

ORIGINAL

# OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT PROCEEDINGS BEFORE

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

**DKT/CASE NO.** 82-940

**TITLE** ELIZABETH ANDERSON HISHON, Petitioner v.  
KING AND SPALDING

**PLACE** Washington, D. C.

**DATE** October 31, 1983

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

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ELIZABETH ANDERSON HISHON, :  
 :  
Petitioner :  
 :  
v. : No. 82-940  
 :  
KING AND SPALDING :  
 :  
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Washington, D.C.  
Monday, October 31, 1983

The above-entitled matter came on for oral  
argument before the Supreme Court of the United  
States at 1:02 p.m.

APPEARANCES:

EMMIT J. BONDURANT, II, ESQ., Atlanta, Georgia; on  
behalf of the Petitioner.

PAUL M. BATOR, ESQ., Office of the Solicitor General,  
Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; as amicus  
curiae.

CHARLES MORGAN, JR., ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on  
behalf of the Respondent.

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

CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: We will hear arguments next in Hishon against King and Spalding.

Mr. Bondurant, you may proceed whenever you are ready.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF EMMET J. BONDURANT, II, ESQ.

ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER

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

Next summer we will observe the 20th anniversary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It is ironic that after almost 19 years of the existence of that Act we are before this Court to discuss the question of whether or not that Act applies to sex discrimination in the private practice of law in the most highly compensated, and outside the judiciary, the most prestigious positions of the legal profession.

QUESTION: High compensated as compared to the judiciary?

(Laughter)

MR. BONDURANT: Yes. I think I said most highly compensated, and outside of the judiciary, most prestigious, Your Honor.

QUESTION: I see.

QUESTION: A slight question as to where you put

1 the comma, isn't it?

2 (Laughter)

3 MR. BONDURANT: I don't think the Court was  
4 misinformed as to the intent.

5 The lower courts in this case held that because  
6 the Respondent was organized as a commonlaw partnership,  
7 acts of discrimination, which the complaint alleges, were  
8 practiced by that firm in the selection of partners were  
9 outside the coverage of the Act.

10 Thus, even though the complaint specifically  
11 alleged, and the lower courts accepted it as true, as, of  
12 course, they must for purposes of ruling upon a motion to  
13 dismiss, that the firm engaged, pursuant to a 100-year  
14 pattern and practice, of discrimination against women in  
15 the selection of partners. The lower courts nevertheless  
16 ruled that that discrimination was outside the coverage of  
17 Title VII and that Title VII afforded the Petitioner no  
18 remedy for that discrimination.

19 An analysis of this case must begin, of course,  
20 with the statutory language of the Act. There is no  
21 question in this case that King & Spalding is not an  
22 employer or a person covered by the Act. That is  
23 undisputed. It is plainly a firm engaged in the practice  
24 of law in the course of interstate commerce with 15 or  
25 more employees and with offices in two cities.

1 Nor is there is question in this case as to  
2 whether or not Ms. Hishon, an associate for almost eight  
3 years with the firm, was an employee of the firm. She  
4 plainly was an employee as an associate.

5 The question in this case rather is whether or  
6 not the particular acts of sex discrimination which the  
7 complaint alleges were practiced by King & Spalding,  
8 admittedly an employer, against Ms. Hishon, admittedly an  
9 employee covered by the Act, were themselves unlawful  
10 employment practices covered by Section 703 of the Act.

11 We believe that the answers to these questions  
12 are in the affirmative.

13 First, let me point out by stating that the  
14 Petitioner agrees with the position taken by the Solicitor  
15 General that it is really not essential in this case to  
16 reach of the broader question of whether or not the  
17 partnership relationship; that is the relationship between  
18 an individual partner and the institution itself is an  
19 employment relationship.

20 For reasons that we have set forth in the brief,  
21 we think an affirmative answer to that question is  
22 indicated in this and other cases. However, this case can  
23 be decided on the narrower ground, that in her particular  
24 position as an associate of the law firm, the opportunity  
25 to be considered for partnership on a fair, equal, and

1 non-discriminatory basis was both a term, condition, and  
2 privilege of her employment and employment opportunity,  
3 both of which were explicitly within the protection of  
4 Section 703 of the Act and were, when the firm practiced  
5 sexual discrimination in making those decisions, were  
6 unlawful employment practices within the meaning of the  
7 Act.

8           The complaint clearly and specifically alleged  
9 that the firm held out and represented to the Petitioner  
10 and to all other associates whom it sought to recruit, the  
11 opportunity for fair, non-discriminatory consideration for  
12 partnership after completion of five or six years'  
13 employment with the firm and hard and satisfactory work  
14 during that period.

15           QUESTION: Did they all become partners?

16           MR. BONDURANT: No, Your Honor, they all did not  
17 become partners. But, the firm held out to the Petitioner  
18 and to other associates the opportunity to be so  
19 considered and by holding out that opportunity the terms,  
20 conditions, and privileges of her employment included the  
21 opportunity for fair, non-discriminatory consideration for  
22 partnership.

23           When that was denied her, and that is what the  
24 complaint alleges, that she was not given fair, non-  
25 discriminatory consideration for partnership, the firm



1 committed an unlawful employment practice covered by  
2 Section 703, which is --

3 QUESTION: But, you would still be here if the  
4 ultimate decision was that based on sex or race?

5 MR. BONDURANT: That is correct, Your Honor.

6 QUESTION: So, consideration isn't what you are  
7 really talking about I don't suppose. You can consider  
8 all you want to, but if the bottom line is you don't get  
9 into this partnership because of your sex, you would still  
10 be here making the argument, but you would have to say  
11 that the selection of a partner may not be based on that.

12 MR. BONDURANT: That is correct. And, the  
13 process of selection --

14 QUESTION: You are using too many words then.  
15 You may not select partners based on sex or race.

16 MR. BONDURANT: Certainly from among associates,  
17 that is true. We also believe that that is true if one  
18 were considering partners from the outside, but that is  
19 not this case.

20 This case is strengthened by the fact that the  
21 express representations of non-discriminatory  
22 consideration were made and it is the opportunity for  
23 advancement which every associate possesses in his or her  
24 capacity as an employee of the firm which is and becomes  
25 both an employment opportunity and a term, condition, or



1 privilege of employment.

2 It does not make a difference that the position  
3 of partnership is or is not itself within the coverage of  
4 the Act, for in the labor cases, this Court has  
5 recognized, as have the lower courts, that where a federal  
6 statute applies, as in the labor cases, and is violated,  
7 it, does not make a difference that the opportunity for  
8 promotion is being withheld for an unlawful reason under  
9 one of those statutes, even though the the position to  
10 which the employee would have been promoted was entirely  
11 outside the coverage of the Act.

12 Thus, in this case, the complaint specifically  
13 alleged that she possessed in her position as an employee  
14 the opportunity to be considered and be promoted to a  
15 partner, that it was an opportunity for advancement, that  
16 it was withheld on the basis of sex, and, therefore, is  
17 plainly within the literal language of Section 703 of the  
18 Act.

19 QUESTION: So, if you win on that basis, if, in  
20 hiring associates, the law firm says that we will make our  
21 selection of partners unrestricted by the terms and  
22 conditions of Title VII, would that get them off the hook?

23 MR. BONDURANT: No, Your Honor, it would not.  
24 If the firm --

25 QUESTION: Well then, it isn't a term and

1 condition of employment.

2 MR. BONDURANT: I disagree with Your Honor. I  
3 think the firm will be covered by Section 703.

4 QUESTION: So, it is a legal term.

5 MR. BONDURANT: I am not sure what Your Honor  
6 means by that.

7 QUESTION: Well, I mean it is imposed by the  
8 operation of law, not by contract.

9 MR. BONDURANT: It is imposed by the operation  
10 of law, it is reinforced, whereas in this instance, the  
11 complaint alleges that the firm explicitly held out as an  
12 inducement fair, non-discriminatory consideration for  
13 partnership after five or six years of employment.

14 In our view, it would not make a difference if  
15 the firm had been silent; that is if the firm's business  
16 practices are such that the firm regularly reviews its  
17 associates and evaluates them for promotion to partnership  
18 and does so on a basis that is prohibited by Title VII,  
19 that would violate Title VII even if the firm were silent  
20 in terms of representations it makes to an associate.

21 QUESTION: Mr. Bondurant, what part does the  
22 representation by the firm play over and above what the  
23 law otherwise requires?

24 MR. BONDURANT: Your Honor, it plays no part  
25 other than reinforcing the notion.

1                   QUESTION: Well, if it plays no part, how can it  
2 reinforce?

3                   MR. BONDURANT: Well, let me put it in this  
4 sense. We believe that if the firm were silent that it  
5 would nevertheless be covered under Section 703. That is  
6 that the opportunity for advancement which one possesses  
7 as an associate adheres in the relationship and that where  
8 a firm regularly promotes associates to partnership from  
9 that relationship, that that is an opportunity of the  
10 employment and an implicit term, condition, privilege of  
11 employment that could not be withheld on the basis of sex.

12                   That case, we believe, becomes even stronger,  
13 where to induce one to enter into the relationship in the  
14 first instance, the firm holds out the opportunity for  
15 nondiscriminatory consideration for employment after five  
16 or six years.

17                   If you were employed by a law firm and the law  
18 firm said to you, we make no representations to you  
19 whatsoever as to non-discriminatory employment, but  
20 nevertheless, the practice is to review and evaluate  
21 associates as they progress and to select from among those  
22 associates those who will be allowed to advance in the  
23 partnership and the remainder to be terminated by the  
24 firm, we believe that is a term, condition, and privilege  
25 of employment.

1 QUESTION: Supposing -- Do they still have that  
2 15-employee limit in Title VII where people employing less  
3 than 15 aren't covered by it?

4 MR. BONDURANT: The 15 or fewer employee limit  
5 excludes business establishments with fewer than that  
6 number of employees.

7 QUESTION: Supposing a firm with 15 or fewer  
8 employees made a representation that we are an equal  
9 opportunity employer and we follow all the guidelines of  
10 the EEOC, would that be actionable under Title VII even  
11 though they had less than 15 employees?

12 MR. BONDURANT: No, Your Honor, it would be  
13 actionable, if at all, under state law, because Title VII  
14 explicitly excludes coverage from employers with fewer  
15 than 15 employees.

16 QUESTION: Mr. Bondurant, let's assume that  
17 the Petitioner had been admitted to partnership in King &  
18 Spalding and two or three years after young partners of  
19 the same rough age and experience were up for promotion  
20 within the firm, be entitled to a greater percentage of  
21 participation, would your position be the same?

22 MR. BONDURANT: Your Honor, let me answer it in  
23 two ways. First, that is not our case.

24 QUESTION: I know that.

25 MR. BONDURANT: This question is a denial of the

1 admission to partnership itself and whether it is  
2 actionable under Title VII.

3 Secondly, under the broader theory which we  
4 advocate, it is our view that that would be covered by  
5 Title VII.

6 The question under Title VII is whether or not  
7 the relationship between a lawyer practicing with a firm  
8 and the firm itself is an entity, is an employment  
9 relationship; that is does it have the principal  
10 attributes of employment as a matter of economic reality,  
11 it is not a formalistic relationship, and, therefore, if,  
12 for the sake of a hypothetical, after three years as a  
13 member of the partnership the firm should simply vote to  
14 reduce a female or black partner's earnings to zero as a  
15 method of excluding them from the partnership, having  
16 being compelled to admit them in the first instance under  
17 an order of the court. It is our view that that would be  
18 independently actionable under Title VII.

19 QUESTION: You have touched on two or three  
20 factual situations. Your answer is, with respect to any  
21 change in status within a partnership down through the  
22 years, any partner may claim discrimination on the basis  
23 of sex or race?

24 MR. BONDURANT: Well, not quite any partner.  
25 The partner must first be within the protective group.



1 QUESTION: Don't go quite so fast. What is the  
2 answer to my question?

3 MR. BONDURANT: Pardon me. If the partner were  
4 in the protective group of persons covered by Title VII,  
5 if the partner believed that there was a causal connection  
6 between the decision made by the institution itself  
7 affecting compensation, terms, or other conditions of  
8 employment, it would be actionable under Title VII in our  
9 view.

10 QUESTION: You are saying that a partner is an  
11 employee of the firm always?

12 MR. BONDURANT: We are saying that for purposes  
13 of Title VII the relationship between a partner and a law  
14 firm has sufficient attributes of --

15 QUESTION: Can't you just answer that question?  
16 We are dealing with the issue of whether or not Title VII  
17 applies. It only applies if an individual is an employee.  
18 Now, is it your position that a partner, once a partner,  
19 always is a employee for purposes of Title VII?

20 MR. BONDURANT: For purposes of Title VII, the  
21 answer is yes.

22 QUESTION: Yes.

23 QUESTION: And, every year when participation is  
24 reconsidered the firm would be confronted with this sort  
25 of a litigation?

1 MR. BONDURANT: The only consequences, Justice  
2 Powell, of applying Title VII to either the admission  
3 decisions of partnership or the compensation decisions of  
4 partnership are to outlaw prohibited forms of discrim-  
5 ination. It is our view that that is not going to create  
6 a great disruption within partnerships, it is not going to  
7 diminish the quality of the legal profession, nor is it  
8 going to diminish in any way --

9 QUESTION: What has that got to do with this  
10 case?

11 MR. BONDURANT: The question of compensation at  
12 some later point. In our view, Mr. Chief Justice, it is  
13 not this case. This case is whether or not Ms. Hishon  
14 claiming -- that is an associate in the first instance --

15 QUESTION: Well, is it relevant whether your  
16 view of the case or your friend's view of the case would  
17 enhance or do otherwise to a particular law firm or to law  
18 firms generally? Is that relevant?

19 MR. BONDURANT: Your Honor, it is not relevant  
20 other than it is a broad policy consideration to reinforce  
21 the applicability of Title VII to law firms. Lawyers,  
22 after all, as our adversaries point out, occupy a rather  
23 unique position within the community, but it is that  
24 position, we suggest, which advocates for and not against  
25 coverage of Title VII. It is more important that excluded



1 minorities progress within the legal profession than in  
2 any other capacity, because lawyers are in a unique  
3 position to influence the course of events in ways that  
4 businessmen, bankers, corporate vice presidents, and other  
5 people, all of whom are covered by Title VII, do not have  
6 the same capacity.

7 QUESTION: Mr. Bondurant, would you concede that  
8 judgments are made with respect to a variety of  
9 qualifications when the partnership decision is made?

10 MR. BONDURANT: Absolutely.

11 QUESTION: And, many of those judgments are  
12 subjective.

13 MR. BONDURANT: I would also concede they are  
14 subjective just as they are in the question of whom an  
15 ordinary business enterprise would employ for a particular  
16 position, particularly one of higher than a menial  
17 capacity.

18 QUESTION: So, it is possible a firm may need  
19 somebody to do damage suit litigation and if an individual  
20 in competition with that associate was very good at  
21 corporate law, would those factors be considered?

22 MR. BONDURANT: As long as none of the  
23 prohibitive factors covered by Title VII were factors in  
24 the decision, the firm is free to provide and apply  
25 subjective criteria in determining who to admit to

1 partnership and how to award those who it has admitted to  
2 partnership.

3 But, it is our view that sex is not one of those  
4 factors which affects that decision-making process and  
5 that Congress has specifically proscribed that as a  
6 factor.

7 QUESTION: And, one more question. Suppose a  
8 law firm needed a new tax partner and the word got around  
9 and half a dozen people, established tax lawyers applied.  
10 I am talking now not of an associateship, but a  
11 partnership, would Title VII apply?

12 MR. BONDURANT: Your Honor, under the broader  
13 argument which we make, we would take the position that it  
14 does apply, but the Court need not go far as to decide  
15 that question in this case.

16 QUESTION: Well, I asked you whether it would  
17 apply and you answered yes.

18 MR. BONDURANT: The answer is yes. The con-  
19 siderations may be subjective. The proof problems for the  
20 lawyer claiming that because he was Jewish he was turned  
21 down as tax partner in a large firm may be difficult, but  
22 they are not insurmountable and they do not take the claim  
23 outside the coverage of Title VII.

24 I will reserve the remainder of my time for  
25 rebuttal unless there are further questions from the

1 Court.

2 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: MR. Bator?

3 ORAL ARGUMENT OF PAUL M. BATOR, ESQ.

4 AS AMICUS CURIAE

5 MR. BATOR: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please  
6 the Court:

7 The government's submission in this case is  
8 quite straightforward and we ask the Court in this case  
9 not to decide the difficult questions as to whether and  
10 what extent partners may ever themselves be regarded as  
11 employees of a partnership. On that question the  
12 government has not taken a position.

13 We feel that whatever view one takes on that  
14 question, Ms. Hishon's complaint in this case stated a  
15 good cause of action under Title VII, because Title VII  
16 clearly and sharply provides that women employees may not  
17 be treated worse than male employees, the statutory  
18 language that there may not be discrimination with respect  
19 to the terms, conditions, or privileges of employment.

20 Now, as an associate, Ms. Hishon and the other  
21 associates of the firm were concededly employees and her  
22 complaint alleges that she was treated worse than the male  
23 employees with respect to a central element of the  
24 employment relationship, one that is absolutely critical  
25 to every young lawyer at a large firm like King &

1 Spalding.

2 QUESTION: Mr. Bator, I hate to interrupt you so  
3 early, but it would help me if you could tell me --  
4 Perhaps this is not a fair questions -- Does Title VII  
5 apply to the faculty of a law school?

6 MR. BATOR: Yes, sir.

7 QUESTION: And, what about the tenure decision?  
8 Does it apply to that?

9 MR. BATOR: The lower courts have unanimously  
10 held and the government's position has been that the  
11 tenure decision is covered by Title VII.

12 QUESTION: Are there cases so holding?

13 MR. BATOR: There are cases.

14 QUESTION: Are they cited in your brief? I just  
15 haven't --

16 MR. BATOR: They are cited and in the Second and  
17 the Third Circuit. There are cases so holding or at least  
18 so assuming. There are questions that, of course, go into  
19 the question whether on the particular facts --

20 QUESTION: Does that apply all the way up the  
21 line to associate professor, to full professor, to chair  
22 professor?

23 MR. BATOR: Yes, sir.

24 MR. QUESTION: To the dean?

25 MR. BATOR: Yes.

1           If a law firm excluded women for consideration  
2 for dean of a law school, I believe that Title VII would  
3 be violated.

4           QUESTION: What about the very bottom of a law  
5 firm? How about hiring?

6           MR. BATOR: I believe that it is universally  
7 conceded that in hiring associates a law firm may not  
8 exclude. In fact, one of the peculiarities in the  
9 position that Mr. Morgan has before this Court is that he  
10 says at the hiring level, where you are bringing in  
11 associates, you cannot exclude women, but, in effect, he  
12 says, you can hire them for a different and  
13 discrimination-against slot; that is for a lesser  
14 consideration when you get to the partnership turn.

15           As I understand the position of Mr. Morgan and  
16 the Respondent in this case, it is that the law firm is  
17 wholly free to adopt an explicit role. For instance, that  
18 women will be considered for partnership after ten years,  
19 but men will be considered after six years. He says  
20 that --

21           QUESTION: What about lateral entry to  
22 partnerships?

23           MR. BATOR: Directly into the partnership? That  
24 is the question, Your Honor, that the government --

25           QUESTION: It is withholding a position?

1 MR. BATOR: It has not taken a position.

2 QUESTION: Mr. Bator, is there anything in the  
3 legislative history of Title VII to indicate that Congress  
4 intended to insulate decisions regarding the selection of  
5 partners from Title VII's provision?

6 MR. BATOR: Selection of partners from the  
7 outside.

8 QUESTION: Right. Or --

9 QUESTION: From the inside.

10 QUESTION: -- from the inside, either way.

11 MR. BATOR: There is nothing directly related to  
12 law firms. The legislative history is very clear since  
13 1972 that a central concern of Congress was access of  
14 discrimination-against groups, women, and blacks in  
15 particular, to the higher professional, managerial, and  
16 elite positions of society. That issue was very centrally  
17 camped when an amendment was proposed that would have  
18 excluded from Title VII the choice of doctors to practice  
19 on the staff of hospitals. And, Congress rejected that  
20 amendment precisely on the ground that it is that kind of  
21 highly sensitive position as to which Congress was  
22 especially keen that discrimination should end.

23 Now, in that respect, to us it seems quite  
24 irrelevant whether partners themselves are associates. We  
25 are quite willing for the Court to assume for purposes of



1 this case that partners themselves are not employees, that  
2 they are owners, like stockholders. It is clear that if a  
3 corporation with ten stockholders wanted to find new  
4 stockholders and went out and sold stock to new  
5 stockholders that Title VII would to have anything to do  
6 with the case.

7 But, if that same corporation makes the  
8 ownership of stock part of a stock plan for employees,  
9 then it cannot ration that on sexual or racial grounds.  
10 It cannot say we will only admit men to the stock options  
11 plans.

12 In other words, ownership is not employment, but  
13 if ownership is distributed to the employees as a regular  
14 practice as one of the elements of employment, then Title  
15 VII cuts in and says you cannot do it on a racial or  
16 sexual ground.

17 QUESTION: Could you have -- I take it then the  
18 government would say the law firm couldn't take sex into  
19 consideration at all even for affirmative action purposes  
20 or for quota purposes.

21 MR. BATOR: In promoting or --

22 QUESTION: No, entry into the partnership.

23 MR. BATOR: Our argument is restricted to the  
24 proposition, Justice White, that insofar as admission to  
25 the partnership is a term, condition, and privilege of an



1 employment relationship. So, if there were no employment  
2 relationship theretofore --

3 QUESTION: No, I know, but I am talking about  
4 this case where there was an employment relationship and  
5 the law firm says, well, I think we ought to have six or  
6 eight lady partners but no more or we should have 20 or 30  
7 but no more.

8 MR. BATOR: Your Honor, that, I guess would  
9 become then subject to the more general and obviously very  
10 sensitive question of whether rectifying previous  
11 discrimination, to what extent affirmative action or other  
12 plans would be a problem.

13 But, that, we think, would cut into the general  
14 background Title VII law as it applies to ordinary  
15 situations; that is there would be no special rule with  
16 respect to --

17 QUESTION: Would Title VII apply to a situation  
18 where a woman or any other person claiming the protection  
19 of the Act has pointed out that for the ten years that she  
20 had been in the firm she had never been assigned a case to  
21 argue in the courts of appeals or the Supreme Court and  
22 that was an area reserved for men -- that would be the  
23 claim -- and, in fact, the record would show that only men  
24 had been assigned those assignments. Would that be  
25 cognizable under the Act?

1 MR. BATOR: Yes. If she is an employee of the  
2 firm --  
3 QUESTION: Wait a minute, a partner now.  
4 MR. BATOR: She is now a partner.  
5 QUESTION: We have gotten over the hump.  
6 MR. BATOR: She is now a partner.  
7 QUESTION: She is now a partner.  
8 MR. BATOR: That is a question which I am unable  
9 to answer, Your Honor, because it would depend on this  
10 additional question, whether the partners themselves are  
11 employees.  
12 I should put this qualification on that.  
13 QUESTION: Your friend said the partners aren't  
14 employees.  
15 MR. BATOR: We have not joined the Petitioner on  
16 that submission. The government is arguing this case on a  
17 narrower issue which relates entirely to the way in which  
18 King & Spalding treats its associates and we are saying  
19 for that purposes it is irrelevant whether the partners  
20 are themselves employees or owners or whether you pierce  
21 the partnership veil as it were.  
22 Now, with respect to our submission --  
23 QUESTION: May I just ask you another question?  
24 MR. BATOR: Yes.  
25 QUESTION: In the year 1983, with a third of the

1 students in the law schools of the United States, is this  
2 really a problem. And, I ask one supplemental question.  
3 If you are a partner in a law firm, you are very careful  
4 about selecting new partners because it affects your  
5 profits. In other words, you want the strongest possible  
6 person regardless of sex, color, or race. That may not  
7 have been true 20 or 30 years ago when people had lots of  
8 prejudices they don't have now, but I can't imagine a law  
9 firm deliberately discriminating against somebody if the  
10 firm made a judgment that the individual would increase  
11 the profits of the law firm.

12 MR. BATOR: Your Honor, this may be a  
13 decreasing problem, but when Congress acted, first in  
14 1964, and in 1972, it was a very active problem, it was  
15 really a virulent problem. And, that is the time as of  
16 which that statute speaks.

17 So, the fact -- and to some extent that it is no  
18 longer a problem is itself maybe a product of Title VII in  
19 the background; that is to say that since everybody  
20 concedes that at the intake stage, when young associates  
21 are first hired, Title VII does apply. Of course, law  
22 firms have had to accustom themselves to overcoming these  
23 ancient prejudices and they have learned, we have all  
24 learned, as we have learned on faculty, that, in fact, the  
25 prejudice was simply inexcusable.

1           And, that really, I think, pushes me into what  
2   is my last point with respect to Mr. Morgan's submission.

3           CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: You are now using your  
4   friend's time.

5           MR. BATOR: I think I will back off and leave my  
6   friend his time.

7           CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Very well.

8           MR. BATOR: Thank you.

9           CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Mr. Morgan?

10          ORAL ARGUMENT OF CHARLES MORGAN, JR., ESQ.

11          ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT

12          MR. MORGAN: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it  
13   please the Court:

14          The Petitioner in brief particularly and here,  
15   discussing 20 years as of next year on the Civil Rights  
16   Act of 1964, has made a point of whether or not King &  
17   Spalding and lawyers are above the law and whether or not  
18   the case of Respondent would place them there. I submit  
19   that it wouldn't.

20          Of all of the professions in the United States  
21   and probably of all of the sundry people who perform  
22   services in our society, lawyers are the most regulated.

23          However, from time to time there are certain  
24   kinds of activities that lawyers find necessary for their  
25   work. For instance, the privileges that are granted with

1     respect to the attorney/client privilege, the fact that  
2     lawyers can state things in courts that are at least  
3     qualifiedly privileged and often have absolute immunity  
4     from liable.

5                 QUESTION: I am not sure I grasp what you meant  
6     by the statement that they are the most regulated.  
7     Regulated -- Which regulation are you speaking of --

8                 MR. MORGAN: Well, sir --

9                 QUESTION: The structure of the bar or the  
10    potential of a particular court?

11                MR. MORGAN: The structure of the bar as well as  
12    the structure of sundry courts, that lawyers are a member  
13    of the bar over a period.

14                Bar associations, first of all, do regulate  
15    lawyers. Lawyers are regulated on entry into the  
16    profession, all the way through it, and all the way out of  
17    it, often not as much as they should be, but certainly more  
18    than other professions it seems to me. And, as such, it  
19    is not a question of are lawyers above the law, but it is  
20    a question of whether or not the Congress intended to  
21    cover them as to this law, and it is secondly a question  
22    as to what protections lawyers are granted by the society  
23    and by the law and by the Constitution in order to perform  
24    their necessary function in the society.

25                We submit to you that lawyers are entitled to



1 the highest degree of First Amendment associational  
2 freedom. We submit that and we think Congress understood  
3 that at the time it enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

4           You will note in our briefs that we have  
5 discussed the existence of lawyers in Congress, the large  
6 number of them and the people involved in the passage of  
7 the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the number of law  
8 partners in Congress, who didn't talk about lawyers and  
9 law partners, but did talk about doctors when they made  
10 their points that are made in briefs about professional  
11 coverage, and, the fact that the lawyers in Congress  
12 certainly had in their minds that they were lawyers.

13           Now, they wanted to eliminate, I believe, based  
14 on only one statement in the record, the 1963 statement by  
15 Congressman McCulloch. They wanted to eliminate  
16 discrimination in the employment of professionals.

17           Senator Javits and others discussed questions  
18 with respect to hospitals and the elimination of  
19 discrimination with respect to people being able to  
20 practice medicine in hospitals.

21           Congressman McCulloch mentioned law along  
22 with other professions in 1963 in a preliminary report.

23           When you turn to the year 1964, there is only  
24 one statement involving partnerships in the record of the  
25 debates which the New York Times termed so voluminous -- I

1 mean the weight of them was so gigantic. And, that one  
2 statement was made by Norris Cotton, Senator Cotton, and  
3 he was commenting on the fact -- He was speaking against  
4 the provision to lower the coverage of employees, who at  
5 that time, as I recall it, was 25.

6 When Senator Cotton was speaking, he said this  
7 would be so absurd. When you have that small an  
8 operation, it is almost like a partnership.

9 Now, that is it as far as the record is  
10 concerned. There is nothing in the Solicitor General's  
11 brief. There is nothing in the Petitioner's brief. There  
12 is no other intention of Congress to cover law partner-  
13 ships.

14 QUESTION: What sort of a partnership do you  
15 suppose Senator Cotton was thinking of coming, as he did,  
16 from New Hampshire?

17 MR. MORGAN: Well, he came from New Hampshire,  
18 but he was also, as I recall it, the senior partner in a  
19 law firm in New Hampshire, Cotton, Tesreau -- I have  
20 forgotten the names. It is spelled out in the brief. I  
21 think he was thinking of that partnership to start with,  
22 his own, because he was, after all, a partner in a law  
23 firm at that time.

24 QUESTION: But, a lot of the partnership  
25 problems that you refer to in your brief, seems to me are



1 covered by the 15 employee requirement, you know, if you  
2 are talking about a small partnership.

3 QUESTION: Are there any 15 member law firms in  
4 New Hampshire?

5 (Laughter)

6 QUESTION: You know there are not, don't you?

7 MR. MORGAN: I thought there might be one, maybe  
8 two, but I certainly don't know. I haven't spent a lot of  
9 time in New Hampshire.

10 QUESTION: Mr. Morgan, you concede though, I  
11 guess, that the law partnership of over 15 associates is  
12 an employer of the associates within the meaning of Title  
13 VII, don't you?

14 MR. MORGAN: We have not taken a position to the  
15 contrary. We have not taking any position --

16 QUESTION: Well, I am asking you now. You  
17 surely agree that it is an employer under Title VII of the  
18 associates.

19 MR. MORGAN: It is an employer of associates  
20 under Title VII which poses certain problems for a portion  
21 of my case, for example.

22 QUESTION: All right.

23 MR. MORGAN: If King & Spalding, or any other  
24 law firm employs lawyers who then sues King & Spalding,  
25 there may be an invasion of the attorney/client privilege.

1           According to Petitioner, law partners and  
2 associates do the same thing, there is no difference  
3 between them. Therefore, why shouldn't a promotion system  
4 take place as though the law firm were a corporation?  
5 And, if that took place, it would be just kind of a  
6 stair-step progression from a GS-8 to a GS-15 to a GS-18  
7 which must be a partner.

8           Now, their contention then is based upon the  
9 fact that the employees of the partnership -- Partnerships  
10 are clearly spelled out in the statute. There is hardly a  
11 way to take another position than the one I just took. It  
12 says partnerships are employers. It doesn't say they are  
13 employees. Certainly, if a partnership is an employer, it  
14 is very difficult to figure how partners would be  
15 employees.

16           QUESTION: Well, we don't have to decide that,  
17 do we?

18           MR. MORGAN: Well, I think when looking at  
19 congressional intention, you have to see at what Congress  
20 had in mind and Congress --

21           QUESTION: Well -- But, the Petitioner in this  
22 case says you don't have to decide that. All you have to  
23 do to decide this case is to decide whether the associate  
24 is an employee and, therefore, is fair consideration  
25 without regard to sex a term or a condition of that

1 employment?

2 MR. MORGAN: Well, in response to Justice  
3 White's question, he stated, of course, she would be here  
4 anyway going right into the firm.

5 Now, their position, both Petitioner -- One of  
6 Petitioner's three positions and the position of the  
7 Solicitor General -- Their position is that terms,  
8 conditions, and privileges of employment, that that covers  
9 a promise to fairly consider an employee or a prospective  
10 employee at the time of hire and then six years later you  
11 are supposed to enforce it.

12 Now, let's see if that is what Congress had in  
13 mind, because, first of all, the rules of construction say  
14 that no words in the statute have surfaced, you have to  
15 consider the entire statute.

16 First, it is the Equal Employment Opportunities  
17 Act that creates an Equal Employment Opportunities  
18 Commission.

19 The Solicitor General states if there is either  
20 a pension plan or he was talking about a stock option plan  
21 with a corporation, that it would have to be treated  
22 equally for everybody and I agree with that.

23 But, in this particular instance, where you have  
24 terms, conditions, privileges of employment and you get  
25 into those words, you run squarely into the rest of the

1 congressional intention which is clearly stated in the  
2 following way: It says -- And, it defines people. When  
3 it gets to members, it is talking about labor  
4 organizations, not partnerships. When it gets to "it  
5 shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer  
6 to discriminate," it then goes on "with respect to terms,  
7 conditions, or privileges of employment."

8 Now, remember, these outsiders they were talking  
9 about bringing into the firm and King & Spalding has many  
10 of those. That is in the record.

11 There is no set way here as for that Swaine and  
12 Moore had of the Lucido case coming straight up where they  
13 took in nobody.

14 Now, with respect to this particular case,  
15 Petitioner would say you need go no further with respect  
16 to the ramifications of your decision. You need not even  
17 think about remedy because we do not want to be in the  
18 partnership, therefore, just consider it my way within  
19 this structure. It strikes me that is not the way the  
20 Court should do business. I think you have to think about  
21 the ramifications of it and what the true intention is.

22 Another phrase: "It shall be an unlawful  
23 employment practice," employment practice. It says that a  
24 person can't limit or segregate or classify his employees  
25 or applicants for employment in any way which would

1     deprive any individual of employment opportunities or  
2     otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee.

3             Now, that is what Petitioner didn't like, was a  
4     status as employee.

5             QUESTION: May I ask you about the hypothetical  
6     question the Solicitor General gave? Supposing the firm  
7     had a rule that male associates are eligible for  
8     partnerships after six years and female associates are  
9     eligible for partnerships after ten years. Would that  
10    comply with the Act? What is your view of that?

11            MR. MORGAN: The Act is not applicable to  
12    partnerships, so consequently they could do that.

13            QUESTION: That would be a permissible disparate  
14    treatment on the basis of sex?

15            MR. MORGAN: It would be permissible as a -- It  
16    would be permissible as a disparate treatment if they just  
17    did that. Let me give you -- Let me strike an example.

18            QUESTION: If they write it out, that is the  
19    rule. When they come here they tell the women you will be  
20    eligible in ten years and they tell the male employees you  
21    will be eligible in six years.

22            MR. MORGAN: Put it in the employment booklet,  
23    just like is happening all over the country now as these  
24    job-right cases are developing under state law.  
25    Employers, some of them, except for those who are



1     frightened of doing it, are putting on the face of it, you  
2     should understand that you acquire no rights when you come  
3     here.

4             QUESTION: No. My hypothesis is that you  
5     acquire -- If you are a male, you acquire the right to be  
6     considered for a partnership after six years, if you are a  
7     female, you acquire that right after ten years. Now, why  
8     doesn't that fall right squarely within the language of  
9     the Act?

10            MR. MORGAN: If I lay it out when the associate  
11     is hired --

12            QUESTION: Right.

13            MR. MORGAN: -- and I tell the associate at the  
14     time of hire that later the associate will have to work  
15     here for ten years before the associate could become  
16     partner. Well, I think we are assuming something that not  
17     even, of course, the complaint says, but as far as the --

18            QUESTION: No, but your legal position, I think,  
19     has to say that in the eighth year the male and females  
20     are not being discriminated against -- are not being  
21     treated differently on account of sex.

22            MR. MORGAN: I am saying two things. One, if I  
23     say that outright as a partnership, I just tell folks,  
24     whether I tell them in writing or tell them orally and I  
25     just say, look, it takes eight years for women to be good

1 lawyers and six years for men to get to be good lawyers  
2 and then we are going to consider them.

3 The answer is did Congress desire to cover the  
4 partnership decision? My answer is no, not under Title  
5 VII. Might there be an actional square, sure. Could the  
6 action be brought, sure, but not under Title VII and the  
7 second answer.

8 If you take Justice Powell's statement about why  
9 in the world would a partner want to keep out someone  
10 whose is going to make them a profit, which happens to be  
11 the theme of Petitioner's case -- Petitioner says, good  
12 heavens, law firms are businesses and we are making all of  
13 this money all over the world and that is the central  
14 theme of law practice. If that is the case, then any law  
15 firm who would make such an averment of six and eight year  
16 differentials to employees at a law school in the United  
17 State from which they hire, would be laughed off the  
18 campus and would promptly go out of business.

19 QUESTION: Mr. Morgan, on this -- on carving out  
20 this exemption for law firms, with the number of law firm  
21 representatives in Congress, why didn't they spell it out  
22 if they intended to do it? One, they knew how to spell it  
23 out, and, two, they were lawyers.

24 Am I not correct that every member of the  
25 Judiciary Committee in the House is a lawyer?



1 MR. MORGAN: Yes.

2 QUESTION: They drafted this bill. How can you  
3 say they didn't mean to cover lawyers?

4 MR. MORGAN: Well, sir --

5 QUESTION: That is your position, isn't it?

6 MR. MORGAN: That is my position. It was so  
7 obvious and so apparent that three decisions of this Court  
8 surely would apply.

9 One of them is, of course, Catholic Bishop.  
10 Secondly -- A second decision that would apply would be  
11 Yeshiva, because they identify, and the third decision  
12 would Bell Aerospace.

13 You know, Congress can sit over there and they  
14 can't think of every crazy thing somebody is going to  
15 bring up and if they did, then they would write an  
16 exception in for that. But, in this particular instance,  
17 Congressman McCulloch, Chairman, himself a partner in a  
18 law firm, Congressman Seller who had been with a law firm  
19 previously and may have been at the time, but he was  
20 previously, and partners in law firms sitting there, some  
21 of them, could never even conceive that anyone was going  
22 to come and say, well, we are going to make partners under  
23 Title VII.

24 QUESTION: You mean out of all the partnerships  
25 that you can imagine, law partnerships were alone exempt

1 or are you suggesting that all kinds of partnerships were  
2 exempt?

3 MR. MORGAN: Well, I am suggesting that as far  
4 as Congress was concerned all of them were. There is  
5 higher protection to law firms than accountants and there  
6 were more lawyers -- I was talking about lawyers because  
7 lawyers were are in Congress --

8 QUESTION: So, your submission really is that no  
9 partnerships are covered by this insofar as entry is  
10 concerned into the partnership?

11 MR. MORGAN: Sure. There is no question about  
12 that in my mind. That is what Justice Goldberg wrote  
13 there within two or three days of the passage of the Act  
14 in his concurring opinion.

15 QUESTION: So, we should judge this case as  
16 though this were a partnership of engineers or --

17 MR. MORGAN: No, no.

18 QUESTION: Rather than lawyers. Can't we just  
19 forget it is lawyers?

20 MR. MORGAN: No, no, no.

21 (Laughter)

22 MR. MORGAN: If we forgot it was lawyers, we  
23 would be like Congress forgetting to write and exception.

24 QUESTION: I understood Justice White's question  
25 and your response has confused me. Are real estate

1 partnerships, banking partnerships, medical partnerships  
2 all in the same category under Title VII, whatever that  
3 category is?

4 MR. MORGAN: No, sir, but in most of those you  
5 do not -- Are they all in the same category, yes, sir.

6 QUESTION: I thought you answered me that no  
7 partnership was subject to Title VII in terms of entry.

8 MR. MORGAN: Yes, that is what -- Let me  
9 complete that. No partnership in terms of entry, however,  
10 that question is not before the Court. The question that  
11 is before the Court, because no constitutional question is  
12 implied with --

13 QUESTION: Your submission, as I understand it,  
14 would cover any partnership.

15 MR. MORGAN: I beg your pardon?

16 QUESTION: Your submission would cover any  
17 partnership for rationale for your position.

18 MR. MORGAN: Oh, no. I think -- In the first  
19 place, assuming that all business partnerships have a  
20 right of commercial association, then they would be  
21 covered and they would have a lower standard of con-  
22 stitutional rights with respect to what is done to them by  
23 the government through the EEOC, which would assume  
24 jurisdiction, than is a law firm which is an advocacy  
25 organization if there has ever been one. That is why law

1 partnerships are different from other partnerships and  
2 that is what is before the Court.

3 QUESTION: What cases from this Court support  
4 you in suggesting that lawyers have this very high claim  
5 to resist government regulations because they are  
6 advocates.

7 MR. MORGAN: No, no, that is not -- What we say  
8 is that law firms are advocacy organizations which handle  
9 litigation as was pointed out in NAACP in Button. In the  
10 Button case, we talked particularly, the Court did, about  
11 use of litigation to political ends. Law firms certainly  
12 are constantly petitioning Congress, petitioning for a  
13 redress of grievance in court or out of court, and doing  
14 those things that are clearly protected by the First  
15 Amendment. That is what we say about the advocacy rights  
16 of law firms.

17 As far as whether or not that gives them a  
18 higher standard of protection, surely it does when a  
19 question is asked in an interrogatory such as here by the  
20 Plaintiff, which could be asked in the EEOC, just in the  
21 case preceding.

22 QUESTION: Well, supposing that Congress is not  
23 trying to deter advocacy expressly, it is saying that law  
24 firms are going to be subject to minimum wage laws, maybe  
25 they have to bargain collectively with representatives of

1 their employees, they are subject to the Civil Rights Act.  
2 Now, I wouldn't think that any of those things raised and  
3 constitutional question whatever.

4 MR. MORGAN: Your Honor, as I recall, on the  
5 minimum wage, they would come off as a professional  
6 exemption, but --

7 QUESTION: Let's assume Congress decided to  
8 repeal a professional exemption.

9 MR. MORGAN: All right. As far as the purely  
10 business and economic aspects of law firms, to wit, Fair  
11 Labor Standards Act and the minimum wage laws, I think you  
12 are right.

13 QUESTION: But, we are not dealing with purely  
14 business -- You apparently feel there is some higher,  
15 loftier goal of law firm than making money. And, even,  
16 let's put in that higher, loftier goal. Why can't  
17 Congress do just what it wants to with respect to law  
18 firms with minimum wages, civil rights, collective  
19 bargaining?

20 MR. MORGAN: Because what it does is it takes in  
21 this particular instance and places an advocacy agency of  
22 the federal government overseeing the law firms.

23 The case you just heard before this case  
24 involving EEO-1 reports, in that particular case -- Law  
25 firms file them too. They don't file partners, you know,



1 numbers of partners as employees, they just file  
2 associates.

3 Now, the EEOC decides to go against a law firm.  
4 It has a subpoena power and it can subpoena the law firm's  
5 documents. In this particular case, King & Spalding's  
6 responses, as are contained in the record and the District  
7 Court, say she didn't get along with our clients in effect  
8 amongst other things and those are the reasons we didn't  
9 admit her.

10 Now, at that point, they asked an interrogatory  
11 question and the interrogatory question goes directly to  
12 the questions of what matters did you handle for clients,  
13 what matters did she have problems with, who do you  
14 represent?

15 QUESTION: That assumes that lawyers in their  
16 dealings would need confidentiality in a way that lots of  
17 other organizations don't. I dare say that Shell Oil,  
18 which was the party to the prior case, probably has a lot  
19 of papers they would like to keep from the government  
20 about hiring decisions in their top echelon, but I don't  
21 think they have had the affrontery or perhaps ambitious  
22 visions of their business yet to say that the Constitution  
23 prevents the government from doing it.

24 MR. MORGAN: I certainly hope not, but lawyers  
25 are different. Lawyers are essential to the enforcement



1 of the Constitution.

2 Let me give you some examples.

3 QUESTION: Mr. Morgan, now Congress knew full  
4 well how to write exemptions from Title VII and it put in  
5 three. And, you are asking us to just produce another one  
6 out of some abstract concept about lawyers. If Congress  
7 had intended to have this exemption, wouldn't it have said  
8 so?

9 MR. MORGAN: No, no. Congress did not exempt  
10 lawyers from their hiring policies. Congress --

11 QUESTION: That is precisely what we are talking  
12 about.

13 MR. MORGAN: Congress exempted partnerships as  
14 employees and partners as employees.

15 We raised the question of the First Amendment to  
16 come under Catholic Bishop and other cases to demonstrate  
17 a rule of construction with respect to the statute which  
18 says that the statute should not be interpreted in such a  
19 manner as would require a restriction of the  
20 constitutional liberties that do attach the law firms with  
21 respect to their duties and it doesn't matter whether it  
22 is a lease case with respect to Mr. Justice Stevens and  
23 Mr. Justice Brennan talking in terms of going across the  
24 country and lawyers almost having a due process property  
25 right and the right to practice and to hire lawyers being

1 involved in the representation they do. Just Brennan  
2 talking about the NAACP versus Button, that it was not the  
3 equal protection clause that mattered, it was this, like a  
4 firm of lawyers --

5 QUESTION: It is a little different. The NAACP  
6 was a non-profit corporation.

7 MR. MORGAN: But, you see --

8 QUESTION: And, your client is not a non-  
9 profit --

10 MR. MORGAN: I hope not.

11 (Laughter)

12 QUESTION: If it is, I was getting ready to say  
13 you are in bad shape.

14 (Laughter)

15 MR. MORGAN: If it is, nobody would want in.

16 Now, let me just mention to you from NAACP  
17 versus Button --

18 QUESTION: Excuse me. What differences does it  
19 make to your case and your arguments whether the  
20 proposition you are advancing applies to medical partner-  
21 ships, real estate partnerships, and engineering  
22 partnerships? I thought your argument was that a  
23 partnership of any kind is a consensual arrangement and  
24 governmental power can't intrude into consensual  
25 relationships. And, I have understood that was about the

1 theme of the Fourth Circuit, was it not?

2 MR. MORGAN: Yes, sir, the Eleventh Circuit.  
3 That is our argument. Our argument goes beyond that  
4 because law firms are involved as First Amendment  
5 protected entities. That is the only reason we have  
6 brought in the First Amendment. We don't say the statute  
7 is unconstitutional in its application. You don't get to  
8 that under what we interpret.

9 QUESTION: You haven't mentioned the right of  
10 association which we have said is guaranteed by the First  
11 Amendment.

12 MR. MORGAN: We go into it in depth in brief.  
13 We do talk about it and when I go to that associational  
14 right, I go to the Button case and I go to Justice  
15 Brennan's words in there. And, it says the protections in  
16 Button would apply as fully to those who would arouse  
17 our society against the objectives of the Petitioner.  
18 Expression -- the Constitution protects expression and  
19 association without regard to race, creed, political  
20 affiliations, truth, popularity or even social utility of  
21 the ideas and beliefs.

22 MR. QUESTION: Does that apply to stockbrokerage  
23 partnership firms in New York?

24 MR. MORGAN: As far as partnership coverage of  
25 Title VII, yes, the same rule would apply to them. As far

1 as the rules that apply to lawyers, no.

2 QUESTION: So, they can exclude all women and  
3 all minorities?

4 MR. MORGAN: In their partnerships, yes.

5 QUESTION: In --

6 MR. MORGAN: In partnerships, yes, sir. If  
7 they are a partnership, they can do so.

8 QUESTION: What you want us to do is to write an  
9 exemption that Congress didn't write and then there would  
10 be people -- I won't say you -- but there will be some  
11 people who will say we are legislating. Is that what you  
12 want?

13 MR. MORGAN: Well, sir --

14 QUESTION: Do you want us to legislate?

15 MR. MORGAN: I think what we are talking about  
16 here is not you legislating it, but since there is not a  
17 word in the record of Congress that they desired to cover  
18 partnerships as anything other than employers --

19 QUESTION: Is there a word that says they didn't  
20 intend --

21 MR. MORGAN: Only one sentence that would  
22 indicate it and that is Senator Norris Cotton, and he  
23 comes close to saying, this is crazy folks, this would be  
24 as bad as --

25 QUESTION: You are not really saying there is

1     only one question. The Act itself doesn't exclude  
2     lawyers, law firms, and these associates are employees and  
3     you concede the law firm is an employer. So, that -- We  
4     do need to go to legislative history, do we?

5             MR. MORGAN: It excludes partners as employees  
6     by including them as employers.

7             QUESTION: That may be so, but neither -- The  
8     government's position doesn't go to whether a partner is an  
9     employee. It is a much narrower ground that the associate  
10    is an employee and part of his terms of employment is fair  
11    consideration.

12            MR. MORGAN: I understand the government's  
13    argument.

14            QUESTION: Let me ask, what if it were perfectly  
15    clear on the face of the statute or the legislative  
16    history that Congress intended to cover law firms and  
17    intended to cover the admission of partners. Let's just  
18    suppose it was clear as a bell. Would you be here arguing  
19    it was unconstitutional?

20            MR. MORGAN: Yes, I would.

21            QUESTION: You would have to say that I would  
22    suppose.

23            (Laughter)

24            MR. MORGAN: I understand the problem with the  
25    phrase. It is not a popular thing to say, but let me tell

1 you why I think that. If you take Ferri versus Ackerman,  
2 which came out on the Criminal Justice Act of 1964,  
3 considered by the same Congress at the same time, their  
4 desire was to maintain the independence of lawyers from  
5 government.

6 Now, that desire happens to be something that  
7 you go under with with the EEOC, a government agency going  
8 after law firms which litigate against them.

9 And, I know, as some others do, that there are  
10 times and places in this world when a lawyer defending  
11 people, sometimes unpopular and sometimes unpopular  
12 causes, had best be able to select his own partners  
13 because if he can't or she can't, he is not going to be on  
14 the firing line defending the rights expressed by the  
15 highest Court and the highest ideals in our country.

16 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Do you have anything  
17 further --

18 MR. BONDURANT: Yes, sir.

19 ORAL ARGUMENT OF EMMET J. BONDURANT, II, ESQ.

20 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER -- Rebuttal

21 QUESTION: You haven't mentioned the right of  
22 association which we have given a very high place to in  
23 our opinions. Is the right of association impeded or  
24 infringed on in any way?

25 MR. BONDURANT: Not in this case, Your Honor.



1           QUESTION: People are compelled -- They are  
2 compelled by some legal process to take on a partner in a  
3 consensual relationship.

4           MR. BONDURANT: Your Honor, the aspect of the  
5 case is a consensual relationship is a red herring. The  
6 contract --

7           QUESTION: Wait a minute. You say the  
8 consensual aspect is a red herring?

9           MR. BONDURANT: Is a red herring. Take 42 USC  
10 1981, the right to contract, which cannot be withheld on  
11 the basis of race under the 1871 Civil Rights Act. A  
12 contract is inherently consensual. There has been no  
13 question of Congress' power to override the consensual  
14 aspect of that in order to enforce a more important  
15 provisions of the Constitution.

16           Secondly, and perhaps even more fundamentally,  
17 this Court has never place value on the right to dis-  
18 criminate on invidious bases in either the admission of  
19 black children to white schools. The Court never thought  
20 that the white children had a right which overrode the  
21 rights of black children to the quality of education, to  
22 be free from that association.

23           The worker on the assembly line, the protestant  
24 had no right to exclude the Catholic or the Jew from  
25 working side by side on the assembly line.

1           And, in the law firm, the partner who is a male  
2   has no right to exclude the female from enjoying the same  
3   opportunities in the professions.

4           The First Amendment has never protected those  
5   rights. The only associational First Amendment protection  
6   this Court has ever recognized was the right to join  
7   together to assert other First Amendment rights and that  
8   simply is not implicated in this case.

9           Justice Powell mentioned the profit motive, that  
10   it is inconceivable in 1983 that one motivated by profit  
11   would turn down a competent partner.

12           The same argument could be made for every  
13   business enterprise in this country, that they would turn  
14   down a more qualified person if they were truly motivated  
15   by profit. But, your experience and mine has been that  
16   they have done it.

17           Profit was never the question. Congress laid  
18   that question to rest in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It  
19   decided that profit motives and morale suasion were never  
20   effective in routing discrimination out.

21           The heart of the Atlanta Motel case, a motel  
22   that was within a stone's throw of both King & Spalding's  
23   office and my own, is a typical example. Why would a  
24   motel have empty rooms when it could rent rooms to blacks  
25   and turn down the profit opportunity which that presented?

1 It did and it defended that right all the way to this  
2 Court.

3 Congress decided, in passing the Civil Rights  
4 Act, that the profit motive was not sufficient to bring  
5 about the eradication of employment discrimination in this  
6 country.

7 Your Honor has asked about other partnerships.  
8 First, we do not believe that the investment partnerships  
9 are implicated by this case. The opportunity for two or  
10 three people to form a limited partnership to buy a piece  
11 of land in rural Georgia is not what is at issue in this  
12 case, because that is an opportunity to earn a return on  
13 capital investment.

14 Thank you very

15 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, gentlemen.

16 The case is submitted.

17 We will hear arguments next in McCain against  
18 Lybrand.

19 (Whereupon, at 2:00 p.m., the case in the  
20 above-entitled matter was submitted.)  
21  
22  
23  
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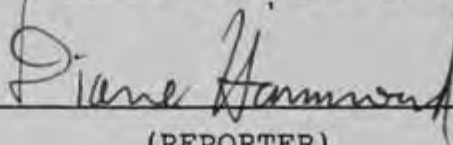
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# 22-040

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