1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	X
3	BE&K CONSTRUCTION COMPANY, :
4	Petitioner :
5	v. : No. 01-518
6	NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS :
7	BOARD, ET AL. :
8	X
9	Washington, D.C.
L O	Tuesday, April 16, 2002
L1	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
L2	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States a
L3	11:08 a.m.
L4	APPEARANCES:
L5	MAURICE BASKIN, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of the
L6	Petitioner.
L7	LAWRENCE G. WALLACE, ESQ., Deputy Solicitor General,
L8	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf
L9	of the Respondents.
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

1	CONTENTS	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	PAGE
3	MAURICE BASKIN, ESQ.	
4	On behalf of the Petitioner	3
5	LAWRENCE G. WALLACE, ESQ.	
6	On behalf of the Respondents	26
7	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF	
8	MAURICE BASKIN, ESQ.	
9	On behalf of the Petitioner	47
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1	PROCEDINGS
2	(11:08 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument
4	next in No. 01-518, the BE&K Construction Company $v.$ the
5	National Labor Relations Board.
6	Mr. Baskin.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF MAURICE BASKIN
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
9	MR. BASKIN: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
10	please the Court:
11	This case presents an important question arising
12	under the Petition Clause of the First Amendment.
13	Petitioner BE&K Construction is asking the Court to hold
14	that the First Amendment protects objectively based
15	lawsuits from being declared unlawful by the National
16	Labor Relations Board.
17	Now, the Court has already held that the First
18	Amendment does protect lawsuits from statutory sanction
19	under both the NLRA and the antitrust laws so long as the
20	suits are meritorious, meaning that they are not
21	objectively baseless. In the Bill Johnson's case, the
22	Court said and I quote it is not unlawful to pursue
23	a meritorious lawsuit under the National Labor Relations
24	Act. In fact, the Court said it twice and specifically

25 cited the Noerr-Pennington doctrine of the antitrust law.

- 1 Then it --
- 2 QUESTION: How do you describe the test applied
- 3 by the board?
- 4 MR. BASKIN: Well, the test by the board is one
- 5 which says that the employer must be -- must prevail, must
- 6 be 100 percent prevailing in the lawsuit. As a standard
- 7 that's impossible for any employer to anticipate in
- 8 advance. No -- no employer can ever be 100 percent sure
- 9 of prevailing.
- 10 QUESTION: Should there be any other component?
- I mean, I think your client lost basically. So --
- MR. BASKIN: Well, the question is what was --
- 13 QUESTION: What else should be part of the test?
- MR. BASKIN: The test is what is the -- was
- 15 there an objective basis for the litigation. It's not a
- 16 win-or-lose test, as the Court said in Professional Real
- 17 Estate -- and I'll quote again -- it's got to be
- 18 objectively baseless in the sense that no reasonable
- 19 litigant could realistically expect success on the merits.
- 20 QUESTION: Well, should the test from
- 21 Professional Real Estate automatically be carried over to
- the Labor Relations Act?
- 23 MR. BASKIN: Well, in this case, Your Honor, an
- 24 answer is yes because the Court itself has interacted with
- 25 the -- both of the acts. They cross reference with each

- 1 other. Bill Johnson's referred directly to the California
- 2 Motor Transport. Professional Real Estate referred to
- 3 Bill Johnson's as if it's one consistent whole. And it
- 4 is.
- 5 QUESTION: Well, but I -- I wonder if -- if the
- 6 National Labor Relations Board doesn't have some
- 7 discretion to say that the labor situation is somewhat
- 8 different, as they apparently do, from the antitrust
- 9 situation.
- MR. BASKIN: Well, but the irony here is that
- 11 the NLRB has not -- has not interpreted its own statute.
- 12 It's not being deferred to here. The NLRB is interpreting
- this Court's decision in Bill Johnson's.
- 14 QUESTION: Which happened to say precisely what
- 15 the NLRB said it said.
- 16 MR. BASKIN: Well, no, Your Honor. In Bill --
- 17 QUESTION: If a judgment goes against the
- 18 employer in the State court, if it goes against him, then
- 19 he's had his day in court. And then the board may proceed
- 20 to adjudicate the unfair practice claim, and then the
- 21 employer's suit, having been proved unmeritorious, the
- 22 board can take that fact into account when it decides the
- 23 labor law violation.
- MR. BASKIN: Three --
- 25 QUESTION: And you've been reading three cases

- 1 to us, so that seems to be the language that you have. I
- 2 -- I read that as saying you lose. Period. End of the
- 3 matter. That's what the board decides.
- 4 Now, I put that so you'll reply to it.
- 5 MR. BASKIN: Yes. Three things in the phrasing
- 6 that you just said. First, the Court said the board may
- 7 proceed, did not say it's an automatic result. Said may
- 8 adjudicate the unfair labor practice, did not say it's an
- 9 automatic result.
- 10 And then key phrase, having proved to be
- 11 unmeritorious, what does unmeritorious mean? Well, this
- 12 Court has consistently said what unmeritorious means. It
- 13 said so before Bill Johnson's in the Christiansburg case.
- 14 QUESTION: Mr. Baskin, back up a bit.
- MR. BASKIN: Yes.
- 16 QUESTION: The -- the Court in that very
- 17 paragraph gave a definition of what it meant. So, I
- 18 wouldn't look outside this document for what the Court
- 19 meant by with merit/without merit when the -- look at the
- 20 sentence in the middle of that paragraph. It says if the
- 21 judgment goes against the employer and the State court.
- MR. BASKIN: Yes.
- 23 QUESTION: Judgment against you. Or if his suit
- 24 is withdrawn or is otherwise shown to be without merit.
- Otherwise shown to be merit. I took that to mean if you

- lose, it's shown to be without merit. There may be other
- 2 situations in which it's shown to be without merit. So,
- 3 it seems to me the best place to find out what the Court
- 4 meant merit/without merit is the very opinion that we're
- 5 construing.
- 6 MR. BASKIN: Yes, and if it were the holding of
- 7 the opinion, it would have greater weight. But this is
- 8 not the holding that we're talking -- that we're parsing
- 9 out here. This is dicta because the essential --
- 10 QUESTION: Well, there are two responses to the
- 11 dicta point it seems to me. The first one is it was
- 12 dicta, but it was dicta that preceded a remand in which
- 13 this issue in fact would be explored. And the second
- 14 response is the -- as I understand it, the board itself
- 15 has followed the -- the dicta for -- I forget how many
- 16 years now, but consistently followed it and Congress has
- 17 done nothing about it. So, A, guery whether it's dicta,
- 18 and B, even if it is, isn't it the kind of dicta that at
- 19 this point definitely should be followed?
- 20 MR. BASKIN: It is clearly dicta because the
- 21 Court stated what was the issue before it, and the sole
- 22 issue before it in Bill Johnson's is stated at the
- 23 beginning of the opinion, whether the NLRB may issue a
- 24 cease and desist order to halt the prosecution of a State
- 25 court civil suit brought by an employer to retaliate

- 1 against employees.
- 2 And the holding of the case, which analyzes the
- 3 First Amendment at great length, says that the right of
- 4 access to the courts is too important to be an unfair
- 5 labor practice. And it also defines meritorious as being
- 6 reasonable basis, language in the Court's opinion.
- 7 QUESTION: I think there's another element that
- 8 you're ignoring. I thought the board looked both at
- 9 whether it was a meritless lawsuit against the unions and
- 10 whether it was for a retaliatory purpose.
- MR. BASKIN: Yes.
- 12 OUESTION: Isn't that the other element?
- 13 MR. BASKIN: Yes. Both elements must be
- 14 present.
- 15 QUESTION: Okay. And how do we define
- 16 retaliatory purpose? What -- what constitutes that --
- MR. BASKIN: Well, it's --
- 18 QUESTION: -- do you think, in the board's rule?
- 19 MR. BASKIN: Yes. It's very -- pretty much the
- 20 same as the improper motivation purpose test that was in
- 21 the Professional Real Estate case, which also has the two-
- 22 part test. You look at the objective basis first, and
- 23 then and only then if there's no objective basis, you look
- 24 at whether there was a retaliatory motive.
- 25 And how that's defined, although the Court did

- 1 not grant cert on that issue, we contested vigorously the
- 2 -- the board's finding of retaliatory motivation here --
- 3 because in fact the board has made it a rubber stamp.
- 4 It's become automatic if the case relates in any way to
- 5 union activity, the board finds that it's retaliatory
- 6 motivation.
- 7 But the first part of the test is an objective
- 8 one that the Court has spelled out both in Bill Johnson's
- 9 itself and in Professional Real Estate. And to take any
- 10 -- to take the board's standard puts employers in an
- 11 impossible situation. It is unworkable. Going back to
- 12 the question of dicta or not, you have ambiguous language
- 13 at best because we have several different references to
- 14 meritorious throughout the Bill Johnson's opinion.
- 15 QUESTION: May I just ask this, Mr. Baskin? Do
- 16 you think there is a distinction between an ongoing case
- 17 and a completed case?
- 18 MR. BASKIN: It's one mostly as to timing and
- 19 facts available to the board, and I think that's what the
- 20 Court was --
- 21 QUESTION: But the -- in your view, the standard
- 22 is the same. It's not that the board tries to enjoin the
- 23 proceeding as -- as opposed to later on bringing an unfair
- labor practice after it's over.
- 25 MR. BASKIN: The substantive standard should be

- 1 the same.
- 2 QUESTION: It should be, but --
- 3 MR. BASKIN: Should be.
- 4 QUESTION: -- do you think that Johnson says
- 5 it's the same?
- 6 MR. BASKIN: We're all here today because the
- 7 language in the tail end of the Bill Johnson's opinion is
- 8 ambiguous as to what they intended the standard to be.
- 9 QUESTION: And at least it says there's a
- 10 different standard.
- 11 MR. BASKIN: As to -- the -- the impact was --
- 12 QUESTION: And your view is there should be no
- 13 different standard.
- MR. BASKIN: Correct.
- 15 QUESTION: And that's the whole key to the case.
- MR. BASKIN: That really is the whole key to the
- 17 case.
- 18 QUESTION: And why not?
- 19 QUESTION: Mr. Baskin, is your -- is your
- 20 argument -- in your opening remarks, you -- you referred
- 21 only to the First Amendment. Is -- is it -- is it a
- 22 constitutional argument you're making? To -- to agree
- 23 with you here, do I have to agree that if Congress passed
- 24 a law adopting the English rule on -- on attorney's fees,
- 25 that would be unconstitutional?

- 1 MR. BASKIN: No. We are not saying that. We
- 2 are not seeking to constitutionally -- we are asking no
- 3 more than that you apply this standard to the two statutes
- 4 you've already applied it --
- 5 QUESTION: Which says -- so, it's a statutory
- 6 argument.
- 7 MR. BASKIN: No. It is a constitutional and
- 8 statutory argument, which is what the Court itself said in
- 9 both of these cases because there's a sanction involved.
- 10 QUESTION: I don't know what you mean by a -- is
- it -- does the Constitution prohibit it or not?
- MR. BASKIN: It prohibits a statute from
- 13 prohibiting it.
- 14 QUESTION: The Constitution prohibits. So, your
- 15 answer to my question is --
- 16 MR. BASKIN: Constitutional and statutory.
- 17 QUESTION: You -- you cannot -- that Congress
- 18 could not adopt the English rule.
- 19 MR. BASKIN: No. The difference -- here's the
- 20 important difference.
- 21 QUESTION: It would do that by statute.
- 22 MR. BASKIN: But is there an -- a declaration of
- 23 unlawfulness involved? There are many fee-shifting
- 24 statutes. We're not taking issue with mere fee-shifting,
- 25 but the National Labor Relations Board is saying that BE&K

- 1 broke the law, and that's what also happened under the
- 2 antitrust laws. They're saying -- they're issuing a cease
- 3 and desist order from filing so-called nonmeritorious
- 4 litigation.
- 5 QUESTION: But the fact that it's triple damages
- 6 is a little different than fee-shifting. So, one could
- 7 easily say, when you're exposed to treble damages,
- 8 putative damages, yes, that's a punishment. Here fee-
- 9 shifting is the rule in most countries in the world.
- So, what is the more here? I understand the
- 11 more in antitrust cases, treble damages. Here you say,
- well, there's a finding that you have committed an unfair
- labor practice. What are the consequences in addition to
- 14 that you have to pay the other side's legal fees? What
- 15 are the adverse consequences --
- MR. BASKIN: First, the most important is the
- 17 declaration that you are a law violator in and of itself.
- 18 You have to post a notice for your employees not only at
- 19 this job site but all across the country. You have your
- 20 -- your customers become aware of it. The unions
- 21 certainly make sure your customers become aware of it.
- 22 There's the serious danger of debarment either privately
- 23 or by governmental action.
- 24 QUESTION: Explain that. You did say that in
- 25 your brief about debarment, and I didn't -- I can

- 1 understand when you say someone -- someone's reputation is
- 2 affected by being labeled a law violator. But you said
- 3 something about -- about the jeopardy of debarment and I
- 4 wasn't clear how that would work.
- 5 MR. BASKIN: It's not meant in the legal sense
- 6 and the Government -- we're not -- we're not talking about
- 7 whether the Government has to debar the company, but both
- 8 private actors and many Government contracting officers
- 9 take the view they don't want to deal with people who have
- 10 been declared to be law violators. The goodwill and
- 11 reputation of the company is at stake.
- 12 QUESTION: Well, in our lower case, the --
- 13 Wisconsin set out to do that on a State basis, didn't it?
- 14 If you violated the Labor Act, the State was not going to
- 15 deal with you.
- 16 MR. BASKIN: Yes, they did. And then the
- 17 Federal Government just last -- 2 years ago in the
- 18 previous administration, had come through with a set of
- 19 rules saying that companies would be debarred if they were
- 20 found to have violated labor laws.
- 21 So, having this -- a declaration of illegality
- 22 in place is what makes this different, Justice Scalia,
- 23 from a random fee-shifting statute, and that's why we are
- 24 not asking you to do anything other than what you've
- 25 already done, which is to apply the First Amendment to two

- 1 statutes which you have determined have great commonality
- 2 over the years, as each one keeps referring back to the
- 3 other in this doctrine.
- 4 QUESTION: What do you do with the 2 decades
- 5 that have elapsed -- about 2 decades -- since Justice
- 6 White's opinion which has been interpreted by the board
- 7 the way the language most naturally reads? The one thing
- 8 is to say when the case first came out it was ambiguous.
- 9 But now we have 2 decades of consistent interpretation of
- 10 that language by the board.
- MR. BASKIN: I regret to say it's a tribute to
- 12 the speed of the board's processes and the process of
- getting this case up to this level on this issue because
- this case alone has taken 7 years to work its way through
- 15 the board. When the litigation was begun in this case, it
- 16 was 1987. The Bill Johnson's case was fresh. There was
- 17 considerable doubt as exactly -- as to exactly what it
- 18 meant. I should note that in the district court opinions
- 19 that are part of the appendix, the unions raised Bill
- 20 Johnson's and said that it -- they were protected under
- 21 it, citing it interchangeably with Professional Real
- 22 Estate.
- 23 QUESTION: They won over half their cases,
- 24 didn't they?
- MR. BASKIN: Excuse me?

- 1 QUESTION: Didn't they win -- they won some 15
- 2 out of their 29 cases.
- MR. BASKIN: Depending on how you count, they
- 4 just barely got over 50 percent.
- 5 QUESTION: Did you ask -- talking about the
- 6 history of the case, could you tell me how did this case
- 7 end up in the Sixth Circuit?
- 8 MR. BASKIN: Well, in fact, by the time this
- 9 case got to the court of appeals, BE&K was no longer doing
- 10 business in California. The gravamen of its doing
- 11 business was in the Sixth Circuit.
- 12 QUESTION: I see.
- MR. BASKIN: And that's why the decision was
- 14 made --
- 15 QUESTION: I'd like you to address, if I can go
- 16 back to the -- what I think was the Chief Justice's
- 17 question. Your -- your basic point, I take it, assuming
- 18 with you, as I will, for the moment that the language is
- 19 ambiguous in Bill Johnson, is that we should treat or the
- 20 statute should be interpreted as treating the antitrust
- 21 statute and the labor statute a case brought by a
- defendant the same way.
- 23 And obvious differences, which I'd like you to
- 24 address, are that, one, there is a history in the labor
- 25 law of employers using cases brought at law either to

- 1 break unions or to win disputes. And that was one of the
- 2 reasons why the NLRA was passed. That had nothing to do
- 3 with the antitrust laws. There is no such history.
- 4 Second, the employer -- the -- the matter is
- 5 committed to an expert board in the labor area, which
- 6 apparently believes that the way to enforce the labor law,
- 7 unlike the antitrust law, is to say the sham exception
- 8 exists before the case is decided, but once the case is
- 9 decided, we're going to keep employers out of the courts
- 10 by saying if they lose, that's the end of any immunity
- 11 that they get. And we will now look to what their motive
- was in bringing this lawsuit. We have an expert board.
- We have a different history. We have different statutes.
- MR. BASKIN: The --
- 15 QUESTION: And now, what is your response?
- 16 MR. BASKIN: The irony is that the Court
- 17 considered those purported differences in the Bill
- 18 Johnson's case and rejected them.
- 19 QUESTION: All right. Obviously -- look --
- 20 MR. BASKIN: No, no. I'm talking about the
- 21 first part.
- 22 QUESTION: I -- but I'm trying to stay away from
- 23 Bill Johnson because obviously if you're right that the
- 24 statute holds it, I mean, I -- all right. Go ahead.
- 25 Sorry. I didn't mean to interrupt.

- 1 MR. BASKIN: Well, to me it's -- the interesting
- 2 thing about this case is the Court has itself considered
- 3 these very questions that you're raising and you have
- 4 answered them, and you do not need to revisit them to --
- 5 to come out with the conclusion that the NLRB has either
- 6 misinterpreted the standard or that the standard is
- 7 unworkable.
- 8 QUESTION: Well, but I -- I have -- I have the
- 9 same question that I think underlies Justice Breyer's
- 10 concern. You would seem to give zero weight to the
- 11 board's interest in stopping a purely retaliatory suit.
- 12 The board says, now, you have organized this clerical unit
- and if -- if you persist in your union activity, we're
- 14 going to sue you for the way you've been keeping our
- 15 books. We're going to sue you for malpractice, blah,
- 16 blah, blah, blah. And so long as there's any basis for
- 17 the suit, they can do that in your -- or am I misstating
- 18 your view?
- MR. BASKIN: Well, only in one respect. It has
- 20 to have an objective basis. We are not here defending
- 21 sham litigation, baseless litigation.
- 22 QUESTION: Well, I suppose there's always abuse
- of process if there's -- but if there's some basis, then
- 24 you can use it specifically to retaliate.
- 25 MR. BASKIN: More than some. It must be

- 1 reasonable basis. And yes, yes.
- 2 QUESTION: You can specifically use it to
- 3 retaliate.
- 4 MR. BASKIN: The Court -- this Court has said
- 5 that if there is an objective basis, that means it's a
- 6 meritorious lawsuit. Then there may also be a motivation
- 7 of retaliation. Weighty, countervailing considerations.
- 8 QUESTION: But -- but we're talking -- we're
- 9 talking in -- in the labor context.
- 10 MR. BASKIN: Yes.
- 11 QUESTION: And you lose the suit. So, there's
- 12 -- you do not -- you're not the prevailing party in the
- 13 suit. And you -- you lose on the merits. There's nothing
- the board can do about it if you've done it specifically
- to retaliate and for no other purpose.
- 16 MR. BASKIN: If it is a reasonable, meritorious
- 17 suit, as this Court has defined it, where the right of
- 18 access to a court is too important to be called an unfair
- 19 labor practice solely on the ground that what is sought in
- 20 the court is to enjoin employees from exercising a
- 21 protected right because of the First Amendment to the
- 22 Constitution, the right to petition the courts with a
- 23 meritorious lawsuit.
- 24 QUESTION: But the First Amendment argument goes
- 25 by the boards once the case is over.

- 1 MR. BASKIN: No, Your Honor, because -- for the
- 2 same reasons that the Court held in Professional Real
- 3 Estate. The employer has the right not to be second
- 4 guessed with 20/20 hindsight as long as it had a
- 5 reasonable basis for the suit.
- 6 QUESTION: Yes, but that ignores the fact that
- 7 we're not concerned solely with chilling; we're also
- 8 concerned with retaliation. And if we didn't have the
- 9 retaliatory character of the lawsuit involved, I would
- 10 think you would have a much stronger argument as you just
- 11 made it. But the retaliation is there and I don't see how
- we can accept your -- in effect, your chilling argument
- 13 without ignoring the retaliatory character.
- MR. BASKIN: Because the employers are being
- 15 chilled and, in effect, the retaliation --
- 16 QUESTION: Well, they're being chilled in -- in
- 17 engaging in retaliation for the exercise of statutory
- 18 rights.
- 19 MR. BASKIN: But there's actually less
- 20 retaliation that's going to take place once the suit is
- 21 completed. If that were the standard, then the board
- 22 should be instructed to intervene sooner to keep the
- 23 employees from having to spend more money to defend
- themselves.
- 25 QUESTION: And the -- the answer to that, it

- 1 seems to me, is set out in the cases. We've got a --
- 2 we've got a federalism interest in letting the State
- 3 courts at least adjudicate their cases. So, that's the
- 4 answer to that objection.
- 5 MR. BASKIN: Well, here there's even a more
- 6 compelling interest. You have two statutes, Federal
- 7 statutes, that the employer was invited to file lawsuits
- 8 under.
- 9 QUESTION: All right. Let's go back then to the
- 10 -- to the difference between the two Federal statutes.
- 11 The premise of Justice Breyer's question a moment ago
- 12 accepted the ambiguity. If we are not that indulgent and
- if we read Bill Johnson's the way Justice Ginsburg read it
- 14 -- and I will be candid to say I read it -- number one,
- 15 the ambiguity does not leap out at us.
- And number two, I'd like to go back to Justice
- 17 Ginsburg's question. Even if we assume there was
- 18 ambiguity at the beginning, we have had 20 years of board
- 19 practice which seems to me to have dissipated any
- 20 ambiguity. What's your response to that?
- MR. BASKIN: Well, the ambiguity was in the
- 22 opinion that led the board to take an erroneous view --
- 23 QUESTION: That's right I believe, and the board
- 24 has made it very clear how the board is reading it, and
- 25 after 20 years, we've got a pretty clearly settled body of

- law, haven't we?
- 2 MR. BASKIN: Well, a settled body of erroneous
- 3 law. And is that what the Court --
- 4 QUESTION: And we're interpreting statutes --
- 5 the -- the settled body is clear and Congress is
- 6 apparently quite agreeable to it.
- 7 MR. BASKIN: Well, first, the Court has said you
- 8 don't defer -- that -- that you can't read anything into
- 9 congressional inaction, particularly when it has taken
- this long before the board ruling really was definitive.
- 11 And it has taken that long. The issue has been in doubt
- 12 for most of that 20-year period.
- 13 But the -- going beyond that, the -- the
- 14 board --
- 15 QUESTION: I don't understand that. Why do you
- 16 say it's been in doubt for most of the 20-year period?
- 17 MR. BASKIN: Because it's been in doubt. Cases
- 18 like this one have been taking a long time to wind their
- 19 way through the process. At each step, the board said,
- 20 well, we think that it -- there -- it was contested, as
- 21 the board said --
- 22 QUESTION: You mean it has been contested
- 23 constantly during that --
- MR. BASKIN: Yes.
- 25 QUESTION: -- 20 -- 20-year period?

- 1 MR. BASKIN: Absolutely.
- 2 QUESTION: Has the board ever taken a different
- 3 position in the 20-year period?
- 4 MR. BASKIN: There have been dissents, but no,
- 5 the board has generally taken a consistent view.
- 6 QUESTION: So, the board's position has been
- 7 clear for 20 years.
- 8 MR. BASKIN: Yes, but the board --
- 9 QUESTION: The board is slow. It may take the
- 10 -- the cases may be in wending their way through.
- MR. BASKIN: But the board is not entitled to
- deference in its interpretation of the U.S. Constitution
- or of this Court's decision. And that's all that we're
- 14 talking about here is the board's interpretation of the
- 15 Constitution and this Court's opinion. It's not
- 16 interpreting the statute.
- 17 QUESTION: I think we're not raising -- I think
- Justice Ginsburg's question and my question is not so much
- 19 geared to an issue of deference. We're -- we're trying to
- 20 -- to get at the -- what seems to us the fact that the law
- 21 has become settled. It may require no deference. It may
- 22 have become settled because an administrative agency was
- 23 interpreting what you think was an ambiguous opinion of
- 24 this Court in the first place. But it seems to have
- 25 become settled.

- 1 And there is a good reason, which underlies
- 2 ultimately our -- our approach to stare decisis in
- 3 statutory cases, for letting settled statutory
- 4 understandings stayed settled unless the legislative
- 5 branch wants to change them. And that's the argument
- 6 we're getting at, not deference.
- 7 MR. BASKIN: Well, it is -- stare decisis is a
- 8 form of deference, and we're talking about stare decisis
- 9 would apply to the Court's own opinion. Only this Court
- 10 is required to defer to itself about its own opinion.
- 11 Your -- and so that's why we are talking about deference,
- 12 I would submit. At least I interpret your question as
- 13 asking should you stick with what the board has come up
- 14 with. This Court has not ruled on --
- 15 QUESTION: I'm saying that --
- MR. BASKIN: -- on Bill Johnson's since Bill
- Johnson's.
- 18 OUESTION: I'm saying that in -- as -- as your
- own answers indicate, for 20 years there seems to have
- 20 been a -- a settled practice on the part of the board
- 21 which at best is not inconsistent with our opinion. Why
- 22 shouldn't we let a settled statutory regime stay settled
- 23 unless the legislative branch wants to change it?
- 24 MR. BASKIN: I contest that it's a settled
- 25 statutory regime, that we are dealing with a First

- 1 Amendment right, and that the board's outcome, which it
- 2 has taken this long to reach back to the court, is wrong
- 3 under the First Amendment. It has proved to be unworkable
- 4 and it subjects employers to the impossible situation in
- 5 future cases and in cases going on right now that they are
- 6 expected to have 100 percent certainty of the outcome.
- 7 Indeed, the -- the board could, under this
- 8 standard, say that you can win a jury verdict, go -- have
- 9 it upheld by the district court, only to be reversed by an
- 10 appeals court, and still be found under this Court's
- 11 standard to be nonmeritorious and you lose. You have --
- 12 you have violated the law.
- 13 QUESTION: If there's a retaliatory motive.
- MR. BASKIN: If there's a retaliatory motive.
- 15 And that's all it takes. There's a retaliatory motive.
- 16 You go through all of that based on an attack on your
- 17 businesses, which is why employers tend to file these
- 18 lawsuits. They don't like lawyers that much, don't want
- 19 to spend the money to do it, but they're under attack.
- 20 BE&K was under attack in every conceivable forum.
- 21 QUESTION: But, I mean, that's a normal problem,
- 22 isn't it, with the labor statutes and most other statutes.
- 23 It forbids retaliatory behavior. Of course, you'll have
- 24 cases where people make the wrong decision about it, where
- 25 it's hard to predict, and so forth. But that's the

- 1 general situation.
- 2 MR. BASKIN: Well --
- 3 QUESTION: We're trying to carve out a -- an
- 4 exception where you're home free from that.
- 5 MR. BASKIN: Well, no, it's the board that's
- 6 carving out an exception from the basic First Amendment
- 7 protection that this Court has recognized already.
- 8 QUESTION: Mr. Baskin, that -- that goes back
- 9 every time to how you construe this paragraph, and so if
- 10 the position that Justice White is making a distinction
- 11 here between, on the one hand, an ongoing proceeding --
- 12 the First Amendment says you can't stop it. Never mind
- deference to State courts. That's another consideration
- 14 that weighs it to the same end, but traditionally under
- the First Amendment, a prior restraint, stop it, has been
- 16 what the Court has looked at most cautiously. Then
- 17 Justice White tells us, but it's different once the
- 18 adjudication is over.
- 19 The -- the line between prior restraint and
- 20 subsequent punishment goes all the way through First
- 21 Amendment learning, and you treat this as, well,
- 22 ambiguous, but if it were clear it's that there's any
- 23 difference between stopping an ongoing proceeding and
- 24 looking at a situation after it's been adjudicated?
- MR. BASKIN: There -- there can be a difference,

- 1 mainly the difference of having more facts, having an
- 2 outcome in front of the board at that point. And what the
- 3 Court wanted to get across -- the issue in front of the
- 4 Court in Bill Johnson's was don't interfere with an
- 5 ongoing lawsuit. We don't know how it's going to turn
- 6 out.
- 7 All right. Once it turns out, if it's without
- 8 merit -- meritorious -- I'd just invite the Court to look
- 9 at each use of the word meritorious in the Bill Johnson's
- 10 opinion. You will regrettably find some inconsistencies
- 11 not only internally but with other opinions of this Court
- 12 both before Bill Johnson's and after. You have the
- opportunity to clarify the law now in a way that is very
- 14 straightforward under the Professional Real Estate
- 15 Investors test.
- 16 If there are no other questions, I'd like to
- 17 reserve the remainder of my time for rebuttal.
- 18 QUESTION: Very well, Mr. Baskin.
- Mr. Wallace, we'll hear from you.
- 20 ORAL ARGUMENT OF LAWRENCE G. WALLACE
- 21 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS
- 22 MR. WALLACE: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, and
- 23 may it please the Court:
- The board and the courts of appeals have had no
- 25 difficulty in reading Bill Johnson's the way I think most

- 1 people would read this Court's opinion as comprehensively
- 2 addressing what the board was doing with respect to the
- 3 unfair labor practice under section 8(a)(1) of the filing
- 4 of --
- 5 OUESTION: Mr. Wallace.
- 6 MR. WALLACE: -- retaliatory lawsuits.
- 7 QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, when I ask you a
- 8 question, please stop.
- 9 MR. WALLACE: I didn't hear you. I'm sorry.
- 10 QUESTION: Well, listen a little more closely.
- Do you disagree with Mr. Baskin's contention
- 12 that the word meritorious is used inconsistently in the
- part of Bill Johnson's that we're talking about?
- MR. WALLACE: I do disagree with that, and --
- 15 and no court of appeals that has reviewed board decisions
- 16 since Bill Johnson's has read it that way. The Court
- 17 quite clearly distinguished between enjoining ongoing
- 18 lawsuits, which it said could be done only if the lawsuit
- 19 was baseless. Otherwise, the board has to wait until the
- 20 lawsuit has been resolved. If the lawsuit turned out
- 21 favorably to the employer, then it could not be an unfair
- 22 labor practice. But if the lawsuit turned out to be
- 23 unmeritorious, if the employer lost, then the board could
- 24 consider whether it was filed for a retaliatory purpose.
- QUESTION: It did say that, but of course, that

- 1 was not the situation before the Court. I mean, it -- it
- 2 may be the clearest dictum in the world. It may be the
- 3 dictum closest to a holding possible, but it is still
- 4 dictum. The Court did not have before it a case in which
- 5 the employer had already brought the suit and had lost.
- 6 Now, you know, it said what would happen in that
- 7 situation, and you know, I think that's entitled to some
- 8 weight. But the issue that your opponent wants to argue
- 9 here is whether the Court was wrong to say that.
- 10 MR. WALLACE: I beg to differ. The Court
- 11 specifically noted that some of the claims of the employer
- 12 had already been dismissed in the State courts, and in
- 13 footnote 15, at the end of the -- its opinion, it said the
- 14 board, therefore, can use the criteria we --
- 15 QUESTION: But those cases were not before them.
- 16 It said what the board can do in those cases that are not
- 17 now before us. As I say, it may be a dictum that is the
- 18 very next thing to a holding, but it is not a holding.
- 19 Those were not cases that the Court had in front of it.
- 20 MR. WALLACE: It -- it was a direction for how
- 21 further proceedings in the case should be handled.
- 22 OUESTION: Exactly, as many dicta are. As many
- 23 dicta are, and we do not always observe those directions
- 24 when we -- when we have the opportunity to examine the
- 25 matter in a -- in a more immediate context.

- 1 MR. WALLACE: In any event, if I may turn now to
- 2 address the question that the Court asked the parties to
- 3 address in formulating the question presented here. Our
- 4 submission in this case is that this Court's holding in
- 5 Professional Real Estate Investors interpreting the
- 6 antitrust laws and the Court's decision in Bill Johnson's,
- 7 including this -- these dicta to govern further
- 8 proceedings interpreting the National Labor Relations Act,
- 9 are entirely compatible with one another in light of the
- important differences in the purposes, processes,
- 11 remedies, and practicalities of enforcement that were
- implicated in the two statutory schemes at issue.
- 13 QUESTION: Well, I -- I have one particular
- 14 difference in mind that I'd like you to comment on. I --
- 15 I -- it's -- it seems to me that what is sought to be done
- 16 here is much worse as far as the independence of the
- 17 courts and the guarantee of access to the courts by -- by
- 18 the citizenry is concerned than what was sought to be done
- 19 in -- in -- what case -- Professional Real Estate.
- 20 And this is the difference. In Professional
- 21 Real Estate, it would have been the courts that would have
- 22 decided the facts which would have imposed upon the losing
- 23 party attorney's fees. In this situation, it is going to
- 24 be the Labor Board that will decide the factual question
- 25 of whether there was a retaliatory motive, and the courts

- 1 will have to defer to that factual finding if there is a
- 2 basis in the record, whether the courts agree with it or
- 3 not.
- 4 I find it quite offensive to think that Article
- 5 III courts are going to be told that certain people who
- 6 have come to them for relief will pay a penalty for doing
- 7 so on the basis of a retaliatory motive found not by
- 8 Article III courts at all but by the labor court -- but by
- 9 the Labor Board. In that respect, this case is much worse
- 10 than -- than what was going on in -- in Professional Real
- 11 Estate.
- MR. WALLACE: Well, the board is not
- contradicting anything found by the courts. The question
- of retaliatory motive was not at issue in the underlying
- 15 litigation, and the board has to wait under this Court's
- 16 decision in Bill Johnson's before it addresses the
- 17 question of whether there's been an unfair labor
- 18 practice --
- 19 QUESTION: They will address it in a proceeding
- 20 before the board. They will find an unfair labor practice
- 21 on the basis of their finding of a retaliatory motive.
- 22 And I -- I note, by the way, as to, you know,
- 23 how -- how much we can trust those -- those findings -- I
- 24 had one of my law clerks look up how many -- how many
- 25 times the board has imposed this kind of an unfair labor

- 1 practice penalty for -- for bringing a lawsuit. Since the
- 2 Power Systems case in '78, which is when they started this
- 3 process, they have 26 decisions ordering the employer to
- 4 pay attorney's fees incurred in defending a lawsuit and 3
- 5 decisions in which it -- it ordered a union to do so.
- 6 Now, is -- is there some reason that unions are not using
- 7 lawyers as much as companies are these days?
- 8 MR. WALLACE: Well, the -- the cases against
- 9 unions are much less numerous to begin with because unions
- 10 are less apt to bring lawsuits to interfere with the
- 11 rights of employees under section 7 for concerted
- 12 activity. We're talking about a retaliation against
- 13 section 7 rights. Usually that's been the subject of
- employer suits, but the board does apply the same test
- 15 when --
- 16 QUESTION: There were union lawsuits in this
- 17 present case, weren't there? Plenty of them.
- 18 MR. WALLACE: But those were against the
- 19 employer, and -- and they --
- 20 QUESTION: But suits -- suits against the
- 21 employer can certainly be brought to impair the -- the
- 22 rights of the employees not to -- not to unionize.
- 23 MR. WALLACE: That would have to be a showing a
- 24 violation by the union of 8(b)(4), not -- not that the
- lawsuit was an 8(a)(1) violation against the concerted

- 1 activities rights of employees. The employer would have
- 2 to show that the union lawsuit violated duties that the
- 3 union owes, and that was resolved against the employer on
- 4 the merits in this case because the -- the subject of the
- 5 lawsuits was about working conditions at the site of
- 6 employment, which was a legitimate union concern.
- 7 QUESTION: Never -- never mind the 26 to 3.
- 8 Just -- just tell me why I -- as -- as an Article III
- 9 judge, I should not be concerned about leaving it to a
- 10 Federal agency to make the factual finding that will
- 11 determine whether somebody will be punished for bringing a
- 12 reasonable lawsuit, although one which ultimately loses in
- 13 Federal courts. Why shouldn't I be concerned about that?
- MR. WALLACE: Well, this isn't punishment. It's
- 15 make-whole relief under an administrative scheme which is
- 16 meant to protect employees in the exercise of their
- 17 concerted rights, and it involves no contradiction of any
- 18 issue that was before the -- the court in the underlying
- 19 litigation which did not have occasion to address whether
- 20 the suit was brought for a retaliatory purpose.
- 21 QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, Mr. Baskin told us that
- 22 there are punitive aspects to this that could lead to
- 23 debarment he said. So, it's not simply to provide for
- 24 fee-shifting, but that there are heavy consequences.
- MR. WALLACE: Well, the -- the case to which the

- 1 Chief Justice referred earlier, Wisconsin Department of
- 2 Industrial Relations against Gould, was one in which this
- 3 Court held that Wisconsin law was preempted, and Wisconsin
- 4 could not refuse to make purchases, State purchases, from
- 5 companies that had been found to have violated the
- 6 National Labor Relations Act because the whole purpose of
- 7 the remedy scheme under the National Labor Relations Act
- 8 is remedial and the remedies are limited, and the idea is
- 9 to get labor disputes behind us, not to have disruptions
- of the economy, to keep productivity going, and to keep
- 11 the people employed.
- 12 QUESTION: Well, is -- is the point of this
- 13 colloquy whether or not this act can be called punitive or
- 14 this NLRB doctrine can be called punitive? I -- I had
- 15 thought you said that it is punitive, or am I wrong?
- 16 Maybe you think nothing -- maybe you think nothing turns
- 17 on that.
- MR. WALLACE: Well, I -- I wouldn't think that
- 19 -- that anything would turn on it, but it is not punitive.
- 20 The only remedy that's granted is a make-whole remedy that
- 21 the costs incurred by the prevailing defendants in a suit
- 22 brought for an improper motive, namely to coerce those
- 23 defendants in the exercise of rights granted them by
- 24 Federal statute when suit turned out --
- 25 QUESTION: But is there any other effect by

- 1 virtue of the finding of the unfair labor practice?
- 2 MR. WALLACE: Well --
- 3 QUESTION: I mean, true in terms of money, it's
- 4 the fees. Is there any other effect --
- 5 QUESTION: -- by virtue of their finding?
- 6 MR. WALLACE: Notice is to be posted. The cease
- 7 and desist order issues. Those -- those parts of the
- 8 remedy were not challenged in this case.
- 9 QUESTION: Well, let's just talk about the make-
- 10 whole remedy. We held in 1982 that in a private suit for
- an unfair labor practice, which provides for making whole
- 12 the -- the plaintiff for -- for his damages, there was no
- authority in the court to award attorney's fees, that
- 14 making whole there did not include attorney's fees. What
- 15 -- and -- and, you know, the language was very clear about
- 16 the American rule and what a -- what a change it would be.
- 17 Why -- why should it be any different when the unfair
- 18 labor practice is -- is decreed by the board rather than
- in a private action?
- 20 It doesn't say explicitly that you can get
- 21 attorney's fees, just as -- just as the other -- the --
- 22 the private action provision didn't say explicitly. It
- 23 just said, you know, whatever damages you have. And
- 24 damages were not intended to include that. Why should we
- 25 hold any differently in this situation, especially when

- 1 the result is to leave it to the board to decide whether
- 2 -- whether somebody will be punished for bringing a
- 3 meritorious but ultimately unsuccessful suit in Federal
- 4 court?
- 5 MR. WALLACE: Well, board proceedings are much
- 6 less burdensome than -- than court proceedings to those
- 7 that are issue, and the Court held in Bill Johnson's that
- 8 the board remedy of recompensing the defendants who
- 9 prevailed in this suit for their costs, because the suit
- 10 was brought to defeat their section 7 rights, was a
- 11 permissible remedy by the board.
- 12 QUESTION: We held it or -- or said it. I mean,
- 13 that -- that's one of the disputes here, isn't it?
- MR. WALLACE: Yes. They held it in the sense of
- 15 -- of prescribing that rule for the further proceedings to
- 16 be held in that very case on remand from the Court's
- 17 order.
- 18 QUESTION: We're just going around the dictum
- 19 point again. I consider it dictum, and -- and the issue
- 20 is whether that was a wise thing to say.
- MR. WALLACE: Well, when the Court prescribes a
- 22 rule of that nature, the United States considers itself
- 23 bound by it in its further handling --
- 24 OUESTION: Yes. I'm -- I'm not criticizing you
- 25 for arguing the point, certainly not.

- 1 QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, I -- do you agree that
- 2 under the board's rule here that it does allow the board
- 3 to find the unfair labor practice and impose the sanctions
- 4 on litigation brought by employers that is not limited to
- 5 just shams and abuse of process?
- 6 MR. WALLACE: That's --
- 7 QUESTION: It does allow the imposition of these
- 8 things for an employer suit that could be considered
- 9 objectively reasonable at the time it was brought.
- 10 MR. WALLACE: Exactly so. That -- I thought the
- 11 Court made it quite clear in Bill Johnson's that as long
- 12 as the suit was an unmeritorious one, in the sense that it
- did not prevail, the board could afford the limited remedy
- 14 that's available under the act.
- 15 QUESTION: Well, does that have the necessary
- 16 effect of at least chilling some conduct that is protected
- 17 by the First Amendment? I mean, it seems to me it does.
- 18 You have to -- you would have to concede that it does.
- 19 MR. WALLACE: But it -- it's a far less daunting
- 20 situation than what the Court was faced with under the
- 21 antitrust laws in the Professional Real Estate Investors
- 22 case.
- 23 QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, isn't it correct that
- the scope of chilling is limited to those with a
- 25 retaliatory motive?

- 1 MR. WALLACE: Absolutely.
- 2 QUESTION: I thought it's where the board
- 3 finds --
- 4 QUESTION: -- already chilled those cases.
- 5 QUESTION: -- to those where the board and not
- 6 Federal courts on their own find a retaliatory motive.
- 7 MR. WALLACE: But, of course, the board's
- 8 findings are subject to judicial review.
- 9 QUESTION: For -- so long as there's substantial
- 10 evidence, which means -- you know.
- MR. WALLACE: Correct.
- 12 QUESTION: All right. So --
- 13 QUESTION: In every 8(a)(1) case, the
- 14 retaliatory motive is found by the board. That's part of
- 15 the statutory proceeding, isn't it?
- MR. WALLACE: That is correct.
- 17 QUESTION: The other parts of this statutory
- 18 proceeding do not exclude the Federal courts from their
- 19 business, do they, which this does by imposing penalties
- upon people who come to the Federal courts?
- 21 MR. WALLACE: Well, I think this Court's make it
- 22 quite -- this Court's decisions make it quite clear that
- 23 under the National Labor Relations Act, it is board rather
- than courts that have the responsibility of ruling about
- 25 unfair labor practices.

- 1 QUESTION: We agree with that and the only issue
- 2 is whether that statutory provision places within the
- 3 board the power to impose this particular sanction for an
- 4 unfair labor practice, a penalty for bringing a
- 5 meritorious lawsuit.
- 6 MR. WALLACE: Well, make-whole relief --
- 7 QUESTION: Isn't the make-whole relief simply
- 8 that they've said, since ours is a statute which foresees
- 9 taking labor disputes out of the courts and putting them
- into the board, since that's why it was passed, we're
- 11 going to say a -- a loser in a Federal lawsuit that
- violates that basic underlying purpose has to pay
- 13 attorney's fees to the winner? Now, is there anything
- 14 here other than that?
- MR. WALLACE: Not -- not at all. That's -- that
- 16 is what is at issue, and the -- the National Labor
- 17 Relations Act authorizes the board, under this Court's
- 18 opinion in Bill Johnson's, to afford that kind of a
- 19 limited remedy --
- 20 QUESTION: Well, isn't what --
- 21 QUESTION: Is the courts' -- is the board's
- 22 definition of a unmeritorious lawsuit simply one which --
- 23 in which the plaintiff does not get what the plaintiff
- 24 wants. It's thrown out of court, so to speak.
- MR. WALLACE: That's approximately it, yes, Mr.

- 1 Chief Justice.
- 2 QUESTION: How -- how would it vary? Why do you
- 3 use the term approximately?
- 4 MR. WALLACE: Well, there can -- there can be
- 5 cases in which a voluntary dismissal was taken with
- 6 prejudice. Sometimes the question of whether it was an
- 7 unmeritorious suit becomes a debatable question. But
- 8 ordinarily it's one, as it was in this case, in which the
- 9 courts have ruled against claims that the employer made.
- 10 QUESTION: Is -- is -- I'm sorry. Is there any
- 11 authority? I mean, I thought, as a matter of proposition,
- 12 maybe there would be some authority like a -- an
- 13 electricity generating regulator would have said in
- 14 certain kinds of lawsuits, you have to have fee-shifting.
- 15 The SEC might say in certain kinds of lawsuits, certain
- 16 companies have to pay attorney's fees. The barbers'
- 17 regulator might say in certain union -- or certain --
- 18 certain instances the barbers have to pay the legal fees
- 19 of somebody else. Is -- is there any comparable authority
- any other place that you've found?
- 21 It -- it doesn't seem to me an absurd
- 22 proposition of law or of constitutional law that a
- 23 regulator who's in charge of a particular group of
- 24 individuals or businesses says in particular circumstances
- 25 there will be fee-shifting. But maybe that's total --

- 1 maybe this is the only case that's ever come up.
- MR. WALLACE: Well, we -- we didn't come up with
- 3 analogies in which regulatory agencies do the fee-
- 4 shifting. There are certainly many statutes that provide
- 5 for fee-shifting. The Fogerty case discusses a number of
- 6 them.
- 7 QUESTION: But they have to be very explicit
- 8 because it's such an extraordinary thing. That's what our
- 9 jurisprudence very clearly says. And here with -- with no
- 10 more explicitness than there was in the case in Summit
- 11 Valley, the -- the agency is assuming the power to fee-
- 12 shift and to make the factual determination upon which the
- 13 fee-shifting turns. I think that's extraordinary.
- MR. WALLACE: Well, there is not a reference to
- 15 fee-shifting as such in the National Labor Relations Act,
- 16 but Congress did say in section 8(a)(1) that it shall be
- 17 an unfair labor practice to an employee to interfere with,
- 18 restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of the
- 19 concerted activity rights for mutual aid and protection
- that are guaranteed in section 7. And this Court in Bill
- 21 Johnson's recognized that there had been a history of the
- 22 use of the courts for that purpose.
- QUESTION: Mr. Wallace --
- 24 QUESTION: In -- in a case like this, if we have
- 25 essentially these facts, if the finding of the board was

- 1 is that the purpose of the employer in bringing the suit
- was because the employer's board of directors met and they
- 3 say, we are being hurt in the marketplace, public opinion
- 4 is against us, we must bring these suits to protect our
- 5 position in the business community, I take it that is a
- 6 retaliatory motive.
- 7 MR. WALLACE: Well, the retaliatory motive would
- 8 be -- it would have to be shown that the suit was brought
- 9 for the purpose of coercing, discouraging, suppressing,
- 10 restraining the employees in the exercise of their rights.
- 11 QUESTION: Well, but you -- you know what I'm
- 12 trying -- trying to get at. The -- the union is doing
- 13 these to weaken the employer and the employer meets and
- says, this is hurting our business, it's hurting us in the
- 15 marketplace. Is that retaliatory?
- 16 MR. WALLACE: Well, the -- the board addresses
- 17 that question in light of all the circumstances of the
- 18 case. To the extent that the suit was not baseless in law
- 19 or fact that the employer brought --
- 20 QUESTION: Assume -- assume that there -- it's
- 21 not baseless.
- 22 MR. WALLACE: That weighs in the employer's
- 23 favor. There are other factors that weigh against the
- 24 employer. In this --
- 25 QUESTION: But it can be retaliatory for the

- 1 employer to protect its business against suits by the
- 2 union which are brought by the union for the motive of
- 3 weakening the employer. That's retaliatory.
- 4 MR. WALLACE: Well, only if the employer has
- 5 brought suits against the union or the employees. It
- 6 certainly can defend against any suit --
- 7 QUESTION: No. It's been bringing suits in
- 8 order to stop the other suits.
- 9 MR. WALLACE: Well --
- 10 QUESTION: Let -- let me ask you in a related
- 11 vein. Maybe it's an unrelated vein. Can -- could
- 12 Congress overrule Noerr-Pennington?
- MR. WALLACE: This Court did not indicate in any
- 14 way that it could not reexamine, modify the rules of
- 15 Noerr-Pennington or of Professional Real Estate. The
- 16 Court --
- 17 QUESTION: In other words, Noerr-Pennington
- 18 doesn't have a constitutional underpinning.
- MR. WALLACE: It -- it certainly construed the
- 20 antitrust laws in light of the fact that those laws focus
- 21 mostly on private conduct in the marketplace, not on
- 22 petitioning for Government-imposed restraints, and that
- 23 there was a need in construing them not to -- to allow
- 24 improper chilling of the bringing of lawsuits or other
- 25 forms of petitioning activity.

1 And in -- in Professional Real Estate itself, 2 the procedural posture focused on the need for summary judgment to be available against a counterclaim for treble 3 4 damages under the antitrust laws in circumstances in which the counterclaimant, after the underlying copyright 5 6 infringement suit was found to be objectively reasonable, 7 was saying, but I still need further discovery in order to ascertain the intent and motives of the original plaintiff 8 in bringing the copyright infringement suit because it's 9 my view that -- that they didn't really expect to prevail 10 11 and that they were bringing it for anticompetitive 12 purposes. 13 And the danger that the Court was addressing there was that much of the protective quality of the Noerr 14 doctrine itself could be undermined if the original 15 16 lawsuit that supposedly is protected could be chilled by the prospect of burdensome discovery and treble damages. 17 My -- my concern -- my concern is --18 QUESTION: 19 is this, is that the First Amendment has its own 20 corrective counterspeech, but what the board has done here 2.1 is it's defined retaliatory motive so broadly that it's 22 taken away that First Amendment corrective. And that is 23 itself a distortion of First Amendment principles which 24 allowed the unions to bring these suits in the first

25

place, it seems to me.

- MR. WALLACE: Well, there -- there is a very
- 2 limited remedy available here compared to the prospect
- 3 that treble damages might be awarded on the basis of
- 4 rather unpredictable findings about subjective motivation
- 5 in bringing the lawsuit. And it -- it -- it's a remedy
- 6 that's been applied against a background of what this
- 7 Court in Bill Johnson's referred to as a -- a powerful
- 8 tool. Powerful was the word the Court used.
- 9 QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, is retaliatory motive --
- 10 is that before us in this case? I mean, it may be that
- 11 this Court, by saying that the board -- that there was,
- even in this case, insufficient evidence of retaliatory
- motive, but I didn't think that was the question presented
- 14 here.
- 15 MR. WALLACE: I agree with you on that point,
- 16 Justice Ginsburg.
- 17 QUESTION: Because on that, I was going to ask
- 18 you, well, what is it that shows that this was in
- 19 retaliation for violation of section 7 rights instead of
- 20 being in -- in response to the union's desire simply to
- 21 harass the employer? I think that there are very serious
- 22 questions about that, but my view was of this case that --
- that wasn't before us.
- 24 MR. WALLACE: I -- I agree with you completely.
- 25 In fact --

- 1 QUESTION: I take it -- I take it the background
- of this case is that there was a finding of retaliatory
- 3 motive and we have to make our decision based upon the way
- 4 the board interprets retaliatory motive in cases such as
- 5 this.
- 6 MR. WALLACE: Well, it's certainly part of the
- 7 background of the case, but the Court did limit the grant
- 8 of certiorari to whether these two decisions are
- 9 compatible given the differences between the two acts.
- 10 QUESTION: And we have to defer both to the
- 11 board's determination of what constitutes a retaliatory
- motive and, even more so, to the board's factual
- determination that retaliatory motive existed. All it
- 14 takes is one witness who says it existed, and that would
- 15 constitute substantial evidence. And if the board goes
- 16 with that witness, the courts have to effectively penalize
- 17 the company for seeking resort in the courts.
- MR. WALLACE: Well, there is seldom direct
- 19 evidence of that kind, although occasionally there is
- 20 direct evidence of animus in the bringing of the suit.
- 21 But the board has relied on a number of factors, which
- 22 we've set out on page 47 of our brief, in various -- in
- 23 various cases in seeing retaliatory motive. In this case
- 24 one of the more persuasive ones was that the lawsuit was
- 25 brought against parties that the plaintiff knew or should

- 1 have known did not participate in the allegedly unlawful
- 2 conduct. They included as defendants unions that had
- 3 not --
- 4 QUESTION: That's an issue that was raised by
- 5 question 3 of the cert petition, and we didn't grant it.
- 6 MR. WALLACE: That's correct. That's correct.
- 7 The -- the petition --
- 8 QUESTION: But -- but --
- 9 MR. WALLACE: -- was about the compatibility of
- 10 the Court's decision in Professional Real Estate with what
- 11 we had taken to be the Court's clear prescription of the
- 12 limits on the remedy of the 8(a)(1) and unfair labor
- 13 practice in the Bill Johnson's case.
- 14 QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, we are concerned with
- 15 the Bill Johnson's case, and a question has been raised
- 16 about where does the authority to come -- come from for
- 17 this fee-shifting. It does appear in the Court's opinion
- 18 in Bill Johnson's. If a violation is found, the board may
- 19 order the employer to reimburse the employees, whom he has
- 20 wrongfully sued, for their attorney's fees. Where did the
- 21 Court come up with that fee-shifting? Was that something
- 22 that the board had been doing? Did the Government propose
- 23 it? But it's right there in the Court's of opinion that
- the proper remedy is fee-shifting.
- MR. WALLACE: Precisely so. But the board had

- 1 been doing it regardless of the merits of the underlying
- 2 lawsuit. The board had become so concerned with the use
- 3 of the courts for retaliatory litigation that whether the
- 4 lawsuit was meritorious or not, if it found that it was
- 5 brought for the purpose of defeating section 7 rights, it
- 6 was awarding fees. And the Court said, no, wait a minute.
- 7 You can't do that and you can't enjoin lawsuits that are
- 8 not baseless. The Court was really correcting the board
- 9 and reining in that remedy in a way that the board has
- 10 complied with.
- 11 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Wallace.
- Mr. Baskin, you have 4 minutes remaining.
- 13 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF MAURICE BASKIN
- 14 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
- 15 MR. BASKIN: Thank you, Your Honor. I would
- 16 just briefly like to address the question of retaliatory
- 17 motive, but only as I understood the Justices' questions
- 18 to be does it suffice alone so that they -- the board can
- 19 rightly ignore the question of the objective basis. And
- 20 -- and the reason it does not suffice, among others, is
- 21 perhaps looking at the 26 decisions Justice Scalia found,
- there's only one among them where there was no finding of
- 23 retaliatory motive and there only because it was found
- that the action didn't relate in any way to the union
- 25 activity.

- 1 QUESTION: There was only one -- one where what?
- MR. BASKIN: Where there was no finding, where
- 3 the board found no retaliatory motive. It found against
- 4 the employers 25 out of 26 times. Once it found that the
- 5 employer had lost the lawsuit, automatically according to
- 6 the board, no merit. Even though they had all the best
- 7 circumstances leading up to the loss, they lost. No
- 8 merit.
- 9 Then the board proceeds to the retaliatory
- 10 motive step supposedly going to protect employers, and all
- 11 they say is does it relate to union activity. Well, if it
- 12 relates, except for one case where it didn't, boom, you
- 13 lose. The employers lose.
- And what the result of that is, is that no
- 15 employer can go to court if any sort of protected activity
- is even arguably involved because even if you convene a
- 17 panel of experts, as BE&K did in this case, and go as far
- 18 as you can to make sure you are not trampling on any
- 19 employee rights, if you go to court, you will be found to
- 20 have violated the law unless you can say with 100 percent
- 21 certainty that you're going to win. And no one can say
- 22 that.
- 23 QUESTION: I didn't know -- as long as you're
- 24 finished, I thought the 26 cases were 26 cases in which
- 25 they awarded attorney's fees.

- 1 MR. BASKIN: No. 26 cases with attorney's fees
- 2 plus, attorney's fees --
- 3 QUESTION: All right. Now, I thought they
- 4 weren't supposed to award attorney's fees or anything
- 5 unless there was a retaliatory motive.
- 6 MR. BASKIN: Yes. The board found retaliatory
- 7 motive.
- 8 QUESTION: All right. No, but I mean, of course
- 9 they did. I mean, how many cases where there where people
- 10 alleged retaliatory motive and they found the opposite?
- MR. BASKIN: In the 26 cases --
- 12 QUESTION: No. Those are the ones where they
- won. How many did they lose? I mean, I don't understand
- 14 this 26 case business. I thought the 26 cases were the
- ones that they awarded it in, and I thought they were only
- 16 supposed to award it where it's retaliatory. So, it's
- 17 hardly surprising it's retaliatory.
- 18 MR. BASKIN: No. As I understood Justice
- 19 Scalia, and frankly our own research, is these are 26
- 20 cases that reached the board where the board could have
- 21 gone either way, and every time, except for the one, they
- 22 found no merit and retaliatory motive. And they did so
- 23 almost automatically because of their misreading of a
- 24 principle. We say a misreading. But either way, it's a
- 25 bad principle.

- 1 QUESTION: Well, when you say the board could
- 2 have gone either way, you don't mean that you know the
- 3 evidence and that, in fact, on the evidence, the board
- 4 could have gone either way. You simply mean that it's a
- 5 case in which if the evidence showed there was
- 6 retaliation, they could award the fees, and if the
- 7 evidence did not show retaliation, they couldn't award the
- 8 fees. Right?
- 9 MR. BASKIN: The 26 cases are --
- 10 QUESTION: So, all we know is that in those
- 11 cases, they found retaliatory motive. We don't know that
- 12 they're wrong.
- 13 MR. BASKIN: Yes, that's -- that's what we know.
- 14 They found retaliatory motive. And the limited point that
- 15 I'm making here at the end is that this retaliatory motive
- 16 idea is no more -- not enough protection under the NLRA
- 17 just as it is not enough protection -- and you've already
- 18 found it to be not enough protection -- under the
- 19 antitrust laws. And that's why the Professional Real
- 20 Estate standard is the correct standard and it's the only
- 21 one that protects employers' rights under the First
- 22 Amendment.
- Thank you.
- 24 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNOUIST: Thank you, Mr. Baskin.
- The case is submitted.

1	(Whe	reupon,	at .	12:08	p.m.,	the	case	ın	the
2	above-entitled	matter	was	subm	itted.)			
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
12									
13									
14						•			
15									
16									
17									
18									
19									
20									
21									
22									
23									
24									
25									

allow 36:2.7 42:23 attorney's 10:24 29:23 31:4 34:13,14 **allowed** 43:24 34:21 38:13 39:16 46:20 48:25 49:1 **about** 7:17 12:25 13:3,3,6 14:5 15:5 almost 49:23 49:2,4 16:20 17:2 18:14 22:14 23:8.10.11 **alone** 14:14 47:18 authority 34:13 39:11,12,19 46:16 24:24 27:13 31:12 32:5,9,13 34:9,15 already 3:17 11:4 13:25 25:7 28:5,12 authorizes 38:17 37:24 44:4,22 46:9,16 37:4 50:17 **automatic** 6:7.9 9:4 above-entitled 1:11 51:2 **although** 8:25 32:12 45:19 automatically 4:21 48:5 49:23 **Absolutely 22:1 37:1** always 17:22 28:23 **available** 9:19 36:14 43:3 44:2 **absurd** 39:21 ambiguity 20:12,15,18,20,21 award 34:13 49:4.16 50:6.7 **abuse** 17:22 36:5 **ambiguous** 9:12 10:8 14:8 15:19 awarded 44:3 48:25 49:15 **accept** 19:12 22:23 25:22 awarding 47:6 accepted 20:12 **Amendment** 3:12.14.18 8:3 10:21 aware 12:20.21 access 8:4 18:18 29:17 13:25 18:21,24 24:1,3 25:6,12,15,21 away 16:22 43:22 according 48:5 36:17 43:19,22,23 50:22 **a.m** 1:13 3:2 account 5:22 American 34:16 across 12:19 26:3 B among 47:20,22 act 3:24 4:22 13:14 29:8 33:6,7,13 analogies 40:3 **B** 7:18 36:14 37:23 38:17 40:15 analyzes 8:2 back 6:14 9:11 14:2 15:16 20:9,16 action 12:23 34:19.22 47:24 animus 45:20 24:2 25:8 activities 32:1 another 8:7 25:13 29:9 **background** 44:6 45:1,7 activity 9:5 17:13 31:12 40:19 42:25 bad 49:25 answer 4:24 11:15 19:25 20:4 47:25 48:11.15 answered 17:4 barbers 39:16,18 actors 13:8 barely 15:4 answers 23:19 acts 4:25 45:9 anticipate 4:7 based 3:14 24:16 45:3 actually 19:19 **baseless** 3:21 4:18 17:21 27:19 41:18 anticompetitive 43:11 addition 12:13 **antitrust** 3:19,25 5:8 12:2,11 15:20 41:21 47:8 address 15:15,24 29:2,3 30:19 32:19 16:3,7 29:6 36:21 42:20 43:4 50:19 **basic** 15:17 25:6 38:12 47:16 **anything** 13:24 21:8 30:13 33:19 basically 4:11 addresses 30:16 41:16 38:13 49:4 **basis** 4:15 8:6,22,23 13:13 17:16,20 **addressing** 27:2 43:13 **apparently** 5:8 16:6 21:6 17:23 18:1,5 19:5 30:2,7,21 44:3 **adjudicate** 5:20 6:8 20:3 **appeals** 15:9 24:10 26:24 27:15 47:19 adjudicated 25:24 **appear** 46:17 **Baskin** 1:15 2:3,8 3:6,7,9 4:4,12,14 adjudication 25:18 **APPEARANCES** 1:14 4:23 5:10,16,24 6:5,14,15,22 7:6,20 administration 13:18 appendix 14:19 8:11,13,17,19 9:15,18,25 10:3,6,11 administrative 22:22 32:15 **applied** 4:2 11:4 44:6 10:14,16,19 11:1,7,12,16,19,22 adopt 11:18 **apply** 11:3 13:25 23:9 31:14 12:16 13:5,16 14:11,25 15:3,8,13 adopting 10:24 approach 23:2 16:14,16,20 17:1,19,25 18:4,10,16 advance 4:8 approximately 38:25 39:3 19:1.14.19 20:5.21 21:2.7.17.24 adverse 12:15 **April** 1:10 22:1,4,8,11 23:7,16,24 24:14 25:2,5 affected 13:2 apt 31:10 25:8,25 26:18 32:21 47:12,13,15 **afford** 36:13 38:18 area 16:5 48:2 49:1,6,11,18 50:9,13,24 **after** 9:24 20:25 25:24 26:12 43:5 arguably 48:16 Baskin's 27:11 again 4:17 35:19 **argue** 28:8 become 9:4 12:20,21 22:21,22,25 47:2 against 5:17,18 6:21,23 8:1,9 31:8,12 arguing 35:25 becomes 39:7 31:18,20,25 32:3 33:2 39:9 41:4,23 **argument** 1:12 2:2,7 3:3,7 10:20,22 **before** 1:12 6:13 7:21,22 16:8 21:10 42:1,5,6 43:3 44:6 45:25 48:3 11:6,8 18:24 19:10,12 23:5 26:20 26:12 28:1,4,15,17 30:16,20 32:18 agencies 40:3 47:13 44:10,23 agency 22:22 32:10 40:11 arising 3:11 **beg** 28:10 **ago** 13:17 20:11 **around** 35:18 **begin** 31:9 agree 10:22,23 30:2 36:1 38:1 44:15 **Article** 30:4.8 32:8 **beginning** 7:23 20:18 44:24 ascertain 43:8 **begun** 14:15 agreeable 21:6 **asked** 29:2 **behalf** 1:15,18 2:4,6,9 3:8 26:21 **ahead** 16:24 **asking** 3:13 11:2 13:24 23:13 47:14 aid 40:19 aspects 32:22 behavior 24:23 **AL** 1:7 assume 20:17 41:20,20 behind 33:9 **alleged** 49:10 **assuming** 15:17 40:11 being 3:15 5:12 8:5 13:2 19:14,16 allegedly 46:1 attack 24:16,19,20 41:3 44:20

believe 20:23 **called** 18:18 33:13,14 colloquy 33:13 **come** 13:18 17:5 23:13 30:6 37:20 believes 16:6 came 1:11 14:8 **best** 7:3 9:13 23:21 48:6 candid 20:14 40:1,2 46:16,16,21 carried 4:21 between 9:16 20:10 25:11,19,23 comment 29:14 27:17 45:9 **carve** 25:3 **committed** 12:12 16:5 carving 25:6 **beyond** 21:13 commonality 14:1 **BE&K** 1:3 3:4.13 11:25 15:9 24:20 case 3:11.21 4:23 6:13 8:2.21 9:4.16 community 41:5 9:17 10:15.17 13:12 14:8.13.14.15 **companies** 13:19 31:7 33:5 39:16 **Bill** 3:21 5:1,3,13,16 6:13 7:22 9:8,14 company 1:3 3:4 13:7,11 45:17 14:16 15:6,6,9,21 16:8,8,18 17:2 10:7 14:16,19 15:19 16:17,23 20:13 18:25 28:4,21 29:4,19 30:9 31:2,17 comparable 39:19 23:16,16 26:4,9,12,25 27:13,16 29:6 32:4.25 34:8 35:16 36:22 37:13 39:8 compared 44:2 40:1,5,10,24 41:18 44:10,12,22 45:2 30:16 35:7 36:11 38:18 40:20 44:7 compatibility 46:9 45:7,23 46:13,15 48:12,17 49:14 **compatible** 29:9 45:9 46:13,15,18 bit 6:14 50:5,25 51:1 compelling 20:6 **blah** 17:15.16.16.16 cases 5:25 11:9 12:11 14:23 15:2.25 **completed** 9:17 19:21 board 1:7 3:5,16 4:3,4 5:6,19,22 6:3,6 20:1,3 21:17 22:10 23:3 24:5,5,24 completely 44:24 7:14 8:8 9:3,5,19,22 11:25 14:6,10 28:15,16,19 31:8 37:4 39:5 45:4,23 complied 47:10 14:15 16:5,12 17:12 18:14 19:21 48:24,24 49:1,9,11,14,20 50:9,11 component 4:10 comprehensively 27:1 20:18,22,23,24 21:10,14,19,21 22:2 cautiously 25:16 cease 7:24 12:2 34:6 concede 36:18 22:5,8,9,11 23:13,20 24:7 25:5 26:2 conceivable 24:20 cert 9:1 46:5 26:24 27:2,15,19,23 28:14,16 29:24 30:9,12,15,20,25 31:14 34:18 35:1,5 **certain** 30:5 39:14,15,15,17,17,18 concern 17:10 32:6 43:18,18 35:8,11 36:2,13 37:2,5,14,23 38:3 **certainly** 12:21 31:21 35:25 40:4 concerned 19:7.8 29:18 32:9.13 42:6,19 45:6 46:14 47:2 38:10,17 40:25 41:2,16 43:20 44:11 45:4,15,21 46:18,22,25 47:2,8,9,18 certainty 24:6 48:21 concerted 31:11,25 32:17 40:19 48:3,6,9 49:6,20,20 50:1,3 certiorari 45:8 conclusion 17:5 **boards** 18:25 challenged 34:8 conditions 32:5 conduct 36:16 42:21 46:2 **board's** 8:18 9:2,10 14:12 17:11 22:6 **change** 23:5,23 34:16 Congress 7:16 10:23 11:17 21:5 22:14 24:1 36:2 37:7 38:21 45:11,12 character 19:9,13 **charge** 39:23 40:16 42:12 **body** 20:25 21:2.5 books 17:15 Chief 3:3,9 15:16 26:22 33:1 39:1 congressional 21:9 **boom** 48:12 consequences 12:13,15 32:24 50:24 **both** 3:19 4:25 8:8,13 9:8 11:9 13:7 consider 27:24 35:19 **chilled** 19:15,16 37:4 43:16 **chilling** 19:7,12 36:16,24 42:24 considerable 14:17 26:12 45:10 bound 35:23 Christiansburg 6:13 consideration 25:13 **branch** 23:5,23 **Circuit** 15:7,11 considerations 18:7 **break** 16:1 circumstances 39:24 41:17 43:4 considered 16:17 17:2 36:8 considers 35:22 **Brever's** 17:9 20:11 48:7 brief 12:25 45:22 **cited** 3:25 consistent 5:3 14:9 22:5 consistently 6:12 7:16 **briefly** 47:16 **citing** 14:21 **bring** 31:10 41:4 43:24 citizenry 29:18 constantly 21:23 **bringing** 9:23 16:12 31:1 32:11 35:2 **civil** 7:25 constitute 45:15 38:4 41:1 42:7,24 43:9,11 44:5 **claim** 5:20 **constitutes** 8:16 45:11 claims 28:11 39:9 **Constitution** 11:11,14 18:22 22:12 45:20 broadly 43:21 clarify 26:13 22:15 **broke** 12:1 Clause 3:12 **constitutional** 10:22 11:7,16 39:22 **brought** 7:25 15:21,25 28:5 31:21 **clear** 13:4 20:24 21:5 22:7 25:22 42:18 32:20 33:22 35:10 36:4,9 41:8,19 34:15 36:11 37:22 46:11 constitutionally 11:2 42:2,5 45:25 47:5 clearest 28:2 **Construction** 1:3 3:4,13 **burdensome** 35:6 43:17 **clearly** 7:20 20:25 27:17 40:9 construe 25:9 business 15:10,11 37:19 41:5,14 42:1 clerical 17:12 construed 42:19 49:14 **construing** 7:5 42:23 **clerks** 30:24 businesses 24:17 39:24 client 4:11 contention 27:11 closely 27:10 contest 23:24 C contested 9:1 21:20.22 closest 28:3 C 2:1 3:1 **coerce** 33:22 40:18 context 18:9 28:25 **California** 5:1 15:10 coercing 41:9 contracting 13:8

disruptions 33:9 contradicting 30:13 decision 5:13 15:13 22:13 24:24 29:6 dissents 22:4 contradiction 32:17 30:16 45:3 46:10 **convene** 48:16 decisions 27:15 31:3,5 37:22 45:8 dissipated 20:19 **distinction** 9:16 25:10 copyright 43:5,9 47:21 **correct** 10:14 36:23 37:11.16 46:6.6 decisis 23:2.7.8 distinguished 27:17 distortion 43:23 **declaration** 11:22 12:17 13:21 50:20 correcting 47:8 **declared** 3:15 13:10 district 14:18 24:9 **corrective** 43:20.22 decreed 34:18 **doctrine** 3:25 14:3 33:14 43:15 costs 33:21 35:9 **defeat** 35:10 document 6:18 **count** 15:3 defeating 47:5 **doing** 15:9,10 27:2 30:6 41:12 46:22 **defend** 19:23 42:6 counterclaim 43:3 47:1 counterclaimant 43:5 defendant 15:22 **done** 7:17 13:25 18:14 27:18 29:15,18 counterspeech 43:20 **defendants** 33:21,23 35:8 46:2 43:20 countervailing 18:7 **defending** 17:20 31:4 doubt 14:17 21:11,16,17 countries 12:9 **defer** 21:8 23:10 30:1 45:10 **during** 21:23 **country** 12:19 deference 22:12,19,21 23:6,8,11 duties 32:2 **D.C** 1:9,15,18 course 24:23 27:25 37:7 49:8 25:13 deferred 5:12 court 1:1,12 3:10,13,17,22,24 4:16,24 define 8:15 \mathbf{E} 5:18,19 6:6,12,16,18,21 7:3,21,25 defined 8:25 18:17 43:21 **E** 2:1 3:1 8:25 9:8,20 11:8 14:18 15:9 16:16 defines 8:5 each 4:25 14:2 21:19 26:9 17:2 18:4,4,17,18,20 19:2 21:3,7 22:24 23:9,14 24:2,9,10 25:7,16 definitely 7:19 earlier 33:1 **definition** 6:17 38:22 26:3,4,8,11,23 27:15,16 28:1,4,9,10 easily 12:7 definitive 21:10 28:19 29:2 30:8 32:18 33:3 34:13 economy 33:10 effect 19:12,15 33:25 34:4 36:16 35:4,6,7,21 36:11,20 38:24 40:20 **Department** 1:18 33:1 42:13,16 43:13 44:7,8,11 45:7 46:21 **Depending** 15:3 effectively 45:16 47:6.8 48:15.19 **Deputy** 1:17 either 12:22 15:25 17:5 49:21,24 50:2 describe 4:2 **courts** 8:4 16:9 18:22 20:3 25:13 50:4 26:24 28:12 29:17,17,21,25 30:2,5,8 **desire** 44:20 elapsed 14:5 30:13 32:13 37:6.18.20.24 38:9.21 **desist** 7:24 12:3 34:7 electricity 39:13 39:9 40:22 45:16.17 47:3 **determination** 40:12 45:11.13 element 8:7.12 Court's 5:13 8:6 22:13,15 23:9 24:10 determine 32:11 elements 8:13 employed 33:11 27:1 29:4,6 30:15 35:16 37:21,22 determined 14:1 dicta 7:9,11,12,12,15,17,18,20 9:12 **employee** 40:17 48:19 38:17 46:10,11,17,23 criteria 28:14 28:22,23 29:7 **employees** 8:1 12:18 18:20 19:23 criticizing 35:24 dictum 28:2,3,4,17 35:18,19 31:11,22 32:1,16 40:18 41:10 42:5 cross 4:25 **differ** 28:10 46:19 difference 11:19.20 20:10 25:23.25 **customers** 12:20.21 employer 4:5,7,8 5:18 6:21 7:25 16:4 26:1 29:14.20 19:3 20:7 27:21,23 28:5,11 31:3,14 D **differences** 15:23 16:17 29:10 45:9 31:19,21 32:1,3 36:8 39:9 41:1,13 **D** 3:1 **different** 5:8 9:13 10:10,13 12:6 41:13,19,24 42:1,3,4 44:21 46:19 damages 12:5,7,8,11 34:12,23,24 13:22 16:13,13 22:2 25:17 34:17 48:5.15 43:4,17 44:3 differently 34:25 **employers** 9:10 15:25 16:9 19:14 danger 12:22 43:13 difficulty 26:25 24:4,17 36:4 48:4,10,13 50:21 daunting 36:19 direct 45:18,20 **employer's** 5:21 41:2,22 day 5:19 direction 28:20 employment 32:6 days 31:7 **end** 6:2 10:7 15:7 16:10 25:14 28:13 directions 28:23 **deal** 13:9,15 50:15 directly 5:1 dealing 23:25 directors 41:2 enforce 16:6 **debar** 13:7 **disagree** 27:11.14 enforcement 29:11 **debarment** 12:22,25 13:3 32:23 discouraging 41:9 engaging 19:17 discovery 43:7,17 **English** 10:24 11:18 debarred 13:19 debatable 39:7 discretion 5:7 **enjoin** 9:22 18:20 47:7 decades 14:4.5.9 discusses 40:5 enjoining 27:17 dismissal 39:5 decide 29:24 35:1 enough 50:16,17,18 **decided** 16:8.9 29:22 dismissed 28:12 entirely 29:9 decides 5:22 6:3 **disputes** 16:1 33:9 35:13 38:9 **entitled** 22:11 28:7

erroneous 20:22 21:2 **fee-shifting** 11:23,24 12:6 13:23 goes 5:17,18 6:21 18:24 25:8,20 45:15 especially 34:25 32:24 39:14,25 40:5,13,15 46:17,21 **going** 9:11 13:14 16:9 17:14,15 19:20 **ESQ** 1:15,17 2:3,5,8 46:24 21:13 24:5 26:5 29:23 30:5,10 33:10 essential 7:9 **file** 20:7 24:17 35:18 38:11 44:17 48:10,21 **filed** 27:24 essentially 40:25 gone 49:21 50:2,4 **filing** 12:3 27:3 Estate 4:17,21 5:2 8:21 9:9 14:22 19:3 **good** 23:1 26:14 29:5,19,21 30:11 36:21 42:15 **find** 7:3 26:10 30:4.20 36:3 37:6 goodwill 13:10 **Gould 33:2** 43:1 46:10 50:20 **finding** 9:2 12:12 30:1.21 32:10 34:1 govern 29:7 **ET** 1:7 34:5 40:25 45:2 47:22 48:2 **Government** 13:6,7,8,17 46:22 even 7:18 20:5,17 44:12 45:12 48:6,16 **findings** 30:23 37:8 44:4 governmental 12:23 **finds** 9:5 37:3 48:16 **event** 29:1 finished 48:24 Government-imposed 42:22 ever 4:8 22:2 40:1 **grant** 9:1 45:7 46:5 **first** 3:12,14,17 6:6 7:11 8:3,22 9:7 every 24:20 25:9 37:13 49:21 10:21 12:16 13:25 14:8 16:21 18:21 granted 33:20,23 **evidence** 37:10 44:12 45:15,19,20 18:24 21:7 22:24 23:25 24:3 25:6.12 gravamen 15:10 50:3,3,5,7 25:15,20 36:17 43:19,22,23,24 great 8:3 14:1 exactly 14:17,17 28:22 36:10 50:21 greater 7:7 examine 28:24 focus 42:20 ground 18:19 focused 43:2 except 48:12 49:21 **group** 39:23 exception 16:7 25:4,6 Fogerty 40:5 guarantee 29:17 exclude 37:18 followed 7:15,16,19 guaranteed 40:20 Excuse 14:25 footnote 28:13 guessed 19:4 exercise 19:17 32:16 33:23 40:18 **forbids** 24:23 foresees 38:8 Η 41.10 half 14:23 exercising 18:20 **forget** 7:15 **existed** 45:13,14 form 23:8 halt 7:24 hand 25:11 exists 16:8 forms 42:25 **handled** 28:21 expect 4:19 43:10 formulating 29:3 **forth** 24:25 handling 35:23 expected 24:6 expert 16:5.12 forum 24:20 happen 28:6 experts 48:17 found 13:20 24:10 30:7.13 33:5 37:14 happened 5:14 12:1 Explain 12:24 39:20 43:6 46:18 47:4,21,23 48:3,3 harass 44:21 explicit 40:7 48:4,19 49:6,10,22 50:11,14,18 hard 24:25 **explicitly** 34:20,22 frankly 49:19 **hardly** 49:17 explicitness 40:10 free 25:4 having 5:21 6:10 13:21 19:23 26:1,1 explored 7:13 fresh 14:16 hear 3:3 26:19 27:9 exposed 12:7 **from** 3:15,18 4:20 5:8 11:12 12:3 heavy 32:24 **extent** 41:18 13:23 16:22 18:20 19:23 25:4.6 **held** 3:17 19:2 33:3 34:10 35:7,12,14 26:19 33:4 35:16 37:18 46:16 35:16 extraordinary 40:8,13 front 26:2,3 28:19 him 5:18 F further 28:21 29:7 35:15,23 43:7 hindsight 19:4 faced 36:20 future 24:5 **history** 15:6,24 16:3,13 40:21 fact 3:24 5:22 7:13 9:3 12:5 15:8 19:6 **hold** 3:13 34:25 G 22:20 41:19 42:20 44:25 50:3 **holding** 7:6,8 8:2 28:3,18,18 29:4 factors 41:23 45:21 **G** 1:17 2:5 3:1 26:20 holds 16:24 gave 6:17 facts 9:19 26:1 29:22 40:25 home 25:4 factual 29:24 30:1 32:10 40:12 45:12 **Honor** 4:23 5:16 19:1 47:15 **geared** 22:19 **far** 29:16 36:19 48:17 **hurt** 41:3 general 1:17 25:1 favor 41:23 generally 22:5 hurting 41:14,14 favorably 27:21 generating 39:13 Federal 13:17 20:6,10 32:10,13 33:24 getting 14:13 23:6 35:3 37:6.18.20 38:11 idea 33:8 50:16 **Ginsburg** 20:13 44:16 federalism 20:2 Ginsburg's 20:17 22:18 **ignore** 47:19 fee 12:8 40:3.11 **give** 17:10 ignores 19:6 fees 10:24 12:14 29:23 31:4 34:4,13 **ignoring** 8:8 19:13 **given** 45:9 **III** 30:5,8 32:8 34:14,21 38:13 39:16,18 46:20 47:6 **go** 15:15 16:24 20:9,16 24:8,16 48:15 48:25 49:1,2,4 50:6,8 48:17.19 illegality 13:21

immediate 28:25 issues 34:7 42:20,20 43:4 50:19 immunity 16:10 issuing 12:2 **lawsuit** 3:23 4:6 8:9 16:12 18:6,23 **impact** 10:11 19:9 26:5 27:18,20,20,22 31:1,4,25 J **impair** 31:21 32:2,12 38:5,11,22 43:16 44:5 45:24 implicated 29:12 jeopardy 13:3 47:2,4 48:5 **important** 3:11 8:4 11:20 12:16 18:18 **lawsuits** 3:15,18 20:7 24:18 27:6,18 **iob** 12:19 29:10 **Johnson** 10:4 15:19 16:23 31:10.16 32:5 39:14.15 42:24 47:7 **impose** 36:3 38:3 **Johnson's** 3:21 5:1.3.13 6:13 7:22 **lawvers** 24:18 31:7 lead 32:22 **imposed** 29:22 30:25 9:8,14 10:7 14:16,20 16:18 20:13 23:16,17 26:4,9,12,25 27:13,16 29:6 leading 48:7 imposing 37:19 imposition 36:7 30:16 35:7 36:11 38:18 40:21 44:7 leap 20:15 **impossible** 4:7 9:11 24:4 46:13.15.18 learning 25:21 **improper** 8:20 33:22 42:24 **judge** 32:9 least 10:9 20:3 23:12 36:16 inaction 21:9 judgment 5:17 6:21,23 43:3 leave 35:1 include 34:14.24 iudicial 37:8 leaving 32:9 included 46:2 jurisprudence 40:9 **led** 20:22 jury 24:8 legal 12:14 13:5 39:18 including 29:7 inconsistencies 26:10 just 6:6 9:15 13:17 15:4 19:10 26:8 legislative 23:4,23 legitimate 32:6 inconsistent 23:21 32:8,8 34:9,21,21,23 35:18 36:5 inconsistently 27:12 47:16 50:17 length 8:3 **incurred** 31:4 33:21 less 19:19 31:9,10 35:6 36:19 **Justice** 1:18 3:3,9 13:22 14:5 17:9 Indeed 24:7 20:11,13,16 22:18 25:10,17 26:22 let 23:22 42:10,10 independence 29:16 33:1 39:1 44:16 47:21 49:18 50:24 **letting** 20:2 23:3 **indicate** 23:19 42:13 Justices 47:17 let's 20:9 34:9 individuals 39:24 Justice's 15:16 **level** 14:13 indulgent 20:12 **light** 29:9 41:17 42:20 K **Industrial** 33:2 like 15:15.23 20:16 21:18 24:18 keep 16:9 19:22 33:10,10 26:16 29:14 39:12 40:24 47:16 infringement 43:6,9 instances 39:18 keeping 17:14 **limit** 45:7 **instead** 44:19 keeps 14:2 **limited** 33:8 36:4,13,24 38:19 44:2 instructed 19:22 key 6:10 10:15,16 50:14 limits 46:12 insufficient 44:12 **kind** 7:18 30:25 38:18 45:19 line 25:19 **intended** 10:8 34:24 kinds 39:14.15 **intent** 43:8 knew 45:25 **listen** 27:10 interacted 4:24 **know** 11:10 26:5 28:6,7 30:22 34:15 litigant 4:19 interchangeably 14:21 34:23 37:10 41:11 48:23 50:2,10,11 **litigation** 4:15 12:4 14:15 17:21,21 **interest** 17:11 20:2,6 50:13 30:15 32:19 36:4 47:3 interesting 17:1 known 46:1 little 12:6 27:10 **interfere** 26:4 31:10 40:17 **long** 3:19 17:16 19:4 21:10,11,18 24:2 L internally 26:11 36:11 37:9 48:23 labeled 13:2 interpret 23:12 longer 15:9 **labor** 1:6 3:5,16,23 4:22 5:6,7,23 6:8 look 6:18,19 8:22,23 16:11,19 26:8 **interpretation** 14:9 22:12,14 **interpreted** 5:11 14:6 15:20 8:5 9:24 11:25 12:13 13:14,20 15:21 30:24 **interpreting** 5:12 21:4 22:16,23 29:5 15:24 16:5,6 18:9,19 24:22 27:3,22 looked 8:8 25:16 29:8 29:8,24 30:8,9,17,20,25 33:6,7,9 **looking** 25:24 47:21 interprets 45:4 34:1,11,18 36:3 37:23,25 38:4,9,16 **lose** 6:2 7:1 16:10 18:11,13 24:11 interrupt 16:25 40:15,17 46:12 48:13,13 49:13 intervene 19:22 **language** 6:1 8:6 9:12 10:7 14:7,10 loser 38:11 **Investors** 26:15 29:5 36:21 15:18 34:15 loses 32:12 **invite** 26:8 last 13:17 losing 29:22 invited 20:7 **later** 9:23 loss 48:7 involved 11:9.23 19:9 48:16 law 3:25 5:23 10:24 12:1.17 13:2.10 **lost** 4:11 27:23 28:5 48:5,7 involves 32:17 lower 13:12 15:25.25 16:6.7 21:1.3 22:20 24:12 irony 5:10 16:16 26:13 30:24 33:3 39:22,22 41:18 M issue 7:13,21,22,23 9:1 11:24 14:13 48:20 made 9:3 15:14 19:11 20:24 36:11 21:11 22:19 26:3 28:8 29:12 30:14 **LAWRENCE** 1:17 2:5 26:20 **laws** 3:19 12:2 13:20 16:3 29:6 36:21 39:9 32:18 35:7,19 38:1,16 46:4

20:22 22:15,23 23:9,10,21 26:10 mainly 26:1 **much** 8:19 19:10 22:18 24:18 29:16 make 12:21 24:24 32:10 33:4 34:9 27:1 28:13 38:18 41:3 46:17,23 30:9,23 31:7,9 35:5 43:14 37:21,22 40:12 45:3 48:18 must 4:5,5,5 8:13 17:25 41:4 **opinions** 14:18 26:11 **mutual** 40:19 makes 13:22 opponent 28:8 make-whole 32:15 33:20 38:6,7 opportunity 26:13 28:24 N **making** 10:22 25:10 34:11,14 50:15 opposed 9:23 malpractice 17:15 N 2:1.1 3:1 opposite 49:10 many 7:15 11:23 13:8 28:22,22 30:24 namely 33:22 oral 1:11 2:2 3:7 26:20 order 7:24 12:3 34:7 35:17 42:8 43:7 30:24 40:4 49:9,13 National 1:6 3:5,15,23 5:6 11:25 29:8 marketplace 41:3,15 42:21 33:6,7 37:23 38:16 40:15 46:19 matter 1:11 6:3 16:4 28:25 39:11 51:2 naturally 14:7 ordered 31:5 **MAURICE** 1:15 2:3,8 3:7 47:13 **nature** 35:22 ordering 31:3 may 3:9 5:19 6:6,7 7:1,23 9:15 18:6 ordinarily 39:8 necessary 36:15 22:9,10,21,21 26:23 28:2,2,17 29:1 need 17:4 42:23 43:2,7 organized 17:12 44:10 46:18 never 25:12 32:7.7 original 43:8.15 next 3:4 28:18 **maybe** 33:16,16 39:12,25 40:1 42:11 other 4:10 5:1 7:1 8:12 12:14 13:24 **NLRA** 3:19 16:2 50:16 mean 4:11 6:11,25 11:10 16:24,25 14:3 18:15 24:22 26:11,16 33:25 21:22 24:21 28:1 34:3 35:12 36:17 NLRB 5:11,12,15 7:23 17:5 33:14 34:4,21 37:17 38:14 39:20 41:23 39:11 44:10 49:8,9,13 50:2,4 Noerr 43:14 42:8.17.24 **Noerr-Pennington** 3:25 42:12,15,17 others 47:20 meaning 3:20 nonmeritorious 12:3 24:11 means 6:12 18:5 37:10 otherwise 6:24,25 27:19 meant 6:17,19 7:4 13:5 14:18 32:16 normal 24:21 out 7:3,9 9:8 13:13 14:8 15:2 16:9 note 14:18 30:22 meets 41:13 17:5 20:1,15 25:3,6 26:6,7 27:20,22 **noted** 28:11 33:24 38:9,24 45:22 48:4 mere 11:24 merit 6:19,24,25 7:1,2,4 26:8 48:6,8 **nothing** 7:17 16:2 18:13 33:16,16 outcome 24:1,6 26:2 49:22 notice 12:18 34:6 outside 6:18 **number** 20:14,16 40:5 45:21 meritless 8:9 over 4:21 9:24 14:2,23 15:4 18:25 meritorious 3:20.23 8:5 9:14 18:6.16 numerous 31:9 25:18 18:23 26:8.9 27:12 35:3 38:5 47:4 overrule 42:12 0 merits 4:19 18:13 32:4 47:1 owes 32:3 O 2:1 3:1 merit/without 6:19 7:4 own 5:11 23:9,10,19 37:6 43:19 49:19 met 41:2 objection 20:4 P **middle** 6:20 **objective** 4:15 8:22,23 9:7 17:20 18:5 **P** 3:1 **might** 39:15.17 44:3 47:19 mind 25:12 29:14 32:7 **objectively** 3:14,21 4:18 36:9 43:6 page 2:2 45:22 **minute** 47:6 observe 28:23 **panel** 48:17 **minutes** 47:12 **obvious** 15:23 paragraph 6:17,20 25:9 misinterpreted 17:6 **obviously** 16:19.23 parsing 7:8 **misreading** 49:23,24 occasion 32:19 part 4:13 8:22 9:7 14:19 16:21 23:20 misstating 17:17 occasionally 45:19 27:13 37:14 45:6 modify 42:14 offensive 30:4 participate 46:1 moment 15:18 20:11 officers 13:8 particular 29:13 38:3 39:23,24 **Okay** 8:15 money 19:23 24:19 34:3 particularly 21:9 once 16:8 18:25 19:20 25:17 26:7 more 11:3 12:10,11 17:25 19:23 20:5 parties 29:2 45:25 26:1 27:10 28:25 40:10 45:12,24 **parts** 34:7 37:17 party 18:12 29:23 50:16 one 4:4 5:3 7:11 9:8.18 12:6 14:2.7 15:24 16:1 17:19 20:14 21:18 25:11 passed 10:23 16:2 38:10 most 12:9,16 14:7 21:12,16 24:22 25:16 26:25 pay 12:14 30:6 31:4 38:12 39:16,18 29:9,13 30:24 32:12 33:2 35:13 mostly 9:18 42:21 36:12 38:22 39:8 45:14,24 47:22 penalize 45:16 penalties 37:19 **motivation** 8:20 9:2.6 18:6 44:4 48:1.1.12.21 49:21 50:21 motive 8:24 16:11 24:13,14,15 29:25 ones 45:24 49:12.15 penalty 30:6 31:1 38:4 ongoing 9:16 25:11,23 26:5 27:17 30:7,14,21 33:22 36:25 37:6,14 41:6 **people** 13:9 24:24 27:1 30:5 33:11 41:7 42:2 43:21 44:9.13 45:3.4.12 only 8:23 10:21 12:18 17:19 23:9 24:9 37:20 49:9 45:13,23 47:17,23 48:3,10 49:5,7,10 26:11 27:18 33:20 38:1 40:1 42:4 **percent** 4:6,8 15:4 24:6 48:20 49:22 50:11,14,15 47:17,22,23 48:1 49:15 50:20 perhaps 47:21 motives 43:8 opening 10:20 **period** 6:2 21:12,16,25 22:3 Motor 5:2 **opinion** 7:4,7,23 8:6 9:14 10:7 14:6 permissible 35:11

persist 17:13 proceeds 48:9 37:2,4,5,9,12,13,17 38:1,7,20,21 persuasive 45:24 **process** 14:12 17:23 21:19 31:3 36:5 39:2,6,7,10 40:7,23,24 41:11,17,20 **petition** 3:12 18:22 46:5,7 **processes** 14:12 29:10 41:25 42:7,10,17 43:18 44:9,13,17 **Petitioner** 1:4,16 2:4,9 3:8,13 47:14 productivity 33:10 45:1,10 46:4,5,8,14,15 47:11,16,19 petitioning 42:22,25 **Professional** 4:16,21 5:2 8:21 9:9 48:1,23 49:3,8,12 50:1,10 phrase 6:10 14:21 19:2 26:14 29:5.19.20 30:10 **questions** 17:3 26:16 44:22 47:17 phrasing 6:5 36:21 42:15 43:1 46:10 50:19 **quite** 21:6 27:17 30:4 36:11 37:22,22 **place** 7:3 13:22 19:20 22:24 39:20 prohibit 11:11 quote 3:22 4:17 43:25 prohibiting 11:13 places 38:2 **prohibits** 11:12,14 **proper** 46:24 **plaintiff** 34:12 38:23,23 43:8 45:25 R 3:1 **please** 3:10 26:23 27:8 **propose** 46:22 raised 14:19 46:4,15 **Plenty** 31:17 **proposition** 39:11,22 raising 17:3 22:17 **plus** 49:2 prosecution 7:24 random 13:23 point 7:11,19 15:17 26:2 33:12 35:19 **prospect** 43:17 44:2 rather 34:18 37:23 44:4 35:25 44:15 50:14 **protect** 3:18 32:16 41:4 42:1 48:10 reach 24:2 **position** 22:3,6 25:10 41:5 reached 49:20 **protected** 14:20 18:21 36:16 43:16 possible 28:3 48:15 read 6:2 20:13,13,14 21:8 27:1,16 **protection** 25:7 40:19 50:16.17.18 **post** 12:18 reading 5:25 20:24 26:25 posted 34:6 protective 43:14 reads 14:7 posture 43:2 protects 3:14 50:21 **Real** 4:16,21 5:2 8:21 9:9 14:21 19:2 power 31:2 38:3 40:11 **proved** 5:21 6:10 24:3 26:14 29:5,19,21 30:10 36:21 42:15 **powerful** 44:7,8 **provide** 32:23 40:4 43:1 46:10 50:19 provides 34:11 practicalities 29:11 realistically 4:19 **practice** 5:20 6:8 8:5 9:24 12:13 **provision** 34:22 38:2 really 10:16 21:10 43:10 47:8 18:19 20:19 23:20 27:3,22 30:18,20 **public** 41:3 reason 23:1 31:6 47:20 punished 32:11 35:2 31:1 34:1,11,18 36:3 38:4 40:17 reasonable 4:18 8:6 18:1,16 19:5 46:13 **punishment** 12:8 25:20 32:14 32:12 36:9 43:6 practices 37:25 **punitive** 32:22 33:13,14,15,19 reasons 16:2 19:2 preceded 7:12 purchases 33:4.4 **rebuttal** 2:7 26:17 47:13 **precisely** 5:14 46:25 **purely** 17:11 **recognized** 25:7 40:21 purported 16:17 predict 24:25 recompensing 35:8 preempted 33:3 **purpose** 8:10,16,20 18:15 27:24 record 30:2 prejudice 39:6 32:20 33:6 38:12 40:22 41:1,9 47:5 reexamine 42:14 **purposes** 29:10 43:12 premise 20:11 reference 4:25 40:14 references 9:13 prescribes 35:21 pursue 3:22 prescribing 35:15 **put** 6:4 referred 5:1,2 10:20 33:1 44:7 prescription 46:11 putative 12:8 referring 14:2 **puts** 9:10 refuse 33:4 **present** 8:14 31:17 regardless 47:1 **presented** 29:3 44:13 putting 38:9 presents 3:11 **p.m** 51:1 regime 23:22,25 pretty 8:19 20:25 regret 14:11 0 **prevail** 4:5 36:13 43:10 regrettably 26:10 prevailed 35:9 quality 43:14 regulator 39:13,17,23 **prevailing** 4:6,9 18:12 33:21 **query** 7:17 regulatory 40:3 **REHNQUIST** 3:3 50:24 previous 13:18 question 3:11 4:2,10,12,13,20 5:5,14 **principle** 49:24,25 5:17,25 6:14,16,23 7:10 8:7,12,15 reimburse 46:19 principles 43:23 reining 47:9 8:18 9:12,15,21 10:2,4,9,12,15,18 **prior** 25:15,19 10:19 11:5,10,14,15,17,21 12:5,24 rejected 16:18 **relate** 47:24 48:11 **private** 13:8 34:10,19,22 42:21 13:12 14:4,23 15:1,5,12,15,17 16:15 related 42:10 privately 12:22 16:19,22 17:8,9,22 18:2,8,11,24 **problem** 24:21 19:6,16,25 20:9,11,17,23 21:4,15,22 relates 9:4 48:12 procedural 43:2 21:25 22:2.6.9.17.18.18 23:12.15.18 **Relations** 1:6 3:5.16.23 4:22 5:6 **proceed** 5:19 6:7 24:13,21 25:3,8 26:18 27:5,7,8,10 11:25 29:8 33:2,6,7 37:23 38:17 proceeding 9:23 25:11,23 30:19 27:25 28:15,22 29:2,3,13,24 30:13 40:15 relied 45:21 37:15.18 30:17,19 31:16,20 32:7,21 33:12,25 **proceedings** 28:21 29:8 35:5,6,15 relief 30:6 32:15 38:6.7 34:3,5,9 35:12,18,24 36:1,7,15,23

remainder 26:17 25:14 31:14 somewhat 5:7 remaining 47:12 **sanction** 3:18 11:9 38:3 **sooner** 19:22 remand 7:12 35:16 sanctions 36:3 sorry 16:25 27:9 39:10 remarks 10:20 saying 6:2 11:1,25 12:2 13:19 16:10 sort 48:15 remedial 33:8 23:15.18 43:7 44:11 sought 18:19 29:15,18 remedies 29:11 33:8 so-called 12:3 says 4:5 6:20 8:3 10:4,9 11:5 17:12 remedy 33:7.20.20 34:8.10 35:8.11 25:12 39:24 40:9 41:14 45:14 speak 38:24 36:13 38:19 44:2,5 46:12,24 47:9 Scalia 13:22 47:21 49:19 **specifically** 3:24 17:24 18:2,14 28:11 scheme 32:15 33:7 **speed** 14:12 reply 6:4 spelled 9:8 reputation 13:1,11 schemes 29:12 scope 36:24 spend 19:23 24:19 require 22:21 required 23:10 **SEC** 39:15 stake 13:11 **second** 7:13 16:4 19:3 research 49:19 **stamp** 9:3 reserve 26:17 section 27:3 31:11,13 35:10 40:16,20 **standard** 4:6 9:10,21,25 10:8,10,13 resolved 27:20 32:3 44:19 47:5 11:3 17:6,6 19:21 24:8,11 50:20,20 resort 45:17 see 15:12 19:11 stare 23:2.7.8 started 31:2 **respect** 17:19 27:2 30:9 **seeing** 45:23 **Respondents** 1:19 2:6 26:21 seeking 11:2 45:17 **State** 5:18 6:21 7:24 13:13,14 20:2 **response** 7:14 16:15 20:20 44:20 seem 17:10 39:21 25:13 28:12 33:4 responses 7:10 seems 6:1 7:3,11 20:1,19 22:20,24 stated 7:21,22 responsibility 37:24 23:19 29:15 36:17 43:25 **States** 1:1,12 35:22 restrain 40:18 **seldom** 45:18 statute 5:11 11:12,21 13:23 15:20,21 restraining 41:10 sense 4:18 13:5 35:14 36:12 15:21 16:24 22:16 33:24 38:8 restraint 25:15,19 sentence 6:20 **statutes** 11:3,24 14:1 16:13 20:6,7,10 restraints 42:22 serious 12:22 44:21 21:4 24:22,22 40:4 result 6:7,9 35:1 48:14 set 13:13,18 20:1 45:22 **statutory** 3:18 11:5,8,16 19:17 23:3,3 retaliate 7:25 17:24 18:3.15 **settled** 20:25 21:2,5 22:21,22,25 23:3 23:22,25 29:12 37:15,17 38:2 23:4,20,22,22,24 retaliation 18:7 19:8,11,15,17,20 stay 16:22 23:22 31:12 44:19 50:6,7 several 9:13 stayed 23:4 retaliatory 8:10.16.24 9:2.5 17:11 **sham** 16:7 17:21 step 21:19 48:10 19:9,13 24:13,14,15,23 27:6,24 shams 36:5 stick 23:13 29:25 30:7,14,21 32:20 36:25 37:6 **shift** 40:12 still 24:10 28:3 43:7 37:14 41:6,7,15,25 42:3 43:21 44:9 **shifting** 12:9 40:4 **stop** 25:12,15 27:8 42:8 **show** 32:2 50:7 **stopping** 17:11 25:23 44:12 45:2,4,11,13,23 47:3,16,23 48:3,9 49:5,6,10,16,17,22 50:11,14 showed 50:5 straightforward 26:14 50:15 showing 31:23 stronger 19:10 reversed 24:9 **shown** 6:24,25 7:1,2 41:8 **subject** 31:13 32:4 37:8 review 37:8 shows 44:18 subjective 44:4 reviewed 27:15 side's 12:14 subjects 24:4 submission 29:4 revisit 17:4 simply 32:23 38:7,22 44:20 50:4 **right** 8:3 16:19,23,24 18:17,21,22 **since** 14:5 23:16 27:16 31:1 38:8,10 submit 23:12 19:3 20:9,23 24:1,5 26:7 37:12 site 12:19 32:5 **submitted** 50:25 51:2 46:23 49:3,8 50:8 situation 5:7,9 9:11 24:4 25:1,24 28:1 subsequent 25:20 28:7 29:23 34:25 36:20 **substantial** 37:9 45:15 **rightly** 47:19 **rights** 19:18 31:11,13,22 32:1,17 situations 7:2 substantive 9:25 33:23 35:10 40:19 41:10 44:19 47:5 **Sixth** 15:7.11 success 4:19 slow 22:9 48:19 50:21 sue 17:14,15 rubber 9:3 sole 7:21 sued 46:20 rule 8:18 10:24 11:18 12:9 34:16 solely 18:19 19:7 suffice 47:18,20 35:15.22 36:2 Solicitor 1:17 **suit** 5:21 6:23 7:25 17:11,17 18:11,13 some 5:6 15:1 17:23,25 26:10 28:7,11 ruled 23:14 39:9 18:17 19:5,20 28:5 32:20 33:21,24 rules 13:19 42:14 31:6 36:16 39:12 34:10 35:3,9,9 36:8,12 39:7 41:1,8 ruling 21:10 37:24 somebody 32:11 35:2 39:19 41:18 42:6 43:6.9 45:20 someone 13:1 suits 3:20 31:14,20,20 41:4 42:1,5,7,8 \mathbf{S} someone's 13:1 43:24 S 2:1 3:1 **something** 13:3 46:21 summary 43:2 same 8:20 9:22 10:1,5 15:22 17:9 19:2 Sometimes 39:6 **Summit** 40:10

suppose 17:22 treat 15:19 25:21 47:2 **supposed** 49:4,16 treating 15:20 used 27:12 44:8 **supposedly** 43:16 48:10 **treble** 12:7,11 43:3,17 44:3 using 15:25 31:6 suppressing 41:9 tribute 14:11 **Usually** 31:13 tries 9:22 **U.S** 22:12 **Supreme** 1:1,12 triple 12:5 **sure** 4:8 12:21 48:18 surprising 49:17 true 34:3 Systems 31:2 trust 30:23 v 1:5 3:4 trying 16:22 22:19 25:3 41:12,12 Valley 40:11 T various 45:22,23 Tuesday 1:10 **T** 2:1.1 turn 26:5 29:1 33:19 vary 39:2 tail 10:7 turned 27:20,22 33:24 vein 42:11.11 take 5:22 9:9,10 13:9 15:17 19:20 turns 26:7 33:16 40:13 verdict 24:8 20:22 22:9 41:5 45:1,1 twice 3:24 very 6:16 7:4 8:19 17:3 20:24 26:13 taken 14:14 21:9,11 22:2,5 24:2 39:5 **two** 7:10 8:21 11:3 13:25 20:6,10,16 26:18 28:18 34:15 35:16 40:7,9 44:1 43:22.46:11 29:12 45:8.9 44.21 takes 24:15 45:14 view 9:21 10:12 13:9 17:18 20:22 IJ taking 11:24 21:18 38:9 22:5 43:10 44:22 talk 34:9 ultimately 23:2 32:12 35:3 vigorously 9:1 unconstitutional 10:25 violated 13:14,20 24:12 32:2 33:5 talking 7:8 13:6 15:5 16:20 18:8,9 22:14 23:8,11 27:13 31:12 under 3:12,19,23 12:1 14:20 20:8 48:20 tell 15:6 32:8 24:3,7,10,19,20 25:14 26:14 27:3 violates 38:12 tells 25:17 violation 5:23 31:24.25 44:19 46:18 30:15 31:11 32:15 33:7 36:2,14,20 tend 24:17 37:23 38:17 43:4 50:16,18,21 violator 12:17 13:2 term 39:3 underlies 17:9 23:1 violators 13:10 terms 34:3 **underlying** 30:14 32:18 38:12 43:5 virtue 34:1,5 test 4:2,4,13,14,16,20 8:20,22 9:7 47:1 voluntary 39:5 26:15 31:14 undermined 43:15 **Thank** 26:22 47:11,15 50:23,24 underpinning 42:18 their 14:23 15:2 16:11 20:3 21:18 **understand** 7:14 12:10 13:1 21:15 wait 27:19 30:15 47:6 22:10 30:21 32:16 34:5 35:9.10 37:6 49:13 Wallace 1:17 2:5 26:19,20,22 27:5,6 37:18 41:10 46:20 49:23 understandings 23:4 27:7,9,14 28:10,20 29:1 30:12 31:8 themselves 19:24 understood 47:17 49:18 31:18,23 32:14,21,25 33:18 34:2,6 thing 14:7 17:2 28:18 35:20 40:8 **unfair** 5:20 6:8 8:4 9:23 12:12 18:18 35:5,14,21 36:1,6,10,19,23 37:1,7 things 6:5 36:8 27:3,21 30:17,20,25 34:1,11,17 36:3 37:11,16,21 38:6,15,25 39:4 40:2,14 think 4:11 8:7,18 9:16,19 10:4 15:16 37:25 38:4 40:17 46:12 40:23 41:7,16,22 42:4,9,13,19 44:1 17:9 19:10 21:20 22:17,17,23 26:25 **union** 9:5 17:13 31:5,16,24 32:2,3,6 44:9,15,24 45:6,18 46:6,9,14,25 28:7 30:4 33:16,16,18 37:21 40:13 39:17 41:12 42:2,2,5 47:24 48:11 47:11 44:13.21 unionize 31:22 want 13:9 24:18 unions 8:9 12:20 14:19 16:1 31:6,9,9 wanted 26:3 though 48:6 wants 23:5,23 28:8 38:24 **thought** 8:8 33:15 36:10 37:2 39:11 43:24 46:2 union's 44:20 **Washington** 1:9,15,18 48:24 49:3.14.15 three 5:24,25 6:5 unit 17:12 wasn't 13:4 44:23 through 13:18 14:14 21:19 22:10 United 1:1,12 35:22 way 9:4 14:7,14 15:22 16:6 17:14 24:16 25:20 unlawful 3:15,22 46:1 20:13 21:19 22:10 25:20 26:13,25 throughout 9:14 unlawfulness 11:23 27:16 30:22 42:14 45:3 47:9,24 thrown 38:24 unless 23:4,23 48:20 49:5 49:21,24 50:2,4 time 15:8 21:18 25:9 26:17 36:9 49:21 **unlike** 16:7 weaken 41:13 times 30:25 48:4 unmeritorious 5:21 6:11,11,12 27:23 weakening 42:3 **timing** 9:18 36:12 38:22 39:7 weigh 41:23 unpredictable 44:4 today 10:6 weighs 25:14 41:22 told 30:5 32:21 unrelated 42:11 weight 7:7 17:10 28:8 tool 44:8 unsuccessful 35:3 Weightv 18:7 total 39:25 until 27:19 **well** 4:4,12,20,23 5:5,10,16 6:11 7:10 traditionally 25:14 unworkable 9:11 17:7 24:3 8:17 12:12 13:12 15:8 17:1,8,19,22 trampling 48:18 upheld 24:9 19:16 20:5,21 21:2,7,20 23:7 25:2,5 **Transport** 5:2 **use** 17:24 18:2 26:9 28:14 39:3 40:22 25:21 26:18 27:10 29:13 30:12 31:8

32:14,25 33:12,18 34:2,9 35:5,21 **1982** 34:10 36:15 37:21 38:6,20 39:4 40:2,14 **1987** 14:16 41:7,11,16 42:4,9 44:1,18 45:6,18 48:11 50:1 wending 22:10 **2** 13:17 14:4,5,9 were 7:6 13:19 14:20 19:21 25:22 **20** 20:18,25 21:25 22:7 23:19 28:15.19 29:11 31:16.18 34:8.24 **20-year** 21:12,16,25 22:3 43:11 48:24 49:14.15 20/20 19:4 weren't 31:17 49:4 2002 1:10 **25** 48:4 we'll 3:3 26:19 **we're** 7:4.8.8 10:6 11:24 13:6.6 16:9 **26** 2:6 31:3 32:7 47:21 48:4,24,24 17:13,15 18:8,8 19:7,7 21:4 22:13 49:1,11,14,14,19 50:9 22:17,19,19 23:6,8 25:3 27:13 31:12 **29** 15:2 35:18 38:10 3 we've 20:1,2,25 45:22 **3** 2:4 31:4 32:7 46:5 White 25:10,17 **White's** 14:6 **whole** 5:3 10:15,16 33:6 34:10,11,14 win 15:1 16:1 24:8 48:21 **4** 47:12 wind 21:18 **47** 2:9 45:22 winner 38:13 5 win-or-lose 4:16 **Wisconsin** 13:13 33:1,3,3 **50** 15:4 wise 35:20 7 withdrawn 6:24 **7** 14:14 31:11,13 35:10 40:20 44:19 witness 45:14,16 won 14:23 15:1 49:13 47:5 wonder 5:5 **78** 31:2 word 26:9 27:12 44:8 8 words 42:17 work 13:4 14:14 **8(a)(1)** 27:3 31:25 37:13 40:16 46:12 working 32:5 **8(b)(4)** 31:24 world 12:9 28:2 worse 29:16 30:9 wouldn't 6:18 33:18 wrong 24:2,24 28:9 33:15 50:12 wrongfully 46:20 X **X** 1:2,8 years 7:16 13:17 14:2,14 20:18,25 22:7 23:19 \mathbf{Z} **zero** 17:10 0 **01-518** 1:5 3:4 **100** 4:6.8 24:6 48:20 **11:08** 1:13 3:2 **12:08** 51:1 **15** 15:1 28:13 **16** 1:10