

In the

**ORIGINAL**

**Supreme Court of the United States**

JACKSONVILLE BULK TERMINALS, INC., )  
ET AL. )

Petitioners. )

v. )

80-1045

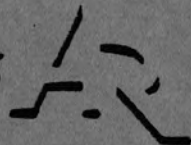
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S )  
ASSOCIATION ET AL. )

Washington, D. C.

Monday, January 18, 1982

Pages 1 thru 55

**ALDERSON**



**REPORTING**

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1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

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3 JACKSONVILLE BULK TERMINALS, INC., :  
ET AL. :

4                                  Petitioners

5

V.

6 INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S  
7 ASSOCIATION ET AL.

[illegible]

9 Washington, D.C.

10 Monday, January 18, 1982

11           The above-entitled matter came on for oral argument  
12 before the Supreme Court of the United States at 1:09 p.m.

13            APPEARANCES:

14 THOMAS P. GIES, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf  
of the Petitioners.

16 ERNEST L. MATHEWS, JR., ESQ., New York, N.Y.; on behalf of the Respondents.

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P R O C E E D I N G S

CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: We will hear arguments next in Jacksonville Bulk Terminals against the International Longshoremen.

Mr. Gies.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF THOMAS P. GIES, ESQ.

ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

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

This case concerns the propriety of an injunction issued by the District Court pursuant to Section 301 of the Labor Management Relations Act, to restrain a work stoppage in violation of the parties' collective bargaining agreement.

The reason for this work stoppage -- the union's disapproval of Occidental's continuing trade with the Soviet Union after the invasion of Afghanistan -- is the decisive fact in this case. As I will develop this afternoon, it is the motivation for this work stoppage that makes this injunction fully warranted under Section 301, contrary to the decision of the Court of Appeals.

We submit very simply to this Court that Norris-LaGuardia does not apply in this case. The admitted objective of the union's work stoppage has concededly and always been a purely political motivation. The concern over the invasion of Afghanistan is not even remotely related to



1 the union's status as employees. Accordingly, that work  
2 stoppage is totally unrelated to the purposes of the  
3 Norris-LaGuardia Act.

4           The Court obviously has never held that  
5 Norris-LaGuardia protects purely political union work  
6 stoppages, and the cases construing Norris-LaGuardia, we  
7 submit, are clear.

8           QUESTION: What's the language of  
9 Norris-LaGuardia, labor disputes?

10          MR. GIES: Section 4 of Norris-LaGuardia, Your  
11 Honor, forbids federal courts to enter injunctions in labor  
12 disputes as defined elsewhere in that statute; and the labor  
13 dispute definition is defined broadly to include wages and  
14 terms and conditions with the purpose of assisting unions in  
15 organizing employees, and in engaging in collective  
16 bargaining, and for other mutual aid or protection.

17          And I submit that even under the broadest possible  
18 reading of the mutual aid and protection clause that it is  
19 clear that any effort by a union in order to be protected by  
20 Norris-LaGuardia must make some effort at improving the lot  
21 of the employees as employees; and that an objective that is  
22 purely political has absolutely no bearing under the  
23 Norris-LaGuardia Act.

24          QUESTION: I suppose it could reasonably be said  
25 that this would be against the interests of the employees

1 because it would cut down their work.

2           MR. GIES: Indeed, Your Honor. Not only against  
3 the interests of the employees, but the record is clear in  
4 this case that this is against the interests of the United  
5 States foreign policy. And that provides another reason why  
6 the protections of Norris-LaGuardia should not be extended  
7 to a case of this kind.

8           In short, it is clear under Section 301 that  
9 unless this conduct is protected by Norris-LaGuardia, there  
10 is no serious obstacle to the injunction entered by the  
11 District Court. It is only if the union can convince this  
12 Court to take what we submit to be a radical step in  
13 extending the scope of Norris-LaGuardia that there is any  
14 case here at all. If Norris-LaGuardia does not apply, the  
15 ordinary equitable principles warranting an injunction were  
16 present in this case, and the injunction properly issued.

17           It is not sufficient, we submit, that there be an  
18 incidental work stoppage. The objective of the union is the  
19 determinative factor for answering the question of whether  
20 or not Norris-LaGuardia applies.

21           There are strong policy reasons for not extending  
22 Norris-LaGuardia to cover a case like this. This Court has  
23 recognized in the Eastex case and elsewhere that there are  
24 definite limits to protected activity that unions are  
25 entitled to engage in.

1           The Eastex case, of course, grew out of the  
2 National Labor Relations Act, which significantly, that  
3 contains the same definition of labor dispute as does  
4 Norris-LaGuardia.

5           Under this Court's decision in Eastex, recognizing  
6 that purely political conduct is not protected by Section 7,  
7 we think that it is equally clear that the conduct would not  
8 be protected by the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

9           A second aspect of policy that we think is very  
10 critical here is the national labor policy favoring  
11 industrial peace. The major objective of Section 301, at  
12 least one of those objectives, was to permit enforcement of  
13 collective bargaining agreements containing no strike  
14 pledges. Irrespective of the motivation for the work  
15 stoppage, we submit national labor policy favors industrial  
16 peace and favors enforcement of no strike provisions in  
17 collective bargaining agreements.

18           I've already referred briefly to the foreign  
19 policy interference at issue in this case. The union here  
20 has demonstrated a long history of taking what the First  
21 Circuit in the Allied case called whimsical political  
22 activity. It is very likely to happen again, and the  
23 Solicitor General has agreed with our position that the  
24 Union's conduct here does indeed interfere with the conduct  
25 of American foreign policy.

1           Because of that and because of the other two  
2 policy reasons already articulated, it is clear --

3           QUESTION: I gather the Government's position is  
4 that there is a labor dispute here, isn't it?

5           MR. GIES: You're absolutely right, Your Honor.

6           QUESTION: And that the injunction with justified  
7 within the Boys Market exception?

8           MR. GIES: That is correct, Your Honor. And  
9 frankly, we are somewhat unclear as to the source of the  
10 Government's concern in that regard. They articulate only  
11 that Section 203(d) of Taft-Hartley governing the operation  
12 of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service might  
13 somehow be impacted by a decision in this case that a purely  
14 political strike is not a work stoppage. We frankly see no  
15 reason why the FMCS should get involved in trying to mediate  
16 the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, and see no negative  
17 impact, more important, on federal labor policy if the  
18 definition of labor dispute were clarified to exclude purely  
19 political conduct.

20          QUESTION: Well, what would be the consequences  
21 for our decision in Buffalo Forge if we were to follow your  
22 advice?

23          MR. GIES: Your Honor, I think that the Court need  
24 not reach Buffalo Forge and that it would have no impact on  
25 Buffalo Forge, if the Court takes the narrow approach here



1 and holds that this is not a labor dispute.

2 QUESTION: Do you rely on any one particular case  
3 from this Court as holding this is not a labor dispute?

4 MR. GIES: The question has never come up  
5 directly, Your Honor, as far as I know. I rely very heavily  
6 on every case that the Court has decided under  
7 Norris-LaGuardia, none of which extend the protections of  
8 the Act to purely political conduct.

9 And I submit, Your Honor, to reach the exception  
10 of Norris-LaGuardia unless the Act applies in the first  
11 instance. And that is our position.

12 QUESTION: But if you lose that first point, then  
13 what about Justice Rehnquist's question?

14 MR. GIES: If we lose the first point, Your Honor,  
15 then obviously the Court must face again the difficult  
16 question of when does a labor injunction issue, assuming the  
17 applicability of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. We submit here  
18 again that Buffalo Forge is easily distinguishable from this  
19 case, and that even if the Court were to extend  
20 Norris-LaGuardia to include this kind of dispute, that there  
21 is sound reason why injunctive relief was proper under Boys  
22 Markets in this case.

23 QUESTION: What are the distinguishing features?

24 MR. GIES: There are two principal distinctions,  
25 Your Honor, that I would make between this case and Buffalo

1 Forge. The first and most important is that this conduct is  
2 not statutorily protected. It is purely political conduct  
3 and not protected by Section 7 of the National Labor  
4 Relations Act.

5 Buffalo Forge, on the other hand, involved the  
6 right of employees to refuse to cross a picket line -- one  
7 of the most fundamental of union rights, very clearly  
8 protected activity. And the Court there necessarily had to  
9 grapple with the competing tensions of statutorily protected  
10 conduct on one hand, and the statutorily protected right of  
11 the employer to enforce this no strike clause.

12 QUESTION: You mean, this is on the assumption  
13 that Norris-LaGuardia applies.

14 MR. GIES: Correct.

15 QUESTION: And then you would say an injunction  
16 could issue whenever you find that something falls outside  
17 of Section 7, even if there's a labor dispute.

18 MR. GIES: Correct, Your Honor, because the  
19 objective and the motivation of the union's conduct is still  
20 relevant, even if Norris-LaGuardia would apply --

21 QUESTION: Well, this point has nothing to do with  
22 Buffalo Forge either.

23 MR. GIES: It distinguishes this case from Buffalo  
24 Forge in our view, Your Honor.

25 QUESTION: Go ahead.

1           MR. GIES: Now, the second reason that this case  
2 is very different from Buffalo Forge is the nature of the  
3 work stoppage and what motivated it in the first place.  
4 Buffalo Forge --

5           QUESTION: May I go back for a moment, because I  
6 want to be sure I understand your first distinction. You  
7 say the conduct of whom is not statutorily protected?

8           MR. GIES: The conduct of the striking employees.

9           QUESTION: Because this is a right to strike --  
10 because their motive was political. I see.

11          MR. GIES: Correct, Your Honor.

12          QUESTION: Whereas in Buffalo Forge the sympathy  
13 strike was statutorily protected.

14          MR. GIES: And the question here is whether or not  
15 it was waived.

16          QUESTION: That was about wages, hours, and  
17 working conditions.

18          MR. GIES: Correct, Your Honor. Correct. And so  
19 the question in Buffalo Forge was once statutorily  
20 protected, was it then waived by the no strike clause in the  
21 contract. Here, on the other hand, we submit it's not  
22 protected in the first instance.

23               Now, the second distinction I think goes to the  
24 nature of the work stoppage. The union refused to handle  
25 Soviet cargo in this case. The work stoppage grew out of an

1 affirmative act of the employer of these particular  
2 employees; that is, the decision to continue trading in  
3 Soviet cargo after the invasion of Afghanistan. As such,  
4 this work stoppage is entirely confined within this  
5 employment relationship. Buffalo Forge, on the other hand,  
6 involved a sympathy strike in support of other employees,  
7 not within that collective bargaining relationship that the  
8 employer sought to force through an injunction.

9           It's understandable in that kind of a case that  
10 the Court might indeed conclude that the arbitrator could  
11 not resolve the underlying dispute, because the underlying  
12 dispute was the complaint of another group of employees  
13 against that employer. Here, there is no other group of  
14 employees. Here, the only issue between the employer and  
15 the union is whether or not we can force these employees to  
16 handle Russian cargo.

17           Now, as we have argued, that raises a very  
18 distinct question of arbitrability under the contracts  
19 management rights clause.

20           QUESTION: So you do agree with the United States  
21 position then.

22           MR. GIES: Indeed, we do.

23           QUESTION: That there really is an underlying  
24 arbitrable dispute, namely the breadth of the management  
25 rights clause.



1           MR. GIES: Your Honor, our position is that even  
2 if the Court were to find this to be protected by  
3 Norris-LaGuardia, that the Solicitor General and our  
4 position both are correct, that it is enjoined under Boys  
5 Markets. It is an underlying arbitrable dispute.

6           It's a shame in some ways --

7           QUESTION: Well, if it is protected by  
8 Norris-LaGuardia, then isn't your position and the  
9 Government's the same?

10          MR. GIES: Yes. The only difference is there's  
11 some indication that the Solicitor General relies on a  
12 different provision in the collective bargaining agreement  
13 than do we. Our view is that's not a major difference.

14          QUESTION: It makes it an arbitrable dispute.

15          MR. GIES: Exactly, exactly. So we do reach the  
16 same point. They say that --

17          QUESTION: Has your client yet gone to arbitration?

18          MR. GIES: We have not, Your Honor.

19          QUESTION: Is there a reason for that?

20          MR. GIES: Several reasons, Your Honor, the first  
21 of which is that we think it's just as incumbent upon the  
22 union to proceed to arbitration in a case like this as it is  
23 for us. And I submit that the reason why there's been no  
24 arbitration in this case is because the union already lost  
25 that issue in New Orleans and didn't want to lose it again

1 here in Jacksonville.

2           Moreover, as a matter of fact, soon after this  
3 injunction was issued, the presidential embargo was extended  
4 to cover the product at issue in this case; and practically  
5 speaking, at that point there wasn't any immediate need to  
6 seek arbitration.

7           We have remained and still remain willing to  
8 arbitrate the question of the violation of the no strike  
9 clause at any time and always have.

10          QUESTION: Well, that isn't what you claim is the  
11 arbitrable dispute, though, for purposes of distinguishing  
12 Boys Market.

13          MR. GIES: The arbitrable dispute is the question  
14 of whether or not the union had the right to refuse to  
15 handle the cargo, not just the question of violation of the  
16 no strike clause.

17          QUESTION: If the judgment in the other case is  
18 affirmed is your problem solved?

19          MR. GIES: You mean the Allied case, Your Honor?  
20 Indeed not. It depends, I think, a great deal --

21          QUESTION: There there would be an opportunity to  
22 enjoin a secondary boycott.

23          MR. GIES: It would depend upon the theory that  
24 the Court would use to affirm the board.

25          QUESTION: Well, what about the --

1 MR. GIES: Leaving that question aside for a  
2 minute --

3 QUESTION: Well, what about the theory of the  
4 court below?

5 MR. GIES: The theory of the court below in the  
6 First Circuit would permit an injunction by the NLRB.

7 QUESTION: Yes. And would that solve your problem?

8 MR. GIES: Not as well, Your Honor. It's much  
9 more effective for us to enforce our own no strike clause  
10 ourselves rather than have to rely on the National Labor  
11 Relations Board to seek a 10(1) injunction.

12 QUESTION: But it would be declared to be an  
13 unfair labor practice.

14 MR. GIES: It could be declared to be an unfair  
15 labor practice.

16 QUESTION: Well, it was, wasn't it?

17 MR. GIES: It was in the First Circuit. You're  
18 absolutely right, Your Honor.

19 Now, we would submit, though, that given the  
20 unusual nature of the Allied case -- and there are different  
21 theories there as to what the secondary boycott was or was  
22 not -- that it may be difficult to find, depending upon the  
23 theory used by the Court, to find a neutral party that one  
24 could claim was being coerced so that secondary boycott  
25 relief under Section 8(b)(4) was permissible.

1 But that question aside, Justice White, you're  
2 absolutely right.

3 QUESTION: Well, you're refusing to handle cargo,  
4 and that cargo comes from somewhere.

5 MR. GIES: Correct.

6 QUESTION: Some neutral.

7 MR. GIES: Correct. And I think that if the Court  
8 -- and I hope the Court does affirm the Allied case -- that  
9 it makes it very, very clear that there always is a neutral  
10 party affected by this kind of boycott, and that 8(b)(4)  
11 ought to be read as broadly as possible to keep unions from  
12 engaging in this kind of conduct.

13 QUESTION: In your view there's no difference  
14 which way the cargo is moving, in or out.

15 MR. GIES: Indeed not. We are the only party of  
16 this boycott that's been affected both ways, to my  
17 knowledge. We both export and import. The problem was with  
18 the importation. We do not have the contract with the  
19 longshoremen union. We rely on stevedoring companies there  
20 to conduct those kinds of operations. We much prefer to be  
21 able to sue on our own contract in Section 301 and be able  
22 to get injunctive relief.

23 QUESTION: Perhaps I misunderstood you. Did you  
24 say that the extension of the embargo in any event prevents  
25 you from handling this cargo, without regard to the



1 activities of the union?

2 MR. GIES: I'm not sure I understand your question.

3 QUESTION: I thought you said earlier something  
4 about the extension of the embargo barred you from handling  
5 this stuff anyway.

6 MR. GIES: The extension of the embargo in 1980  
7 did so. President Reagan lifted that embargo this year.

8 QUESTION: I see.

9 MR. GIES: So we are once again shipping both  
10 ways, both exporting and importing.

11 QUESTION: I see. I misunderstood you. I didn't  
12 get that.

13 MR. GIES: I apologize for that.

14 QUESTION: Mr. Gies, let me go back for a moment.  
15 You and the Government have a little different theory on  
16 what the underlying arbitrable dispute may be. Taking your  
17 version, under your version who would initiate the  
18 arbitration proceeding?

19 MR. GIES: Under the collective bargaining  
20 agreement it is a little unclear, frankly, as to who takes  
21 the first step in initiating the grievance. Typically, the  
22 employee and/or the union would have the right to process  
23 the grievance.

24 QUESTION: Well, take either hypothesis. Say your  
25 view is that then you might initiate. What would you

1 claim? You would say that the management prerogative clause  
2 should be construed to allow us to assign work involving  
3 these particular shipments to you.

4 MR. GIES: That is correct.

5 QUESTION: And suppose the union answers that we  
6 agree. There's nothing to arbitrate because we agree with  
7 your interpretation of that clause. The only thing we  
8 disagree with you about is your reading of the no strike  
9 clause. Would you still say that Buffalo Forge is  
10 distinguishable?

11 MR. GIES: That would be an independent arbitrable  
12 question, and whether or not --

13 QUESTION: You mean the interpretation of the no  
14 strike clause.

15 MR. GIES: Yes, sir.

16 QUESTION: Well, but then how do you distinguish  
17 Buffalo Forge?

18 MR. GIES: You get to the fact that if the only  
19 arbitrable question is the interpretation of the no strike  
20 clause, you cannot distinguish Buffalo Forge.

21 QUESTION: Well, then you have to take the  
22 position that you may issue an injunction pending the  
23 arbitration.

24 MR. GIES: Correct. And our position ultimately  
25 would be even if this Court finds that the only dispute in

1 this case is the application of the no strike clause, that a  
2 pre-arbitration injunction is still proper.

3 QUESTION: And would you say that in connection  
4 with any violation of any provision of the collective  
5 bargaining contract?

6 MR. GIES: Well, I think as Buffalo Forge has been  
7 interpreted --

8 QUESTION: Could you enter a pre-arbitration  
9 injunction over an allegedly illegal firing?

10 MR. GIES: There have been cases that have done  
11 that from the union's perspective, Your Honor.

12 QUESTION: Well, yes, but not consistent with  
13 Norris-LaGuardia, would you suggest?

14 MR. GIES: I wouldn't think so, Your Honor. Of  
15 course, we rely on Buffalo Forge to defend those kinds of  
16 cases.

17 The Court need not go so far as to overrule  
18 Buffalo Forge. I think it is clear that there is a very,  
19 very important policy --

20 QUESTION: Well, why not?

21 MR. GIES: Well, for two reasons: one, that  
22 Norris-LaGuardia --

23 QUESTION: Of course, I was on the other side of  
24 Buffalo Forge, as you know, but I'd be interested, why not?  
25 Why wouldn't we have to?

1           MR. GIES: Well, for the first reason that we  
2 don't think Norris-LaGuardia applies in the first instance.  
3 And for the second reason, even if it does that under Boys  
4 Markets a pre-arbitration injunction was fully warranted  
5 under Boys Markets.

6           But even if the Court finds, in response to  
7 Justice Stevens' question, that the only contractual issue  
8 here is the no strike clause, then I submit that there are  
9 differences, again based on the motivation of the union's  
10 conduct, that would not require overruling Buffalo Forge but  
11 would permit the injunction in this case. And that reason  
12 again gets back to the motivation of the union's conduct.

13           The motivation here is purely political. There is  
14 no competing tension between two aspects of national labor  
15 policy. Moreover, to the extent that intervening case law  
16 and interpretation of Buffalo Forge has caused the confusion  
17 that it has, we submit that that provides an additional  
18 reason for not extending Buffalo Forge to the facts of this  
19 case.

20           There's no real question in our mind that the  
21 availability of other remedies to combat a work stoppage of  
22 this kind has been curtailed. The availability of the  
23 damages remedy has been cut back by this Court's decision in  
24 both Carbon Fuel and Complete Auto Transit.

25           The availability of a discipline remedy --



1 QUESTION: It's been cut back, but how does it  
2 affect the damage remedy against this particular union?

3 MR. GIES: We haven't gotten that far in the case  
4 yet, Your Honor.

5 QUESTION: I mean, certainly not being able to  
6 collect from the employees, you wouldn't have to do that in  
7 this case.

8 MR. GIES: What we would have to do in this case  
9 is litigate the question as to whether or not we could  
10 pursue damages against the local and/or the international.  
11 And I --

12 QUESTION: They both accept responsibility for the  
13 stoppage, as I understand the facts.

14 MR. GIES: Indeed not. One of the reasons for the  
15 union's motion to dismiss in the District Court was they  
16 were not a party to the collective bargaining agreement.

17 QUESTION: Oh, I'm sorry. I'm sorry.

18 MR. GIES: So the union has not only denied a  
19 violation of the no strike clause, but the international has  
20 tried to contend they're not even a party to the case. Now,  
21 of course they've abandoned that argument by the time it's  
22 gotten here.

23 We submit that damages, not only is it  
24 questionable under the Court's decisions, whether or not  
25 it's efficacious. It's clear to me that pursuing either

1 damages or discipline of employees does nothing to promote  
2 industrial harmony and does everything in fact to exacerbate  
3 industrial strife, which we submit is totally contrary to  
4 the purposes of national labor policy.

5           In fact, we think that this is probably the most  
6 ironic kind of no strike clause violation that the Court  
7 could ever see. In the typical case the union strikes  
8 because of something the employer does. The employer, as in  
9 Boys Markets, assigns supervisors to do what the union  
10 considers to be bargaining unit work. The union has a  
11 defense. They claim that the company has violated the  
12 contract warranting them to strike.

13           In this case if you believe the union, the  
14 employer here had absolutely nothing to do with it. They  
15 claim their dispute is solely with the Soviet Union. And if  
16 you believe that argument, here we have a situation where an  
17 employer had absolutely nothing to do with causing the  
18 breach of the no strike clause in the first instance, and he  
19 cannot obtain an injunction, whereas if he had done  
20 something to precipitate it in the first place, he could  
21 obtain an injunction. And our view is that that again is  
22 inconsistent with the goals of national labor policy.

23           The concern about Buffalo Forge to the effect that  
24 there might be usurpation of the arbitrator in the event  
25 that a pre-arbitration injunction were issued in this case

1 we think mischaracterizes the real concern of what federal  
2 courts do.

3           In every Boys Markets case we submit a federal  
4 court has to examine two questions. The court must look  
5 first to see whether or not the strike does indeed violate  
6 the no strike clause, because if the no strike clause  
7 excepts from its prohibition certain kinds of conduct, then  
8 there is obviously nothing to enjoin in the first instance.

9           Secondly, of course, the court in a Boys Markets  
10 situation must look to see whether or not there is an  
11 independent underlying dispute, as has been interpreted in  
12 Buffalo Forge.

13           In neither situation does the court's initial  
14 interpretation of the collective bargaining agreement usurp  
15 the arbitrator. It is merely that initial determination of  
16 arbitrability that the Court has required federal courts to  
17 take since the Steelworkers trilogy. And in our view,  
18 allowing a pre-arbitration injunction in this case would in  
19 no way either cause an influx of cases into the federal  
20 courts or amount to a usurpation of the arbitration function.

21           The vice with the way the lower courts have  
22 interpreted Buffalo Forge is, very frankly, the notion of  
23 coterminous application of the no strike clause in the  
24 arbitration provision. It must be remembered that the  
25 genesis of the quid pro quo coterminous application theory

1 was this Court's decisions in Gateway Coal and Lucas Flour.  
2 Both of those cases involved implied, not express, no strike  
3 clauses. And while it may make sense there, and probably  
4 does make sense there, to imply a no strike clause only as  
5 broad as the arbitration provision, where you have an  
6 express no strike clause that on its face obligates the  
7 union not to strike for any reason whatsoever, that is  
8 beyond arbitrable questions, that it is imperative that the  
9 Court analyze, as admonished in Gateway Coal, that provision  
10 separately and distinct from the arbitration provision.

11 Here, of course, in this case the arbitration  
12 provision is also very broad. It is not limited to  
13 grievances over terms and conditions of the contract, but it  
14 covers all matters under dispute.

15 QUESTION: Do you think the court below would have  
16 said there could be no injunction issued issue if the  
17 arbitrator determines that the no strike clause has been  
18 violated and says so, and then the union continues to  
19 strike? Can't you enforce the arbitration provision?

20 MR. GIES: And that's exactly what happened in  
21 this case, Your Honor, in New Orleans.

22 QUESTION: So what you're really talking about is  
23 an injunction pending arbitration.

24 MR. GIES: Absolutely, Your Honor. Absolutely,  
25 Your Honor. And our view is, very frankly, that there's no

1 reason why we're not entitled to the most effective remedy.  
2 And there's no reason, in our view, why those boats should  
3 have sat in the harbor in Jacksonville five minutes.

4           QUESTION: But you normally don't have an  
5 injunction pending arbitration. You certainly do  
6 afterwards. In most claims of violation of 301 that are  
7 arbitrable you have an arbitration, but you don't join the  
8 employer from firing.

9           MR. GIES: Indeed not.

10          QUESTION: He fires and then reinstatement awaits  
11 the arbitration.

12          MR. GIES: That is absolutely correct, and we  
13 would see no reason to change that policy when it comes up  
14 in this case.

15          QUESTION: Yes, you would in -- when the promise  
16 is not to strike, do you say you may have an injunction any  
17 time that it's alleged that the no strike clause has been  
18 violated?

19          MR. GIES: We don't think the Court need go that  
20 far.

21          QUESTION: Well, what's your position?

22          MR. GIES: Our position is that where the conduct  
23 is either political, and therefore not entitled to statutory  
24 protection, or where it is beyond the employer's control --  
25 and those are two very different things -- that in both



1 those situations the mere allegation of a violation of the  
2 no strike clause will support the pre-arbitration --

3 QUESTION: Or at least making out the normal  
4 grounds for an injunction.

5 MR. GIES: Correct. Again, assuming all the other  
6 requisites of Boys Markets have been met.

7 QUESTION: But if the dispute is political and not  
8 with the employer, that seems to me is a stronger reason for  
9 saying it's not a labor dispute than it is for getting an  
10 exception to an exception.

11 MR. GIES: That is our first argument, Your  
12 Honor. We agree.

13 I will save the remaining time for rebuttal.

14 Thank you very much.

15 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Mr. Mathews.

16 ORAL ARGUMENT OF ERNEST L. MATHEWS, JR., ESQ.

17 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS

18 MR. MATHEWS: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please  
19 the Court:

20 At the very start I would like to make clear that  
21 the dispute in this case is not over Occidental's choice of  
22 a customer. I don't know why but of all the parties that  
23 have been involved in the litigation involving this activity  
24 by the union Occidental seems to think that it is the center  
25 of the universe and that our quarrel is with it.

1                Now, whether that is because they closely identify  
2 with the Soviet Union or they just have a Ptolemy complex I  
3 don't know. But every court --

4                QUESTION: Well, would this be any different if,  
5 for example, on the West Coast or anywhere you had the union  
6 refusing to handle airplanes to Taiwan, for example?

7                MR. MATHEWS: It would depend, Your Honor. I  
8 would say --

9                QUESTION: It would be the same?

10               MR. MATHEWS: It would be the same if the union's  
11 motivation was the same; that is to say, if the union simply  
12 said I'm not going to handle airplanes to Taiwan, that's one  
13 thing. Where the union says I will not handle airplanes to  
14 a certain country where that country is engaged in an act of  
15 international barbarism, that's quite another thing. It's  
16 not simply well, we like this country; we don't like that  
17 country.

18               QUESTION: Well, is one less or different in some  
19 way in a political sense?

20               MR. MATHEWS: Yes. I think it's very different.

21               QUESTION: How?

22               MR. MATHEWS: Because what inspired the union's  
23 activity in this case was something that really affronted  
24 the conscience of the entire world. It was the invasion of  
25 Afghanistan. It was not simply that Russia is an inimical

1 country, that it has a communist system, or it does things  
2 we don't like. It was a transcendent act, something that  
3 not only shocked the union but shocked the President of the  
4 United States, shocked people all over the world.

5 QUESTION: Any different from the shock that came  
6 from what's happened in Poland?

7 MR. MATHEWS: No, Your Honor. And I suppose this  
8 Court knows -- well, it has been called to your attention --  
9 that the ILA has now ceased handling goods going to Poland.  
10 I think it's a slightly different thing because in Poland we  
11 do have a labor dispute. The barbarism there is breaking a  
12 strike with bayonets and tanks.

13 QUESTION: But the Afghanistan was political.

14 MR. MATHEWS: It was. Political and conscientious.

15 QUESTION: So there's no argument about that.

16 MR. MATHEWS: There's no argument about that. We  
17 would agree with Occidental that the underlying dispute in  
18 this case is a political dispute, is not a labor dispute, is  
19 not even in domestic American commerce. Where we disagree  
20 is that that underlying dispute is not the subject of  
21 Occidental's lawsuit. Occidental is suing on its contract.  
22 It is an employer suing the union that represents its  
23 employees to enforce a provision to provide labor. And if  
24 that is not a labor dispute, I really don't know what is. I  
25 don't think I have to belabor the point. If you don't see

1 it, then --

2           QUESTION: Well, you have to belabor it with me,  
3 because it seems to me you've got to get it within the  
4 language of the statute. And what statutory language do you  
5 think covers this dispute in Section 4 of the  
6 Norris-LaGuardia Act?

7           MR. MATHEWS: Well, the Norris-LaGuardia Act  
8 forbids the federal courts or removes their jurisdiction  
9 from granting an injunction in cases arising out of or  
10 involving labor disputes.

11          QUESTION: And then they define labor dispute in  
12 another section of the statute.

13          MR. MATHEWS: Yes, yes.

14          QUESTION: But they don't --

15          MR. MATHEWS: This case arises out of a dispute:  
16 does our no strike clause require us to give labor. It's  
17 the basic thing about --

18          QUESTION: But you make this argument without  
19 reference to the statutory language is all I'm suggesting.

20          MR. MATHEWS: Well, the --

21          QUESTION: The definition of a labor dispute in  
22 the Norris-LaGuardia --

23          MR. MATHEWS: Is wages, hours, conditions.

24          QUESTION: What has this got to do -- it has  
25 nothing to do with terms or conditions of employment, does

1 it?

2 MR. MATHEWS: Yes. It is a term and condition of  
3 an employment contract, of a collective bargaining  
4 agreement. That is what they are suing on, one of the  
5 conditions, one of the terms of their labor contract.

6 QUESTION: You mean the no strike clause.

7 MR. MATHEWS: Yes. They try to bring in a few  
8 others but --

9 QUESTION: It's a promise to work.

10 MR. MATHEWS: Yes. In effect, a no strike clause  
11 is an affirmative promise to work. What they're seeking is  
12 specific performance of a promise to provide labor. I'd say  
13 that's a labor dispute. That's a term and condition of  
14 labor. We will supply labor in, as Occidental says, in all  
15 circumstances.

16 QUESTION: Well, how is that different from any  
17 time that you have a refusal to work, a strike, whatever the  
18 motivation may be; it's always a refusal to furnish labor,  
19 is it not?

20 MR. MATHEWS: That is true. And I would say that  
21 --

22 QUESTION: Doesn't that render the language of  
23 Norris-LaGuardia simply meaningless?

24 MR. MATHEWS: No. Because --

25 QUESTION: As well as the arbitration clause



1 becomes meaningless, does it not?

2           MR. MATHEWS: Well, the language of  
3 Norris-LaGuardia in the light of the arbitration clause is  
4 the next segment of this case; that is, the Boys  
5 Market-Buffalo Forge analysis. Whether or not the case here  
6 involves a labor dispute is the first part of it. Now, we  
7 have to get under Norris-LaGuardia before we see whether it  
8 falls under an exception.

9           We say that an action -- and the Solicitor  
10 General, who in all other respects this afternoon you will  
11 find is on the other side of the table, agrees with us. It  
12 is a labor dispute. It's the meaning of a labor contract  
13 and a no strike clause.

14           QUESTION: Well, would you say the same thing if  
15 there were no no strike clause in the contract?

16           MR. MATHEWS: If there were no no strike clause in  
17 the contract, Occidental would not be here today. They'd  
18 have no standing to sue.

19           QUESTION: Well, that may be, but -- well, there  
20 may not have been an obstacle to their suing unless the  
21 Norris-LaGuardia Act applies. That's my point.

22           MR. MATHEWS: They would have no lawsuit. They're  
23 suing to enforce the no strike --

24           QUESTION: That may be. Would there, in your  
25 judgment, be a labor dispute between the parties here if

1 there were no no strike clause in the contract, or does your  
2 labor dispute depend entirely on the fact that it involves  
3 that term of the contract?

4 MR. MATHEWS: Well, I would have to answer that in  
5 a qualified way, Justice Stevens. It would have to be --  
6 they might manufacture some other clause and say we have  
7 labor dispute with you about some other clause of the  
8 contract.

9 QUESTION: No. Say they don't sue you under a  
10 contract; they merely sue you under some kind of common law  
11 tort theory or something like that.

12 MR. MATHEWS: Oh, then, no. Then I would --

13 QUESTION: Would the Norris-LaGuardia Act be an  
14 objection to the entering of an injunction in such a case?

15 MR. MATHEWS: If it were not on the contract, no,  
16 I couldn't say it was.

17 QUESTION: So the labor dispute, in your view,  
18 turns entirely on the presence of a no strike clause in the  
19 contract.

20 MR. MATHEWS: Well, I'd have to be a little  
21 broader. It turns on the fact that they are suing on their  
22 labor contract on a promise, an alleged promise to perform  
23 labor. If they were suing in tort and not in contract, then  
24 I couldn't say that labor --

25 QUESTION: So it's not the strike but rather it's

1 the fact that it's a contract case.

2 MR. MATHEWS: Yes. A labor contract.

3 QUESTION: I think that's not the Government's  
4 theory.

5 MR. MATHEWS: It's a 301 case, and that is the  
6 only way they have federal jurisdiction if this is a labor  
7 contract.

8 QUESTION: Are you saying this is a labor dispute  
9 that is not arbitrable?

10 MR. MATHEWS: Yes. Well, no. The resulting  
11 dispute is or may be arbitrable. Now we get into the  
12 Buffalo Forge case. The underlying dispute, the thing that  
13 the union struck over was the Soviet action in Afghanistan.  
14 We had no dispute with Occidental. Our attitude is the  
15 longshoremen do not wish to give their services to the  
16 aggressors while the aggression is going on. It is a moral,  
17 conscientious choice just not to have anything to do with  
18 these people, something akin to Toscanini refusing to  
19 perform in Germany or Italy while there were fascist  
20 dictatorships there. But even worse because it was  
21 triggered by, you know, not simply a disagreement with what  
22 the Soviet Union is but by a real act of terrorism.

23 That underlying dispute is not a labor dispute.  
24 It is not arbitrable under the contract with JBT, and it is  
25 also really not the subject of this lawsuit. Buffalo Forge

1 --

2           Well, before we get to Buffalo Forge we have to  
3 talk about Boys Market. Norris-LaGuardia does not permit  
4 specific performance of labor contracts. It bars federal  
5 courts from granting injunctions, including mandatory  
6 injunctions, in cases involving labor disputes.

7           This Court --

8           QUESTION: Exception for arbitration clause.

9           MR. MATHEWS: And that is what Boys Market held.  
10 But except for labor arbitration clauses. Those clauses can  
11 be specifically enforced under the Boys Market doctrine.  
12 The question is, though, or what the purpose, the thrust of  
13 Boys Market is, not to grant specific performance of any  
14 other clause of the contract willy-nilly, but to promote the  
15 federal policy favoring arbitration. It is in aid of  
16 arbitration, not in aid of stopping strikes, of keeping  
17 people from being involved in management rights or anything  
18 else. Boys Market is tied very closely to arbitration. So  
19 that this Court in Buffalo Forge held that if the underlying  
20 dispute, if the thing over which the union is striking  
21 cannot be resolved by arbitration, then Boys Market doesn't  
22 apply; because all you would be doing by granting an  
23 injunction would be enforcing some substantive provision of  
24 the contract other than the arbitration clause.

25           But the Court also recognized that even though the

1 underlying dispute cannot be arbitrated, the union's action  
2 in response to that dispute could violate a broad no strike  
3 clause, and that's where the no strike clause. If you had a  
4 narrow no strike clause, let us say as we did in the case in  
5 the Northern District of New York, which is, I think,  
6 attached to one of the papers before the Court, the no  
7 strike clause merely said the union won't strike while  
8 arbitration is going on. But once you find there can't be  
9 any arbitration going on over the invasion of Afghanistan,  
10 the no strike clause is never triggered, and the District  
11 Court very quickly dismissed the case.

12 But where you have a broad --

13 QUESTION: The arbitration point is not about  
14 Afghanistan; it's whether or not you can strike.

15 MR. MATHEWS: That's right. That is the second  
16 condition.

17 QUESTION: But you just said it was about  
18 Afghanistan.

19 MR. MATHEWS: No. There can't be any arbitration  
20 about Afghanistan.

21 QUESTION: Well, I should think so. But it can be  
22 arbitrated as to whether a man works or not, or whether a  
23 man follows his contract or not, or whether he commits a  
24 tort or not.

25 MR. MATHEWS: Well, I'm not sure we could have



1 arbitration on whether he commits a tort, but --

2 QUESTION: Well, arbitrate whatever's in the  
3 contract.

4 MR. MATHEWS: Yes. What this contract requires.  
5 The arbitrator could rule on whether or not striking over a  
6 non-arbitrable issue violates the --

7 QUESTION: But you weren't interested.

8 MR. MATHEWS: -- No strike clause.

9 QUESTION: You weren't interested in arbitration.  
10 Are you interested now?

11 MR. MATHEWS: No, we're not interested in it.

12 QUESTION: I didn't think so.

13 MR. MATHEWS: They're the plaintiff. They're the  
14 ones who are claiming we're violating the no strike clause.  
15 We take the position --

16 QUESTION: No. I'm talking about arbitration.  
17 You're not interested in arbitration now, are you?

18 MR. MATHEWS: Not really, because we don't think  
19 we're violating the contract. We take the position that our  
20 promise not to strike is coterminous with the agreement to  
21 arbitrate. It is the quid pro quo, one before the other.  
22 The union gives up its economic weapon, striking, if its  
23 grievances can be resolved by the method of arbitration.  
24 And this phrase "quid pro quo," which my friend objects to,  
25 appears, I think, in every case involving arbitration

1 clause. I'm amazed. It's a leitmotif of Wagnerian  
2 dimensions. Always when you mention arbitration clause, no  
3 strike clause, the balance is quid pro quo.

4           So we agreed not to strike where we could get  
5 satisfaction by arbitration, but we did not agree not to  
6 strike where the employer cannot redress our grievance,  
7 where the arbitrator cannot redress our grievance, and where  
8 the result is that mechanistically we simply have to go on  
9 servicing these butchers in a situation that is morally  
10 unconscionable for our men.

11           QUESTION: Mr. Mathews, on the quid pro quo point,  
12 do you suppose that lawyers could possibly draft in the next  
13 negotiation an agreement by which the union would be bound  
14 not to strike in a situation like this?

15           MR. MATHEWS: That could be drafted, it could be  
16 bargained for, yes.

17           QUESTION: But it would not be enforceable.k

18           MR. MATHEWS: That's not --

19           QUESTION: Could you draft an -- I should have  
20 said -- obviously you could draft it. Could you draft an  
21 enforceable no strike clause that would cover something,  
22 some dispute that was not arbitrable such as this particular  
23 dispute with Russia? I guess the answer is no.

24           QUESTION: Well, you don't say this no strike  
25 clause isn't enforceable.

1 MR. MATHEWS: Oh, no, I don't.

2 QUESTION: You just say you can't issue an  
3 injunction pending arbitration.

4 MR. MATHEWS: Pending arbitration. And it may not  
5 be --

6 QUESTION: And as soon as it's arbitrated and  
7 decided that you've violated it, you're going to have to  
8 stop.

9 MR. MATHEWS: Absolutely. And we have elsewhere.  
10 If the arbitrator rules that we are violating it.

11 QUESTION: Let me make my question more clear.  
12 Justice White is absolutely right, of course. But could you  
13 draft a clause that would be judicially enforceable by  
14 injunction?

15 QUESTION: After the --

16 QUESTION: Now we know what the problem is, and  
17 the management comes to you and says we don't want this to  
18 happen again. And you say it's all right, if you give us an  
19 extra dollar an hour, why, we'll agree, we will not strike  
20 in this precise situation pending arbitration.

21 I guess you're going to say that there's no way  
22 that you can make such a provision to be judicially  
23 enforceable, is there?

24 MR. MATHEWS: Well, Your Honor, I'll tell you,  
25 I've spent some hours drafting the opposite, what would

1 happen if this Court goes the other way, and putting in a  
2 provision, as I say, hey, look, this no strike clause is no  
3 broader than --

4 QUESTION: No. I understand that.

5 MR. MATHEWS: And I've really never even thought  
6 if we yielded whether that could be --

7 QUESTION: It's not inconceivable that management  
8 would be interested in such a clause.

9 MR. MATHEWS: No, it's certainly not.

10 QUESTION: And that they might be able to offer  
11 you enough economic incentive so that you might find it  
12 attractive; but it's something the law just doesn't provide  
13 for, I guess.

14 QUESTION: But if it's a Norris-LaGuardia  
15 jurisdictional and the parties don't waive, you can't create  
16 jurisdiction, I guess, to issue an injunction.

17 MR. MATHEWS: They might, or we might --

18 QUESTION: You could say well, we waive the  
19 protections of Norris-LaGuardia.

20 MR. MATHEWS: Right. Or agree --

21 QUESTION: In effect in your contract. But would  
22 that give the Court jurisdiction?

23 MR. MATHEWS: I don't know. I don't know if we  
24 can waive a right that Congress gives us. Congress takes  
25 the jurisdiction away --

1           QUESTION: Well, if it's really jurisdictional,  
2 the parties can't create it by waiver.

3           MR. MATHEWS: No. We might waive removing it to  
4 federal court and let them sue in the state courts where  
5 Norris-LaGuardia doesn't apply or something like that. But  
6 as a practical -- it's one that never occurred to me, Your  
7 Honor.

8           Going back for a moment, though, to that quid pro  
9 quo theory and the coterminous theory, that is not an  
10 outlandish theory. That is the position of the National  
11 Labor Relations Board. It's the position of the Third  
12 Circuit. It's the position of the First Circuit. And I  
13 believe the Sixth Circuit takes another view.

14           But because the union only gives up its economic  
15 right when it receives another forum where it can get  
16 redress, the courts and the board have found that they are  
17 coterminous. Now, they are only coterminous as a rule of  
18 construction, and the parties can come forward and show  
19 evidence that the real intent of the contracting parties was  
20 something else. What controls is the intent of the  
21 contracting parties to the no strike clause.

22           In this case, the no strike clause, and in all  
23 these Russian cases, there is a history. In 1964 the union  
24 did a similar thing over the Cuban missile crisis. There  
25 have been other instances. And I think the employers are



1 pretty well aware that the union has taken the position that  
2 it is free under its no strike clause to do this. When the  
3 arbitrator tells us differently, we obey and go back to work.

4 QUESTION: Mr. Mathews, would you have a different  
5 situation if the union concluded that it did not approve of  
6 the politics of the management of the employer? Let's say  
7 you have a political campaign going on, and the president of  
8 the company makes a contribution that the union disagrees  
9 with. The union goes out. You have a precisely comparable  
10 situation, don't you?

11 MR. MATHEWS: No. I don't think so, Your Honor.

12 QUESTION: What is the difference? What is the  
13 difference between one political strike and another one?

14 MR. MATHEWS: Well, again, I'm uncomfortable,  
15 although I have used the word up and down the East Coast  
16 with this idea of a political strike. I don't want the  
17 Court to have the idea that it's a political strike in the  
18 same sense as we had in England in the early part of this  
19 century. We are trying to affect the policies of the United  
20 States.

21 QUESTION: Is it limited to foreign policy?

22 MR. MATHEWS: This particular one is limited to  
23 Russian --

24 QUESTION: No, but you would give your view.

25 MR. MATHEWS: In our view? Well, I can only go

1 with what this dispute is, and in fact, the ones that the  
2 ILA has been involved in have always been foreign matters:  
3 the harboring of Cuban missiles, the invasion of  
4 Afghanistan, the labor policies in Poland.

5 QUESTION: But the legal arguments --

6 MR. MATHEWS: I think that's a very different  
7 ballgame from saying we don't --

8 QUESTION: But your legal arguments are precisely  
9 the same as in Justice Powell's case, it seems to me.  
10 Aren't your legal arguments precisely applicable to Justice  
11 Powell's hypothetical? It's a labor dispute because it's a  
12 strike, you've got a no strike clause, and it's over a  
13 non-arbitrable dispute. That's the whole ballgame, isn't it?

14 MR. MATHEWS: It is a dispute with the union.  
15 Yeah, I guess I would have to --

16 QUESTION: I mean the only significance of the  
17 word "political" is that it's non-labor.

18 MR. MATHEWS: Yes, I would agree.

19 QUESTION: Non-arbitrable, rather. It's broader  
20 than this. It's non-arbitrable.

21 MR. MATHEWS: Right. That it's non-arbitrable.

22 QUESTION: Yes.

23 MR. MATHEWS: That is really the meaning of  
24 Buffalo Forge. It's not what the dispute is. It's that it  
25 can't be settled by arbitration.

1           QUESTION: That's right.

2           QUESTION: Well, you could always obtain the same  
3 result of Buffalo Forge by drafting the kind of a clause  
4 that you've been working so hard at drafting.

5           MR. MATHEWS: Yes. Well, but then negotiating it.

6           QUESTION: We promise not to strike if the dispute  
7 involved is arbitrable.

8           MR. MATHEWS: That's right. Yes. Always, in all  
9 of this whole line of cases the parties, if they can get  
10 each other to agree at the bargaining table, can really go  
11 around any decision except --

12          QUESTION: But arbitration clauses have gotten  
13 broader and broader, too, haven't they?

14          MR. MATHEWS: Yes, they have.

15          QUESTION: They're no longer confined just to the  
16 terms and conditions of the contract. A lot of them are any  
17 and all disputes between employers and employees.

18          MR. MATHEWS: Yes. But that is, of course, what  
19 the arbitrator has got to decide. Is this -- he has two  
20 decisions. First he's got to decide is the strike over a  
21 non-arbitrable dispute, an arbitrable question. Then he has  
22 to decide is it a violation of the no strike clause.

23          QUESTION: Well, it depends on how you put the  
24 question, doesn't it? If the question is whether there is  
25 any basis for the strike, why isn't that subject to

1 arbitration, in a legal basis?

2 MR. MATHEWS: Well, because we are not -- because  
3 what is subject to arbitration -- well, it may be subject to  
4 arbitration under the no strike clause; but it's not subject  
5 to arbitration in the sense that it can be resolved by the  
6 arbitrator.

7 QUESTION: Well, it could be resolved if the  
8 arbitrator came out in your favor.

9 MR. MATHEWS: No. That doesn't resolve our  
10 underlying dispute, unless he is --

11 QUESTION: Well, what you're suggesting really is  
12 that if it's an arbitration that you aren't sure to win,  
13 then it's --

14 MR. MATHEWS: No, no. It's an arbitration that  
15 we're sure to lose. I mean, we can lose. He can say, you  
16 know, you've got to go back to work, but he can never say to  
17 the Russians get out of Afghanistan. That's the issue we  
18 are not working over.

19 QUESTION: Well, but then you come down to the  
20 question can you stop working on that kind of an issue under  
21 the contract and the law.

22 MR. MATHEWS: Our no strike clause. Well, and  
23 basically under the contract. I think certainly if the  
24 contract did provide a kind of clause that said the no  
25 strike clause only applies to arbitrable issues, we'd be

1 home free under a 301 suit. Whether we'd be home free under  
2 a secondary boycott charge is the next chapter in this  
3 afternoon's work.

4 QUESTION: Well, if the arbitrator said you're  
5 violating your no strike clause, you can be stopped then  
6 from striking.

7 MR. MATHEWS: Oh, yes. We have been. As I say,  
8 in New Orleans the arbitrator did so rule.

9 QUESTION: And then the employer can, if you don't  
10 stop, can enforce the arbitration in the courts.

11 MR. MATHEWS: Certainly. And did in the companion  
12 case with Jacksonville Bulk in the general New Orleans  
13 Steamship Association case. It was a post-arbitration award.

14 QUESTION: What was the rationale of the New  
15 Orleans arbitrator in response to your argument that the  
16 dispute with Russia is something he can't resolve?

17 MR. MATHEWS: Well, Your Honor, he -- of course, I  
18 was not a party to the arbitration proceeding, and he just  
19 didn't give a ground.

20 QUESTION: Well, that isn't what he arbitrated.  
21 He arbitrated on whether you violated your no strike clause.

22 MR. MATHEWS: That's right. He said that you  
23 promised not to strike.

24 QUESTION: But you must have argued to him that  
25 the scope of the no strike clause was limited to arbitrable



1 disputes. You must have argued that. And what did he  
2 say? I know you didn't, but --

3 MR. MATHEWS: The international was not involved.  
4 It was only the New Orleans local that --

5 QUESTION: But that must have been the submission  
6 of the arbitrator, that the no strike clause was no broader  
7 than the arbitration clause.

8 MR. MATHEWS: I really don't know, Your Honor.

9 QUESTION: Well, whatever the submission, its  
10 holding was that the no strike clause --

11 MR. MATHEWS: Yes. His holding was, and he didn't  
12 order -- in other arbitrations that we have been involved in  
13 that certainly is the position we take, and we cite the  
14 position of the board and of the Third Circuit and so forth,  
15 and we cite the history. I mean we have had other  
16 experiences totally unrelated to the political realm.

17 When the prospect of containerization first  
18 emerged, this new technology, there was a general agreement  
19 between management and labor that this was not part of the  
20 contract that we had on the books on that time, it was not  
21 arbitrable, and we could strike over it. Now the contract  
22 specifically provides that containerization is not an  
23 arbitrable item, but when it first emerged -- I mean there  
24 is history and there is evidence that you can give the  
25 arbitrator.

1 But the point is it's the arbitrator who has to  
2 decide, and under Buffalo Forge there can be no preliminary  
3 injunction until he does decide; because as this case points  
4 out, once you get that preliminary injunction, management  
5 really has no desire to arbitrate. Justice Marshall  
6 suggested we didn't. Well, we are the defendants, you might  
7 say, in that --

8 QUESTION: Well, all of us who have dealt with  
9 injunctions realize that the rule is once you get a  
10 preliminary injunction, you take off for the faraway places.

11 MR. MATHEWS: Right.

12 QUESTION: Well, we recognize that.

13 MR. MATHEWS: And of course, that's exactly what  
14 Occidental or JBT did in this case.

15 QUESTION: But I still -- I can't see whether  
16 you've answered Justice Powell yet, I'm sorry to say. I was  
17 worried about the same thing. I mean, the union for any  
18 political reason can strike.

19 MR. MATHEWS: Yes, I would have to agree, to be  
20 candid. If it is not arbitrable under the contract, you can  
21 --

22 QUESTION: I didn't say that. I said any  
23 political strike.

24 MR. MATHEWS: Which would not be arbitrable.

25 QUESTION: Yes. Because it makes --

1 MR. MATHEWS: Well, I think the key is not that  
2 it's a political strike but that it's not arbitrable, and I  
3 would have to agree, yes, I suppose if a union did that.  
4 But, you remember, you have the great safety valve --

5 QUESTION: A union can strike because the  
6 dogcatcher who was just elected wasn't a fit person to hold  
7 public office?

8 MR. MATHEWS: Conceivably he could, Your Honor.

9 QUESTION: They could tie up the Port of New York.

10 MR. MATHEWS: But you have, as I say --

11 QUESTION: Am I right?

12 MR. MATHEWS: -- The safety factor is that the --

13 QUESTION: Am I right?

14 MR. MATHEWS: -- Union members have to eat. I  
15 mean it's unlikely that they're going to strike over the  
16 dogcatcher.

17 QUESTION: And they can get relief under  
18 Norris-LaGuardia.

19 MR. MATHEWS: I missed --

20 QUESTION: They're protected by it.

21 MR. MATHEWS: They're protected by  
22 Norris-LaGuardia, yes.

23 These things, any of these strikes are very rare  
24 in the history of American jurisprudence. There have only  
25 been a few. And the ones that you've had have really been

1 over real blockbuster issues. You had it over South  
2 Africa's racial policies. You had it over the Cuban missile  
3 crisis. You have it over the invasion of Afghanistan. Now  
4 you have it over Poland. These aren't dogcatchers. These  
5 aren't that we don't like --

6 QUESTION: Yes, but you can expand that to Egypt  
7 and Israel and Taiwan and countless other political issues,  
8 can't you?

9 MR. MATHEWS: You could, you could. But it is not  
10 the nature --

11 QUESTION: Well, then is there a public policy  
12 aspect to this?

13 MR. MATHEWS: No, I don't think so, Your Honor. I  
14 think this case turns very squarely on the will of Congress  
15 in Norris-LaGuardia to take the federal courts out of the  
16 injunction business. And this Court, sticking to its guns,  
17 to what it said in Buffalo Forge --

18 QUESTION: Well, at least until a violation of a  
19 contract has been proven.

20 MR. MATHEWS: Yes. Buffalo Forge. Once you prove  
21 the violation, of course then we go back to work. This  
22 policy argument -- and you will hear policy arguments all  
23 this afternoon -- has an awful reminiscent ring. Peace at  
24 any price. But, you know, how far do you go? Do you really  
25 invade the province of Congress and carve out an exception

1 to Norris-LaGuardia, because that's what this right of  
2 control argument that Occidental urges is nothing more than  
3 new legislation, isn't it?

4 QUESTION: To make your point you have to start  
5 with a premise whether this is or is not a labor dispute. I  
6 thought you conceded this was not a labor dispute.

7 MR. MATHEWS: I say a suit to enforce the no  
8 strike clause is the labor dispute par excellence. The 301  
9 suit, absolutely. The underlying dispute over which we  
10 struck is not a labor dispute.

11 But the point is, we picked the quarrel with the  
12 Soviet Union; then along comes the employer and picks a  
13 quarrel with us. They are two separate and distinct  
14 disputes. Buffalo Forge is just crystal clear on that. The  
15 original unarbitrable dispute generates another dispute with  
16 the employer where he says hey, your action over the  
17 non-arbitrable is violating our no strike clause.

18 And just a word more. Whether you call it no  
19 strike clause, management rights clause, work assignment  
20 clause, you're saying the same thing. We're still not  
21 striking over that. We're striking over Afghanistan. So  
22 now they're saying your striking over Afghanistan violates  
23 our right to assign work to whom we want. They made that  
24 pitch in Buffalo Forge in a lower court. They didn't have  
25 the gall to bring it all the way up to this Court as



1 Occidental does, but it was a pitch: hey, this is a work  
2 assignment case, a routine thing that is arbitrated every  
3 day. No, it is not that. In a work assignment case the  
4 arbitrator can solve the problem. The particular guy who  
5 doesn't want to work on Saturday or Sunday, when he gets  
6 Monday he's happy.

7           The arbitrator can do all he wants, he's not going  
8 to make the union happy. The Soviet Union is still in  
9 Afghanistan. We are still being asked to be a vital link.  
10 Maybe just a little nail that goes into the horseshoe and  
11 the whole thing, but we don't want to participate in that.  
12 It's too horrible a business, as we don't with the Polish.  
13 But to call it management rights, work assignment as the  
14 Solicitor General, is just putting another label on it.  
15 That's not what we are striking over. We are striking over  
16 Afghanistan. Any other result is not an underlying -- any  
17 other dispute is not an underlying dispute. It's a dispute  
18 that results from the union's action once taken, not  
19 something that the union's action was taken because of.

20           QUESTION: What if this were involving shipments  
21 to someone in Hawaii, parts to a big plant that is  
22 non-union; in fact, the big plant in Hawaii is affirmatively  
23 anti-union. And you say you're not going to handle anything  
24 that's going to help this non-union, anti-union company in  
25 Hawaii.

1           Now, you haven't got quite a political question  
2 there, have you?

3           MR. MATHEWS: No. You don't have a political  
4 question at all.

5           QUESTION: Would you refuse to handle that goods?

6           MR. MATHEWS: Well, I think then you're getting  
7 back into the ordinary mill and grist of labor law. I don't  
8 know whether it violates your particular contract or not.  
9 It would depend on what your contract says.

10          QUESTION: Let's say it's the same contract you've  
11 got here. The effect of it is the union's trying to impose  
12 its view of a particular problem on the employer with whom  
13 it has contracted to refrain from striking.

14          MR. MATHEWS: I would say that if it is not  
15 arbitrable under the contract it simply -- well, I mean  
16 look, that refusal to handle would be in the nature of a  
17 sympathy strike in Buffalo Forge, wouldn't it? I mean  
18 that's really what they were doing. There they wouldn't  
19 cross a picket line; here they won't handle the goods. But  
20 both is out of sympathy for the employees in the other  
21 thing. And yes, I think that Buffalo Forge would apply, and  
22 that there could be no pre-arbitration injunctive relief.  
23 But the arbitrator would do --

24          QUESTION: You're taking a good deal of the quid  
25 away from the idea of having no strike contracts.

1           MR. MATHEWS: No, I don't, if you keep in mind  
2 that the no strike pledge was given only because we could  
3 get relief from the arbitrator. If we could get management  
4 to sit down and arbitrate that, and the arbitrator could say  
5 to them hey, look, you can't deal with those people because  
6 of their labor policies. If there was some chance of  
7 success in the non-economic forum, then we would say yes, go  
8 ahead, let's arbitrate it. But what management is asking  
9 here is hey, you can't strike and you can't get any relief  
10 from arbitration; you know, just grin and bear it.

11           CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Do you have anything  
12 further, Mr. Gies?

13           ORAL ARGUMENT OF THOMAS P. GIES, ESQ.

14           ON BEHALF OF PETITIONERS -- Rebuttal

15           MR. GIES: Just briefly, Your Honor.

16           In response to Justice Marshall's question about  
17 the dogcatcher and the blockbuster issues, Mr. Mathews  
18 ignores the fact that this union this past year conducted a  
19 one-day work stoppage over the death of the Irish Republican  
20 Army prisoner Bobby Sands. And I think that that points out  
21 the possibility for what we've called random whimsical  
22 political action that indeed makes this a very, very serious  
23 problem.

24           Second, in response to Justice White's question,  
25 our view is that the existence or not of a remedy under

1 Section 303 or Section 10(1) for the National Labor  
2 Relations Board should have no impact on the existence of a  
3 remedy under Section 301. They are independent points.  
4 This Court's decision in William Arnold versus the  
5 Carpenters indicates that it's a separate theory that we are  
6 entitled --

7 QUESTION: Well, if there were not an arbitration  
8 clause in this contract could you enforce the -- could you  
9 get an injunction pending outcome of a 301 suit?

10 MR. GIES: Assuming Norris-LaGuardia applies under  
11 Buffalo Forge, no.

12 QUESTION: Not under Buffalo Forge. I said  
13 assuming on arbitration clause in the contract.

14 MR. GIES: And the answer is that if there was no  
15 -- if the union was not --

16 QUESTION: That there was a no strike clause but  
17 no arbitration clause.

18 MR. GIES: And both Boys Markets and Buffalo Forge  
19 would require that the dispute be arbitrable, and if it were  
20 not arbitrable, then we would not be entitled to an  
21 injunction.

22 QUESTION: So just the fact that there was a  
23 violation of the no strike clause wouldn't give you the  
24 right to a pre-suit injunction.

25 MR. GIES: That is correct, Your Honor.

1           In response to Justice Powell's question, it is  
2 very conceivable that domestic political disputes may indeed  
3 arise, and that raises the point of who has control over the  
4 situation. If a union strikes to protest a political  
5 contribution made by the employer, the employer in theory  
6 could resolve that dispute by giving the money to some other  
7 candidate more in the interest of the union. That to me  
8 would be something that is even less a problem than we have  
9 in this case; because here again if you believe the union,  
10 the employer can do absolutely nothing about the underlying  
11 cause of the strike.

12           Finally, I would mention one point that is showing  
13 the difficulty that the lower courts have had applying  
14 Buffalo Forge. We could easily have converted this work  
15 stoppage to an arbitrable situation -- and by arbitrable I  
16 mean a pre-arbitration injunction -- under Buffalo Forge and  
17 Boys Market. Had we discharged the employees and the  
18 question then became whether or not we had the right to do  
19 so, that would clearly raise a separate arbitrable question  
20 as the courts have interpreted Buffalo Forge and Boys  
21 Markets.

22           It seems to me that that shows that Buffalo Forge  
23 should not be extended to apply to a case like this.

24           QUESTION: But you couldn't enjoin the strike.

25           MR. GIES: We might enjoin the strike --



1 QUESTION: Well, you wouldn't be enjoining the  
2 strike then. You would have -- what would you do?

3 MR. GIES: The Sixth Circuit held in Complete Auto  
4 Transit --

5 QUESTION: The strike wouldn't be over firing the  
6 employees.

7 MR. GIES: That's precisely what the Sixth Circuit  
8 found in Complete Auto Transit, Your Honor; that the purpose  
9 of the strike was transformed from a non-arbitrable reason  
10 to an arbitrable reason. And the question there became and  
11 this would include strikers.

12 QUESTION: Well, then you could get an injunction.

13 MR. GIES: And then they were able to get a  
14 pre-arbitration injunction. To permit an employer to do  
15 that I submit is inconsistent with national labor policy and  
16 does nothing to further industrial peace. This Court should  
17 take the opportunity to reaffirm the validity of no strike  
18 clauses.

19 Thank you.

20 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, gentlemen.

21 The case is submitted.

22 (Whereupon, at 2:08 p.m., the case in the  
23 above-entitled matter was submitted.)

24

25

CERTIFICATION

Alderson Reporting Company, Inc. hereby certifies that the attached pages represent an accurate transcription of electronic sound recording of the oral argument before the Supreme Court of the United States in the matter of:

JACKSONVILLE BULK TERMINALS, INC. ET AL. v. INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION ET AL. #80-1045

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BY Sharon Lynn Connelly

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