

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1970

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APR 2 1971

In the Matter of:

Docket No. 153

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ELEANORE TAFT TILTON, ET AL.,

Appellants

VS.

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
OF THE UNITED STATES, DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, ET AL.

Appellees
----- X

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C O N T E N T S

ORAL ARGUMENT OF:

P A G E

Edward Bennett Williams, Esq.,
on behalf of Appellees

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Leo Pfeffer, Esq., on behalf
of Appellants

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* * * * *

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER TERM 1970

ELEANOR TAFT TILTON, ET AL.,

Appellants

vs

No. 153

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
ET AL.,

Appellees

The above-entitled matter came on for argument
at 10:05 o'clock a.m., on Wednesday, March 3, 1971.

BEFORE:

WARREN E. BURGER, Chief Justice
HUGO L. BLACK, Associate Justice
WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Associate Justice
JOHN M. HARLAN, Associate Justice
WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., Associate Justice
POTTER STEWART, Associate Justice
BYRON R. WHITE, Associate Justice
THURGOOD MARSHALL, Associate Justice
HARRY A. BLACKMUN, Associate Justice

APPEARANCES:

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On behalf of Appellants

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New York City 10028
On behalf of Appellees

P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: We will resume arguments in Number 153. Mr. Williams, are you on next?

MR. WILLIAMS: Yes, Mr. Chief Justice.

ORAL ARGUMENT BY EDWARD BENNETT WILLIAMS, ESQ.

ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. Chief Justice and may it please the Court:

I think it's fair to say that the Appellants have taken briefs and argued this appeal as if no evidence had been received and no records made in the court below. In effect, what they are asking this Court to do is to render an advisory opinion on a hypothetical caricature on what they call a "sectarian institution" of higher learning.

Twice in their briefs, and yesterday during oral argument, Counsel said what the court below has held is that an institution which admits only students of a particular religion requires them to participate in religious activity, compels them to comply with the doctrines and dogmas of the religion, forces them to attend church and does everything but propagate and advance a particular religion other than confer degrees in divinity, can constitutionally received governmental funds so long as in its bookkeeping it allocates these funds to the construction of a chemistry laboratory or gymnasium.

I say to the Court that the record will demonstrate

1 that not a single one of those qualifications is germane or
2 applicable to a single institution before this Court as
3 Appellee; nor do they make that contention, because in the very
4 next sentence they say: "We do not contend that any of the
5 four institutional defendants here and 50 above, composite a
6 description of sectarian educational institution."

7 Now, in the court below the Appellees called
8 witnesses to the point of taxing the spirit of the cumulative
9 evidence rule and of testing the patience of a three-judge
10 court to show without contradiction, without refutation and I
11 say, without cross-examination, that first the funded facili-
12 ties of these schools were never used, are not being used for
13 any religious worship, for any religious instruction. They
14 have no symbols or artifacts of religion housed therein.

15 Q Perhaps not, but do they teach the history
16 of religion?

17 A There is no question, Mr. Justice, that
18 they do teach the history of religion --

19 Q In these buildings?

20 A No, sir; not in these buildings, but the
21 institutions themselves, first of all, do have courses in
22 religion, but the evidence was without contradiction that none
23 of these schools indoctrinate, propagate or proselytize the
24 tenets of any religion.

25 Q But, my question was narrower. In these

1 buildings may they teach the history of religion?

2 A No; they do not, in fact, do that, Mr.
3 Justice.

4 Q Is there anything which forbids them
5 doing it?

6 A I think that there is nothing that would
7 prevent them from teaching the history, but they don't do it,
8 nor have they ever done it.

9 But, secondly, the evidence shows, without con-
10 tradiction that these schools have a completely open admissions
11 policy.

12 Q Mr. Williams, before you leave that, what
13 would happen in response to Justice Brennan's question?
14 Would there be a violation to --

15 A If they taught religion, Mr. Chief Justice,
16 or if they worshipped in these buildings there would be a
17 violation of their contractual commitment to the Government
18 under which they received a small portion of the cost of these
19 buildings, and they would be amenable to suit for recovery of
20 the amount that the Government has contributed.

21 Q Now, we heard yesterday, I think, from
22 Mr. Friedman, that there is something in the way of policing
23 what goes on in these buildings. Do you see any problem con-
24 nected with that?

25 A I see none, Mr. Justice. These

1 institutions contract in good faith that they will not teach
2 religion, that they will not engage in any form of worship in
3 these --

4 Q Well, is there any evidence in this case
5 of any actual policing and what form it took?

6 A The Court found that the evidence was un-
7 contradicted, unrefuted by any scintilla of evidence, that
8 there was no worship --

9 Q Was there any evidence that, in fact, any
10 policing had been done and that -- what form it took?

11 A There was no evidence of any policing in
12 this case; no.

13 Q Is the commitment, Mr. Williams, a nega-
14 tive one or an affirmative one? Is it an affirmative one in
15 the sense that there is an engagement, a commitment firmly to
16 teach chemistry or whatever completely secular subjects?

17 A It's a negative commitment, Mr. Chief
18 Justice. However, in this particular case the buildings were
19 science buildings, a foreign language laboratory, a music, art
20 and drama building and two libraries. The libraries were shown
21 to have completely open policies with respect to books. The
22 record shows that each of these institutions has adopted the
23 American Association of University Professors' policy on
24 tenure and academic freedom; that there is no inhibition with
25 respect to what any teacher may teach within the confines of

1 his own discipline on this campus; that there is no required
2 religious worship whatsoever at any of these institutions;
3 that there is no form of indoctrination at any of these in-
4 stitutions, and that these institutions are funded by tuition,
5 gifts, endowments and fees.

6 Q And you say, Mr. Williams, that there is no
7 religious instruction at all at any of them?

8 A There is religious instruction at the
9 colleges; yes, Mr. Justice.

10 Q I mean of the four -- we have four, don't
11 we?

12 A We have four schools and --

13 Q And religious instruction at each?

14 A Each of the schools offers courses in
15 religion.

16 Q Is attendance a part of the curriculum for
17 a degree, the required attendance at those courses?

18 A At three of the institutions, Mr. Justice,
19 it is required for Catholics to take courses in religion and
20 at the fourth institution there is a requirement that all
21 students take a course in religion, but it is interesting to
22 note, Mr. Justice, that there is a stipulation in this case
23 which covers all of the institutions that the courses in
24 religious study cover a range of human religious experiences
25 and are not limited to courses about the Roman Catholic

1 religion and it's further interesting to note, if the Court
2 please, that the one institution which requires religion in
3 order to matriculate for a Liberal Arts Degree, has a series
4 of courses which are, in all respects, I suggest to the Court,
5 identical with the courses being offered at Trinity College at
6 Hartford, Connecticut.

7 And, at Wesleyan University at Hartford, Connecticut,
8 which Appellants concede would be eligible for grants under
9 this act. And I invite the Court to look at Defendant's
10 Exhibit SH-2, which is the Sacred Heart religious department,
11 where courses and theories of religion, problems of religion,
12 modern Jewish life and -- American protestantism, faith and
13 unbelief, 'athiesm and secularism, search for a god in the
14 modern novel, are courses that are being taught by priests, by
15 rabbis, by Lutheran ministers and by laymen.

16 Q Of course, the District Court, as I read
17 its opinion, didn't get into these facts that you are talking
18 about.

19 A The District Court, Mr. Justice --

20 Q I understand that the attack is on the
21 standards applied by the District Court in determining whether
22 there is establishment or --

23 A The District Court, Mr. Justice, heard the
24 evidence and the evidence is --

25 Q I'm talking about its opinion.

1 A There is a record. It does not get into
2 these facts in its opinion, but if --

3 Q It doesn't have to, perhaps, if its
4 standard is correct. It says on page 51: "We hold that the
5 act has a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits
6 religion." Now, that's --

7 A That's exactly so, Mr. Justice.

8 Q But, as a secondary effect, is that the
9 right test --

10 A I suggest it is. Appellants consistently
11 urged upon the lower court that the test should be the nature
12 of the institution which is the incidental beneficiary of the
13 grant.

14 We consistently urged upon the Court that the
15 test should be what this Court has involved in the course of
16 25 years from Harrison to McGowan to Shant(?) to Allen and
17 finally in Epperson, that the test is whether the statute has
18 a secular purpose and its primary effect that neither advances
19 nor inhibits religion and --

20 Q Would you stop right there a moment.

21 A Yes, sir.

22 Q To the extent that there is policing of
23 what goes on in these funded public -- public-funded buildings,
24 do you see any hazard of inhibition, inhibiting religion?

25 A I do not, Mr. Justice, for these reasons --

1 Q Well, as I gather, policing would mean
2 stepping in and a lot of interrogation by government officials
3 as to whether or not this course or that course has a reli-
4 gious content?

5 A I think it would not require stepping in
6 and it would not require a lot of surveillance. First of all,
7 I don't think it does violence presumptively to expect that
8 these colleges and universities will deal with the government
9 in good faith. Certainly there would be no incentive to con-
10 duct religious worship or sectarian instruction in an expen-
11 sive building that is devoted to science and filled with labor-
12 atories or the library, when there are other buildings that
13 can fully serve that purpose.

14 But I would like to take, Mr. Justice, the
15 concave side of this convex proposition and apply the Walls
16 Test, as articulated by this Court to the statute we're deal-
17 ing with. In Walls there was a caveat, a caveat that was sup-
18 plementary to the purpose and primary effect test, as I read
19 that decision.

20 The Court said, "We must look at the primary
21 effect and notice whether or not there is involved an excessive
22 entanglement between state and religion; between church and
23 state. Now, here there is the most perfunctory kind of sur-
24 veillance that may take place in the event that a complaint is
25 lodged that there was religion being conducted in one of these

1 buildings, but let's look at the other side.

2 Counsel for the Appellants say, and they say
3 -- that "We concede that all church-related schools are not
4 barred from this program." Well, then, what schools are bar-
5 red?

6 "The schools that are barred," say they, "the
7 theory of our suit is that the constitution forbids support by
8 the Federal Government of any institution which teaches or
9 practices religion."

10 Again they said, in the lower court: "If the in-
11 stitution teaches or practices religion it is unconstitutional
12 to allocate it funds."

13 In this Court they say, "We assert that under the
14 establishment clause an institution is barred from receiving
15 funds if the propagation, teaching or practice of religion is
16 a meaningful and major part of its existence."

17 So, what is the criterion that they urge? They
18 urge, laced throughout their briefs: the Horace Mann test,
19 promulgated by the Court of Appeals of the State of Maryland in
20 1968. Now, what is the Horace Mann test? It involves, first
21 of all, a determination of the purpose of the college. Second,
22 it involves an analysis of the religious constituency of the
23 governing board, the student body, the faculty and the admin-
24 istratives. It involves a determination as to where the school
25 gets its financial support; whether religion and prayer are

1 meaningful and significant on these campuses; whether the
2 activities of the alumni are really projections or extensions
3 of the teachings of the school and what the image of the school
4 is in the community.

5 I suggest that to apply that test that is being
6 urged by the Appellants, is the very kind of entanglement that
7 this Court has eschewed and shunned and avoided in relationship
8 to the ad valorem real estate tax test, in *Walls* against the
9 Tax Commission, because it would require a positive sur-
10 veillance to determine the ever-changing character in institu-
11 tions of 817 church-related colleges and universities.

12 Sixty percent of the private schools in America
13 today, private higher educational institutions, are church-
14 related. To think that Appellants' test would throw the
15 whole administration of the Higher Education Facilities Act
16 into chaos and confusion, it would cast doubt over the eligi-
17 bility for a grant of 60 percent of the private higher educa-
18 tional institutions in the United States and introduce an
19 amorphous test incapable of application without continued sur-
20 veillance as these schools change their character to meet the
21 test imposed by the Court.

22 So, I suggest, as against that, Mr. Justice, as
23 against that, for which they contend that the kind of sur-
24 veillance that is necessary to look at a building and see
25 whether or not in a building there is any religious instruction,

1 is de minimis.

2 Q Mr. Williams, I take it you think it's
3 unnecessary to address yourself to whether or not the case
4 would be different if you did have a school here that satisfied
5 your opponents' definition of a sectarian institution?

6 A I don't think it's unnecessary to address
7 myself to that if you are interested in it, Mr. Justice. I
8 think this: that the kind of institution that he has hypo-
9 thesized here, as the basis for asking this Court for an ad-
10 visory opinion, makes it impossible, I suggest, to segregate
11 the secular from the sectarian; the secular from the religious.
12 And I suggest to the Court --

13 Q In those institutions -- in an institution
14 of that kind, if there are any?

15 A And I don't think that there is one unless
16 it be a divinity school, Mr. Justice, and they have been
17 carved out of the act specifically. But, the kind of institu-
18 tion that he hypothesizes, I don't know of a single one nor
19 has one been suggested by the Appellants.

20 And I suggest that the Appellants repeatedly
21 reminded the lower court that they could have brought this case
22 in any one of 50 jurisdictions and they could have named any
23 one of a number of institutions and they named the Secretary
24 of Health, Education, and Welfare; they brought it in Connec-
25 cut. I don't think that it's a violent presumption to suggest

1 that they brought it in a jurisdiction which was not eviden-
2 tially unfavorable to the cause which they were asserting.

3 Q Well, under your argument, then, a clergyman
4 could be put on the Federal payroll provided he was teaching
5 physics or math or --

6 A There isn't any -- Mr. Justice, there isn't
7 any teacher on the payroll in this --

8 Q I understand. I just wonder how far this
9 theory of yours goes, because we have other cases like that
10 coming up.

11 A Well, we have clergymen across the road
12 here on the payroll in Congress, and I suppose if they are
13 doing a wholly secular function -- if it is secularly segre-
14 gable so that there can be no gainsay that what they are doing
15 is purely secular that would be possible.

16 In Bradfield against Roberts we had an institution
17 owned, controlled and operated by a monastic order of nuns.
18 This was decided in 1899 and a contract was entered into be-
19 tween the Federal Government and this monastic order of nuns
20 to erect an isolation ward at the Providence Hospital, which
21 is still extant here in the District of Columbia.

22 Q Of course that wasn't an educational in-
23 stitution.

24 A It was not an educational institution, Mr.
25 Justice, but insofar as the focus is whether it is sectarian or

1 secular, I suggest to you that there is no difference between
2 practical medicine and teaching science, mathematics or a
3 foreign language because each is a fully secular function and
4 that's what the Government is subsidizing in Bradfield v.
5 Roberts and my brother concedes that so long as the function is
6 purely secular that a contribution or subsidy may be made to a
7 church institution. He made that concession here yesterday.

8 Now, this function was wholly secular in Bradfield
9 v. Roberts and the sole line of distinction that counsel was
10 able to draw between Bradfield against Roberts and the case
11 at bar, was that Bradfield against Roberts had an open admis-
12 sions policy, suggesting to this court that the institutions
13 before the Court today do not and I say that's a demonstrable
14 untruth from the record.

15 Q Well, what if they did, though, Mr.
16 Williams. Suppose there was a condition for matriculation
17 that you be a Catholic?

18 A Well, there couldn't be here, Mr. --

19 Q Well, I know there couldn't be, but -- and
20 you suggest that it's just really an academic question, and
21 it may be that there aren't any schools like that.

22 A There aren't any schools like that and
23 there can't be under this statute because Plaintiff's Exhibit
24 Number 126, which is in evidence, shows that each of the
25 schools must affirm and must give assurance that they are

1 complying with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which
2 inhibits all forms of discrimination. But there is none in
3 this case. And there can't be any.

4 Q What happens to these buildings at the end
5 of an 18 to 20-year period. I think Mr. Friedman touched on
6 that and I wasn't clear what his answer was.

7 A The Government's interest in these
8 buildings, Mr. Justice, under the statute, exists for 20 years
9 and at the end of 20 years there is no further surveillance.

10 I should say --

11 Q Are they free to use these buildings then
12 for purely religious purposes?

13 A They are free to use them as they choose,
14 Mr. Justice.

15 Q As they choose.

16 A Now, may I respond to a question that you
17 propounded yesterday. I think you asked, if I recall correctly,
18 how much money these institutions before the bar received in
19 the State of Connecticut?

20 They received a total of \$1,800,000, out of \$18
21 million that were given to institutions in the State of
22 Connecticut during the same period of time.

23 Now, I think it's significant, Mr. Justice, to
24 recognize that in each instance, in each instance the univer-
25 sity or the college receives less than 20 percent of the cost

1 of the building. The maximum that they can receive is 33
2 percent. For example, the science building at Fairfield
3 University, the record shows cost over \$4 million; the grant
4 was \$500,000.

5 Now, comparable figures are true with respect to
6 the library; and a library at Sacred Heart University; a
7 \$24,000 grant was given to Albertus Magnus for the foreign
8 language laboratory where the students may go to listen and
9 practice modern language.

10 So that it is not, Mr. Justice, as though the
11 Government is giving a building, a whole building to these
12 schools. It is giving a small percentage of the cost of the
13 building and the schools must commit to pay the rest, the
14 design fee to increase the academic facilities across the
15 country. So that instead of 4,200,000 students having a
16 college education in 1960, 7 million students are having a
17 college education in the 1970s, as projected by the then
18 President when he proposed this legislation.

19 Now, if the Court please --

20 Q I suppose you would agree that the Federal
21 Government -- neither the Federal Government nor a state could
22 have created these institutions, launched them, chartered them,
23 financed them?

24 A Well, I think that, Mr. Justice --

25 Q In their entirety.

1 A In their entirety we would run afoul of
2 the establishment clause because in that instance they would
3 be launching an institution which was teaching religion and
4 it would be subsidizing the institution in its entirety.

5 Q That would also, of course be true of Yale
6 or Harvard or Columbia or Princeton, wouldn't it?

7 A Yale --

8 Q The Federal Government couldn't have
9 started any of those the way they were started.

10 Q Well, the way they were. I'm talking
11 about today. Starting up Yale today I suppose that could be
12 a Federal institution without any problem.

13 A Well, it's interesting to note, Mr.
14 Justice, that Yale today, of course, has a department of
15 religion and I think offers a selection about as broad as the
16 institutions which are before the Bar. Trinity and Wesleyan,
17 which were mentioned in the complaint filed by the Plaintiffs,
18 I suggest, has religious courses that are as broad as the
19 religious courses that are offered in the case at Bar.

20 Q By any chance does this record show that
21 the cost is of some of the major medical schools in the country,
22 funded by the Federal Government, such as Harvard Medical
23 School?

24 A No, Mr. Chief Justice, we never got into
25 the area of graduate schools. Our focus was confined to --

1 exclusively to secondary schools offering academic degrees
2 after high school. We did not get into medical schools and we
3 didn't get into any other form of graduate education.

4 Now, this Court has recognized, in its promulga-
5 tion of the purpose and primary effect test on four occasions
6 -- on four occasions as that test has evolved, historically,
7 beginning in 1947, and rearticulated again last year, that the
8 purpose and primary effect test presumes that there may be
9 some incidental benefits to religion. It

10 It presumed it in Epperson, it presumed it in
11 McGowan against Maryland (the Sunday closing laws); it presumed
12 it in Board of Education against Allen (the textbook law) and
13 of course, it presumed it in Walz.

14 Now, again, this Court has said on three occa-
15 sions, three occasions, clearly and unambiguously, that the
16 mandate of the constitution in the establishment clause, is
17 not that the Government must be hostile to religion, but that
18 it must be neutral as between religion and irreligion and as
19 among the sects of religion.

20 It said this in Edison; it said it in Borak
21 against Clausen and it said it in Abington against Shem
22 clearly. I suggest to the Court that if the Congress had
23 gerrymandered the church-related schools out of this building
24 by virtue of the fact that they were teaching religion, or by
25 virtue of the fact that worship was taking place on the

1 campus, that it will have manifested a constitutionally
2 inhibited hostility to religion.

3 Now, again, this Court has said and has said
4 three times in applying the purpose and primary effect test,
5 that the focus in determining the effect, the focus in deter-
6 mining the secularity of the effect, is not on the nature of
7 the institution receiving the benefits, but is on the function
8 being subsidized. It said it in Everson and it said it in
9 McCollum against the Board of Education, which struck down a
10 prior program, or a religious instruction program on the
11 premises of the Illinois school system because it focused on
12 the function being subsidized, not on the nature of the in-
13 stitution.

14 And finally, it said in Board of Education against
15 Allen, that it's the function being subsidized that is the
16 determinative factor.

17 So, I suggest here you have a wholly secular
18 function; it is receiving a grant in part for the purpose of
19 its erection, and that it clearly passes the purpose and
20 primary effect test.

21 Q Do you suggest that the only test of
22 primary effect is whether the Government achieves its secular
23 purpose? And that it's irrelevant what consequences --

24 A I don't say quite that, Mr. Justice, but I
25 do say that if there is a piece of education which is passed

1 by the Congress at the instance of the President, for a
2 specific purpose and it is demonstrated that the legislation
3 implements that purpose, that it's reasonable to say that that's
4 the primary effect of the legislation.

5 Q Even if, wholly aside from how much or how
6 important or how significant an aid to the religious activities
7 may be?

8 A If the purpose is secular, if the purpose
9 is secular, as it was here, then I suggest that if the purpose
10 is fulfilled and implemented, as it was here, because it has
11 been shown in this record that in fact, the purpose was ful-
12 filled; then I suggest to the Court that that is the primary
13 effect, notwithstanding that there may be some benefits flowing
14 to religion.

15 Q Or regardless of how much benefit may flow?

16 A I don't think that it would be relevant as
17 to how significant, if you are talking about significant in
18 terms of monetary benefit, I don't think that that would be
19 irrelevant.

20 Q I suppose if you put the clergyman on the
21 payroll and he's teaching physics, that takes him off the
22 budget of the school for the performance of other things that
23 he --

24 A As long, Mr. Justice, as there can be a
25 secularly segregable function. If it can effectivety be

1 segregable, and we have to develop a record to show whether it
2 would be or not. We didn't have that problem in this case,
3 but if it could be a secularly segregable function there is no
4 reason that the Government may not offer the service.

5 This Court has recognized for 50 years that
6 church-related schools perform both a secular function and at
7 the same time offer religious instruction. It recognized this
8 in *Pierce against the Society of Sisters* in 1925; it recognized
9 it in *Board of Education against Allen* that these schools are
10 performing the function of great social dimension to the state
11 of providing a secular education, by providing the --

12 Q I don't suppose anybody has ever doubted
13 that on this Court.

14 A And, so long as legislation can be
15 tailored so that the subsidy or the grant only affects the
16 secular status of the school, this Court has consistently held
17 that it is not violative of --

18 Q Well, if that's what it means, Mr. Williams,
19 I take it -- take your \$4 million building; suppose it had two
20 wings. The Government's contribution is a half million
21 dollars; one wing is the science laboratory; the other one is
22 a church. Would that qualify?

23 A No; the statute covers that quite clearly,
24 Mr. Justice. It says that the facility to which the contribution
25 has been made or for which the contribution is made, may not

1 be used for sectarian religion or religious instruction. Now,
2 this would be an area; it wouldn't be a facility that you
3 were hypothesizing in the situation. Therefore, in that whole
4 facility there could be no religious instruction; there could
5 be no worship and I suggest that there could be no symbols or
6 artifacts of religion and indeed, that is precisely what has
7 taken place in the case at Bar at each of these four institu-
8 tions.

9 I suggest to the Court that the participular
10 phrases which form the establishment clause, finally come down
11 to one basic principle: that the Government may not use
12 religion as a standard for action or inaction; that it may not
13 use the criteria to confer a benefit or to impose a burden.

14 And that this case passes that test.

15 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr.
16 Williams.

17 Mr. Pfeffer. You have eight minutes.

18 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT BY LEO PFEFFER, ESQ.

19 ON BEHALF OF APPELLANTS

20 MR. PFEFFER: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.

21 First, I find it necessary to correct a statement
22 made by Mr. Williams. I do so because it's critical to this
23 decision.

24 Mr. Williams said that the statute requires the
25 institutions to comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of

1 1964, which forbids all forms of discrimination. And Mr.
2 Williams is in error, because it does not forbid all forms of
3 discrimination. It does permit religious discrimination. It
4 forbids discrimination on race, color or nationality, but it
5 does permit -- the word "religion" was deliberately taken out.
6 It does permit religious discrimination; it does permit the
7 use of Federal funds to finance an institution which dis-
8 criminate religiously. This is clearly within this case,
9 because, as I pointed out, the difference between Bradfield,
10 the difference in all of the cases is that this case allows an
11 institution to discriminate religiously, to exclude on a
12 religious basis.

13 I also want to make clear our position. We do
14 not concede any facts other than the fact that the institutions
15 which, in Connecticut or all over the United States, do make
16 a written commitment that in the particular facilities filed
17 they will not teach or practice religion.

18 We do not agree with Mr. Williams' interpretation
19 of the record below. We have here -- we have prepared charts
20 to show our analysis of the evidence, which leads to con-
21 clusions directly contrary to Mr. Williams. We didn't bring
22 them here because there have been no findings of fact. We
23 don't believe this is a trial court.

24 There was a great dispute in the court below
25 between what evidence is relevant. We contended that the

1 evidence which is relevant is that which dealt with the time
2 when the grants to these institutions were authorized by the
3 Government. Most of the testimony, the evidence put forth by
4 Mr. Williams, why we didn't cross-examine -- we objected to
5 it -- dealt with facts which occurred after -- after those
6 grants were authorized, which, after the date of trial and
7 even which were being planned for future implementation.

8 There are two different institutions in each
9 case. One, when the grant was made, one when the trial was
10 conducted. We contend that the evidence which we presented
11 as of the time when the grant was authorized, did justify a
12 finding of fact that at least one or more of these institu-
13 tions did exclude students who were not of the requisite faith.

14 Now, if the Court views that to be a critical
15 fact, as I believe it is, I think the Court is not a trial
16 court. It didn't observe the demeaning of the witnesses. It
17 should, I believe, remand it to determine those facts.

18 Now, on --

19 Q Do you think -- may I ask you a question,
20 Mr. Pfeffer. Do you think your argument runs in in any way to
21 a free exercise problem? Supposing the religious organiza-
22 tions were cut out of this statute, and you would concede the
23 power of the Federal Government to subsidize a nonreligious
24 school or you would cut out the religious grants. Do you run
25 into any kind of a free exercise problem on that?

1 A Well, if we did -- well, let's say, Mr.
2 Justice, that for well over a century and a half every State
3 of the Union, bar none, was guilty of a violation of the
4 freedom of religion of thousands and thousands of people,
5 because never before -- and I repeat again -- before this act
6 do we find a situation where public funds are used to subsi-
7 dize an institution, educational institution, limited to one
8 sex. (?)

9 Now, I --

10 Q Well, you wouldn't deny that the --
11 suggest also that the establishment clause is so rigid that
12 a legislature may not take notice of free exercise values in
13 terms of a program like this?

14 A On the contrary, I think the whole con-
15 stitution must be considered. My argument is, on the contrary,
16 that the history of the struggle for freedom of religion in
17 this country is in a large measure a history against compul-
18 sory taxation for religious purposes.

19 It is our contention, on the contrary, that to tax
20 me, a nonCatholic, in order to support an institution which
21 is Catholic ~~is~~ (undiscernable) --

22 Now, in respect to the Bradfield against Roberts,
23 that Mr. Williams spoke on, I tried yesterday to distinguish
24 that in the brief, but I think the test could be said to be
25 this, to distinguish Bradfield and other cases: the test is

1 whether the facility is free-standing or integrated into the
2 totality of a curriculum whereby the same student is exposed
3 to the propagation of religion and the institution has, as its
4 major purpose, to propagate religion to that student.

5 What I mean by this is that if the services at
6 the hospital are part of a unit which includes inculcation of
7 a religious doctrine and the student and the patient must take
8 both, his treatment for his disease and propagation of religion,
9 that's unconstitutional. That is the situation in this case.

10 No person can walk off the street and come in and
11 say, "I want to use this chemistry laboratory or this biology
12 laboratory," or "I want to enroll only for this one course."
13 He is a complete student; he must take the whole works, in-
14 cluding a course in the propagation of the Catholic religion.
15 That, I believe, is the test.

16 Now, one word about purpose. We are in this Court
17 because the Congress is a coordinate branch of government; this
18 Court, of course, is bound by the Congress's statement of --
19 now, I don't believe that is true with respect to states,
20 legislatures, but with respect to Congress. But, it must
21 examine what that purpose is.

22 Mr. Friedman pointed out that the purpose is to
23 increase enrollment in school, not to give additional facilities
24 to anyone who wants those facilities, but in order to increase
25 enrollment in those schools. And you can't do it. Congress

1 said "by making these facilities available to enroll new
2 students.

3 I submit, in all deference, that taking just one
4 of the institutions, Sacred Heart University, just as an
5 illustration, as an exhibit in this case, its own statement
6 of what its purposes are. On Page 16 it says: Convinced of
7 the necessity of a Catholic education and every letter from
8 all Catholic youth, the Bishop has found that the Sacred Heart
9 University, shortly before the opening of -- announced that
10 Sacred Heart University would be organized. He said it was the
11 conviction of its founder, and -- a major mission of the church
12 can be carried on by the laymen in a Catholic University.

13 I submit, if a purpose of an institution is to
14 carry out the major mission, the mission of the church, and
15 funds are granted to that institution in order that it can
16 expand its enrollment, I submit --

17 Q When was the institution founded, Mr.
18 Pfeffer?

19 A I'm sorry.

20 Q When was the institution founded by that
21 -- for that purpose?

22 A It was founded -- in the early sixties.

23 Q 1960s, 1860s, 1760s?

24 A 1962.

25 Q 1962?

1 A Yes; 1962, shortly before --1962. This
2 is a very new institution.

3 I thank you.

4 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Pfeffer.
5 Thank you Mr. Williams and Mr. Friedman.

6 The case is submitted.

7 (Whereupon, at 10:43 o'clock a.m. the argument in
8 the above-entitled matter was concluded)
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