever, but he controls it. 8 9 And so there's some realization under 10 Macomber's framework that's enough. But that 11 argument that this taxpayer had that kind of 12 enjoyment isn't in the briefs before us. 13 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Just --14 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And I'm just 15 wondering what do I do about that. GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, I think we 16 17 did make that argument because we made the point 18 that to the extent the Court goes down the road 19 of recognizing some theory of constructive realization, then the MRT would fit within that 20 21 same framework because Petitioners haven't 2.2 identified any actual distinction between how 23 those other tax contexts operate and how the MRT 24 operates. 25 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Let's -- let's just

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1 say I don't see that argument. Then what do you 2 want me to do? Am I supposed to vacate and remand if -- for -- for consideration of that 3 question? Is it waived? You know, what -- what 4 5 would you have me do? 6 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I -- I certainly 7 think that in our brief we argued that here the 8 taxpayers can properly be held accountable for 9 the -- the corporation's income and that the 10 Court can say that in --11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I got that -- I got 12 that argument, General. 13 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. 14 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I got the argument 15 that either there's no realization or, as a 16 backup, there's realization and fair 17 attribution. But, if I'm working within this 18 Court's precedents, if I don't consider them wholly misguided, okay, if I'm not willing to 19 20 overturn a hundred years' worth of precedent, 21 which you're asking us to do, and -- and the 2.2 question is, is it fair to say this -- this 23 taxpayer constructively or actually realized 24 this income, should I vacate and remand? 25 GENERAL PRELOGAR: No, you should

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| 1 | affirm because, here, we made the argument that |
|----|--|
| 2 | there is the same level of control and exactly |
| 3 | the same relationship as in Subpart F. |
| 4 | So we did make this argument, Justice |
| 5 | Gorsuch. We made the point that, if the Court |
| 6 | is focused on things like control or influence, |
| 7 | that there is no relevant distinction with |
| 8 | Subpart F because this is taxing in precisely |
| 9 | the same way as Subpart F operates. |
| 10 | JUSTICE BARRETT: And, General, what |
| 11 | do you think is the significance of Petitioners' |
| 12 | concession that Subpart F is constitutional to |
| 13 | your point? If any? |
| 14 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think that that |
| 15 | is an incredibly significant concession here |
| 16 | because it demonstrates that even if the Court |
| 17 | were to apply a lens of control or influence, I |
| 18 | think the right word to use would be |
| 19 | relationship to the income, Petitioners have |
| 20 | acknowledged that 10 percent U.S. shareholders |
| 21 | have the requisite level of relationship in |
| 22 | order to properly have income attributed to |
| 23 | them. |
| 24 | Now my friend suggested that there's |
| 25 | some fundamental difference with Subpart F |

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1 because it taxes different types of income. Ι 2 think he said it's income where you can interpose the corporate form. 3 I -- I -- I don't understand that 4 distinction because, of course, the Sixteenth 5 6 Amendment says that Congress can tax all income 7 from whatever source derived. So the Sixteenth Amendment's text by its own terms makes clear 8 that the different forms of income being taxed 9 don't make a relevant constitutional difference. 10 11 And even if you look at it as a 12 factual matter, my friend's argument doesn't 13 withstand scrutiny because he suggested that, 14 for example, all of this income could have been 15 earned by the taxpayer himself. But that 16 doesn't explain many important features of 17 Subpart F, like ensuring risks outside the --18 the country of incorporation for the CFC or 19 doing business in countries that are subject to U.S. sanctions. 20 21 Those are parts of Subpart F income, 2.2 and I don't think that there is a relevant 23 distinction with respect to whether it could be 24 properly attributed to the taxpayer. 25 JUSTICE KAGAN: Justice Gorsuch said

1 you were asking us to overrule a hundred years 2 of our precedent. Sounds bad. Are you? 3 (Laughter.) GENERAL PRELOGAR: I am not asking the 4 Court to overrule any precedent in this case. 5 I'm asking the Court to follow its precedent 6 7 that postdates Macomber and makes clear that the discussion in that case was limited to the 8 9 particular type of stock dividend at issue 10 there. 11 I recognize that there is language in 12 Macomber that seemed to have broader sweep, but this Court itself has already recognized that 13 14 that is not the right way to read the language 15 in --16 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Which precedent --17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: General -- General, 18 if I might, though, I mean, in -- in Macomber, 19 it said realization. You say that's misquided. 20 In Phellis, we said that we were following --21 applying the tests laid down in Macomber. In 2.2 Bruun, we said that -- that -- that it was -- it 23 was following Macomber's understanding of income. And in Horst, it said that -- that we 24 25 direct -- it said much the same thing. I -- I'm

1 not going to bother with the quote. But, in 2 each of those cases at least, it purported to be 3 faithfully following Macomber. 4 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Justice Gorsuch --JUSTICE GORSUCH: Now -- now --5 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- I just --6 7 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- you just disagree 8 with that, I quess. 9 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I disagree with 10 that reading of those cases because I think, if 11 you look at each of the cases you mentioned, the 12 Court did find realization on the particular facts there but using different standards than 13 14 Macomber itself had articulated. 15 Take, for example, Bruun. That was a 16 case where I think you said the Court was --17 said it was faithfully applying its 18 interpretation of income, but -- but the Court 19 in Bruun specifically disavowed the aspect of 20 Macomber that said you have to be able to 21 separate the economic gain from the underlying 22 property. 23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Certainly, it talked about control, but -- but it -- it -- it 24 25 spoke of applying Macomber. Now maybe you --

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1 you think it was deluding itself, but that's how 2 the Court perceived what it was doing. 3 Shouldn't that count for something? GENERAL PRELOGAR: But look at the 4 Court's statements in Griffiths. There, the 5 Court said that Macomber's theoretical bases had 6 7 been undermined, that it had "in effect been limited to the particular type of stock dividend 8 at issue" there and that it didn't have 9 controlling weight even with respect to other 10 11 types of stock dividends --12 JUSTICE KAGAN: So what --13 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- let alone other 14 types of economic gains. 15 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- so what do you 16 understand to be the current state of our 17 precedent? I mean --18 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Yeah. 19 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- at a certain point, 20 you said, well, Macomber was confronting 21 something that that stock dividend had no 2.2 economic consequence whatsoever. And that was 23 true, and that could have been. I mean, Macomber could have been decided in a paragraph 24 25 saying that, but that's not what the Court did.

1 Then, as you say, there are many cases following Macomber which basically leave 2 Macomber's own theory of realization in the 3 dust, but what do you -- what do you take to be 4 the current state of our precedent that we need 5 6 to pay attention to? 7 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think that if this Court had before it another stock dividend 8 case that involved an economically substanceless 9 split, then Macomber would control. That's what 10 Griffiths said. Macomber's limited to that 11 12 particular type of stock dividend. But the Court itself in any number of 13 14 follow-on cases had said that Macomber doesn't 15 have controlling weight outside that context. 16 The Court said in Glenshaw Glass the statements 17 in Macomber were not intended to provide a touchstone for resolving all future gross income 18 19 questions that could arise. 20 So I think, to the extent that that leaves Macomber as a bit of an island unto 21 2.2 itself, that is just the natural effect of this 23 Court's subsequent precedent, and we're asking 24 the Court to follow that precedent here. 25 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: And the precedent

1 most on point for you I think you said is 2 Heiner, right, the partnership case? 3 GENERAL PRELOGAR: That's right. Т 4 think it involved the most analogous tax to the 5 MRT. 6 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: And why --7 explain -- explain why that dictates the result 8 here or strongly supports the result here from 9 your perspective since you -- that's the one 10 you're relying on most, I think. 11 GENERAL PRELOGAR: It strongly 12 supports the result in this case because, in Heiner, the Court confronted a situation where 13 14 partners claimed they could not lawfully be 15 taxed on partnership income on a pass-through 16 basis because state law operated to preclude any 17 distributions of that partnership income to 18 them. So, by definition, under state law, the 19 partners were not going to personally realize 20 that income. State law prohibited the 21 distribution. 2.2 And the Court rejected the claim from 23 the partners and said that it didn't make a difference with respect to the permissibility of 24 25 that pass-through tax from the partnership

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1 entity level to the partners themselves. 2 Now Petitioners have suggested that partnerships can just be distinguished down the 3 line because they say that partnerships have a 4 different legal status than corporations. 5 But it's not like partnerships have an 6 7 innate legal status. Instead, they're creatures of state law, and there are any number of states 8 9 out there that define a partnership as distinct from the underlying partners themselves. 10 11 We also have good case law that 12 governs Subpart F in the lower courts. This has 13 been applied in numerous additional contexts 14 involving pass-through taxation and corporations 15 in particular, and it's not just the modern 16 laws, Justice Kavanaugh, it is all of the 17 history here. 18 For virtually the entirety of this 19 nation's experience with an income tax, there have been laws on the book other than the brief 20 21 period when Pollock governed where Congress has 2.2 taxed corporate income at the shareholder level. That is a classic pass-through tax and it's how 23 24 the MRT operates.

25 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: I -- I agree with

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1 that history and your description of it. I was 2 just isolating the -- the case that's really 3 kind of closest, I think, is Heiner, and I just wanted you to spell that out. 4 JUSTICE BARRETT: Apart from -- Heiner 5 6 7 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: What about the 8 fact -- I'm sorry. JUSTICE BARRETT: Sorry, go ahead. 9 10 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Go ahead. 11 JUSTICE BARRETT: I -- I was just 12 going to ask you, if Heiner is closest on this 13 pass-through point, what's your best federal 14 case upholding a federal tax on appreciation, or 15 do you have one? 16 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So I don't have a 17 case from this Court that upholds a tax on appreciation. I think there are some -- some 18 19 lower court cases that have considered things like accrual accounting or other situations. 20 21 There are fewer taxes that reach appreciation. 2.2 I think the pass-through mechanism is the more 23 common one when we're thinking about gains that 24 aren't realized to the taxpayer himself. But 25 there are, I think, a variety of -- of taxes out

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1 there and have been through history. 2 JUSTICE BARRETT: Like the 3 mark-to-market one you were referencing before? GENERAL PRELOGAR: Exactly. And it's 4 really important to recognize the importance of 5 6 being able to tax in that context. 7 The situation that Congress confronted that prompted it to enact these mark-to-market 8 9 taxes is the fact that taxpayers can often manipulate realization events. 10 11 So, for example, they can enter into 12 offsetting futures contracts that don't really have any economic substance to them but allow 13 14 the taxpayer to hold on to the one that has a 15 gain, to defer taxation, maybe get favorable 16 capital gains rates, and to sell the one that's 17 a loss and thereby immediately have a taxable 18 event. And Congress recognized that that was 19 a -- a loophole in the Tax Code that could enable this kind of -- of abuse. 20 21 JUSTICE BARRETT: So there are taxes 2.2 like the mark-to-market one that tax based on 23 appreciation, but it's fair to say that we would 24 be doing something new if we accepted your 25 argument that income is any kind of economic

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1 gain, appreciation included? 2 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I appreciate the 3 opportunity to clarify because we are not actually asking the Court to define "income" 4 that way. 5 I think, if there is a lesson to be 6 7 drawn from Macomber, it's that there's a real danger in trying to -- to, as an abstract 8 9 matter, define "income" for all purposes or to, 10 you know, as -- as Glenshaw Glass said, to 11 provide a touchstone for all future cases, in 12 part because our experience with the Tax Code is 13 that taxpayers often latch on to those 14 statements and use it as a basis to try to avoid 15 taxation going forward. 16 So I don't think that the Court needs 17 to approach this issue by adopting some global 18 or universal definition of "income." The 19 Internal Revenue Code itself doesn't define "income." Instead, it says that income is all 20 21 income from whatever sources realized and then 2.2 gives some illustrative examples. 23 I don't think my friends are offering the Court a definition of "income" because they 24 25 say income is realized gains or maybe some

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1 category of unrealized gains that you can say 2 are constructively realized. I don't think it's necessary for the Court to actually try to 3 comprehensively define it here. 4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: 5 Thank you, 6 I understood your answer to Justice counsel. 7 Barrett to be the same as the answer that you gave me with respect to unrealized increase in 8 value from one time to another time in real 9 10 property, that you didn't have any authority to 11 support that. 12 GENERAL PRELOGAR: That's right. I'm 13 not pointing to a case from this Court that I think would find that that's taxable. 14 There's 15 also nothing from this Court, other than reading 16 Macomber for all it's worth, that I think would 17 necessarily rule that out. 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: And when you 19 just said that's the lesson of Macomber, you mean that's the lesson of Macomber's demise? 20 21 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes, exactly, that, 2.2 ultimately, I think the Court recognized that 23 those statements which were rendered as an 24 abstract matter and opined on taxes that weren't 25 directly presented there had untenable

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1 consequences and were also profoundly 2 ahistorical. So I think there's a lot of wisdom in 3 following the approach the Court articulated in 4 Griffiths, where the Court said we don't rule on 5 6 the constitutionality of a tax until we find 7 that Congress has actually laid that tax. I think the Court should take each tax as it comes 8 9 for purposes of resolving these questions. 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you. Justice Thomas? 11 Justice Alito? 12 JUSTICE ALITO: General, I still want 13 14 to understand the limits of your argument. I am 15 quite concerned by the potential implications of 16 Petitioners' argument, and you stress that in 17 your brief. You say that if we rule in 18 Petitioners' favor, then large, important pieces 19 of the Tax Code will also logically fall. And I think that's a fair argument. But I think it's 20 21 also a fair argument to do the same thing with 2.2 your position, and I want to understand the 23 limits of your position. 24 Now, coming in, I understood your 25 position to be that realization is not required

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| 1 | and that the Sixteenth Amendment realization |
|----|--|
| 2 | to the taxpayer is not required, and, therefore, |
| 3 | the Sixteenth Amendment allows the taxation of |
| 4 | income. And you seem to define "income" in your |
| 5 | brief as economic gain between two points in |
| 6 | time, and you say it is that those |
| 7 | well-established principles that distinguish |
| 8 | income taxes from property taxes. |
| 9 | So, if that is correct, then what |
| 10 | about the appreciation of holdings in securities |
| 11 | by millions and millions of Americans, holdings |
| 12 | in mutual funds over a period of time without |
| 13 | selling the the shares in those mutual funds? |
| 14 | Can those be taxed under the Sixteenth |
| 15 | Amendment? |
| 16 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think, if |
| 17 | Congress actually enacted a tax like that, and |
| 18 | it never has, that we would likely defend it as |
| 19 | an income tax. But you don't have to agree that |
| 20 | that tax would be valid in order to uphold the |
| 21 | MRT. So, if you think that |
| 22 | JUSTICE ALITO: Well, I understand |
| 23 | that. And in order to rule for Petitioners, we |
| 24 | don't have to say anything about Subpart F or |
| 25 | S Corporations or partnerships or the accrual |

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1 method of taxation. But your answer is that 2 would probably -- you'll at least go that far --3 that would probably be permissible under your interpretation of the Sixteenth Amendment? 4 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think it probably 5 would, but I think the Court could draw lines 6 7 based on history, and if there truly were a widespread tax on all amount of appreciation for 8 9 every taxpayer, that wouldn't look like anything 10 Congress has done before. The Court has 11 sometimes used history like that to draw 12 principled lines. 13 Here, we have exactly the opposite 14 situation where Congress has enacted a tax that 15 looks exactly like any number of pass-through 16 taxes through history. So, here, I think 17 history functions as a rule of inclusion with 18 respect to the propriety of this tax. 19 JUSTICE ALITO: Now, as to the -- the 20 Chief Justice's question, how about the appreciation in value of real property? 21 2.2 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think it would be 23 subject to the same analysis that would fit within a conception of income as economic gain 24 25 between two points in time. But Congress hasn't

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traditionally taxed that, and so perhaps the 1 2 Court, if it were confronted with that situation, would conclude that there is a 3 historical line or limiting principle here. 4 JUSTICE ALITO: So, unless history 5 6 rules that out, I'm not quite sure how 7 Congress's failure to enact a tax in the past brings that outside the Sixteenth Amendment if 8 the tax would otherwise fall within the 9 10 Sixteenth Amendment, but you say that that 11 potentially is also taxable as income under your 12 theory? GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. 13 And I think 14 it's clearly taxable under the Constitution. 15 Again, this is not a question about Congress's 16 power. It's about the mode of taxation and 17 whether to apportion that tax or not. 18 JUSTICE ALITO: Now, if some sort of 19 constructive realization or some test for attribution is required, what is your test? How 20 21 far may Congress go in attributing income to 2.2 someone who has not realized that income in the 23 standard understanding of that term? 24 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I would apply the 25 test the Court used in Burnet versus Wells,

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1 which presents the most closely analogous 2 situation. A taxpayer argued that because he 3 had been the grantor of a trust, he couldn't be held liable for the gains in the trust, it 4 couldn't properly be attributed to him because 5 6 he had no continuing control and wouldn't 7 personally enjoy those gains, which instead went to the beneficiaries. 8

This Court rejected that claim, and 9 what it said is that Congress had not acted 10 11 arbitrarily. In making that attribution 12 decision, it looked at the taxpayer's 13 relationship to the underlying income and 14 concluded that there was good reason to tax the 15 grantor in that circumstance, including to avoid 16 shifting income to lower-income taxpayers.

17 But, if the Court were applying that 18 kind of attribution analysis here, I think the 19 MRT, like many pass-through taxes, is equally constitutional. Here, the income has never been 20 taxed at the entity level, and there are real 21 2.2 complications with trying to tax foreign 23 corporations directly. So, in many respects, 24 these large U.S. shareholders who, by 25 definition, together collectively have a

majority stake in a closely held corporation are
 in many senses the most suitable person or
 entity to tax.

JUSTICE ALITO: Well, have we ever said -- and maybe we should in this case say -that the Sixteenth Amendment applies differently to income or property that is obtained abroad than it does to income or property possessed within the United States?

10 GENERAL PRELOGAR: The Court hasn't 11 previously said to that, but my friend himself 12 suggests that in thinking about these issues, 13 the Court should focus on the potential for tax 14 avoidance or tax abuse.

15 And I think that that concession just 16 underscores the point that when you are using a 17 foreign corporation, it provides a ready vehicle 18 to shelter funds offshore, keep them out of the 19 reach of U.S. taxing authorities, and, thus, 20 complicate efforts to access those funds even 21 when they have a really significant connection, 2.2 as they do here, because these companies are 23 majority owned by U.S. taxpayers.

And it's important to recognize too that this case is not the paradigmatic case of

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1 how the MRT applies. The overwhelming majority 2 of taxpayers subject to this are domestic corporations, often parent companies of wholly 3 owned foreign subsidiaries who have arranged 4 their affairs to be able to keep this money 5 6 offshore, to a period of long tax deferral. But 7 I think that it would be anomalous to suggest that the money is forever out of the reach of 8 9 U.S. taxing authority. 10 JUSTICE ALITO: Now the -- the 11 Petitioners were in on the ground floor with 12 this corporation, but what if they had simply 13 bought into the company the day before the MRT made taxes due? Wouldn't that look an awful lot 14 15 like a tax on capital rather than a tax on 16 income in any sense of the word? 17 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So I have three 18 reactions to that. I think that the underlying nature of what's being taxed, which are the 19 20 realized earnings of the corporation, wouldn't 21 change. I do think that raises a harder 2.2 attribution question because that taxpayer would 23 have less of a direct relationship to the thing that's being taxed, and so maybe someone in that 24 25 situation would have a better as-applied due

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1 process claim. As you mentioned, the Moores 2 themselves aren't in that position. 3 The second thing I would say is that 4 if the Court is interested in exploring this

as-applied due process issue, it's important to 5 note that the MRT is not unique in this regard. 6 7 There are other taxes in other contexts where the Court has recognized that someone can be 8 9 taxed on gain in property that happened before the ownership stake was obtained. That was the 10 11 holding in Taft versus Bowers, where the Court 12 considered this issue with respect to the gift 13 tax. It's also how Subpart F itself can 14 operate. You can buy shares in the controlled 15 foreign corporation and be taxed under Subpart F with respect to earnings that happened before 16 17 you bought your stake.

18 The third point I would make is that 19 as a factual matter, this situation is unlikely 20 to arise, and that's because Congress has enacted other provisions of the code that 21 2.2 largely tie the gains to the person who owned 23 the shares at the relevant time. This is 26 U.S.C. Section 1248, and it taxes gains at the 24 25 time of sale. So, in your hypothetical, in --

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| 1 | in 2017, when the person is buying the the |
|----|--|
| 2 | share in the company, it taxes gains to the |
| 3 | seller as though they were paid out of the |
| 4 | retained corporate earnings. |
| 5 | And then there's a parallel provision |
| б | for the buyer under the MRT, 26 U.S.C. |
| 7 | 965(d)(2)(B), that ensures that the buyer |
| 8 | doesn't have to include that in his income |
| 9 | through a cross-reference to Section 959. |
| 10 | JUSTICE ALITO: All right. One |
| 11 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: So, in those ways, |
| 12 | I think that Congress was trying to attribute |
| 13 | the income to the person |
| 14 | JUSTICE ALITO: Uh-huh. Okay. |
| 15 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: who owned the |
| 16 | shares at the relevant time. |
| 17 | JUSTICE ALITO: Thank you. One one |
| 18 | last subject. I'm sorry to go on so long on |
| 19 | this. Your brief makes an awful lot out of |
| 20 | Collector versus Hubbard, decided in 1871. To |
| 21 | what degree does your argument depend on that? |
| 22 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: Our argument |
| 23 | doesn't depend on Hubbard. You know, |
| 24 | ultimately, we think that what carries the day |
| 25 | here is the overwhelming history that |

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| demonstrates that Congress has long taxed income |
|--|
| at the corporate level to shareholders. |
| Hubbard upheld that exercise of |
| authority, and so I think, if you're looking at |
| the text of the Sixteenth Amendment and what |
| those who drafted it would have in mind, they |
| would have been well aware of this pass-through |
| taxation and of the Hubbard precedent itself |
| JUSTICE ALITO: Do you think that |
| GENERAL PRELOGAR: but I |
| JUSTICE ALITO: do you think |
| that I'm sorry to interrupt. Do you think |
| that Hubbard decided that the tax that was at |
| issue in Hubbard satisfied Article I, Section 2, |
| and Article I, Section 9, which draws a |
| distinction between direct and indirect taxes? |
| Do you think that the Court decided that |
| question in Hubbard? |
| GENERAL PRELOGAR: So Hubbard's |
| discussion of this issue is brief. I don't |
| think that it parsed the constitutional text |
| that way, although it did say that this was |
| within Congress's power to enact. So I |
| understand that to be a constitutional holding, |
| but I acknowledge that it didn't get into the |
| |

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1 specific provisions of the Constitution or their 2 interpretation. 3 JUSTICE ALITO: Do you think it was overruled in Pollock? 4 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So I think that --5 6 I don't think it would be right to say that 7 Pollock was the last word on it, of course, because, even if it was overruled in Pollock, 8 9 the Sixteenth Amendment came along and it 10 self-reversed Pollock. JUSTICE ALITO: Well, do you think 11 12 that the Pollock court understood itself to be 13 overruling Hubbard? 14 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think it's 15 possible that, yes, the Pollock court understood 16 itself to be overruling Hubbard. It was 17 obviously adopting an understanding of what 18 constitutes a direct tax. That was a sharp 19 departure from what had come before. 20 I guess what I would say, Justice 21 Alito, is that it seems to me implausible that 2.2 the drafters of the Sixteenth Amendment, in 23 seeking to overturn Pollock and fully revive 24 Congress's pre-existing income tax authority, 25 would have meant to do so with respect to all

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1 the ways Congress had exercised that authority 2 except for the type of pass-through tax that 3 Hubbard specifically approved. JUSTICE ALITO: Well, I mean, if the 4 Court in Hubbard thought that it was overruling 5 6 Pollock -- Hubbard -- I'm sorry, if the Court in 7 Pollock thought it was overruling Hubbard, what do you make of the fact that it doesn't even 8 mention Hubbard, and, as far as I can tell, 9 10 Hubbard was never cited by the attorneys in that 11 case? 12 And, you know, I looked back at Professor Fiss's volume in the Oliver Wendell 13 14 Holmes Devise of the Supreme Court on what he 15 has to say about Pollock, and he says, "Pollock 16 was a special ceremonial occasion for the Court. 17 The greatest lawyers of the day appeared for 18 both sides." 19 So the greatest lawyers for the day didn't understand that there was Hubbard that 20 had supported -- you know, the -- the -- the --21 2.2 the attorney arguing for the government just 23 didn't realize that they had Hubbard on the book 24 that supported their position? 25 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, maybe they --

1 JUSTICE ALITO: And the Court entirely 2 missed it? 3 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Maybe they missed an opportunity to make a good argument in that 4 case. But I think, ultimately --5 6 (Laughter.) 7 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- the important point is -- is that relying on Pollock and 8 9 trying to parse Pollock versus Hubbard ignores the effect of the Sixteenth Amendment. 10 11 You know, this was -- this was an 12 amendment to the Constitution that was 13 specifically designed to restore a pre-existing 14 power, and the right way to look at how that --15 what that power means is to look at how it had 16 actually been exercised before. 17 JUSTICE ALITO: All right. Thank you. 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice 19 Sotomayor? JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I don't fault the 20 parties for shooting for the stars and -- and --21 22 but I guess the tenor of the questions is that 23 nobody's happy with anybody's definition of anything, okay? 24 25 (Laughter.)

| 1 | JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You started by |
|----|---|
| 2 | suggesting a narrow ruling. I think there are |
| 3 | two ways to narrowly rule. Tell me why one is |
| 4 | better than the other if at all, okay, but, |
| 5 | first, we can say there is a realization |
| 6 | requirement, and, here, it was realized because |
| 7 | the corporation realized it. You have to deal |
| 8 | with Justice Gorsuch's concern that you waive |
| 9 | that argument. I may disagree with him, but |
| 10 | that we can work out among ourselves. |
| 11 | But the bottom line, we could rule |
| 12 | that way, or we could do it the way Justice |
| 13 | Kavanaugh started his question, which is we |
| 14 | assume that there's a realization requirement |
| 15 | and and it was met here. |
| 16 | So which of the two ways should we do |
| 17 | it and and how not and why not? |
| 18 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: It would be |
| 19 | critically important for the Court to do it |
| 20 | through Justice Kavanaugh's approach. That is, |
| 21 | I don't think the Court needs to resolve |
| 22 | anything about whether the Sixteenth Amendment |
| 23 | requires realization. Here, we happen to have |
| 24 | it, and this kind of tax corresponds to |
| 25 | pass-through taxes we've had through history, |

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and that suffices to resolve this case. 1 2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Does that --GENERAL PRELOGAR: We have serious 3 concerns with the Court --4 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Does that -- the 5 6 history is that Congress can attribute that 7 realization? 8 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Correct, that 9 Congress can attribute that realization by the corporation to the shareholders and there are 10 11 taxes that look like that at virtually all 12 points in our nation's history. 13 The reason why I would strongly 14 caution the Court away from adopting a 15 realization requirement is not only that we 16 think that it is inaccurate, profoundly 17 ahistorical, inconsistent with the text of the 18 Sixteenth Amendment, but it would also wreak havoc on the proper operation of the Tax Code. 19 20 I think that there are pass-through taxes that would withstand scrutiny if the Court 21 2.2 affirms the attribution holding, but, as I had 23 mentioned to Justice Barrett, there are a number 24 of critically important provisions of the code 25 that don't actually have that kind of

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1 pass-through mechanism and don't turn on 2 realization at all. That includes the mark-to-market 3 taxes, original issued discount on bonds that 4 drives prices in bond markets and avoids what 5 could otherwise be sheltering of income that 6 7 should be taxable. It includes the expatriation 8 tax when people renounce their United States 9 citizenship. So I think that there are various ways 10 11 in which adopting any form of a realization 12 requirement would have profound practical 13 consequences, and it's unnecessary for the Court 14 to go down that road in light of the serious 15 legal arguments against that reading. 16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Thank you. 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Kagan? 18 JUSTICE KAGAN: And, General Prelogar, 19 just to take you back to the implications of 20 Mr. Grossman's argument, you know, he's made a 21 number of statements in his brief and today as 2.2 well about how he would distinguish this tax 23 from many others, from Subpart F, from 24 S Corporations, from partnerships, from accrual, 25 from you name it. There -- there might be more.

1 What do you worry about and why? 2 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I worry that none 3 of those proposals actually hold up and provide a basis to distinguish the MRT. So, at first, 4 he suggests it has to do with control. But, as 5 6 I had explained to Justice Barrett before, the 7 level of control here is exactly the same as 8 under Subpart F. 9 These are 10 percent shareholders, U.S. shareholders of closely held foreign 10 11 corporations, and so control cannot be the 12 relevant difference. It's also not the 13 difference with respect to partnerships and 14 S Corporation shareholders who might have even a 15 lower than 10 percent stake and nevertheless can 16 have income attributed to them. 17 Then he says maybe the answer is 18 consent, and he points to S Corporations and 19 says that turns on a theory of consent. But I 20 don't think that that works either because, to 21 the extent that there's any kind of realization 2.2 requirement out there in the Sixteenth 23 Amendment, consent couldn't cure that difficulty 24 or give taxpayers a basis to allow Congress to 25 tax things that are outside its authority, and

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1 it doesn't even work as a descriptive matter 2 because the S Corporation shareholders might buy their interest in the company and never 3 personally consent to pass-through taxation, or 4 they might change their minds and remove their 5 6 consent and say I don't want to be taxed on it 7 anymore, but if they have a minority stake in the company, they're stuck with it and continue 8 9 to have pass-through taxation. So I don't think 10 consent works. 11 Then he says maybe it has something to 12 do with the type of income under Subpart F. But, as I've explained before, we don't think 13 14 that the type of income matters under the 15 Sixteenth Amendment. And, here, this is 16 paradigmatic income. This is ordinary business

17 income, substantial earnings realized by the 18 company. And I think it would be a really 19 anomalous result to say this type of income 20 uniquely is exempt from pass-through taxation.

He also suggests that maybe it turns on the potential for abuse and maybe that explains some of these other taxes. But there again, I think that the -- the MRT itself responds to the concern that these domestic

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1 corporations in the main, also some individual 2 shareholders, have been able to keep the money 3 offshore in the closely held foreign corporations and thereby defer taxation on them. 4 So, with respect to every possible 5 6 point of difference, we just don't think it 7 holds up as a descriptive matter, and so there's a real concern we have that if the Court goes 8 down one of these roads and nevertheless 9 10 invalidates the MRT, it's not a principled 11 distinction. 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: And then, with respect 13 to the furthest -- the implications of the furthest reaches of your argument that Justice 14 15 Alito was asking about, and you said with 16 respect to a number of taxes, which we'll 17 probably never see in our lifetimes, but you 18 said, if we did see them, you would probably 19 defend them. 20 I mean, when you say that, that's your 21 job, right? 2.2 (Laughter.) 23 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes, we generally 24 defend the constitutionality of statutes. 25 JUSTICE KAGAN: Yeah. So -- so how

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1 should we think about that set of possibilities? 2 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So I think the important starting point is to recognize that 3 those are hypotheticals, as you mentioned, that 4 are unlikely to ever come to pass. 5 There's a really good reason that 6 7 Congress frequently chooses to tax based on realization, and it's the administrative 8 practicalities of the situation. Otherwise, 9 10 it's complicated to track fluctuations in value 11 over time or to engage in a valuation analysis 12 for assets that might be hard to value. 13 So, in the main, Congress frequently 14 does choose to rely on realization, and I think 15 some of the hypotheticals about taxing all 16 people who have shares or taxing all home 17 appreciation are unlikely ever to come to pass. 18 But I also think that it's important 19 for the Court to not rely on concerns about 20 those types of far-fetched hypotheticals to 21 announce bright-line rules about what the 2.2 Sixteenth Amendment requires that could actually 23 take down critically important provisions of the Tax Code and that respond to real-life concerns 24 25 and very legitimate exercises of the taxing

1 power. 2 In particular, many of the times when 3 Congress has chosen to tax in the absence of realization, it's because taxpayers can abuse 4 5 the rules. They can manipulate realization events, or they can make use of certain 6 7 structures or financial instruments to shield assets from taxation. And any coherent or 8 proper administration of the Tax Code has to be 9 10 able to respond to that kind of taxpayer abuse. 11 JUSTICE KAGAN: Thank you. 12 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice 13 Gorsuch? 14 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Would you agree, 15 General, that when the Court opens a door, 16 Congress tends to walk through it? 17 (Laughter.) 18 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I don't want to 19 overgeneralize on the back-and-forth between the Court and Congress, but -- but, Justice Gorsuch, 20 21 if I am anticipating correctly where you're 22 qoing --23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I'm just -- maybe 24 you are, maybe you aren't. Probably are. You 25 usually are.

1 (Laughter.) JUSTICE GORSUCH: But, if -- if the 2 3 only bar to Congress from enacting a tax on 4 millions of Americans' retirement accounts and 5 mutual funds is administratability, they're 6 pretty clever over there, aren't they? 7 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, Justice Gorsuch, I think that this goes to the point --8 9 JUSTICE GORSUCH: They -- they know 10 how to get around administration concerns pretty 11 well, don't they? 12 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think that there 13 would be good reasons for them to avoid the 14 administrative complexities that would open up 15 _ _ 16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Oh, sure, as a 17 policy matter, but -- but, you know, isn't it --18 isn't it the case that that would open a big 19 door? 20 GENERAL PRELOGAR: They -- that door 21 is already open. Congress can enact that tax. They just --22 23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Right. No, I 24 understand your --25 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- might have to

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1 apportion it. 2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: It's been open 3 forever in your view. GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. 4 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Yeah. Right. 5 GENERAL PRELOGAR: That the 6 7 Constitution gives Congress the power --8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. 9 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- to tax that. JUSTICE GORSUCH: And then, in terms 10 11 of your argument here as well about there's no 12 difference between income and that -- and that kind of -- that -- that unrealized capital gain, 13 14 you're familiar with the, you know, the 1918 tax 15 cases obviously. The government's brief in that 16 case, one of my industrious law clerks pulled 17 it, and there, the government does draw that 18 distinction and says that that kind of capital 19 gain is not income because the individual 20 received, the taxpayer received, nothing, and 21 that's not income. It's a mere gain of or loss 2.2 of capital value. Are you familiar with that? 23 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I'm not sure 24 exactly which brief you're talking about. Do 25 you happen to know the case?

| 1 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: Yeah. It's the 19 |
|----|--|
| 2 | the Solicitor General's brief in the 1918 |
| 3 | income tax cases, and it's pages 32 and 53. |
| 4 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: So I would have to |
| 5 | look at the particular issue that was being |
| 6 | considered there. There are a number of |
| 7 | statutory realization requirements that could |
| 8 | explain those statements. There have also been |
| 9 | a lot of evolution in the the thinking about |
| 10 | these issues following Macomber. |
| 11 | I recognize that the the government |
| 12 | has sometimes taken a broader view of Macomber |
| 13 | itself, for example, but that was in an era when |
| 14 | the Court itself had been unclear about the |
| 15 | reach of Macomber before the Court has sharply |
| 16 | limited it. |
| 17 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. And then I do |
| 18 | think there is room for some narrow ground, as |
| 19 | as Justice Sotomayor suggested. You you |
| 20 | if one thinks that the question is |
| 21 | attribution you call it I think your friend |
| 22 | on the other side would call it is it realized |
| 23 | by the taxpayer. You say is it fairly |
| 24 | attributed to the taxpayer. Potato/potato, I |
| 25 | I sometimes wonder. |

1 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I'm from Idaho, so 2 I -- I love that. 3 JUSTICE GORSUCH: You totally get 4 that. (Laughter.) 5 6 JUSTICE GORSUCH: You totally get what 7 I'm saying. If we're talking about the same 8 thing, you make a pretty persuasive argument that under the MRT, the Moores do have 9 constructive control, that it is fairly 10 11 attributable to them because they're a 10 12 percent stakeholder and some other facts. 13 Again, I may be missing it. I don't 14 see that argument in the brief. Assume --15 assume that argument hasn't yet been made, okay? 16 What do I do? 17 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I agree, Justice 18 Gorsuch, that we haven't made the argument expressly in terms of control because we don't 19 20 think that's the right standard. But we very 21 clearly did make the argument that the MRT is 2.2 constitutional for the very same reasons --23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Sure. 24 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- Petitioners say 25 that the Subpart F regime is constitutional.

| 1 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: I I I |
|----|--|
| 2 | understand I understand that, but but |
| 3 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yeah. |
| 4 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: but just answer |
| 5 | my question. You know, if we if we think |
| б | that there's some constructive realization or |
| 7 | attribution requirement required, but that |
| 8 | hasn't been adjudicated yet, it hasn't been |
| 9 | argued yet, what should I do? |
| 10 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: If you think it |
| 11 | hasn't been argued yet, I, of course, disagree |
| 12 | on the facts |
| 13 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: No, I I |
| 14 | understand. |
| 15 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: but the Court |
| 16 | can affirm on an alternative ground, even one |
| 17 | that the party didn't raise. The Court said |
| 18 | that in Dahda versus United States, for example. |
| 19 | So I think it would be open for the Court to |
| 20 | affirm on that ground because we do think it's a |
| 21 | very strong argument, and I would encourage the |
| 22 | Court to do so. |
| 23 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. And then you |
| 24 | you've argued that attribution is a feature |
| 25 | of due process rather than income under the |

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| 1 | Sixteenth Amendment. But of all of our cases, |
|----|--|
| 2 | whether we're talking about partnerships or you |
| 3 | want to talk about S corps or or Schedule F, |
| 4 | have treated it as whether it's a form of income |
| 5 | to the taxpayer under the Sixteenth Amendment. |
| 6 | That's how we've grounded our analysis so far. |
| 7 | It would seem quite a change to move it over to |
| 8 | due process. Can you can you react to that? |
| 9 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: Sure. So I think, |
| 10 | actually, the Court's central case on |
| 11 | attribution was a due process case. This is |
| 12 | Burnet versus Wells. It involved the grantor of |
| 13 | a trust. And the Court there put it explicitly |
| 14 | in due process terms. |
| 15 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, you mentioned |
| 16 | partnership earlier, and and I went back and |
| 17 | looked at that, and due process, those words |
| 18 | don't you said that's |
| 19 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. |
| 20 | JUSTICE GORSUCH: the best case for |
| 21 | you. Those words just don't appear anywhere |
| 22 | in the in Justice Brandeis's opinion. It's |
| 23 | all about whether it's you can call it fairly |
| 24 | attributable or realized by the partner. |
| 25 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: And I think that |

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1 it's perfectly fine for the Court to look at this through the lens of the Sixteenth Amendment 2 because you get to the same ultimate result, 3 which is that, ultimately, the question then 4 would be can Congress fairly attribute this 5 6 income to you, the taxpayer. And, here, we have 7 overwhelming history and tradition going all the way back to the 1860s and 1870s demonstrating 8 9 that, yes, Congress can. 10 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And are some of 11 those factors that you'd look at whether they 12 control the -- the -- the entity, whether there's some evidence of fraud in its use of the 13 14 entity? What else would you add to that list? 15 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I would look at the 16 taxpayer's overall relationship to the income 17 and the -- and the entity. You know, I -- I 18 hesitate to try to put the gloss of control on 19 it for a couple of different reasons. One is that I think that would incentivize taxpayers to 20 21 try --2.2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Sure. 23 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- to argue in an 24 individual case they don't have control. 25 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I'm not suggesting

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1 that's necessary. 2 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Right. That could 3 be --JUSTICE GORSUCH: I'm suggesting it 4 might be sufficient. 5 6 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. T would 7 absolutely agree that might be the sufficient -that might be sufficient to establish that 8 Congress made a fair attribution decision in 9 10 that case. I would just caution the Court away 11 from constitutionalizing that or saying it's 12 necessary in every case. 13 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Roger that. What --14 what other factors would you have us look at? 15 GENERAL PRELOGAR: The other kinds of 16 factors the Court has looked at or the statement 17 it made in Burnet versus Wells was whether 18 Congress has made an attribution decision that's 19 unrelated to any privilege or benefit. I think using that standard, it works for us here as 20 21 well because there are obvious benefits 2.2 associated with doing business through a 23 controlled foreign corporation which is closely 24 held and could keep the money offshore for all 25 of those years subject to tax deferral.

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1 So I think the --2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Let me pause you 3 there. 4 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. JUSTICE GORSUCH: So the -- the 5 foreign aspect of it and -- and the difficulty б 7 of otherwise obtaining some kind of tax on it should factor in our analysis you think? 8 9 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Again, I think 10 those are --11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Could. 12 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- conditions that could be sufficient. I wouldn't want the Court 13 14 to say they are absolutely --15 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Necessary. 16 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- necessary in 17 every case. 18 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I got it. 19 GENERAL PRELOGAR: And, of course, we 20 have things like partnerships where there's not 21 necessarily --2.2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Sure. GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- any abuse. It's 23 24 a convenient way to structure taxation with respect to certain types of entities. 25

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: This was very 2 helpful to me. Any other factors you'd have me consider? 3 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I think you have 4 covered the waterfront of the things that have 5 6 already emerged in the case law. I guess, if I 7 step back to a 30,000-foot level, the one thing I would say is that I would urge the Court not 8 9 to try to set down an explicit set of principles 10 to govern all cases for the very reasons I was 11 describing earlier, that we have seen taxpayers 12 latch onto that --13 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Roger --14 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- and then seek to 15 avoid taxation. 16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- Roger that too, 17 okay? 18 (Laughter.) 19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And that would take 20 care, though -- if -- if we wrote that that way, 21 it would take care of all of your concerns about 22 S corporation -- Schedule F or, you know, the --23 the mark-to-market, and -- and -- and 24 potentially the MRT? 25 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. I --

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1 certainly, I think the MRT, in addition to all 2 of those other taxes, satisfy the -- the types of criteria that the Court has looked at that 3 are relevant to this attribution question. 4 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Whether we call it 5 attribution or constructive realization? 6 7 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. JUSTICE GORSUCH: Potato/potato. 8 9 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Well, on that one, 10 I would -- I would shy away from constructive 11 realization just because I think it introduces 12 an additional layer of ambiguity in the code. I mean, by definition, it means not actual 13 14 realization, and so I think that --15 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, no, I --16 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- it's a term that 17 doesn't appear in the code itself that Petitioners seem to --18 19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- the way -- the 20 way I read our precedent maybe -- and I'll just 21 -- I'll stop, but -- but the way I read our 22 precedent at least is it's -- it's fairly saying 23 that this individual realized, gained control 24 of, or could be reasonably adjudged to have done that by Congress, this person has control over 25

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1 these assets. 2 And you've given me a very helpful 3 list of factors from this Court's history and -and practice, consistent with our precedent, 4 5 rather than calling it all misguided, that might work. Fair enough? 6 7 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I don't think that it's right to say that this list of factors 8 9 gives the taxpayer sufficient control over the 10 assets just, again, because the concept of 11 control can be inherently confusing here if it 12 suggests a majority stake. You know, the 13 S corporation shareholders --14 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Right. 15 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- they might have a 1 percent stake in the company --16 17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I -- I -- I --18 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- and not have any 19 control. 20 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. 21 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So I think that's 2.2 -- that's where I have a little bit of 23 disagreement on how to describe what we're discussing. 24 25 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. That's very

1 helpful to me. Thank you, General. 2 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Thank you. 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice 4 Kavanaugh? 5 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: You don't want us 6 to use the phrase "constructive realization"? 7 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. I think that 8 that phrase is inherently amorphous. It doesn't 9 appear in the code. 10 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Right. 11 GENERAL PRELOGAR: It appears to be a 12 phrase that Petitioners have --13 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Right. GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- invented for 14 15 purposes of trying to save these other taxes. 16 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: On the --17 GENERAL PRELOGAR: And I think it 18 would open up immediate disputes about what 19 exactly it encompasses. 20 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Right. And on the proverbial open door for Congress, members of 21 22 Congress want to get reelected. 23 (Laughter.) 24 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: So some of the 25 hypos are -- are -- are --

| 1 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes, I think that |
|----|--|
| 2 | there are huge |
| 3 | JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: that that's |
| 4 | why they're farfetched, although who knows how |
| 5 | things would change. |
| 6 | On some of Justice Alito's |
| 7 | hypotheticals, though, if if things came to |
| 8 | pass, I think you acknowledged, I just want to |
| 9 | confirm, that unlike this case, where you say |
| 10 | that historical practice supports this, |
| 11 | Congress's historical practice, the Court's |
| 12 | cases, if there were something novel, that lack |
| 13 | of historical support would at least be a strike |
| 14 | against it, not dispositive necessarily. |
| 15 | Is that an accurate summary of what |
| 16 | you said about that? |
| 17 | GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. I think that |
| 18 | the the point I was trying to make is that, |
| 19 | first, yes, there are huge practical and policy |
| 20 | reasons why these taxes wouldn't be enacted, |
| 21 | and, second, if it came to pass, then the Court |
| 22 | could assess that tax on its own terms and it |
| 23 | might look to history and think, huh, this is |
| 24 | something new. |
| 25 | I do want to be clear that we don't |

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think that the novelty alone would be
 dispositive, as you mentioned. Certainly,
 Congress has some power to enact taxes that it
 hasn't enacted before, but it would certainly
 provide a reason to scrutinize that tax a little
 more carefully.

Here, the Court doesn't have to go
down that road because the history is all on our
side.

10 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: One hypo of my own 11 just to make sure it's covered. I think it's an 12 easy one, but I want to make sure. If there were a federal tax on the value of someone's 13 14 property, you agree that's a direct tax -- or --15 or on the value of someone's holdings, you agree 16 that's a direct tax that would have to be 17 apportioned, correct or not?

GENERAL PRELOGAR: Exactly. That's a 18 19 quintessential tax on property because it's looking at the total value of the asset and it's 20 21 doing it at a particular point of time. And 2.2 maybe you could even levy it again and again on 23 the same value, like any homeowner experiences 24 with a property tax bill for the home. That's 25 totally different from an income tax, where

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1 you're taxing the increment of gain over time 2 and generally only doing it one time with any 3 future tax looking to a new increment of gain over a new period of time. 4 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Okay. Last 5 6 question. Your position on the MRT, and you 7 cite Heiner and Subpart F and -- and S corps and say this is all similar in kind. 8 9 The one wrinkle -- and I just want to make sure we're on the same page -- is that this 10 11 goes back a lot of years and rolls in income 12 from many past years. 13 What should we say about that? 14 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So T have --15 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: And -- and let me 16 just add, and he says, ultimately, if you can 17 just roll in, I think, income at any point in 18 time, then that really becomes not much of a 19 limit at all. 20 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So let me react to 21 that in a couple of different ways. I think 2.2 that the length of the lookback period here 23 can't change the underlying character or classification of what's being taxed as income. 24 25 This was actual earnings brought in by the

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1 company, kept in their coffers. 2 If it was income in year one, then I don't think there's any expiration date on 3 classifying it as income in a future year, and I 4 think it would be anomalous for Congress to lose 5 6 its ability to tax that as income just because 7 it's granted a period of tax deferral. So, instead, I think that the lookback 8 9 period, instead of relating to the Sixteenth 10 Amendment or any fundamental questions about what income constitutes, is instead a 11 12 retroactivity concern. It, I think, arises under the Due Process Clause and would turn on 13 14 whether Congress had a legitimate purpose for 15 having this kind of lookback period and used 16 rational means. 17 Here, we think that that is clearly 18 satisfied. Petitioners raised a retroactivity 19 due process argument below. The court rejected 20 it in the Ninth Circuit. They haven't renewed 21 it here. And I think it's because it clearly 2.2 fails under precedent, like United States versus 23 Carlton, but, ultimately, I would urge the Court 24 to -- to recognize that that is not about the 25 proper characterization of the underlying tax

1 base. 2 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Thank you. Justice 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Barrett? 4 JUSTICE BARRETT: I want to follow up 5 6 on some of -- on your factors to Justice 7 Gorsuch. So you've talked about how it could be 8 9 fair, you know, Justice Kavanaugh just said 10 S corps, partnerships, you know, an MRT, to --11 and the MRT tax, to say that this is 12 attributable to the shareholders or to the partners or, you know, to the seller of the 13 14 trust. 15 How do we know that? Is it because 16 this is closely held? Because I assume what 17 your friend on the other side is going to say 18 is, well, they -- they had 10 percent, you know, they -- they -- they weren't majority holders, 19 and so they couldn't force a distribution. So 20 21 how -- how would you articulate that when it can 2.2 fairly be attributed if we're not talking due 23 process, if we're talking about it from a 24 Sixteenth Amendment point? 25 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes. So I think,

1 at the outset, the -- the Court could rely on 2 the lessons to be drawn from history and 3 tradition here. This functions like the early 4 income taxes that I pointed to from the 1860s 5 and 1870 that taxed shareholders on corporate 6 income.

7 At that point in our nation's history, 8 corporations were generally closely held. There 9 were fewer Americans who owned stock, and so I 10 think that they -- they functioned quite 11 analogously to the MRT insofar as they reached a 12 distinctive category of shareholders generally 13 in those closely held corporations.

14 You know, at the end of the day, I 15 quess what I would say is that certainly, we 16 think it's a factor in our favor that this 17 reaches relatively large U.S. shareholders. It's true it's 10 percent, so they don't have to 18 19 have a majority stake, but the premise of 20 Congress is that these kinds of large shareholders can usually work together with 21 2.2 other shareholders in this closely held 23 corporation. There aren't going to be that many 24 of them to direct the company's policy or to 25 force a distribution as the case may be. And

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1 that kind of threshold, 10 percent, appears 2 throughout the law, not just in the Tax Code, 3 but in the securities context, for example, there are additional obligations imposed on 10 4 percent shareholders of companies. 5 So wherever the line might be drawn in 6 7 thinking about it from this relationship to the funds and level of influence of the 8 corporation's policy, I think 10 percent falls 9 10 well within the line of what should be 11 recognized as permissible. 12 JUSTICE BARRETT: Okay. Thanks. 13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice 14 Jackson? 15 JUSTICE JACKSON: So are there 16 drawbacks to setting this up in the way that 17 Justice Gorsuch has articulated? I mean, I 18 guess I'm a little concerned because I heard you 19 respond to Justice Sotomayor by saying that one 20 of your primary concerns is that we not suggest 21 that realization is required. 2.2 And would -- would -- would taking the 23 approach that Justice Gorsuch has articulated require us to do that, or could we assume -- or 24 25 how -- how do we get around the other caution

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1 that you put forward? GENERAL PRELOGAR: So, if I understood 2 3 Justice Gorsuch's approach -- and I hope I'm not getting it wrong -- the idea behind this 4 approach would be to recognize that here we 5 6 actually have realized income, so the Court 7 doesn't need to resolve the status of that under the Sixteenth Amendment and, instead, the 8 9 pressure point is whether Congress could enact a 10 pass-through tax on the 10 percent U.S. 11 shareholders --12 JUSTICE JACKSON: But is that fairly 13 14 GENERAL PRELOGAR: -- that are subject 15 to this income. 16 JUSTICE JACKSON: -- is that fairly 17 encompassed by this question presented? I mean, 18 this sort of goes to your discussions with 19 Justice Alito, I think. I -- I thought the 20 question presented was about the extent to which 21 the Sixteenth Amendment requires realization. 2.2 So, if we're going now beyond that, 23 are we out of -- out of the territory that is 24 fairly encompassed here? 25 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I don't think so

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1 because I think the answer to the question 2 presented would be we don't have to decide in all contexts here there was a realization. And 3 so, as we said in our brief in opposition to 4 this case, we don't actually think that the case 5 6 presents the question presented because here 7 there was actual realization by the corporation. 8 And the real dispute between the parties is whether Congress made a fair attribution 9 10 decision. 11 JUSTICE JACKSON: Let me ask you just 12 another question about the government's brief. 13 Why did the government make an argument about 14 excise taxes at the end? 15 GENERAL PRELOGAR: So we think that 16 the MRT is clearly constitutional on an excise 17 tax theory as well. There's been some -- some suggestion at argument this morning that maybe 18 19 we didn't present that argument below, and that 20 is incorrect. 21 In the Ninth Circuit, we said that 2.2 even if the MRT isn't properly characterized as 23 an income tax, it's not a direct tax. And we said that therefore, Congress had Article I 24 25 authority to enact it and pointed to the

Spreckels Sugar case, which is an excise tax

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2 case. 3 So I think we did preserve the argument. The Ninth Circuit didn't have 4 occasion to reach it because it ruled in our 5 favor on the primary income tax argument. But, 6 7 if this Court had any doubt about whether this is a proper income tax, we think the Court could 8 9 affirm on the excise tax argument in particular. 10 And as I had mentioned in an earlier 11 response, one of the important things for the 12 Court to keep in mind is that 99 percent of the tax owed under the MRT is owed by domestic 13 14 corporation shareholders, large U.S. companies, 15 for example, that have these foreign 16 subsidiaries where they've been holding money 17 overseas for a number of years. And this would 18 be a tax on the privilege of doing business with 19 those corporate relationships and in that corporate form. So, at the very least, we'd 20 21 urge the Court not to invalidate the MRT and all 2.2 of its circumstances without proper 23 consideration of that argument. 24 JUSTICE JACKSON: And that's because 25 the constitutional question is whether or not it

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1 is a direct tax, because that would be the 2 circumstance under which apportionment is 3 required?

4 GENERAL PRELOGAR: Yes, exactly. And 5 I think this relates to your earlier questions, 6 Justice Jackson, about the meaning of Hylton and 7 about whether this can in any sense properly be 8 considered a direct tax.

You know, ultimately, I think one of 9 10 the ways to understand the categories in the 11 Constitution is in relation to one another. And 12 at the very least, this is not a tax on land. 13 This is not a tax on personal property. It's 14 not a head tax. Therefore, it's not a direct 15 tax. And we think it's either an excise or an 16 income tax.

17 JUSTICE JACKSON: One final question 18 about Macomber. Why -- why shouldn't we take 19 this opportunity to just put an end to it? I 20 mean, if we were to apply the stare decisis factors that the Court goes through when it 21 2.2 decides whether or not to formally overrule a 23 precedent, doesn't Macomber fail anyway? 24 GENERAL PRELOGAR: I agree that 25 Macomber would fail those factors in an

1 appropriate case. The reason we haven't asked the Court to overrule Macomber here is because 2 we just think it's inapplicable by the terms of 3 subsequent precedent that have already said 4 Macomber only has controlling weight with 5 respect to that very specific type of stock 6 7 dividend. And so I think the Court has already 8 done the work here of effectively leaving 9 Macomber limited --10 11 JUSTICE JACKSON: But, if we disagree 12 with you and we applied the stare decisis 13 factors, you would say the government would 14 still win on its view that Macomber is not good 15 law or controlling this case? 16 GENERAL PRELOGAR: If -- if this Court 17 thought it were necessary to walk through the stare decisis factors, then, yes, I think that 18 19 in each instance, Macomber was eqregiously 20 wrong. It didn't grapple with the text of the 21 Sixteenth Amendment in a legitimate way or look 2.2 at all of the history that I think is relevant 23 to that question. It has been subsequently 24 eroded by any number of additional precedents. 25 And in the end, with reliance

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| 1 | interests, here, Congress has relied on those |
|----|---|
| 2 | subsequent precedents by enacting any number of |
| 3 | taxes that wouldn't satisfy Macomber's |
| 4 | realization framework. And Petitioners |
| 5 | themselves acknowledge that Macomber's |
| б | realization framework couldn't actually carry |
| 7 | the day because the taxes that they have said |
| 8 | are constitutional wouldn't survive under |
| 9 | Macomber. |
| 10 | JUSTICE JACKSON: Thank you. |
| 11 | CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, |
| 12 | counsel. |
| 13 | Rebuttal, Mr. Grossman? |
| 14 | |
| 15 | REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF ANDREW M. GROSSMAN |
| 16 | ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS |
| 17 | MR. GROSSMAN: Thank you. |
| 18 | The government's recalibrated |
| 19 | position, as explained by my friend, is not |
| 20 | narrow and the Court should not mistake it as |
| 21 | such. The government's view that a |
| 22 | corporation's earnings can simply be attributed |
| 23 | to a to any corporate shareholder is |
| 24 | staggeringly broad. |
| 25 | Corporations like Microsoft and Exxon |

1 Mobil have hundreds of billions of dollars of 2 retained earnings on their books that they've 3 invested in corporate assets, research and 4 development, and -- and -- and other -- and 5 other activities. And in some cases, those 6 retained earnings exceed the current value of 7 shares.

Under the government's view and I 8 9 think as demonstrated by the MRT, apparently, 10 Congress could simply tax backwards, reaching 11 back as far as -- as -- as it would care to do 12 so, to attribute those retained earnings going 13 back many years to current shareholders, again, in some instances in excess of the value of the 14 15 -- of their current holdings.

16 But I think the Court should also keep 17 in mind that there is an impact to that 18 position, that purportedly narrower position, 19 under the existing code, which is that there is 20 no carveout for -- against taxing shareholders in the current code on corporate earnings. 21 2.2 If those are Sixteenth Amendment 23 earnings, then -- I'm sorry, Sixteenth Amendment 24 income to shareholders, then they are already 25 subject to the income tax through the gateway

1 definition of gross in -- income that reaches everything that is income under the Sixteenth 2 3 Amendment. So there's no carveout. Those would already be subject to it. 4 I think this just demonstrates the way 5 6 that the government's position would make a hash 7 of existing law and cause enormous confusion with respect to how our tax system functions. 8 9 By consequence -- by -- by contrast, I 10 -- I don't think that there are any serious 11 consequences of this realization principle that 12 we've put forward in this case because it is the 13 thread that runs through the Court's 14 jurisprudence going back over a century and is 15 the glue that holds together the Tax Code as it 16 exists today. 17 Every tax that my friend has mentioned 18 falls into one of two categories. Some of those, particularly regarding the -- the abuse 19 20 of the corporate firm -- form, turn on theories 21 of constructive realization or you might say assignment of income. I don't think there's 2.2 much of a distinction. 23 The remainder of them are 24 25 straightforward excise taxes that are supported

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1 by the -- the long history -- long -- long 2 history of congressional practice. These include, for example, the original issue 3 discount. It's simply an excise tax on the 4 transaction regarding the transfer of a bond. 5 6 Congress has been levying taxes like that for 7 over 130 years at this point. 8 Others, like the mark-to-market taxes, 9 are excise taxes, like in -- like in Spreckels, on conducting business in a specified fashion. 10 11 Again, those sorts of taxes predate the 12 Sixteenth Amendment, and nobody has ever called into question their constitutionality as such. 13 14 There's also case law. If it was 15 simply enough for the -- for the -- for -- if it 16 was simply enough to attribute income to anybody 17 with a close relationship to it, all of the 18 Court's corporate reorganization cases and cases 19 involving shareholder rights and really pretty 20 much all the Sixteenth Amendment cases involving 21 trusts and everything else would have been about 2.2 a sentence long because it wouldn't really take 23 much more than that for the Court simply to say, 24 well, there's a close enough relationship and so 25 who cares whether or not the person realized

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| 1 | income or not. Of course, that's not the |
|----|--|
| 2 | inquiry the Court has undertaken. |
| 3 | And so far as Macomber's rule is |
| 4 | concerned and the Court has applied the |
| 5 | dividing line recognized by Macomber as recently |
| 6 | as 1975 in Ivan Allen and it's carried forward |
| 7 | the same principle in cases like Indianapolis |
| 8 | Power & Light in 1990, as well as restating it |
| 9 | in Cottage Savings in 1991. |
| 10 | I don't think real real this |
| 11 | concept of realization is anything unfamiliar to |
| 12 | our law, and, indeed, it's the only way to |
| 13 | understand the current Tax Code. |
| 14 | Every Congress has has the |
| 15 | the the anti-income, income avoidance |
| 16 | provisions of the Tax Code are long, lengthy, |
| 17 | reticulated. I don't envy anybody who's had to |
| 18 | spend their time reading Subpart F and practices |
| 19 | in that field. But the reason those are so |
| 20 | complicated and reticulated is because Congress |
| 21 | has tried to stay within the realization line. |
| 22 | It's done everything it can to fit |
| 23 | that framework, where it would have been the |
| 24 | easiest thing in the world, if if Congress |
| 25 | thought it had the power to do it, simply to |

1 say, well, if you own shares in a foreign 2 corporation, whatever the ownership threshold, 3 simply pay taxes on those earnings. That's not the way the tax -- that 4 these sorts of taxing provisions have ever 5 6 worked. Instead, they get at the idea who is 7 really earning the income and -- and -- and receiving the benefit by it, and that person 8 9 should be the one to pay taxes on it. We think they all fit that mold. 10 11 I'd like to briefly address the 1864 12 tax. The Court in Hubbard recognized that it 13 was a tax on property. Subsequently, in 14 Brushaber, the Court recognized that at the 15 time, that wasn't really considered or thought 16 about as being much of a defect with respect to 17 the direct tax clauses under sort of the 18 reasoning of Springer. And, of course, Macomber 19 rejected the exact same argument. We would ask the Court to reverse. 20 21 Thank you. 2.2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, 23 counsel, General. 24 The case is submitted. 25

| 1 | | | (Where | upon, | at | 12:14 | p.m., | the | case |
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| 2 | was | submit | ted.) | | | | | | |
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