

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT PROCEEDINGS BEFORE

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

DKT/CASE NO. 86-179 & 86-401

TITLE CORPORATION OF THE PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, ET AL., Appellants V. CHRISTINE J. AMOS,
ET AL.; and UNITED STATES, Appellant V. CHRISTINE J. AMOS, ET AL.

PLACE Washington, D. C.

DATE March 31, 1987

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

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CORPORATION OF THE PRESIDING :
BISHOP OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS :
CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, :
ET AL., : No. 86-179
Appellants :
v. :
CHRISTINE J. AMOS, ET AL.; and :
UNITED STATES, :
Appellant :
v. : No. 86-401
CHRISTINE J. AMOS, ET AL. :

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Washington, D. C.

Tuesday, March 31, 1987

The above-entitled matter came on for oral
argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
at 11:01 a.m.

1 APPEARANCES:

2 REX E. LEE, ESQ., Washington, D. C.; on behalf of
3 Appellants in No. 86-179.

4 WILLIAM BRADFORD REYNOLDS, ESQ., Assistant Attorney
5 General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.;
6 on behalf of Appellant in No. 86-401

7 DAVID B. WATKISS, ESQ., Salt Lake City, Utah; on behalf
8 of Appellees.

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on behalf of the Appellants in No. 86-179 4

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P R O C E E D I N G S

CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We will hear arguments this morning in No. 86-179, Corporation of the Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints against Christine J. Amos; and in No. 86-401, United States against Christine J. Amos.

You may begin whenever you're ready, Mr. Lee.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF REX E. LEE, ESQ.,

ON BEHALF OF THE APPELLANTS IN NO. 86-179

MR. LEE: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please the Court:

This case involves the constitutionality of Congress' 1972 Amendment to Section 702 of Title VII. It is an amendment which restored to religious employers a right that they had enjoyed for 175 years before there was a Title VII: the right to prefer their own members for their own employment without running afoul of Title VII's prohibition against employment discrimination based on religion.

When originally enacted in 1964, Section 702 permitted religious preference hiring, but restricted it to the church's religious activities. The undisputed purpose of the 1972 amendment was to free the courts and the EEOC from entangling themselves in deciding which of a church's activities are and which are not sufficiently

1 religious to qualify for the exemption.

2 Section 702 has none of the traditional
3 indicia of an establishment of religion. It involves no
4 endorsement, no subsidy, no preference for one sect over
5 another.

6 The statute simply does not promote religion.
7 All that it does is to permit churches to promote
8 religion in the same way that they have done for all but
9 eight years of our national existence.

10 There is nothing in the establishment clause
11 that prohibits churches from promoting religion.
12 Indeed, that is the very reason for their existence.

13 And neither does the establishment clause
14 prohibit government from permitting churches to promote
15 religion.

16 Neither the Appellees nor the District Court
17 has ever really faced up to the nature of the problem
18 that Congress faced, and the limited range of available
19 solutions to Congress, given the other decisions that
20 Congress made.

21 Congress could have simply made Title VII
22 applicable only to race, sex and national origin. But
23 once it decided to include religion as one of its
24 criteria, it had to provide some kind of exemption from
25 that criterion for religious employers, lest, in

1 violation of the free exercise clause, they be prevented
2 from hiring their own members for purely ecclesiastical
3 positions.

4 Once it is recognized then, as I gather it is
5 by everyone in this courtroom, that the Constitution
6 required Congress to pick some exemption, the only real
7 issue is whether the Constitution precluded the choice
8 that Congress made.

9 In other words, Congress having opted for an
10 anti-employment discrimination package that is not quite
11 as large as the one the Appellees would have chosen, is
12 Congress constitutionally obligated to make it larger?

13 The answer to that question has to be no.
14 Surely the establishment clause is not violated every
15 time government regulates churches to a lesser degree
16 than it might have, or every time that it lifts a
17 governmental burden that would otherwise be imposed.

18 That means that the real objection to this
19 statute finds its roots not in constitutional law, but
20 in public policy. It boils down to the fact that the
21 Appellees wish that Congress had gone further and
22 prohibited more than Congress chose to prohibit.

23 The only serious --

24 QUESTION: Mr. Lee, if I may inquire about one
25 matter. I guess this case involves nonprofit entities

1 operated by the LDS Church?

2 MR. LEE: That is correct.

3 QUESTION: Now, what about the application of
4 the statute to profit-making businesses of churches? Do
5 you think that there is a legitimate secular reason for
6 the government to allow religious entities to operate
7 profit-making businesses and be exempted from Title VII?

8 MR. LEE: I do, Justice O'Connor, for this
9 reason. I stress that it is not this case, as you
10 indicated.

11 The first reason that I give that answer is
12 that as is stressed by most of the amicus briefs that
13 have been filed in this case, the distinction between
14 what is secular and what is sectarian is a very
15 difficult one to draw.

16 And, indeed, that intrudes. And that's why
17 Congress drew the line where it did.

18 And as a consequence, we think that at any
19 point along the employment spectrum, you're going to
20 have some line-drawing problems. Therefore, the best
21 place to draw the line is the place where Congress drew
22 it.

23 Moreover, this Court has said many times --
24 beginning at least as early as Walz versus the Tax
25 Commission -- that Congress does have a certain degree

1 of line-drawing capacity in this area; that there is a
2 channel between what the establishment clause prohibits
3 on the one hand and the free exercise requires on the
4 other, and that within that channel Congress may safely
5 legislate.

6 If that means anything at all, we think it
7 gives Congress the right to draw the kind of distinction
8 that it drew in this case.

9 QUESTION: Well, I think it's a much more
10 difficult choice, if applied to a profit-making business.

11 MR. LEE: There is no question; there is no
12 question that it is a more difficult choice.

13 But two points: One, I think that at the end
14 of the day you're going to be better off observing the
15 dividing line that Congress drew and giving that
16 deference that the Court has said since Walz that we
17 give to Congress in the area. But, in any event, it
18 does not apply to this case.

19 So the only serious First Amendment issue in
20 this case is presented not by what Congress did in 1972,
21 but by the District Court's own test, which by its terms
22 requires federal courts to decide what a church really
23 believes and whether its practices are true to its
24 beliefs.

25 The Court's opinion, for example, quotes the

1 Book of Mormon, the Doctrine Covenants, a theological
2 treatise entitled "Mormon Doctrine," and then draws its
3 own conclusions as to what the church's tenets really
4 are and whether there is an adequate fit between what
5 the church believes and what it does.

6 We submit that the First Amendment reserves
7 those kinds of issues: what are a church's beliefs, and
8 are its practices the best way to achieve them to the
9 churches themselves.

10 But the Court need not reach that issue,
11 because if the principle that has been so often stated
12 that there is some room between the floor and the
13 ceiling, between the free exercise and the establishment
14 clause, then it must mean at a very minimum that
15 Congress can constitutionally choose between two
16 exemptions where those were its only options, where
17 either one is going to have a differential effect on
18 religion.

19 But the one that Congress chooses is the one
20 that does not put the courts and the EEOC into the
21 business of deciding what are religious beliefs and how
22 they can best be achieved.

23 Finally, the Appellees have never really faced
24 up to the fact that this is not a religious benefit
25 case. This is not a case in which Congress, starting

1 from ground zero, gave to religious organizations
2 something that they would not have had absent any action
3 by Congress at all.

4 It is a religious exemption case, and the
5 religious exemption cases make very clear that the rule
6 has to be different for those cases.

7 The Appellees and the District Court's
8 position is very simple. It is that the statute is
9 unconstitutional because its effect is to give religious
10 employers something that non-religious employers do not
11 enjoy and that it, therefore, fails the effects prong of
12 Lemon.

13 But if that's the rule, then it's hard to see
14 how any religious exemption can ever survive, because by
15 their very definition, religious exemptions always
16 affect religious groups and always affect them
17 differently than other groups.

18 If that were enough to invalidate it, then
19 Walz and Gillette would have to be overruled; Bob Jones
20 would have been decided differently.

21 And in United States versus Lee, the Amish
22 social security exemption case, Congress could not
23 constitutionally have exempted the Amish from social
24 security taxes, even if it had wanted to; and the
25 exemption that it did give, which is an exemption that

1 is still on the books to self-employed Amish, is
2 unconstitutional.

3 The analysis is really no different, if it is
4 expressed in terms of the traditional Lemon test,
5 because if you assume the applicability of Lemon, then
6 the analysis is basically the same.

7 You look first to see whether there was a
8 proper purpose, and the District Court held that there
9 was.

10 But Lemon's second prong inquires into primary
11 effect. In an exemption case, in determining
12 primaryness, you have to consider not just the effect if
13 Congress had done -- if Congress acted, but you have to
14 make a comparison between the effect of Congress doing
15 nothing and Congress doing what it did.

16 The Appellees' case could not survive a
17 comparative analysis, as even they appear to concede on
18 page 22 of their brief. They have not attempted to make
19 it, and under those circumstances, this statute clearly
20 survives.

21 Mr. Chief Justice, unless the Court has
22 questions, I'd like to reserve the rest of my time.

23 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr. Lee.
24 We'll hear now from you, Mr. Reynolds.

25 ORAL ARGUMENT OF WILLIAM BRADFORD REYNOLDS, ESQ.,

1 ON BEHALF OF THE APPELLANT IN CASE NO. 86-401

2 MR. REYNOLDS: Mr. Chief Justice, may it
3 please the Court:

4 This is, it seems to me, a case that brings to
5 the Court a First Amendment religious clause challenge
6 to legislative action in perhaps its cleanest and
7 simplest form.

8 Congress has barred religious discrimination
9 in employment decisions under Title VII, but in so doing
10 it has elected in Section 702 to exempt from that
11 prohibition religious organizations, associations,
12 institutions and corporations.

13 Rather than imposing certain obligations on
14 employers in order to accommodate a particular religious
15 view which was the case with the Connecticut statutes
16 struck down in Thornton and Caldor, what Congress here
17 has done is imposed no obligation on religious employers
18 in the interest of religious accommodation.

19 In essence, it has adopted a hands-off policy
20 with regard to religious-based employment decisions of
21 religious organizations.

22 As stated, and indeed the uniformly recognized
23 purpose for leaving religious institutions alone, was
24 Congress' desire to avoid governmental control over and
25 entanglement with the affairs and activities of

1 religious organizations.

2 As the court below correctly found, this
3 satisfies the secular purpose requirement of Walz and
4 Gillette and the like cases of this Court.

5 Section 702 exemption removes the prospect of
6 intrusive and likely constitutionally-offensive inquiry,
7 investigation and probing by government into the
8 religious or the secular nature of church-related
9 activities.

10 On another level, the exemption eliminates the
11 prospect of secular control over and entanglement with
12 the church's ability to fulfill its religious mission.

13 There is thus no tension here between the
14 religious accommodation requirement that's incorporated
15 in the free exercise clause and the establishment
16 clause's prohibition against state endorsement or
17 advancement of religion.

18 Rather, Congress' hands-off approach brings
19 the values of both the free exercise clause and the
20 establishment clause into perfect harmony.

21 The exemption from an intrusive government
22 regulation furthers the free exercise interest by
23 preserving the liberty of religious organizations to
24 create and exert authority over self-defining religious
25 communities, and for much the same reason, it furthers

1 the establishment clause's interest in avoiding undue
2 secular control and entanglement.

3 It cannot be, as Appellants argue, that
4 disharmonization fails in First Amendment terms, because
5 Congress' accommodation of religion is broader in this
6 instance than might be required or compelled by the free
7 exercise clause.

8 Any narrower exemption, whether defined along
9 the lines suggested by the court below or in some other
10 fashion, would of necessity bring into play the kind of
11 line drawing on secular terms that would exacerbate the
12 very tension between the two religious clauses that
13 Congress effectively avoided in Section 702.

14 Indeed, it's precisely for this reason that
15 this Court in Walz and other decisions has acknowledged
16 that there is considerable room between the floor set by
17 the free exercise clause and the ceiling that's erected
18 by the establishment clause in which legislatures may
19 chart their own course of benevolent neutrality.

20 That Congress safely navigated a neutral
21 course in Section 702 is quite clear. The exemption
22 applies to all religions even handedly, not to a
23 particular sect or to select religions.

24 It involves no endorsement of, financial
25 support for, or active involvement in religious affairs

1 by government. In this regard, the wall between church
2 and state has not been breached. Religion is neither
3 enhanced nor inhibited by the Section 702 exemption.

4 Now, Appellees have argued that the statute
5 effectively grants religious employers a benefit, that
6 is, to discriminate on account of religion, which is
7 unavailable to non-religious employers but this is the
8 inevitable consequence of a hands-off policy by the
9 Governemnt in First Amendment matters.

10 It allows religious institutions to advance
11 their own religious mission on their own terms and
12 through their own membership. To the extent such
13 autonomy is regarded as a beneficial effect of religious
14 exemption, it is precisely the sort of benefit that is
15 protected, not condemned, by the religious liberty
16 interest in the Free Exercise clause.

17 Nor is there any reason to fault the exemption
18 because it might well open the door to uneven treatment
19 of employees, either as between or among various
20 religions or as between religious organizations and
21 those that are non-religious.

22 Whatever the particular employment decisions
23 and the religious reasons on which they are based are
24 from one religion to another. That is not State action
25 that determines different individual treatment but

1 unregulated private action by religious groups of the
2 sort constitutionally protected by the Free Exercise
3 clause.

4 Here, Congress acted to preserve the autonomy
5 of religious institutions to manage their own affairs
6 with respect to matters of religious employment.

7 In fashioning a broad exemption, Congress
8 emphatically removed from the judicial agenda precisely
9 this sort of intrusive secular probing of the
10 operations, activities and beliefs of religious
11 institutions that preoccupied the Court below.

12 QUESTION: Mr. Reynolds, as I understand your
13 argument, it would support a total exemption from Title
14 7, not just from the religious prohibition; would it
15 not? Exempt it from the racial discrimination and all
16 other kinds of discrimination? That kind of an
17 exemption would have all of the benefits you describe
18 here?

19 I just wondered if you really intended the
20 argument to carry that far? Of course, it isn't
21 presented.

22 MR. REYNOLDS: I think that would certainly
23 implicate different considerations. Congress here made
24 the determination that the compelling interest in the
25 furtherance of race discrimination and sex

1 discrimination under the statute were such as to warrant
2 the intrusion that would be necessary in order to apply
3 to religious organizations.

4 QUESTION: I understand that but what I'm
5 saying is, as I understand the argument you're making,
6 Congress could have granted religious organizations a
7 complete exemption from Title 7's other prohibitions and
8 accomplished all the purposes you are describing now

9 MR. REYNOLDS: Congress could have done that.

10 QUESTION: And therefore, it would have been a
11 perfectly permissible exemption.

12 MR. REYNOLDS: Under the First Amendment.

13 QUESTION: Under the reasoning that you
14 advanced.

15 MR. REYNOLDS: Right, under the religious
16 clauses.

17 I think that the legislative judgment that
18 Congress made is one that comfortably safeguards the
19 non-interference interests implicated in the
20 establishment clause, while fully serving the religious
21 liberty interests of religious institutions that are
22 protected by the Free Exercise clause.

23 Perhaps it is a case that Congress could have
24 drawn the exemption line elsewhere, indeed even in a
25 manner that produced more secular entanglement and

1 intrusion by the Courts but nothing suggests that it
2 must do so and whereas here Congress believes that
3 religious freedom concerns outweigh its own interests
4 in imposing the regulations at issue, it should be free
5 to strike the balance in favor of religious freedom.
6 Far from raising any First Amendment problems, such
7 enlightened self-restraint serves to further the
8 religious pluralism and peaceful coexistence between
9 church and state that lies at the heart of the religion
10 clauses.

11 Accordingly, Section 702, Religious Exemption
12 in Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of '64, suffers no
13 constitutional infirmity, in our view, and the United
14 States, therefore, urges reversal of the District
15 Court's judgment.

16 Mr. Chief Justice, there are no questions.

17 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr.
18 Reynolds.

19 We will hear now from you, Mr. Watkiss.

20 ORAL ARGUMENT OF DAVID B. WATKISS, ESQ.

21 ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

22 MR. WATKISS: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
23 please the Court.

24 After sixteen (16) years of good and loyal
25 service as a building maintenance engineer in a public

1 gymnasium, Frank Mason was fired solely because he
2 failed to satisfy his employer's newly imposed and
3 inconsistently applied religious condition.

4 QUESTION: This is the first time the facts
5 have been mentioned.

6 MR. WATKISS: It's quite true, the Government
7 and the Church want nothing to do with the facts,
8 Justice Blackmun. In essence what Mr. Lee's clients
9 tried to do was to advance their religious interests
10 through the use of the economic coercion an employer
11 enjoys over an employee, to coerce Mr. Mason's religious
12 beliefs and practices.

13 QUESTION: That would have been perfectly okay
14 until what year?

15 MR. WATKISS: That would have been perfectly
16 okay -- well, it would have been lawful under Federal
17 law until 1964 and, Justice Scalia, what we did in 1964,
18 what the Civil Rights Act of 1964 represents is a
19 repudiation of a lot of the past.

20 QUESTION: Do you say that once Congress has
21 enacted a law such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it
22 can never retreat? Is it kind of a ratchet?

23 MR. WATKISS: I don't make that broad a
24 statement, Mr. Chief Justice. I think it can retreat in
25 some areas.

1 What we're dealing with here is, we're dealing
2 with the religion clauses and those religion clauses
3 impose certain unique restrictions, particularly on the
4 power of Congress. So, whether or not Congress could
5 tomorrow abolish Title 7 in its entirety is not the
6 question before this Court.

7 QUESTION: It wasn't Congress that fired this
8 man; was it?

9 MR. WATKISS: That, essentially, is the
10 Government's argument. It says, "We didn't fire
11 Mason.", so there are no cognizable effects under the
12 establishment clause, as I understand Mr. Reynolds'
13 argument.

14 That just won't work, Justice Scalia.

15 There are plenty of effects. There's lots of
16 benefits that flow from being exempted and there's lots
17 of burdens that are visited on third parties and the sad
18 thing about the Government's and the Church's view of
19 this case is, they do not once tell you about the cost
20 that this exemption visits on the religious liberty of
21 third parties, of people like Mr. Mason. They want to
22 talk about economy and hands-off. They refuse to
23 concede that the central value protected by both the
24 Free Exercise and the Establishment clauses is
25 individual religious liberty and this exemption visits a

1 very heavy direct burden on the religious burden on the
2 religious liberty of people like Mason.

3 QUESTION: Now, wait a minute. It seems to me
4 that has nothing to do with this case. The burden on
5 him. If there's anything wrong with this, it's not the
6 burden on him because you acknowledge, don't you, that
7 the Civil Rights Act of 1964, with respect to
8 discrimination on the basis of religion, could be
9 repealed in its entirety; correct? Whereupon, the
10 burden on him would be just what it is here and there
11 would be no unlawfulness about that.

12 If there is anything wrong here, it has
13 nothing to do with the burden on him. It has to do with
14 the benefit to the Mormon Church.

15 MR. WATKISS: Justice Scalia, I do not accept
16 that view. I think it has a lot to do with the burdens
17 on third parties.

18 The issue here is a combination. Can Congress
19 accomodate the interests and preferences, the
20 inconsistently applied preferences of this religious
21 employer by visiting so direct a burden on the religious
22 liberty of other people?

23 QUESTION: Could discrimination on the basis
24 of religion be eliminated from the Civil Rights Act?
25 Could everybody be permitted to discriminate?

1 MR. WATKISS: I'm not sure at this day and age
2 that it could, Justice Scalia. I really am not, whether
3 Congress could just really take the word "religion" out
4 of Section 703. I don't know.

5 QUESTION: Congress cannot allow private
6 individuals to discriminate on the basis of it at all,
7 even if they do it uniformly for everybody.

8 MR. WATKISS: I think it's a much tougher
9 case. I think --

10 QUESTION: What would make it so difficult?
11 What constitutional principle is it that prevents
12 Congress from going back to where the country was for
13 170 years before it wound up in 1964.

14 MR. WATKISS: I think you have the sort of a
15 problem this Court dealt with the Reitman versus Mulkey
16 case and that the Minnesota Supreme Court recently dealt
17 with in --

18 QUESTION: That's a ratchet.

19 MR. WATKINS: It's not a ratchet. It's the
20 problem that people have come to recognize, the nation
21 has come to accept as a value to equal employment
22 opportunity principle.

23 QUESTION: But then if Congress changes its
24 mind, that's a far better judge of what the nation
25 accepts than what a Court says. Congress says, "The

1 nation has simply changed its mind."

2 MR. WATKISS: We are not dealing with whether
3 Congress could eliminate Title 7 tomorrow. Whether
4 Congress could eliminate the prohibition against
5 religious discrimination tomorrow.

6 What we are dealing with is whether Congress
7 can draw the sort of line that it drew in Section 702.
8 That's the issue before this Court. I do not frankly
9 now. I think the considerations are complicated as to
10 whether Congress could eliminate Title 7. I have my
11 doubts but that issue is not before you.

12 What is before you is a statute that singles
13 out religious employers, as such, for absolute and
14 sweeping accomodation and that accomodation visits
15 substantial buriens on third parties and it provides
16 substantial benefits to the religious employer.

17 It obviously provides substantial benefits to
18 Mr. Lee's clients here. They were essentially using
19 that power to force people into their church houses and
20 to force people to pay tithing and they were doing that
21 at the exact same time they were exempting from this new
22 rule the non-Mormons who were employed at these entities.

23 For example, at the Deseret Gymnasium. the
24 Catholic squash pro wasn't threatened. Mr. Mason was
25 fired because he wasn't going to church and he wasn't

1 paying his tithing. So they could make exceptions to
2 this policy.

3 It is quite clear that what was going on here
4 was merely a heavy handed attempt to coerce people into
5 line.

6 QUESTION: I don't think the Catholic squash
7 pro has tenure; does he? He could be fired tomorrow, as
8 I understand it, if they found a good Mormon squash
9 player.

10 (Laughter.)

11 MR. WATKINS: Your Honor, I don't think he
12 could.

13 QUESTION: A good enough one, I should say.

14 MR. WATKINS: I honestly do not think he could
15 and the notion or --

16 QUESTION: Or even a bad one.

17 (Laughter)

18 MR. WATKISS: No, no. The squash player is
19 very significant because it points out, really, the lack
20 of any religious belief in operation here.

21 The Mormon church, plainly, among its six
22 million members can find somebody competent to teach
23 squash at their gymnasium. It's not the lack of --

24 QUESTION: No, but all I'm suggesting is, it
25 seems to me the legal issue is precisely the same,

1 whether you look at the Catholic and say he could be
2 fired to be replaced by a Mormon, or look at the Mormon
3 and say he could be fired because he doesn't tithe.

4 Either way, it's --

5 MR. WATKISS: I fully agree, Justice Stevens.
6 It's precisely the same issue. They can't -- our
7 position is they can't impose a religious condition on
8 people at that secular gymnasium. You're quite right.

9 QUESTION: Mr. Watkiss, may I put it very
10 simply? Are you arguing that under Section 702 no
11 church may employ people solely on the basis of their
12 religious convictions? In other words, limit employees.
13 Take the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Catholic,
14 Jewish synagogues, are you saying that they could not
15 limit employees to persons who share their faith?

16 This is not your position?.

17 MR. WATKISS: I need to know what kind of
18 activity we're talking about here.

19 QUESTION: We're talking about employees from
20 the janitor to the --

21 MR. WATKISS: I know but in what sort of
22 capacity? What the District Court attempted to do
23 below, what Congress did in 1964 and what we believe is,
24 in fact, constitutionally required, is some sort of line
25 drawing between the religious and the secular.

1 Now, it's important to remember --

2 QUESTION: Could you just take a simple
3 example? Let's take an Episcopal Church.

4 MR. WATKISS: Yes, sir.

5 QUESTION: Somewhere here in Washington. It
6 has a janitor; it has a policy of employing only
7 Episcopalians.

8 MR. WATKISS: Right.

9 QUESTION: Let's say it discovers a janitor
10 who is not an Episcopalian. Would it be unlawful to
11 replace him with one who did believe in the faith of the
12 Episcopalians?

13 MR. WATKISS: In the church?

14 QUESTION: In the church.

15 MR. WATKISS: I don't think it would.

16 QUESTION: Well, what's the difference?

17 MR. WATKISS: The difference is that the
18 activities of the house of worship itself and the
19 activities of religious schools are both, in common
20 understanding and in the precedents of this Court and,
21 indeed, in Title 7, recognized for what they are. They
22 are quite close to the core functions of religious
23 practice, and, indeed, the Courts themselves have carved
24 out an exemption that Congress forgot to give them and
25 that is, for minister-like employees who are totally

1 exempt under judicial construction from Title 7,
2 similarly, Congress has created a more narrow and, I
3 submit, constitutionally more justifiable exemption for
4 religious schools in Section 703(e).

5 Now, we are not challenging that exemption
6 here. It's not at issue here.

1 But obviously, religious schools are much more
2 at the heart of the religious mission than a gymnasium,
3 a department store.

4 Mr. Lee says that there should be no --

5 QUESTION: Well, now, Mr. Watkiss, you're
6 dealing here, though, with a -- the production of
7 religious clothing for members of the LDS Church. And
8 you're dealing with the operation of a nonprofit -- on a
9 nonprofit basis of a gymnasium to carry out at least
10 some aspect of the LDS beliefs and physical wellbeing.

11 So you don't have in this case a purely
12 profit-making secular operation at all. You have
13 something that at least is marginally related to the
14 function of the Church itself, don't you?

15 MR. WATKISS: I think marginally is correct,
16 Justice O'Connor.

17 Your question is complicated, and respond to
18 all of the parts will take me a minute.

19 But I think the first thing I'd like to focus
20 on is the gymnasium. The district court found a
21 number of facts which plainly are not clearly erroneous,
22 and indeed, on the record we've got here, they're
23 clearly compelled.

24 The district court found that there's nothing
25 in the running or the purpose of that gymnasium to

1 suggest that it was intended to spread or teach
2 religious beliefs, doctrine or the practice of sacred
3 ritual.

4 Its primary purpose is to provide facilities
5 for physical exercise and athletic games.

6 Now that gymnasium is open to the public. It
7 advertises to the public. Those advertisements contain
8 no religious message.

9 Throughout all the time that Mr. Mayson was
10 employed there, the Mormon Church found it satisfactory
11 to employ non-Mormons as well.

12 And indeed, there are still some non-Mormons
13 there.

14 Your question also adverted to the
15 profit/nonprofit distinction. The first problem is,
16 there's nothing in 702 that draws that line. So Mr. Lee
17 is quite right at least in his suggestion that the
18 Mormon Church's string of department stores could start
19 imposing these sorts of tests --

20 QUESTION: Well, we have an as applied
21 challenge here.

22 MR. WATKISS: Absolutely. The other thing,
23 though --

24 QUESTION: Don't you think it's reasonable to
25 -- or it's a reasonable judgment to make that whatever a

1 religious organization is doing not for profit but
2 gratis is somehow in furtherance of its reason for
3 being?

4 Whereas, things that it's doing for profit,
5 it's making money that it can use for its reason for
6 being. But the things that it's doing just gratis, it
7 must view as somehow being related to its primary
8 purpose.

9 MR. WATKISS: Well, it's not --

10 QUESTION: However -- you know -- and that's
11 their judgment rather than mine, isn't it?

12 MR. WATKISS: It's not gratis. If you or I
13 wanted to go there and work out, Justice Scalia, we'd
14 pay. The fact that they subsidize it, the fact that
15 it's tax exempt because it's a charitable donation of
16 its facilities to a wide number of social groups, is
17 their choice, and it's a laudable choice.

18 But I don't think you can merely say that
19 profit/nonprofit draws a line responsive to the First
20 Amendment concerns here.

21 It's too crude a device, and it doesn't exist
22 in the statute.

23 QUESTION: (Inaudible.) It's a pretty good
24 generalization, isn't it? And it avoids your getting
25 into examining the creed of the faith and deciding

1 whether indeed physical culture is an essential part of
2 the Mormon religion or not. And then it'll maybe be,
3 you know, accurate 90 percent of the time.

4 MR. WATKISS: There is no contention -- the
5 district court found as a matter of fact, and he was
6 right -- there's no contention that there's a sincerely
7 held religious belief requiring the running of the gym;
8 there's no sincerely held religious belief requiring
9 that Mormons take exercise in a church run gym; and
10 there's no sincerely held religious belief requiring
11 that the employees of that gym be Mormons.

12 Those are the facts.

13 QUESTION: Is that right or wrong? Is that
14 right or wrong?

15 MR. WATKISS: That is clearly compelled on
16 this record. That is clearly right.

17 QUESTION: Well, to figure that out, I have to
18 study the Book of Mormon, I suppose, and --

19 MR. WATKISS: No, absolutely not. The fallacy
20 of this -- of this entanglement business is that --
21 you've got to remember the opinion in which Judge
22 *Winder rendered his judgment as to the
23 constitutionality of the statute as applied to Mr.
24 Mayson was made on the basis of the Church's motion to
25 dismiss.

1 The only evidentiary materials before the
2 Judge were a few affidavits by my clients, and anything
3 that they wanted to put in the record.

4 They took their best shot on the gymnasium.
5 And the Judge was clearly right in finding what he did.

6 Those findings are not clearly erroneous.
7 They're clearly compelled on this record.

8 So what --

9 QUESTION: (Inaudible) motion for summary
10 judgment that the case went off on?

11 MR. WARKISS: They filed a document, Mr. Chief
12 Justice, that was styled, motion to dismiss or in the
13 alternative for summary judgment. And they attached a
14 number of affidavits to their moving papers.

15 And we responded with some affidavits of our
16 own. And I think the court treated it as a motion under
17 rule 56, but it was prior to any discovery.

18 QUESTION: Well, where did the findings that
19 he made come in, then? I mean, was it findings that
20 were undisputed, basically?

21 MR. WARKISS: Absolutely. He took what they
22 said about that gymnasium in their own papers. We
23 merely put in some of the objectively ascertainable
24 facts about how the gym is being run. Those weren't
25 disputed either.

1 QUESTION: Well, but then we don't have any
2 clearly -- clearly erroneous standard of review here.
3 If it's undisputed, presumably no one is going to
4 challenge --

5 MR. WATKISS: I think that's right.

6 QUESTION: On a motion for summary judgment
7 you don't ordinarily have fact finding that's reviewed
8 on the clearly erroneous --

9 MR. WATKISS: Well, to the extent -- Justice
10 Scalia was asking me whether those findings were
11 correct. They're plainly correct. They're undisputed.

12 But to the extent Mr. Lee wants to try to
13 interject a dispute about them now, those findings were
14 based on his affidavits.

15 QUESTION: But those findings merely went to
16 the proposition of whether the operation of the gym was
17 a religious activity. And it's admittedly not.

18 But it doesn't go to the question whether the
19 operation of the gym somehow furthered the objectives of
20 the Mormon Church to set a good example to their
21 congregation and all the rest.

22 MR. WATKISS: Justice Stevens, I think that
23 everything the Mormon Church does is consistent with its
24 beliefs. I think you would say that about the
25 activities of any religious organization.

1 They're not going to do something --

2 QUESTION: No, all I'm suggesting is, I think
3 you're overstating the character of the judge's
4 findings.

5 All he found, as I remember it was, that the
6 operation of the gym is not a religious activity.

7 MR. WATKISS: Well, he made a number of
8 subsidiary findings that back that up, yes.

9 QUESTION: Right, but they're all for that
10 ultimate proposition, as I read it.

11 MR. WATKISS: Well, I think that's correct.
12 Well, he made two findings. He made finding one, that
13 the gymnasium is not a religious activity; and that
14 Mayson didn't have any religious responsibilities at the
15 gym.

16 QUESTION: Right. But it doesn't mean that
17 the operation of the gym is totally unrelated to what
18 the Church regards as its mission?

19 MR. WATKISS: No. Indeed, I concede as much.
20 As I say, their department stores are consistent with
21 their mission. Their television stations are consistent
22 with their mission.

23 QUESTION: It's different, in other words,
24 from the case we often talk about, running a spaghetti
25 factory or something like that where you get -- claim

1 tax exemption for it.

2 In other words, it has some connection with
3 the religion?

4 MR. WATKISS: I think -- well, the problem is,
5 I think, that most religions would say that everything
6 they engage in has some connection with their religion.

7 That's not a line that gives you any
8 meaningful differentiations. And it seems to me it
9 essentially permits religions to set up little enclaves
10 throughout the economy if they so choose, and use those
11 enclaves to both advance their religious mission through
12 the requirements they can impose on their employees, and
13 also advance their economic power in the secular realm.

14 QUESTION: Well, you can draw a line very
15 easily if the only connection to their religion asserted
16 is that this activity enables us to make money which we
17 can spend for the purposes of our religion.

18 Surely, that's a very easy line to draw, and
19 quite sensible.

20 MR. WATKISS: Well --

21 QUESTION: And you say that anything that's
22 not engaged in for the purpose of making money must be
23 immediately engaged in for some purpose that you think
24 that -- that the religion itself thinks, at least, is in
25 furtherance of its religion.

1 MR. WATKISS: Justice Scalia, maybe that line
2 can be drawn. Maybe it can't. My guess is, it'll get
3 murkier. Because my guess is that Mr. Lee's clients,
4 for example, would say that they own a number of
5 broadcast stations not just to make money but because it
6 is a vehicle for promulgating views and interests and
7 perspectives that are consistent with their beliefs.

8 So I don't think you're even going to get -- I
9 don't think you're going to get any religious employer
10 merely to say that something they do is only to make
11 money. Rarely will you. I won't yield a meaningful
12 line.

13 Let's look at why the statute is
14 unconstitutional as applied to Mr. Mayson. This statute
15 grants absolute and unyielding accommodation to the
16 interests of religious employers by imposing a direct
17 and a substantial burden, both secular and religious, on
18 third parties, principally the employees.

19 Now in the Thornton v. Calder case, decided in
20 1985, this Court held that the state may not accommodate
21 the religious interests of some by imposing substantial
22 secular burdens on others.

23 Here, it seems to me, we have a much stronger
24 case of unconstitutionality. Because not only are
25 serious secular burdens being imposed, but serious

1 burdens on religious liberty of other people are being
2 imposed.

3 QUESTION: What was the burden being imposed
4 in Calder?

5 MR. WATKISS: The burden I think was that the
6 employer, when the employee invoked the power of that
7 statute -- and I think it's important to remember that
8 under both of these statutes, it was an individual who
9 invoked the power of them -- but in the Calder case,
10 when the employee told the employer that he wanted a day
11 off for his religious reasons, then the employer had the
12 duty to try to accommodate him taking that day off.

13 QUESTION: But that was a duty imposed -- that
14 was a duty imposed by the state, right?

15 MR. WATKISS: That's correct. Once an
16 individual invoked the right.

17 QUESTION: And what -- what duty is imposed by
18 the state here? By the United States?

19 MR. WATKISS: Mayson's given -- Mayson is told
20 that his interest in not having his religious beliefs
21 coerced after 16 years of employment has to be
22 subordinated to the Mormon Church's right to do it.

23 QUESTION: That's right. But it's not the
24 state doing anything to him, as it was in Calder. In
25 Calder, the State was saying to the employer, you must

1 accommodate this person. The state moving directly
2 against an individual.

3 Here, what does the state compel an individual
4 to do?

5 MR. WATKISS: The state is telling Mr. Mayson,
6 you must accommodate your employer?

7 QUESTION: Telling him he must accommodate his
8 employer?

9 MR. WATKISS: That's right. Mr. Mayson either
10 pays his tithe and goes to church or loses his job.

11 Section 702's second serious defect is its
12 glaring lack of neutrality. Now whether one
13 characterizes th constitutional requirement as
14 benevolent neutrality or as complete neutrality, Section
15 702 is obviously not benevolent, and it's obviously not
16 neutral.

17 QUESTION: Well, no accommodation of the free
18 exercise clause by government is ever neutral; it can't
19 be. I don't think that's the test, is it?

20 MR. WATKISS: Well, Justice O'Connor, people
21 and particularly in your Wallace v. Jaffree and Wallace
22 v. Jaffree concurrence, you were considering a type of
23 accommodation that is very, very different than what
24 we've got here.

25 QUESTION: The fact of the matter is that

1 government cannot accommodate the free exercise of
2 religion and be regarded as neutral in doing it.

3 It's a non sequitar.

4 MR. WATKISS: I think that's probably right.
5 And we're not arguing that every accommodation is just
6 because of a lack of neutrality, unconstitutional.

7 The lack of neutrality is very important,
8 though, as an indicia for suspicion. This statute is
9 nonneutral in a couple of ways.

10 It obviously treats religion better than
11 nonreligion. It says, the interests of Mr. Lee's
12 clients get absolute deference. Other employees don't
13 get the benefit, and Mr. Mayson's secular interests
14 don't get the benefit.

15 But it discriminates among religious interests
16 too. Mr. Mayson's religious liberty is given absolutely
17 no weight. The interests of Mr. Lee's clients to impose
18 religious qualifications is given absolute weight.

19 You have nonneutrality going both ways.
20 Religion, nonreligion, and it discriminates among
21 religious interests.

22 QUESTION: But Mr. Watkiss, your opponent says
23 that the statute allows churches to promote religion.
24 Isn't that what you're complaining about?

25 MR. WATKISS: I beg your pardon, Justice

1 Stevens?

2 QUESTION: The statute allows churches to
3 promote religion. Isn't that the neutrality -- lack of
4 neutrality you're complaining about? That the Mormon
5 Church is insisting that this man do certain things that
6 are required by the Mormon faith.

7 MR. WATKISS: Right. The fundamental --

8 QUESTION: And the statute doesn't require
9 that. The statute permits that.

10 MR. WATKISS: The statute permits it.

11 QUESTION: It permits the church to promote --
12 to promote its own religious beliefs.

13 MR. WATKISS: That's right, at the expense of
14 individual religious liberty.

15 QUESTION: That's always true.

16 MR. WATKISS: Well, it seems to me that this
17 statute turns First Amendment values on their head. The
18 establishment clause, just as much as the free exercise
19 clause, has as its principal concern the protection of
20 individual religious liberty.

21 Now to be sure, we give religious
22 organizations some degree of autonomy. But individual
23 religious liberty is the primary goal of both religion
24 clauses of the Constitution.

25 This statute turns those values right on their

1 head. They say that we will accommodate a religious
2 organization just as such; let it do whatever it wants
3 to in this area, regardless of the cost that that
4 imposes on individual religious liberty.

5 Sure, it gives Mr. Lee's clients a very
6 powerful tool to advance religion. But that tool is
7 economic coercion. The value that the First Amendment --

8 QUESTION: You mean the religion guarantees
9 don't go to churches, they don't go to organized
10 churches? They just go to individuals, so that there -a-

11 MR. WATKISS: No, not true. And that's not
12 what I'm saying, Justice Scalia. I'm saying that the
13 reason we protect -- the reason we give churches some
14 degree of autonomy is because individuals fulfill their
15 religious needs through groups.

16 Now, the church and the government try to get
17 some mileage out of a couple of significant cases of
18 this Court, beginning in the 19th Century opinion in
19 Watson v. Jones and continuing through the Kedroff
20 opinion, and most recently, through the Serbian Eastern
21 Diocese opinion.

22 I think it's very, very important to reflect
23 upon what those cases mean, and what they were based
24 on.

25 The cases essentially hold that there is a

1 degree of autonomy afforded to religious organizations
2 in resolving internal disputes; and that civil courts
3 won't interfere.

4 There's a very important passage from *Watson*
5 *v. Jones* that gets repeated in variably by the Court's
6 later opinions. And I'd like to read it, because I
7 think it focuses on the problem with 702.

8 In *Watson*, this Court wrote: The right to
9 organize voluntary religious organizations to assist in
10 the expression and dissemination of religious doctrine,
11 and to create tribunals for controverted questions of
12 faith within the association -- and I'll skip some of it
13 -- is unquestioned.

14 All who unite themselves to such a body do so
15 with an implied consent to this government, and are
16 bound to submit by it.

17 Now the emphasis on religious voluntarism in
18 that passage, and in all those cases, is very clear.
19 Because individuals voluntarily join churches, we give
20 churches some deference.

21 This statute makes Mayson join a church to
22 keep his job, his secular job. It subverts the very
23 notion of voluntariness which is fundamental -- which is
24 a fundamental peg of the reasons that we give churches
25 some autonomy.

1 But you take that away, your churches are
2 allowed to grow not because of the appeal of their
3 dogma, as Justice Douglass put it, but because they can
4 use economic muscle over employees in secular
5 activities.

6 We have -- we have fundamentally distorted
7 First Amendment values. You've given churches a vehicle
8 to grow through coercion. Not zeal, not appeal of
9 dogma; but economic coercion.

10 That's fundamentally at odds with what the
11 values of the First Amendment -- the First Amendment
12 protects.

13 QUESTION: Counsel, does the -- does this
14 record show whether your client at any time was a member
15 of the Mormon Church.

16 MR. WATKISS: Yes, he's been a nominal Mormon
17 on and off throughout his life. When he was hired --

18 QUESTION: He just doesn't have a Temple
19 recommend?

20 MR. WATKISS: That's correct. He never has
21 had one. And it never was a condition of employment
22 prior to 1980.

23 QUESTION: (Inaudible) what you just described
24 is one way to look at it. I suppose another way to look
25 at is the Mormon Church saying, or any other church

1 saying, look it, we collect all this money out of the
2 basket or tithing or whatever, and we'd like that money
3 to be used for -- for the members of our own church, for
4 our faithful.

5 That's what we're for. We're to serve them.
6 And we're adopting as a matter of policy the principle
7 that we're going to spend this money in all of our
8 enterprises on our own people. We're going to hire our
9 own people and so forth.

10 What's so terrible about that?

11 MR. WATKISS: I think it doesn't justify the
12 burden that it imposes on employees. But Justice
13 Scalia, you don't have that case here.

14 Mr. Lee's clients are perfectly happy to keep
15 paying the squash pro with the same proceeds. If they
16 had a real consistent belief in that sort of thing we'd
17 have a different case.

18 I don't think it would make a difference to
19 the outcome, but it would be a different case.

20 QUESTION: It just really shows the burden's
21 not a one-way street. They're willing to pay the cost
22 of getting a second rate engineer but not a second rate
23 squash pro.

24 MR. WATKISS: That's right.

25 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr.

1 Watkiss.

2 MR. WATKISS: Thank you.

3 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Mr. Lee, you have 12
4 minutes remaining.

5 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF REX E. LEE, ESQ.,
6 ON BEHALF OF THE APPELLANTS

7 MR. LEE: The real question, Mr. Chief Justice
8 and Members of the Court, is who is going to draw the
9 line at that point that Mr. Watkiss has defined as, at
10 the margin?

11 Who is going to draw the distinctions between
12 whether the Church is really following an underinclusive
13 policy, and whether it is more inimical to the Church's
14 interests to have the best squash player in Salt Lake,
15 notwithstanding that he's a Catholic but does keep the
16 Mormon Church's standards?

17 Who is the draw the line between the janitor
18 in the Episcopalian Church and the building supervisor
19 in the Desseret gym, or the person who is in charge of
20 obtaining visas for missionaries for the Mormon Church?

21 QUESTION: Mr. Lee, I hope this is at least a
22 nonsmoking, nondrinking Catholic?

23 MR. LEE: That is definitely -- a nonsmoking,
24 nondrinking Catholic; better in that respect than some
25 other Catholics that I know.

1 I think that the best answer -- the best
2 answer to that question of who is to draw the line at
3 the margin is simply that you don't draw it.

4 That was Congress' judgment. It was Congress'
5 judgment after it had had eight years experience of
6 Ceasar potentially having his hands on the things of
7 God.

8 And then Congress simply said, let's draw it
9 nice and clean.

10 I think Mr. Watkiss has effectively conceded
11 that that's the best place to draw the line. He's
12 conceded that even though my clients do not assert
13 Section 702 for their purely commercial activities, that
14 there is difficult drawing the line there; and that if
15 the courts' statements really mean anything, that there
16 is some room between Scylla and Charybdis, then it has
17 to mean that Congress can choose between the only two
18 available exemptions to it, the 1964 and the 1972
19 version, particularly when you consider that all of the
20 impacts that Mr. Watkiss was talking about would have
21 been identical under the 1964 version, if you accept our
22 view of the Desseret gym.

23 And that brings me to my next point. Assume
24 that you disagree, and that there is to be some line --
25 there is to be some line that's drawn, that there is

1 some minimum threshold, in order to cross what Thomas v.
2 the Unemployment Commission said, you have to get past a
3 practice that is just bizarre, that is just purely not
4 religious, this is -- that has clearly been satisfied in
5 this case, and there are no findings in the district
6 court to the contrary.

7 The district court did not make what we would
8 call findings of fact. It drew conclusions of law. And
9 what it said was, that there is nothing in the Mormon
10 faith that requires employment discrimination; and there
11 is nothing that requires exercise in a gym that -- that
12 practices discrimination.

13 But that takes entirely too narrow a view, and
14 gets the courts far too deeply into what Mormonism is
15 really all about, and the amount of leeway,
16 administrative, implementing leeway that the church
17 really has to have in order to carry out its objectives.

18 Because the fact of the matter is that the
19 court -- the church has concluded that its purposes can
20 be furthered by providing a place where physical health,
21 which according to Mormon belief is intimately linked to
22 spiritual health, can be pursued in an environment where
23 church standards are understood, respected and
24 maintained.

25 It's further concluded that this can best be

1 accomplished by people who understand those standards
2 and are committed to them.

3 Other churches might reach different
4 conclusions, but this is the conclusion that this church
5 has made, and this is a conclusion that Congress
6 vouchsafes to it.

7 Now, finally, there has been nothing said,
8 either in the briefs or in this courtroom this morning,
9 about the fact that if you rule against my clients in
10 this case, that all exemptions are unconstitutional,
11 including, I submit, the 1964 version, if you really
12 apply the standards that Mr. Watkiss has expressed here.

13 Congress has to have the authority, when it
14 perceives dangers to First Amendment values that have
15 been raised by Congress' own statutes, to eliminate --
16 to eliminate its own lawmaking as the cause of those
17 problems.

18 For this reason, the judgment of the district
19 court should be reversed.

20 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr. Lee.

21 (Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the case in the
22 above-entitled matter was submitted.)
23
24
25

CERTIFICATION

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#86-179 - CORPORATION OF THE PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS
CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, ET AL., Appellants V. CHRISTINE J. AMOS, ET
and
6-401 UNITED STATES, Appellant V. CHRISTINE J. AMOS, ET AL.

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