

In the

ORIGINAL

Supreme Court of the United States

GUARDIANS ASSOCIATION, ETC., ET AL.,)

Petitioners)

v.)

No. 81-431

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION OF THE)

CITY OF NEW YORK ET AL.)

Washington, D. C.

November 1, 1982

Pages 1 thru 37

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REPORTING

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1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

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3 GUARDIANS ASSOCIATION, ETC., ET :

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5 Petitioners :

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10 Washington, D.C.

11 Monday, November 1, 1982

12 The above-entitled matter came on for oral argument

13 before the Supreme Court of the United States at

14 10:01 a.m.

15 APPEARANCES:

16 CHRISTOPHER CROWLEY, ESQ., New York, N.Y.; on behalf of
the Petitioners.

17 LEONARD KOERNER, ESQ., New York, N.Y.; on behalf of the
18 Respondents.

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C O N T E N T S

2 OPAL ARGUMENT OF

PAGE

3 CHRISTOPHER CROWLEY, ESQ.,
on behalf of the Petitioners.

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5 LEONARD KOERNER, ESQ.,
on behalf of the Respondents.

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6 CHRISTOPHER CROWLEY, ESQ.,
on behalf of the Petitioners - rebuttal

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1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: We will hear arguments
3 first this morning in Guardians Association against the
4 Civil Service Commission of the City of New York. Mr.
5 Crowley, you may proceed whenever you're ready.

6 ORAL ARGUMENT OF CHRISTOPHER CROWLEY, ESQ.,
7 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

8 MR. CROWLEY: Mr. Chief Justice, may it please
9 the Court:

10 I'd like to reserve five minutes for rebuttal.

11 Our case presents the question of the proper
12 interpretation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, and
13 more particularly the question of whether Congress meant
14 in 1964 to limit regulatory agencies to the use of a
15 clear intent standard or whether the Congress
16 contemplated the use of an impact approach, at least so
17 far as defining a prima facie case is concerned.

18 Our case was brought by black and Hispanic
19 policemen alleging that entry level examinations for the
20 New York City Police Department discriminated in their
21 effect on blacks and Hispanics and that they were not
22 job-related. The case has had a long history, but the
23 relevant facts here are that the district court ruled
24 that the examinations did have a discriminatory impact
25 on blacks and Hispanics. It also held that they were

1 not job-related.

2 The examinations have both a pass-fail
3 character -- one has to pass them to become a policeman;
4 everyone in our case did pass and did become a policeman
5 -- but they are also used as the sole determinant of the
6 order in which people were appointed to the department,
7 which made a great deal of difference in our case
8 because the exams were given in '68 to 1970 and
9 appointments were still being made as late as October
10 1974.

11 The relevant findings were that there was a
12 disproportionate -- that whites were three times as
13 likely to appear in the top two deciles as were the
14 black applicants. On the job-relatedness question, the
15 district court stressed the fact that there had been no
16 job analysis to see what it was that the exams were
17 testing for and that therefore the exams couldn't be
18 validated.

19 It was important to make a finding as to Title
20 VI because some members of the class would not be
21 entitled to relief except under Title VI. The district
22 court found that we had not shown a showing of intent
23 necessary to make out a 1981 violation.

24 As to Title VI, the district court placed
25 considerable reliance on the regulations which, as the

1 court says, were full of language that evidences an
2 intent to disallow practices with a discriminatory
3 impact, and of course the district court placed great
4 reliance on this Court's unanimous 1974 decision in Lau
5 v. Nichols.

6 The Court of Appeals affirmed as to Title VII
7 and reversed as to Title VI, relying entire on language
8 of opinions in the Bakke case.

9 Title VI was passed in 1964 as part of the
10 comprehensive Civil Rights Act. It provides in Section
11 601: "No person shall, on the grounds of race, color or
12 national origin, be excluded from participation in, be
13 denied the benefits of, or be subjected to
14 discrimination under any program with federal
15 sponsorship." Section 602 mandates that the federal
16 agencies promulgate affirmative regulations to enforce
17 the statute.

18 Shortly after the Act was passed, a
19 presidential task force set about drafting model
20 regulations. Five months later in December, seven
21 federal agencies adopted these comprehensive
22 regulations. They're the same ones at issue now. They
23 were the ones at issue in Lau. Thereafter, a total of
24 some 52 federal agencies have adopted these same impact
25 regulations.

1 The regulations provide in relevant part here
2 that they prohibit the use of "criteria or methods of
3 administration which have the effect of subjecting
4 persons to discrimination or which have the effect of
5 defeating or substantially impairing accomplishment of
6 the objectives of the program."

7 In our brief we talk about the language of the
8 statute and the legislative history. In my brief time
9 this morning I would like to stress the regulations and
10 their role here.

11 The one thing that we suggest that comes
12 across clearly, the only thing that comes across very
13 clearly in the long debate about Title VI, is that there
14 was a very broad authorization by the Congress to the
15 federal regulatory agencies to draft regulations to
16 carry out the mandate of Title VI. They're unusual in
17 that they required affirmative approval by the
18 President, but that was really in a sense an index of
19 how important they were, how importantly they were
20 viewed by the Congress at the time.

21 There was intense debate about the fact that
22 Title VI did not spell out in more detail just what was
23 meant by discrimination and other violations of the
24 statute. Senator Ervin says that Title VI leaves it to
25 the agencies to define discrimination "without any

1 guideline whatever to point out what is the
2 Congressional intent."

3 The House minority report says: "The
4 Administration tends to rely on its own construction of
5 discrimination as including a lack of racial balance."

6 Senator Ervin, when questioning Attorney
7 General Robert Kennedy, says to you: "So the rules,
8 which would have the force and effect of law, are to be
9 developed first in the minds of the administrators of
10 various programs, and then written in regulations and
11 orders issued by them?" Attorney General Kennedy:
12 "That is correct, Senator."

13 The point is that there was a great focus on
14 the breadth of the authorization by the Congress to the
15 regulatory agencies. We submit in the first instance
16 that the normal rule that contemporaneous regulations
17 adopted pursuant to a broad authorization like this are
18 entitled to great deference has particularly strong
19 application here, where there was such a strong focus on
20 just what those rules and regulations were going to say,
21 where it was a hot issue when it occurred, when there
22 was a debate as to what the scope of those regulations
23 could say.

24 It's also important, we think, to express the
25 fact that these impact regulations have been ratified by

1 the Congress on a number of occasions. In 1966 Senator
2 Ervin and others who had been serious critics of the
3 1964 Act focused on the impact regulations and were
4 concerned about them. There was an amendment --

5 QUESTION: Mr. Crowley, may I just ask you,
6 where are the regulations in the materials before us?
7 Do you quote them anywhere?

8 MR. CROWLEY: They are not quoted, Justice
9 Stevens, I'm sorry to say. There is a reference to them
10 in --

11 QUESTION: I know they're referred to a couple
12 of times, but I --

13 MR. CROWLEY: They're not set out, sir. I'm
14 sorry.

15 QUESTION: They're not in the lower court
16 opinion, either?

17 MR. CROWLEY: Not in full, I'm afraid, no.
18 Justice -- Judge Carter in his opinion quotes some of
19 them to show the impact language, but they're not set
20 out, no.

21 QUESTION: I take it you've cited them?

22 MR. CROWLEY: We have cited them, Your Honor,
23 yes.

24 QUESTION: So that we can find them.

25 MR. CROWLEY: Yes, Your Honor. I'd be

1 saddened if the Court were unable to find them.

2 QUESTION: But they're not contained in your
3 brief?

4 MR. CROWLEY: They're not set out in detail in
5 our brief, Justice Rehnquist.

6 QUESTION: If you rely so heavily on them, I'm
7 somewhat surprised that you didn't set them out in your
8 brief.

9 MR. CROWLEY: The relevant impact language is
10 set out in our brief. We think that was the relevant
11 point. That was the part that Judge Carter relied
12 upon. The fact that impact was an appropriate approach
13 was what he focused on when the case went back to see if
14 Title VI could make out -- one could make out a case
15 under Title VI.

16 As I say, we place considerable reliance, and
17 suggest that the Court might --

18 QUESTION: You say the relevant language is in
19 the brief? I didn't even find that, the specific
20 language you rely on.

21 (Pause.)

22 MR. CROWLEY: Your Honor, it would take me a
23 moment to find it, I'm afraid.

24 QUESTION: But you're sure it's there?

25 MR. CROWLEY: I believe it is there. I hate

1 to say I'm sure of anything, but I believe it is there,
2 sir.

3 QUESTION: You refer to pages 13 and 32 in
4 your index, and I didn't find it on either of those two
5 pages. I'll just put it that way.

6 MR. CROWLEY: All right, sir.

7 As I say, the regulations were attacked in
8 1966 by Senator Ervin and others who had been concerned
9 about the scope of the authorization in 1964, and an
10 amendment was offered which would spell out a detailed
11 intent standard. Congressman Rodino and Congressman
12 Kastenmeier, who had been strong proponents of Title VI
13 and had been involved in its passage, rose to its
14 defense and suggested, in the words of Congressman
15 Rodino, the amendment "presents new criteria and
16 restricts the workings of Title VI. It would in effect
17 be a complete repealer of Title VI."

18 Congressman Rodino said that it was his
19 "understanding" that the regulations were consistent
20 with the objectives of the title. Representative
21 Kastenmeier said that it was his view that the amendment
22 would "gut Title VI of the '64 law."

23 QUESTION: Would you paraphrase the
24 regulations that you're relying on?

25 MR. CROWLEY: I can, sir.

1 (Pause.)

2 MR. CROWLEY: Just a second.

3 QUESTION: Well, if it takes -- I don't mean
4 to interrupt.

5 MR. CROWLEY: I can quote. The regulation
6 prohibits -- it prohibits the use of "criteria or
7 methods of administration which have the defect of
8 subjecting persons to discrimination" -- and if you look
9 at Appendix page 132, I hope that language is quoted
10 there -- "and also which have the effect of defeating or
11 substantially impairing the accomplishment of the
12 objectives of the program as with respect to individuals
13 of a particular race, color or national origin."

14 QUESTION: How would one interpret the phrase
15 "which have the effect of subjecting one to
16 discrimination"?

17 MR. CROWLEY: Well, it is our view, of course,
18 that the appropriate thing -- that that is a clear
19 indication that to look at effects is an appropriate
20 approach and that to do what was done here, to look at
21 the discriminatory impact, the fact that the whites and
22 Hispanics got in the top deciles at a much lower rate
23 --

24 QUESTION: I don't see how the word "effect"
25 really helps you there. If you say that if it has the

1 effect to subject one to discrimination, I don't see
2 that as defining how the word "discrimination" should be
3 interpreted it.

4 MR. CROWLEY: I don't know that it spells it
5 out definitively, Justice Rehnquist. It just -- in our
6 view it shows a disposition to look at the results as
7 opposed to intentions, and suggests that a focus on an
8 impact approach is appropriate at least to make out a
9 prima facie case here as under Title VII.

10 After the 1966 effort to amend the statute,
11 Congress on ten separate occasions passed funding
12 statutes which contained clauses directly modeled on
13 Section 601. Those statutes were in force pursuant to
14 impact regulations like the one which I just quoted,
15 which is also relied upon in Lau v. Nichols and in our
16 decision below.

17 In six instances after this Court's decision
18 in Washington versus Davis, Congress reenacted or
19 amended clauses modeled on Section 601 where impact
20 regulations were in place.

21 We would suggest that these were not
22 incidental ratifications of those regulations. They
23 were conspicuous regulations. They imposed a
24 significant affirmative obligation on the regulatory
25 agencies to monitor programs, to respond to complaints.

1 They obliged recipients of federal funds to agree
2 contractually to be bound by the regulations.

3 There were references to, in the Congress in
4 the passage of later Acts, to the regulations. In the
5 passage of -- in the Public Works Employment Act of
6 1966, the statute itself says the discriminatory
7 provisions will be enforced through agency provisions
8 and rules similar to those already established under
9 Title VI.

10 When Senator Bayh was talking about Title IX,
11 sex discrimination, he said: "The same procedure that
12 was set up and has operated with great success under the
13 1964 Civil Rights Act and the regulations thereunder
14 would be equally applicable to discrimination under
15 Title IX."

16 QUESTION: Is there any other evidence of the
17 agencies' interpretation other than the regulation?

18 MR. CROWLEY: I do not know of other evidence
19 in the record, Justice White. I know of other evidence
20 --

21 QUESTION: So -- and Congress then -- as far
22 as ratification is concerned, you just rely on the fact
23 that Congress didn't disagree or perhaps approved of the
24 existing regulations?

25 MR. CROWLEY: I would submit that Congress had

1 to be aware of the way in which the agencies were
2 conducting their compliance audits, which they would
3 report on to the Congress in the normal course.

4 QUESTION: Well, that's what I just asked,
5 whether there --

6 MR. CROWLEY: Yes, sir.

7 QUESTION: -- was any evidence other than the
8 regulations. Is there some evidence of enforcement
9 policies independent of the regulations?

10 MR. CROWLEY: I think I was answering your
11 question. What I say is that the way the agencies have
12 used the impact regulations, the way they've gathered
13 data to conduct compliance audits, would have to be
14 known to the Congress. But there's no detail about that
15 in the record.

16 QUESTION: Is there anything in the
17 legislative history? You say there was ratification.
18 Is there any express language in that legislative
19 history where Committees recognized or purported to
20 recognize that an impact standard was what was being
21 applied?

22 MR. CROWLEY: I am not aware of any express
23 language, Justice White.

24 I was saying that, with respect to Title IX --
25 excuse me. Senator Bayh's comment suggests, in

1 sponsoring Title IX, the regulations have worked, there
2 has not been a flood of lawsuits, there has not been a
3 lot of cutoffs, because the statute and these
4 regulations have generally been obeyed.

5 As Justice Stevens said in Fullilove, "Title
6 VI unequivocally and comprehensively prohibits
7 discrimination on the basis of race in any federally
8 sponsored program. In view of the scarcity of litigated
9 claims, it's appropriate to assume that the law has
10 generally been obeyed."

11 Given an 18-year history of use of these
12 regulations, the return back of the 1966 intent
13 amendment, the passage of new funding statutes, passage
14 of Title IX, Section 504, other funding statutes using
15 the very language of Section 501, all of which statutes
16 were regularly enforced with impact regulations, we
17 would suggest that there has been as a practical matter
18 developed a comprehensive federal legislative and
19 regulatory scheme using these impact regulations over
20 the years which has worked well, and it should only be
21 disturbed if there's a clear indication that was a
22 contrary Congressional intent back in 1964.

23 We also think that it's appropriate to uphold
24 these regulations on the grounds that they're reasonably
25 related to the purposes of Title VI. The standard was

1 set out by Justice Stewart concurring in Lau. He says:
2 "The critical question is whether the regulations and
3 guidelines by HEW go beyond the authority of Section
4 601."

5 Citing Mourning, he states, "We held that the
6 validity of a regulation promulgated under a general
7 authorization provision," such as Section 602 of Title
8 VI, "will be sustained so long as it's reasonably
9 related to the purposes of the enabling statute."
10 Moreover, he went on, "In assessing the purposes of
11 remedial legislation, we have found that departmental
12 regulations and consistent administrative construction
13 are entitled to great weight."

14 We suggest that here these regulations are
15 more than reasonably related; they are essential to a
16 meaningful enforcement of Title VI. The federal
17 agencies have to review thousands of programs, thousands
18 of complaints. They have an obligation to conduct
19 compliance audits.

20 If they were obliged to use an intent standard
21 like that spelled out in Washington v. Davis, it would
22 be very difficult indeed, if not impossible. Intent is
23 hard enough to unwind in the context of a regular court
24 case with simple issues. It's harder still to probe
25 where you're trying to probe the intent of a school

1 board or a police department or the Civil Service
2 Commission of New York.

3 Justice Stevens again, in *Rogers v. Lodge*
4 quotes an author saying, "Racial attitudes often operate
5 at the margin of consciousness." It's hard enough for
6 courts to probe what's going on at that level. We
7 suggest that it would be virtually impossible for
8 administrative agencies conducting thousands of reviews
9 of federal programs, conducting compliance audits,
10 responding to complaints, it would be impossible for
11 them to do any kind of a meaningful job if they had to
12 use an intent standard.

13 It's more than reasonably related to take an
14 impact approach, at least as a first step to look to see
15 whether a prima facie case has been made out and then
16 get into the question of whether there's justification
17 -- the kind of analysis that was done in this case.

18 We also suggest that it's clear that if
19 Congress had wanted in 1964 to adopt a constitutional
20 standard, they knew how to do so. They did so expressly
21 in Title IV. If they had wanted to use a clear intent
22 standard, there was language in Title VII dealing with
23 seniority systems talking expressly in terms of intent.
24 We think that if there had been a determination to make
25 that clear a distinction, they could have done so and

1 did not.

2 We also suggest that there should be a heavy
3 burden on those who say that Title VI and Title VII
4 should be interpreted fundamentally differently.
5 Certainly after 1972, when Title VII was made applicable
6 to municipalities, it would be anomalous, we suggest, to
7 have a fundamentally different standard for
8 discrimination in employment under the two titles. You
9 get the very result that we think is so odd here, that
10 you'd have a finding under Title VII that the City of
11 New York has discriminated in violation of Title VII,
12 but they could still receive funding under Title VI.

13 We think that, as I say, there's a
14 considerable burden on the people who suggest that
15 Congress intended in 1964 to have that kind of a
16 result.

17 QUESTION: Mr. Crowley, are you going to
18 address in your argument the cases in which this Court
19 has expressed one view or another about the intent
20 required under Title VI?

21 MR. CROWLEY: Yes, Your Honor, if you like
22 I'll talk to that.

23 QUESTION: No, I just asked you a question,
24 did you plan to address it.

25 MR. CROWLEY: Yes, sir.

1 QUESTION: Because this Court has had several
2 cases.

3 MR. CROWLEY: Indeed, sir.

4 The basic focus, of course, of our opponent's
5 position and the view of the Court of Appeals was that
6 this situation is controlled by the Court's decision in
7 Bakke. We suggest basically that Bakke was, first of
8 all, a terribly difficult case; and second, an utterly
9 -- a difficult case, and second, a very different case
10 from ours. And we hope that the Court will be slow to
11 rely on broad language in our situation.

12 As Justice Brennan said at the outset of his
13 opinion, "We agree with Mr. Justice Powell that, as
14 applied to the case before us, Title VI goes no
15 further," et cetera.

16 Bakke was not concerned with the question of
17 impact versus intent, as the United States in an amicus
18 brief was careful to spell out. Bakke was not concerned
19 with what makes out a prima facie case of
20 discrimination. You start out in Bakke with an admitted
21 intentional racial classification and the whole focus
22 was on justification of that.

23 Bakke was not concerned, as we are here, with
24 the validity of contemporaneous regulations adopted
25 pursuant to a broad grant of Congressional authority.

1 Indeed, Justice Brennan in Bakke places considerable
2 reliance, emphasis, on the regulations. At one juncture
3 he states, "These regulations, which under the terms of
4 the statute require presidential approval, are entitled
5 to considerable deference in construing Title VI."

6 QUESTION: Do you agree with Justice Brennan's
7 analysis of the legislative history of Title VI in
8 Bakke?

9 MR. CROWLEY: Not entirely, Your Honor. We
10 think that --

11 QUESTION: Do you agree with any of it?

12 MR. CROWLEY: We agree that there is clear
13 indication that many Congressmen were concerned with
14 having a constitutional content for Title VI. Whether
15 it was the exclusive content, we tend to think that that
16 was not the case.

17 We would suggest that even if it is true that
18 Title VI was intended to have constitutional content, it
19 was by no means clear in 1964 just what that meant.
20 There were a lot of cases at that juncture -- a recent
21 jury selection case where this Court placed great
22 reliance on impact. There were certainly Courts of
23 Appeals decisions where one could conclude that impact
24 was an appropriate way to make out an appropriate
25 constitutional case.

1 QUESTION: Well, let me phrase the question
2 this way. Justice Brennan and I had quite a different
3 interpretation of the Congressional intent in our
4 respective opinions in Bakke. Which of those two
5 analyses of legislative intent and legislative history
6 does your position come closer to adopting?

7 MR. CROWLEY: It's closer to yours,
8 Justice --

9 QUESTION: It's the same as my position?

10 MR. CROWLEY: I think that's correct.

11 QUESTION: And quite different than Justice
12 Brennan's.

13 MR. CROWLEY: That is correct, sir.

14 I'd like to save some of my time for rebuttal
15 if I may.

16 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Mr. Koerner.

17 ORAL ARGUMENT OF LEONARD KOERNER, ESQ.,

18 ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENTS

19 MR. KOERNER: Chief Judge and other honorable
20 members of this Court:

21 At the outset we note that, while we did not
22 raise the issue of whether there's an implied right to
23 sue under Title VI because we weren't aggrieved by the
24 lower court decision since we had won on that issue, it
25 is before this Court.

1 And we recognize that in Cannon this Court
2 indicated there probably is an implied right, but it
3 took pains to distinguish Title IX from Title VI on the
4 ground that at the time Title IX was enacted the
5 legislators assumed that there was a private right, and
6 not whether or not in fact under Title VI there was. We
7 will not discuss it in depth except to call to your
8 attention that particular issue.

9 What is conspicuous about the Petitioner's
10 argument, both in the briefs and on oral presentation,
11 is the absence of any of the legislative history at the
12 time of the enactment in 1964. We do not disagree that
13 some of the regulations after '64 have in effect stated
14 it, but our position is that a regulation which makes
15 impermissible that which the legislative history intends
16 to be legal is a regulation that is illegal and has gone
17 too far and is not reasonably related.

18 In 1964 when President Kennedy was addressing
19 the legislature, he asked them to pass laws that would
20 make illegal what was formerly not being enforced under
21 the Constitution. Each of the floor leaders both in the
22 House and the Senate made clear and unambiguous
23 statements in support of Title VI, which was a general
24 funding provision, that the whole purpose of that
25 particular title was to establish a mechanism to enforce

1 the Constitution.

2 Prior to 1963, with the exception of Brown
3 against the Board of Education, each of the courts,
4 including this Court, was troubled by the breadth of the
5 constitutional clause. Indeed, despite the Court's
6 decisions and appellate courts' decisions, there was
7 some question whether the equal protection clause was
8 being enforced.

9 As a consequence, Hubert Humphrey and Emanuel
10 Celler, the floor leader, both felt the need to pass
11 Title VI, so that if a particular entity is violating
12 the Constitution, that entity will not be eligible for
13 federal funds. A peculiar anomaly existed where you had
14 entities that were not state entities, and therefore not
15 subject to the state action exception under the equal
16 protection clause. So if an entity was not a state
17 entity and received funds, there was some doubt on the
18 executive level whether they could cut off the federal
19 funding.

20 Hubert Humphrey mentioned the different areas
21 which the Title VI legislation was supposed to involve.
22 One was the distribution of food, the distribution of
23 welfare benefits, the allocation of funding to
24 segregated facilities in the South despite this Court's
25 decision in Brown against the Board of Education.

1 And in particular what was most galling was
2 the allocation of funding to hospitals which were
3 operated on a segregated basis, but apparently under the
4 law, even though in violation of the Constitution, could
5 receive federal funding. The particular case which was
6 among the cases which motivated the Title VI legislation
7 was Simkins versus Moses Cone, which is cited in our
8 brief.

9 In Simkins, it was a challenge to the
10 Hill-Burton Act, which was ultimately found
11 unconstitutional. But what troubled the Court in
12 Simkins, where cert was denied by this Court, was
13 whether there was sufficient state action for which the
14 Court could apply the equal protection clause. It did
15 conclude there was sufficient state action, but in
16 another case where you didn't have the sufficient state
17 action the Federal Government would be powerless to cut
18 off the federal funding.

19 The legislation was clear and unambiguous.
20 More importantly, the cases, which the legislators are
21 presumed to know, at the time of the enactment all
22 support our construction. There was Akins, there were
23 jury selection cases, there were the desegregation
24 cases, Wright against Rockefeller.

25 Each case dealt with purposeful discrimination

1 where it was incumbent upon a plaintiff to show that the
2 actions of the government intended to treat one group
3 differently from another. And that is why Title VI was
4 enacted. It was precisely for that reason, to set up a
5 mechanism by which you can stop the federal funding.

6 Reference has been made to the fact that, with
7 respect to the regulations, why delegation was given
8 because the President was required to review each of the
9 regs. The reason that the President was given this
10 authority was so that the regulations would have a
11 harmonious view of what constituted constitutional
12 violation, and it was hoped that one agency wouldn't cut
13 off funds on a different interpretation of the
14 Constitution than another agency.

15 And indeed, it was contemplated by the
16 legislators that the constitutional definition of the
17 equal protection clause would be an evolving definition,
18 and that what was a violation at one point may not be a
19 violation later. But the only purpose of Title VI was
20 to conform its standards with respect to the
21 Constitution.

22 We believe that the majority opinion in Bakke
23 supports this conclusion, and while it is true that
24 Bakke --

25 QUESTION: Which was the majority opinion in

1 Bakke?

2 (Laughter.)

3 MR. KOERNER: Well, insofar as the legislative
4 history with respect to Title VI. There were at least
5 five judges that commented on the legislative history,
6 and as to the five judges there was a structured
7 approach.

8 The first issue was, what was the scope of
9 Title VI. The second issue was, assuming that Title VI
10 was a constitutional scope, whether or not reverse
11 discrimination would be inconsistent with the equal
12 protection clause through Title VI.

13 So I am talking only about the majority
14 opinion insofar as it analyzed the scope of Title VI. I
15 recognize that there were different opinions with
16 respect to whether reverse discrimination is within the
17 ambit of Title VI.

18 Petitioners have cited Title IV in support of
19 their position because they claim that there Congress
20 made reference to the Constitution and therefore the
21 failure to make reference to the Constitution in Title
22 VI is significant.

23 Title IV, to the contrary, supports our
24 position. In Title IV the Attorney General is given the
25 authority to investigate and prosecute claims of

1 desegregation upon claims of individuals who are
2 alleging constitutional violations. But that title
3 assumes a constitutional standard. The reference to the
4 constitutional limitation is in the context of what
5 remedy the Attorney General can seek under Title IV, and
6 in that respect he is limited to the extent that he
7 cannot seek a remedy of busing and he cannot seek any
8 other remedy that'll go beyond the Constitution.

9 If it wasn't for the purpose of limiting the
10 Attorney General's jurisdiction, there would have been
11 no reference to the Constitution and the constitutional
12 standard would have been assumed.

13 In addition, Petitioner claims that you have
14 an anomaly in that municipal corporations were excluded
15 from Title VII and that there is therefore a different
16 test, in that if they discriminate they are subject to a
17 less stringent standard under Title VI than Title VII.

18 That's specifically what Congress intended.
19 If indeed it was intended to have the same standard both
20 under Title VII and under Title VII, there would have
21 been no reason to exclude governmental entities from
22 Title VII, and those entities were not included until
23 1972 after a great deal of debate.

24 In addition, with respect to municipal
25 corporations, they were immune from suit under 1983

1 under Monroe versus Pape, which was familiar to the
2 legislators in Congress at the time of enactment. Can
3 it be said that it is likely that Congress, without
4 anything in the legislative history, would have made
5 municipalities subject to an impact standard with the
6 resultant potential loss of federal funding, after they
7 had been immune under 1983, without any comment to that
8 effect in the entire legislative history? And the
9 answer we believe is that it would be very unlikely.

10 The 1955 amendment which the Petitioners refer
11 to was an amendment that contained many different
12 pieces, one of which was to establish an intent
13 standard. But the proponent of that amendment, Emanuel
14 Celler, indicated that he was putting it in only to
15 clarify what he believed was already there, a
16 constitutional standard.

17 More importantly, there were other factors
18 within that amendment. That amendment contained
19 different procedures for Title VI. It allowed an entity
20 receiving federal funds to waive the receipt to be
21 beyond the jurisdiction of the agencies enforcing Title
22 VI. And finally, it restricted the ability of the
23 agencies, even where there was a violation.

24 So when that amendment failed passage both in
25 the House and the Senate, the reason for its failure was

1 unclear. And as this Court has remarked many times, any
2 reason to attribute to its failure would be sheer
3 speculation.

4 Again, the only thing that supports the
5 Petitioners' position are the regulations that were
6 passed subsequent to 1964. Indeed, there is doubt as to
7 whether those regulations were enforced. The only case
8 commenting on the regulations was Brown against
9 Weinberger and the comment generally was that the
10 agencies hadn't enforced it.

11 And if you review the cases we set forth in
12 our brief after '64 and before this Court's decision in
13 Lau against Nichols, you will see consistently that the
14 courts applied an intent standard and therefore they did
15 not believe the regulations could change the law. As we
16 indicated in the outset of our argument --

17 QUESTION: Mr. Koerner, you used the word
18 "intent." Was that used in the Congressional debates?

19 MR. KOERNER: No. They used the reference --

20 QUESTION: Where did "intent" come from?

21 MR. KOERNER: Washington versus Davis.

22 QUESTION: But it didn't come out of --

23 MR. KOERNER: No, no. The only reference they
24 used was constitutional standard, and they were prepared
25 to incorporate the standard whether it included intent

1 or effect. They didn't define it in such manner.

2 In sum, what we are saying is that the
3 language and the history was clear and articulate, that
4 the state of mind of the legislators at that time was
5 only to redress the obvious wrongs created by
6 intentional segregation. There was no --

7 QUESTION: Even though they didn't use
8 "intent"?

9 MR. KOERNER: That's right. There was no
10 refinement with respect to intent versus impact. The
11 impact refinement was a judicial gloss put on by this
12 Court in Griggs against Duke Power solely with respect
13 to one portion of Title VII with regard to testing,
14 where the language indicated that it would be illegal to
15 use a competency exam unless you can show that the exam
16 wasn't being "used to discriminate." The term "used"
17 was defined to create an impact standard.

18 It's also interesting to note that the rest of
19 Title VII has been construed to have an intent standard
20 with respect to disparate impact. So we're talking
21 about the comparison of one isolated section of Title
22 VII, which doesn't result in the calamitous loss of
23 federal funding, with the entire Title VI jurisdiction
24 with the administrative procedure which contemplates
25 both voluntary compliance and a cutback, if that doesn't

1 work, of federal funding.

2 We believe this Court's decision in Bakke is
3 clear and its intimation in Board of Education versus
4 Harris that indicated that Bakke had so held the
5 constitutional standard is correct. And we ask that
6 that portion of the circuit court's opinion which has
7 upheld the intent standard for Title VI be affirmed.

8 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Very well.

9 Do you have anything further, Mr. Crowley?

10 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF CHRISTOPHER CROWLEY, ESQ.,
11 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

12 MR. CROWLEY: I'd just like to add briefly,
13 Mr. Chief Justice, that where there has been no
14 reference in the debates to intent, which is our issue,
15 where the debates are necessarily unclear, that whether
16 you assume a constitutional standard or not, that there
17 should be deference to a comprehensive 18-year history
18 of the use and ratification of regulations like these,
19 which were in our view impliedly endorsed by the
20 Congress in '66 and when they used similar language to
21 Section 601 in later years; and that that's the best
22 evidence of what the Congress' attitude toward intent
23 was, toward intent versus impact was in 1964.

24 QUESTION: Mr. Crowley, may I ask --

25 MR. CROWLEY: Yes, sir.

1 QUESTION: -- below was there any discussion
2 of the question whether there was a private cause of
3 action derived from the regulations, as contrasted with
4 from the statute?

5 MR. CROWLEY: No.

6 QUESTION: There was never a discussion of
7 that?

8 MR. CROWLEY: There was never a discussion of
9 that in that light, no, sir.

10 QUESTION: Is the issue here a private cause
11 of action issue?

12 MR. CROWLEY: I would have thought, Justice
13 White, that it was covered by the fact that we did plead
14 Section 1983 in this case, which as as I read your view
15 --

16 QUESTION: But that's the issue -- but the
17 issue is here, then? I mean, you say that if the issue
18 is here there is a private cause of action. But is that
19 question properly before us, whether there is a private
20 cause of action?

21 MR. CROWLEY: There was no appeal on that
22 subject. No cert was granted on that subject, Your
23 Honor. We think -- it's my understanding that because
24 of the pleading of Section 1983 there would be a private
25 cause of action. We also, of course, think so under the

1 analysis in --

2 QUESTION: Is the Respondent privileged to
3 rely on -- to try to have the judgment sustained by
4 arguing a private cause of action?

5 MR. CROWLEY: I think that could be raised
6 here, sir.

7 QUESTION: So if we thought 1983 doesn't
8 really dispose of it, when we had to get to the statute,
9 of course Congress could in Title VI have relied
10 exclusively on administrative enforcement wholly aside
11 from 1983.

12 MR. CROWLEY: I understand that, Your Honor.
13 We would, of course, urge the analysis in Cannon, that
14 it's appropriate to find that there was implied a
15 private right of action in Title VI in addition to
16 1983.

17 QUESTION: But we have held that Congressional
18 provisions for an administrative enforcement supplant
19 even 1983.

20 MR. CROWLEY: That's right, Your Honor.

21 QUESTION: Well, relying on 1983 doesn't
22 conclusively establish your cause of action, does it?

23 MR. CROWLEY: I thought it did.

24 QUESTION: Well, Congress could have intended
25 to provide an exclusive remedy.

1 MR. CROWLEY: Yes, sir, I suppose they could
2 have. But we think that in this case they did not.

3 QUESTION: But I gather, Mr. Crowley, if we
4 may address the question of a private cause of action,
5 if we were to conclude that there was no disparate
6 impact liability under 601 itself, but that -- I gather
7 you would not think we could reach the question whether
8 impact liability under the regulations here could be
9 reached.

10 MR. CROWLEY: If the Congress -- if I
11 understand your question, Justice Brennan, if the
12 Congress in 1964 intended to limit what the federal
13 agencies could do to a clear Washington v. Davis intent
14 standard, I would not argue that the regulations --

15 QUESTION: You would not argue that?

16 MR. CROWLEY: No, sir. But we think that,
17 even adopting the notion that there was intended to be
18 constitutional content, it was by no means clear in 1964
19 that they didn't contemplate that there wouldn't be
20 impact regulations; that those impact regulations were
21 adopted shortly thereafter, with great publicity at the
22 time, and that they're entitled to great deference.

23 QUESTION: May I ask another question on the
24 private case of action problem. Your suggestion that
25 1983 may be the source of your remedy, does that treat

1 the regulations or the Title VI as the federal law that
2 is referred to in 1983? That's my first question.

3 My second question is, was this at all
4 presented to the Court of Appeals as a basis for
5 sustaining the cause of action? Judge Meskill found no
6 private claim, and did he have a chance to consider the
7 1983 theory?

8 MR. CROWLEY: I do not -- I'm sorry, Justice
9 Stevens, I do not recall the answer to your second
10 question.

11 As to the first, I would have thought that
12 Section 1983, which grants a cause of action as to the
13 Constitution and laws, would make it clear that the
14 cause of action as to Section 601 -- I would think that
15 that would carry over as to regulations as well, sir.

16 QUESTION: You'd say the word "laws"
17 encompasses regulations as well as federal statutes?

18 MR. CROWLEY: Yes, sir.

19 QUESTION: That's your view.

20 QUESTION: As long as the regulation is valid
21 and has the force of law.

22 MR. CROWLEY: As long as they are valid and
23 have the force of law, which we strongly urge that they
24 are.

25 Thank you very much.

1 QUESTION: Mr. Crowley, do you think we have
2 to decide the private cause of action issue in this
3 case?

4 MR. CROWLEY: Cert was not granted on it.

5 QUESTION: I know it was not granted. But is
6 there a lawsuit unless there is a private cause of
7 action?

8 MR. CROWLEY: I do not believe so, Justice
9 Powell.

10 QUESTION: What was your answer?

11 MR. CROWLEY: I hope I'm not right about
12 this. I hope I'm not right about that. I'm afraid I
13 don't think that there would be if there were no private
14 cause of action.

15 QUESTION: Which would suggest that we do have
16 to decide that issue. I don't know. I'm interested in
17 your view.

18 QUESTION: Well, certainly we wouldn't be
19 precluded from deciding it, because the Respondent is
20 entitled to argue it to sustain the judgment.

21 MR. CROWLEY: I'm afraid I agree that you're
22 certainly not precluded from looking at that.

23 QUESTION: Thank you.

24 MR. CROWLEY: Thank you very much.

25 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, gentlemen.

1 The case is submitted.

2 (Whereupon, at 10:40 a.m., the case in the
3 above-entitled case was submitted.)

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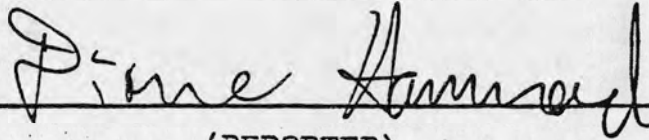
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