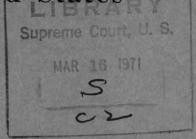
Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1971



Docket No. 573

MAR 16

ICE

In the Matter of:

RUBEN AS	SKEW, ET AL.,
	Appellants
	VS.
ROBERT H	. HARGRAVE, ET AL.,
	Appellees
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Place Washington, D. C.

Date February 24, 1971

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BENHAM	1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
	2	OCTOBER TERM 1971
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	Ą.	RUBEN ASKEW, ET AL., )
	5	Appellants )
	6	vs ) No. 573
	7	ROBERT H. HARGRAVE, ET AL., )
	8	Appellees )
	9	09 03 03 03 03 09 03 03 03 03 03 03 03 03 00 00 00 00 00
	10	The above-entitled matter came on for argument
	11	at 10:30 o'clock a.m. on Wednesday, February 24, 1971.
	12	BEFORE :
		WARREN E. BURGER, Chief Justice
	13	HUGO L. BLACK, Associate Justice WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Associate Justice
	14	JOHN M. HARLAN, Associate Justice WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., Associate Justice
	15	POTTER STEWART, Associate Justice
	16	BYRON R. WHITE, Associate Justice THURGOOD MARSHALL, Associate Justice
	17	HARRY A. BLACKMUN, Associate Justice
	18	APPEARANCES:
	19	HERSHEL SHANKS, ESQ. Washington, D. C.
	20	On behalf of Appellees
	21	CHARLES E. MINER, JR. Tallahassee, Florida
	22	On behalf of Appellants (Rebuttal)
	23	
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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: We will resume 3 arguments in Number 573: Askew against Hargrave. a Mr. Shanks, you may proceed whenever you are 3 ready. ORAL ARGUMENT BY HERSHEL SHANKS, ESO. 6 7 ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES 8 MR. SHANKS: Mr. Chief Justice and may it please the Court: 9 I'd like to begin this morning by noting that 10 there are many aspects of the Florida educational financing 11 system which are very fine, indeed, and to the extent that they 12 are good, we applaud them. But there is one element in this 13 system which discriminates on the basis of wealth and to that 14 extent we attack it as unconstitutional. 15 Basically, the Florida system is this: the state 16 distributes to each of the counties on a very fair and well-17 considered basis a major portion of the funds for financing 18 the school system. I am willing to assume here, contrary to 19 present fact that this is sufficient to fund an adequate educa-20 tional system. Added 21 Added to this basic grant and on top of this is 22 the amount that the local counties add through their local tax 23 effort. Now, I'm even willing to assume here that this added 24 amount, this educational frosting --25

A Frosting on the cake, Your Honor. In other words its something additional which the -- I don't think in fact is, but I'm willing to assume it here.

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Is an educational what?

But, we insist that even the frosting be distributed on an equal basis; that is: without discrimination based on wealth.

The Millage Rollback Act, together with the statutes which authorize Florida counties to tax, create a system where they give to each county a certain authority to add this educational frosting, to raise these dollars. In some counties it's \$700 a pupil; in other counties it's six, five, four, and down to \$50 a pupil. Each is treated less well, depending -- as it goes down the wealth scale.

So that it's not a question of only two categories; it's a sliding scale and everybody but the top county is disadvantaged.

Now, we are not opposed to limitations as such on local efforts. We don't even insist on a particular formula that the limitation should take. There are a variety of constitutional formulas; for example: Florida, a Florida court, in its wisdom, says that each county will be limited to \$100 a pupil, or it could say each county would be limited to a thousand dollars in instruction units and the instruction unit, as was discussed yesterday, is a very complicated formula which

1 takes into account a myriad of factors. It could take an 2 infinite number of reasonable formulas for determining in-3 struction units, to take account of any reasonable difference 1 in educational needs: transportation, exceptional children, 5 guidance programs, anything. So that we wouldn't object to any 6 limitation which applied without regard to wealth, which was 7 reasonably related to the responsibility which each of the 8 local communities has, and if they have the same responsibility 9 it is our position that the state must give them the same tools 10 to meet that responsibility. 11 WEll, can Florida pass a law that says no Q 12 county can tax for purposes more than 15 mills? 13 That, Your Honor, would depend on a number A 14 of considerations ---15 Well, wouldn't it violate the --0 16 I would violate ---A 17 0 -- the United States Constitution? 18 A It probably would, but I can't ---19 Well, what article? 0 20 The considerations would be these, Your A 21 Honor ---22 What would it violate, the 14th Amendment? Q It -- yes, the --23 A 24 It says that all counties are on the same 0 basis, that violates the Equal Protection Clause? 25

A single tax rate --A Que: It would violate the Equal Protection 0 2 Clause? 3 It probably would, but there would be a A 4 number of different factors, but just in this case it would e 5 related to the wealth of the community rather than the respon-6 sibility of the community. 7 Q Let's put it this way: it wouldn't be 8 unconstitutional on its face; would it? 9 A It would be unconstitutional, given -- if 10 it could be demonstrated it probably could --11 But on its face it says that each county 0 12 shall be treated equally. That, on its face, violates the 13 Equal Protection Clause? 14 Your Honor, I respectfully disagree that A 15 it's equal on its face. It's equal in that it says that same 16 number, flat tax rate is applicable, but I think the Court 17 must ask the question: how does this operate? Does it operate 18 equally or unequally? 19 Let me, if I may, put a hypothetical. Instead of 20 this case where we have the state giving to the local 21 communities tax authorization, let's consider the case where 22 the case was giving money for educational purposes and suppose 23 that the formula under which they distributed money was the 20 same as they distribute tax authority in this case, and suppose 25

that the State of Florida said that: we will give to each county ten mills, a percentage of its tax base for educational purposes. Now, there is no doubt in my mind that this Court would strike that down 9 to nothing. That has no relationship to the educational tasks that the counties are required to undertake.

Now, the State of Florida, in its presentation nor in its briefs, has suggested a single reason why an equal limitation, if they want a limitation, why an equal limitation would not serve all of its purposes. The State suggested yesterday that the Millage Rollback Act narrows the gap between the poor counties and the rich counties. I think it is obviously true that it narrows the potential gap. That is to say that if there is a limit of ten mills on each county the potential gap is less than if there is a limitation of 15 mills and a limitation of 15 mills creates less of a potential gap than no limitation at all.

But, the question that we urge on the Court is not the validity of the limitation; it's the validity of an unequal wealth-related limitation expressed as a flat rate tax limitation.

Q I think we were told yesterday that there was a pending action in the state court on this subject, with other plaintiffs? Are you familiar with that litigation?

I am familiar with it to the extent that I

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have seen the pleadings and I have talked to counsel.

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What are the issues that are raised under 0 the State Constitution in that case?

The questions that are raised under the A State Constitution, Mr. Justice Brennan, are that the Millage Rollback Act violates a provision of Florida law which says that adequate provision shall be made by law for a uniform system of free public schools; another provision which says that all natural persons are equal before the law and have inalienable rights and another provision which I think is even weaker; it's rather complicated.

But, our position ---

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0 But I gather if those contentions were to prevail under the State Constitution it wouldn't be necessary for us, or any court to reach the Federal claims; would it?

A That is correct, Your Honor. Our position here is that we are clearly under 1983 and we have a right to come to a Federal forum with our Federal claim. We have pressed only Federal claims. I believe the position that --

> The fact that it's a 1983 action ---0 Pardon me?

The fact that it's a 1983 suit would not 0 preclude, would it, in an appropriate case, abstention until the State law questions were decided; would it?

Well, I believe that is the teaching in

Monroe v. Pape, as I read it, and the suggestion that a state law issue or State Constitutional issue may be a ground for abstention is rejected by this Court just last month in Wisconsin against Constantineau, where Mr. Chief Justice Burger dissenting, urged that --

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Q Well, I know, but whether or not -- I'm just asking: is the fact that it's a 1983 action, in your submission, preclude abstention to have the --

A I think it's one of the grounds, Your Honor. I think there are several others. First of all, I don't think that there is any ambiguity here in the statute itself, in the Millage Rollback Act. There is no conceivable vagueness or other way that it can be interpreted that would change the constitutional question here.

Moreover, I don't ---

Q That's so, but however unambiguous, it may nevertheless, may it not, be unconstitutional on one of these State Constitutional grounds?

A I think that realistically speaking, of course it hasn't been tested, but as a lawyer assessing a case I would say that you would be filing all new grounds under the Florida Constitution.

Q Well, we weren't.

A No; as I say, I think a lawyer would be. The Florida courts would be. I don't think that there is the

1 kind of guidelines existing in Florida Constitutional law --2 Q Incidentally, were any of these State 3 Constitutional grounds raised by the defense in this litiga-4 tion? 5 Raised -- no; they wouldn't be raised in A 6 fact ---7 I mean were they raised or ---0 8 They were not pressed by us. A 9 You raised only the Federal Constitutional Q 10 grounds? 11 Yes; as a matter of fact, we did say in A our complaint one of these grounds. We never referred to it 12 13 again, though, and ---14 Q You mean you pleaded a State Constitutional ground and it was not passed on in the Three-Judge Court? 15 A No; we never really -- it was, guite 16 candidly, when we're drafting a complaint we try to put every-17 thing conceivable in. At the -- as we pressed forward in 18 litigation we assess our chances on each, I think we concluded 19 that this is not a realistically -- a possibility of obtaining 20 relief on this ground. And we are pressing only our Federal 21 ground, as we think we have a right to do under Monroe against 22 Pape. 23 Mr. Shanks would you agree that after 0 20 hearing Mr. Miner's argument and reading his brief, that there 25

is quite a lot of material here that was not before the Three-Judge Court in Florida?

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A I think the only thing that was not before the Three-Judge Court in Florida, Your Honor, is the argument that this statute may possibly be justified on the ground that it narrows the gap. And that argument, I think, is very easily met.

The answer to it is: we have no objection to your trying to narrow the gap; all we have objection to is that you do by imposing an unequal wealth discrimination. There is an analogy, I think, in this case, to McLaughlin against Florida in which Mr. Justice Stewart, I believe, wrote the opinion, where there was an attempt by Florida, the same state, to suppress extramarital promiscuity.

MR. JUSTICE STEWART: That was Mr. Justice White in that opinion; and I wrote a concurring opinion.

MR. SHANKS: Excuse me; I'm sorry, Your Honor. In which the Court indicated it was perfectly proper on the State of Florida to do something about its extramarital or premarital promiscuity, but they said "don't do it by drawing a racial line," and the analogy here is that we have no objection to the State's imposing a limitation, if that's what they want to do, but don't do it by a wealth discriminating limitation.

Your argument has to go so far as to say

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that a state may not limit the amount of educational support that is to be derived from property taxes and substitute for that support other revenue?

No.

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Q Well, because the state says, look take no more than 10 mills; don't burden property owners any more than ten mills for the board of education because we're going to make up the sums from other sources.

A If they made up the sums from other sources. In other words, suppose that a county says: all right, we would normally -- there is another county here that is raising \$150 a pupil, but the 10 mills in our county only raises \$100 a pupil and if we were free, if you treated us equally with the other counties we would get raised \$150. If the state says: we'll make the \$50 up to you so that you really are being treated equally, that would be all right. The only thing we object to is the unequal treatment.

Q So, you're saying that the state's equalization program isn't satisfactory.

That's correct.

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Q And that this program they have of pouring more money in and equalizing equal educational opportunities still demies equal protection of the law.

That's correct.

Well, that's -- that really then involves

the whole picture of all state support to education which, it doesn't seem to me the District Court had before

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A Well, respectfully, Mr. Justice White, I think it does not, because the only thing that is necessary to examine is the Millage Rollback Act to see whether it operates equally and if it does not, is there something which equalizes the operation and the State hasn't pointed to anything which equalizes the operation.

All the STate has said is: well, we poured in more money on a fair basis. Yes, they have poured in more money on a fair basis --

Q It seems to me you would also have to say that the State, it would be unconstitutional for the STate to remove the taxing power from all counties and school districts and the State itself assess and levy the property tax and if it just levied the property tax at 10 mills right across the board you wouldn't say that that was unconstitutional?

A No; no; that would be constitutional. It's now how you get the money; it's how you give it back. In other words if the State levied a 10 mill or 20 mill or 30 mill property tax throughout Florida there would be nothing unconstitutional about that. What would be unconstitutional is if it took that money and distributed it on the basis of wealth.

And here we're talking about -- there's a big difference, and I think it's important to maintain the

distinction between getting the money in, wehther the state is treating someone equally in the way of taxes from the taxpayer's point of view and on the other hand, whether the state is distributing its largess with benefits unequally here. And here we claim that the state is distributing its benefits unequally; not money, but in this case, according to tax. And I think it is a discrete part of the taxing system in Florida, and of course it could be met if Florida was to come in here and say yes, it's true that it does operate unequally, but we have made it up by this. And they haven't come in and said that and that's why I don't think, Mr. Justice White, that it's necessary to examine any more of the --

Mr. Shanks, let me try once again: suppose 0 Florida says that no county may tax more than 10 mills for purposes of fire prevention. Is there anything wrong with that?

A In that case, Mr. Justice Marshall, property may be a measure of the need for fire prevention. In other words, there may be a relationship between --

Q How about police? Same answer?

I don't know. We're getting into border-A line cases. But, if there is -- in education there is demonstrably no relationship between property and need. WE have shown in the record here that the top base varies between \$5,000 a pupil and \$7,200 a pupil, so that there's no

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Isn't that true in most states? That's correct. I want to go back to 3 A something ---12

Do you go on the theory that each child in 0 the state is entitled to the exact same amount of money for education?

No; not at all; not at all, and I'd like A to comment on that if I may, because I think it's important.

There are, as Your Honor noted yesterday, there are variations in almost every state -- I think Hawaii is the only exception -- between the rich districts and the poor districts and that is because --

How could you possibly say that the 0 wealthiest group is the best one?

Well ---

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There is no such thing as absolutely ---0 A And we are not urging equality. All we are urging is a negative proposition that you can't discriminate on the basis of wealth. We don't believe that a plaintiff moots his case simply by showing, for example that: I've got a school built five years ago and you've got a school built just last year. We say that the burden on the plaintiff is to establish that there has been a discrimination -- an invidious discrimination on race or wealth and ---25

Q Well, I'm still waiting for you to get to (Tere) that from your argument. 2 WE11 ---A 3 I must have missed something. Ã, I'm obviously deficient, myself, in trying A 5 to explain it. What I'm trying to say is that --6 I understood from the State that they put 0 7 in a certain amount of money per 27 children, or whatever it is 8 per unit in any county and they deduct from that what the county 9 raises in its millage; is that right? 10 No. A 11 Well, how does it operate? 0 12 The State ---A 13 How does the Equalization Fund operate? 0 14 The Equalization Fund operates in this A 15 way: the State determines the total amount of an adequate 16 system by formula and there is one equalization element which 17 my brother Miner touched upon which works this way: one 18 element of the total picture is they determine how much would 19 be raised by a four mills tax in the local taxing unit. And 20 then there is an X figure up here and they take whatever is 21 raised by four mills the state will make up, up to X. 22 That's what I thought and that's the way 0 23 I understand it. 24 That's right. Now, between four and ten A 25 15

the local district is free to add its own tax effort ---

Up to ten.

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3 Up to ten, and that is where we say that A 4 inevitably and necessarily and inequity, a discrimination by 5 wealth is built in, because we say to the one county: all right, you can tax an additional six mills over the four and whatever that is you can add it to your system and whatever ---7 8 given the fact that there is a wide variation in tax base for people, the inevitable result is that in one county they can 9 10 add \$400 or \$500 per pupil and the other county is prevented from doing the very same thing.

Does the record show how many counties did 12 0 add? 13

Yes, Your Honor. There are 24 counties. A 14 15 I think it might be helpful if I call the Court's attention to the mostimportant table in the case, which appears in the 16 Appendix at 25 and 26, and that is, unfortunately, a small 17 type, but it's got a lot of numbers in it and it shows that 18 the 24 counties which, prior to the Mills Rollback Act, were 19 taxing up to 17 and 18 mills. 20

> Are they poor counties or rich counties? 0 They are ---A

And when you are answering will you please 0 23 giveme your line as to what's poor and what's rich. 20.

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There is no line, Your Honor. Everybody

below the richest man is poor in a relative sense. In other words, this is a discrimination by wealth. When you -- if the state gives one county the authority to tax \$700 and another one \$600, the one that's getting \$600 may be what we would normally call a pretty well-to-do county --

Q Well, aren't they ---

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A -- but it's still discriminated against compared to \$700.

Q Well, aren't they discriminated against in the hospitals, too? And all the other government services; aren't they?

A I think we have to examine each cases and maybe in some of these cases something should be done about it, Your Honor. I'm trying to make a very narrow attack here on a very clear discrimination that the statute imposes. It doesn't result from the fact that they are poor and can't afford it; they are willing to tax themselves at a higher rate. They are willing to raise more money for their children, but this statute prevents them from doing so.

Ω What you really mean is that some of the taxpayers in those counties, have that view.

A They cannot do what some of the taxpayers in wealthier counties can do.

Q We don't know from anything in this record what their views really are; do we?

A We know that they are denied the same rights as the taxpayers in their neighboring wealthier county have.

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Q May I ask you just one question, Mr. Shanks with reference to what Justice White and I were both inquiring about, as to what was before the District Court and what was not.

In Mr. Miner's brief at pages, I think 11 and onward, there are some figures that are certainly very interesting and intriguing, but not very crucial to this case. Now, my impression is that these figures were not before the District Court; is that right?

A They were not before because they could not be before them at the time because they occurred afterward, and all they represent, Your Honor, is the additions that the state has distributed to the counties On a fair basis and we don't contest that; we acknowledge that the state has distributed funds to them on a fair basis and increased the funds. The only thing that we are talking and the only thing that we attack, is that narrowed area above the basic state grant which is a grant in authority to the counties to help themselves, and we say that grant of authority is an unequal one because it's based on how rich you are.

Q I had the impression that you agree that -- with Mr. Justice White's suggestion that if the state took

this entire operation over and eliminated the counties the state could do precisely that. Did I misunderstand you?

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A You did. I'm sorry to have given that impression, Mr. Justice Burger. The state could tax at 10 mills; that part was all right, the taxing part. But it couldn't take that money and distribute it on the basis of how rich the counties were. It doesn't distribute -- for example, you take sales and use tax where it gets most of the money to support the public schools. It takes that sales and use tax but it doesn't give it back to the counties on the basis of where the money came from; it has a formula which is related to the educational needs of the varying kinds. It doesn't matter whether 50 percent of it came from Dade County. Dade County doesn't get 50 percent; it gets it in terms of a formula related to need and if the state taxed 10 mills on real property that would be perfectly constitutional from the taxpayer's point of view and from the point of view of the revenue-gathering it would be entirely unconstitutional, we submit, for the state to take those funds and distribute it back to the counties on the basis of how rich they are.

And, instead of taking money and giving it --Q You mean that they couldn't increase the state grant because people are poor?

A They could increase it because they were poor. That's the benign wealth classification which we

entirely support. But we couldn't decrease it because they are poor.

Q But they could, nevetheless, distribute state monies based on wealth?

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A Benignly; that is to favor the poor, but not the rich; yes.

Q May I ask you just one question?A Yes, Mr. Justice Black.

Ω The case is rather mysterious to me. After
all the argument I do not fully understand what these issues
mean to somebody in some way.

Suppose that they had decided to abandon a state school system and leave it up to each county to have the system that they wanted to pay for. Could they do that? What would there be in the constitution to prohibit that?

A On the basis of the argument we're making here today the answer is: nothing would prohibit, although the case could be made -- I've got enough problems here without making that case.

Q Well, I'm trying to find out -- it seems to me like it would have a pretty close relationship --

A No, it doesn't, Your Honor, for this reason: in the case where the state says we're not going to do anything. The localities can do whatever they want --

That was the original way of running schools

in this country; wasn't it? 1 Right. The difficulty -- this is, I think, A 2 crucial to an understanding of the case I'm trying to make. 3 The difficulty that the poor counties have in the case here in 13 Court is that they are too poor that they can't afford, they 5 are unable to pay, but that isn't what keeps them back here. 6 Well, you have the same effect if you left 0 7 it up to the counties ---8 A It might have ---9 -- to pay taxes to educate its own 0 10 children; wouldn't it? 11 A It might have the same effect, but the 12 source of that effect would be in the fact that they are poor. 13 Many laws operate ---14 Q No; the source would be that the state 15 decided to let the counties run their own schools and collect 16 their taxes in their own way. Suppose it did that? 17 A Yes. A case, as I say, could be made, but 18 even that would be unconstitutional --19 Why? What would it violate? 0 20 Because it ---A 21 It depends on who has the right to run --0 22 the basic right to run the public schools. 23 It's the responsibility of the state. I'm A 28. arguing a case which isn't mine today. I'm saying that it's 25 21

much worse to discriminate on the basis of the status of being poor than it is to pass a law which operates equally and --Q Suppose the state wanted to abolish all of the schools?

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A And leave it up to thelocalities? Q No; abolish their schools.-- like we run other things in this country.

A That's equal and I don't see anything unconstitutional. I think it would be very foolish and unwise, but if they authorize the localities it can be argued that they are discriminating on the basis of an ability to pay and the poor ones can't afford it. But, even if that is all right, and I'm willing to assume for the purposes of this case that it is all right, they can't say, for example, if they abolish all schools and leave it up to the locality, they can't say to the rich locality: well, you can have a school with \$1500 a pupil in it and say to the poor county: you're poor and for that reason we won't let you have a \$1500 school system. We will only let you have a \$500 school system.

And the difference is that in the second case I put the state is forbidding the poor from doing the same thing as the rich, even if the poor are willing to sacrifice to do it.

Thank you very much, gentlemen.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Shanks.

Mr. Miner, you have five minutes.

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REBUTTAL ARGUMENT BY CHARLES E. MINER, JR.

ON BEHALF OF APPELLANTS

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

I must confess in all candor that the first time that I read the pleadings in this case and the arguments in Mr. Shank's brief I did not then understand how or if Florida was, in fact, discriminating against the school children. I still do not.

The whole underlying concept of the minimum foundation funding formula in Florida is a recognition of the socio-economic fact that some of Florida's counties are poor in relation to the student numbers and some are wealthy. We go in and with the minimum foundation funding formula a complex series of statutes, we recognize that some counties can not fend for themselves and we are going to see that they at least can give their children a minimum acceptable education.

Mr. Shanks has indicated this morning that he is focusing on a narrow -- that he's making a narrow argument. I don't think that we can judge whether or not Florida, is in fact, discriminating against its school children without looking at the total concept of the minimum foundation program.

Mr. Shanks has indicated in his brief and in argument that several of Florida's counties: 16, I think,

suffered in excess of fifty millions of dollars lost because of the -- the Millage Rollback Act was enacted. In truth and in fact, when you consider the infusion of state monies to make up for those monies that were lost there is an increase in A excess of \$112 million. So, the counties have not suffered as a result of the Millage Rollback Act. I would urge the Court to determine whether or not we in Florida are discriminating against our school child-ren in our poor counties, in fact and not in theory. MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Miner. Thank you, Mr. Shanks. The case is submitted. (Whereupon, at 11:02 o'clock a.m., the argument in the above-entitled matter was concluded)