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PROCEEDINGS BEFORE
THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE
UNITED STATES

CAPTION: BRENDA PATTERSON, Petitioner V.
McLEAN CREDIT UNION

CASE NO: 87-107

PLACE: WASHINGTON, D.C.

DATE: October 12, 1988

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

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BRENDA PATTERSON, :
Petitioner :
v. : No. 87-107
McLEAN CREDIT UNION :
-----X

Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, October 12, 1988

The above-entitled matter came on for oral reargument before the Supreme Court of the United States at 10:04 o'clock a.m.

APPEARANCES:

JULIUS LEYONNE CHAMBERS, ESQ., New York, New York; on behalf of the Petitioner.

ROGER S. KAPLAN, ESQ., New York, New York; on behalf of the Respondent.

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C O N T E N T S

<u>ORAL ARGUMENT OF</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
JULIUS LeVONNE CHAMBERS, ESQ. On behalf of the Petitioner	3
ROGER S. KAPLAN, ESQ. On behalf of the Respondent	23
<u>REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF</u>	
JULIUS LeVONNE CHAMBERS, ESQ. On behalf of the Petitioner	46

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
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10
11
12
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14
15
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18
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P R O C E E D I N G S

(10:04 a.m.)

CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument first this morning in No. 87-107, Brenda Patterson v. McLean Credit Union.

Mr. Chambers, you may proceed whenever you're ready.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF JULIUS LEVONNE CHAMBERS

ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER

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

The Court's order of April 25, 1988 directed that the parties address the issue of whether the Court should reconsider its decision in Runyon v. McCrary. Runyon held that 42 U.S.C. 1981 applies to private contractual relations and in that case prohibited a private school from discriminating on the basis of race in its admission practices.

I will first show that the doctrines of congressional ratification and stare decisis preclude reconsideration of Runyon. I will then demonstrate in the remaining half of my argument that Runyon was correctly decided. Thus, even if the Court decides to revisit Runyon, I submit that Runyon was correctly decided and should be reaffirmed.

1 Congressional ratification and stare decisis,
2 as adopted and applied by this Court, require that
3 Runyon be followed and not reversed. Runyon and Section
4 1981 have become a significant part of the web of joint
5 congressional and judicial efforts to rid the country of
6 public and private discrimination. Reversing Runyon
7 under these circumstances would not only reject
8 congressional reliance and decisions of the Court but
9 legislation specifically designed by Congress
10 incorporating the Court's decision and attempting to
11 encourage the use and enforcement of Section 1981. It
12 would virtually abandon stare decisis as a fundamental
13 doctrine of a court.

14 Legislative efforts of Congress since Runyon
15 and its precursor, *Jones v. Mayer*, show a consistent
16 pattern of congressional adoption and ratification of
17 the Court's holdings that Section 1981 prohibits public
18 and private discrimination in contractual dealings.
19 Three months after the decision in Runyon, Congress
20 passed a law providing attorney fees to encourage
21 enforcement or use of Section 1981.

22 The Attorney Fees Act is highly significant.
23 It is not simply that the Congress was aware of Runyon.
24 It is not merely that the Attorney Fees Act shows that
25 Congress approved of Runyon. Both points are true, but

1 there's more.

2 Runyon and Jones were the foundation building
3 blocks for the Attorney Fees Act and its applicability
4 to Section 1981. Congress built on Runyon by passing a
5 law that would have made no sense had Runyon not been
6 decided. That is true because Runyon and Jones held
7 that Sections 1981 and 1982 permitted an individual to
8 use those acts to challenge private discrimination. If
9 Jones and Runyon are now reversed, there would be no
10 basis for lawsuits based on Section 1981 and 1982 in
11 which attorney fees could be awarded if one is
12 successful.

13 The Fees Act applies the private attorney
14 general theory under which Congress encouraged private
15 attorneys to use civil rights statutes to vindicate a
16 policy of Congress by providing a fee for litigants who
17 bring Jones and Runyon types of proceedings. Congress
18 asserted that the people who litigate those claims
19 vindicated congressional policy and Congress wanted --

20 QUESTION: But the fee-setting, Mr. Chambers
21 -- you would still have been able to recover against
22 public bodies in a suit under 1981, wouldn't you?

23 MR. CHAMBERS: That's correct, Your Honor, but
24 we also would have been able to recover under 1983. And
25 what Congress was doing was building on the Court's

1 decisions in Runyon and Jones which permitted one to
2 challenge private discrimination. And without Runyon
3 and without Jones, 1981 and 1982 would be of little
4 value at all. So, Congress noted that one could recover
5 under 1983 in challenging public bodies, and it wanted
6 to encourage the use of 1981 and 1982 to encourage
7 lawsuits challenging private discrimination.

8 This is of direct congressional endorsement
9 and ratification of Runyon and Jones. And I don't know
10 of anything else that Congress could do to tell the
11 Court that it accepted and ratified and wanted to use
12 the Court's decisions to encourage enforcement of 1981
13 and 1982. Congress expressly said we endorse your
14 decision in Jones and Runyon, and we want to build upon
15 it, and we want to encourage private litigants to use
16 this Act. As Congressman Drinan said, the way to make
17 that Act effective is to provide attorney fees so that
18 private parties can use it.

19 Now, this is the same, in our position, as
20 Congress expressly enacting 1981 with an attorney fees
21 provision. It endorsed, it encouraged, and it wanted to
22 make that Act a part of the civil rights provisions that
23 would permit one to challenge public and private
24 discrimination. And reversing Runyon under those
25 circumstances would in our opinion fly right in the face

1 of Congress' efforts to use your decision to prohibit
2 public and private discrimination.

3 And the way the Court and Congress has worked
4 in this area, where Congress has built on what the Court
5 has decided, to try to rid the country of discriminatory
6 practices would be contrary to decisions that this Court
7 has rendered and every precedent that I know of. And I
8 don't think that under these circumstances it would be
9 appropriate for the Court to strike that building block
10 that Congress had built to remove Runyon as a means for
11 now challenging private discrimination in contractual
12 matters.

13 QUESTION: Counsel, in this phase of the
14 argument where we are talking about stare decisis, I
15 take it we assume arguendo the premise that you disagree
16 with, that the case was wrongly decided in the first
17 instance. You disagree with that, but that's part of
18 the premise for the stare decisis argument.

19 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, Your Honor, I submit that
20 the case was correctly decided, which I'll address.

21 QUESTION: I know you do, and I think that
22 that's a very arguable point and there's a lot of merit
23 to that position. But in this phase of the argument,
24 we're assuming the case is wrongly decided, yet we
25 should retain it in any event. Isn't that the point?

1 MR. CHAMBERS: Your Honor, I go a bit further.
2 I say that the 1976 Attorney Fees Act creates another
3 step that the Court should not overlook. And it's
4 something stronger than stare decisis.

5 Congress has spoken in 1976. It has done
6 everything it could do except expressly adopt that
7 statute.

8 QUESTION: Well, it didn't change -- it didn't
9 change the word "right." It didn't say that private
10 persons can recover. And the President, when he signed
11 the bill, did not necessarily endorse the legislative
12 history.

13 MR. CHAMBERS: Your Honor --

14 QUESTION: So, I think that's -- I think you
15 make a legitimate argument. I do not think it's
16 conclusive.

17 MR. CHAMBERS: All right. My point is that
18 the Court said that one could use 1981 to challenge
19 private discrimination. Congress adopted that --

20 QUESTION: I recognize that, but I'm asking
21 you if we're not assuming that even if we have questions
22 about Runyon, that we should retain it for reasons of
23 stare decisis. Isn't that the first prong of your
24 argument?

25 MR. CHAMBERS: That is one prong, Your Honor,

1 but my --

2 QUESTION: Are you aware of any precedent in
3 the jurisprudence of this Court in which we proceed on
4 the assumption that a statute which creates a right has
5 been wrongly construed and yet we continue that
6 precedent on the books?

7 MR. CHAMBERS: Your Honor, you have a number
8 of precedents that say that unless you find that the
9 case is clearly wrong on the findings, and unless you
10 find the other exceptions that you apply in deciding not
11 to follow stare decisis, that you will follow stare
12 decisis.

13 If you find, for example, that the Court's
14 interpretation is clearly wrong, egregiously wrong, and
15 is causing problems -- for example, the Flood case
16 dealing with the antitrust laws. There you say that
17 Congress has shown that it approves of what the Court
18 has done and isn't changing it.

19 QUESTION: Of course, the Flood case was
20 isolated to baseball. Baseball is not part of
21 interstate commerce and antitrust. We did not use it in
22 order to create further rights. And that's my point.

23 Do you have any precedent to show us that a
24 case which is arguably wrongly construed should remain
25 the seminal case for the enforcement and the

1 interpretation of the statute? Do you have any
2 precedent for that?

3 MR. CHAMBERS: Again, Your Honor, I'm saying
4 that the Court -- the decisions that the Court has
5 followed in this area where Congress has spoken, and I'm
6 referring, for example, to cases like Bob Jones. I'm
7 referring to cases like Patsy v. Florida Board. You
8 have looked at decisions, and you questioned whether
9 those decisions are arguably wrong -- the precedents
10 that were being considered. You questioned whether
11 there are other precedents or exceptions that would
12 warrant the Court deviating from that prior decision.

13 And in this case, what I'm saying is that the
14 record demonstrates that the original decision was wrong
15 -- was right -- that is, the Runyon decision was
16 correctly decided.

17 And even if you had any question about it,
18 what has transpired since Runyon? What Congress did
19 immediately after your decision in Runyon I submit
20 forecloses the Court now setting aside the Runyon
21 decision.

22 QUESTION: Mr. Chambers, let me ask also since
23 we're talking about what Congress has done. If Mrs.
24 Patterson is correct that any lawsuit affecting terms
25 and conditions of employment that alleges discrimination

1 can be filed under Section 1981, then why do you suppose
2 it is Congress established the EEOC and passed Title
3 VII? They've become a dead letter. They're not even
4 needed if Section 1981 is available for every such
5 action.

6 Do you think Congress has spoken at all by
7 passing Title VII?

8 MR. CHAMBERS: Your Honor, I think Congress
9 did, and I think that in 1972 Congress made it clear
10 that it wanted to make both remedies available for
11 challenging discrimination in employment. There was an
12 effort, as the Court knows, by Senator Hruska to make
13 Title VII and the Equal Pay Act the exclusive remedies
14 for challenging private discrimination. Congress spoke
15 then and said that it wanted to continue both remedies.

16 And Congress spoke again, as I said a moment
17 ago, in 1976.

18 QUESTION: Congress spoke 33 to 33.

19 MR. CHAMBERS: Congress spoke more than that,
20 Your Honor. After the 33 to 33 vote, the bill --

21 QUESTION: Thirty-three/33 and 33 abstaining,
22 I guess.

23 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, Your Honor, Congress
24 voted --

25 QUESTION: That was just in the Senate.

1 MR. CHAMBERS: The Senate voted larger than
2 that on reconsideration and decided that it wanted to
3 preserve both remedies.

4 Additionally, I would point out that in 1976
5 Congress spoke again and said that it wanted to preserve
6 both remedies and wanted to encourage the use of both
7 remedies. So, again, under congressional ratification,
8 I think that those acts of Congress foreclose the Court
9 from now -- for now reconsidering the Runyon decision.

10 Additionally, I would point out that in
11 applying the doctrine of stare decisis, none of the
12 exceptions that the Court has used is applicable here.

13 What has happened since Runyon, not only in
14 Congress but in other acts of private entities and
15 governmental bodies, demonstrate that the public accepts
16 and wants to perpetuate the use of the Runyon and the
17 Jones decision.

18 QUESTION: I'm not sure what this argument is.
19 Public acceptance? I mean --

20 MR. CHAMBERS: I'm saying that the Runyon
21 decision is consistent with public mores, that the
22 Runyon decision is what the Congress and what the States
23 and what private individuals like to use. And they are
24 building on it, and they are relying on it.

25 QUESTION: Well, if that were entirely --

1 entirely dispositive, it wouldn't be very important what
2 we do on the subject because Congress would simply
3 remedy whatever mistake we might make. I mean, if they
4 -- if there is that overwhelming acceptance, Congress
5 would simply repass -- repass 1981 saying very clearly
6 that it applies to all private actions.

7 MR. CHAMBERS: Your Honor, in this area,
8 that's not the way that the bodies of government have
9 operated.

10 QUESTION: Yes.

11 MR. CHAMBERS: They have worked with each
12 other and built a body of law to prohibit
13 discrimination. And where the Court recognizes that
14 Congress has accepted, relied on and built legislation
15 to promote the use of 1981, this Court has respected
16 it. And that's what I think should happen in this
17 particular instance.

18 QUESTION: I find some inconsistency between
19 two arguments that are made to us: one being that
20 everybody has accepted it and the society wants it; and
21 the other being that -- made by -- in one of the amicus
22 briefs that if we should go back on Runyon, Congress
23 wouldn't be able to pass a statute to replace the effect
24 of Runyon. I mean, it seems to me strange that both
25 could be true.

1 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, Your Honor, I don't think
2 that the brief that the Court is referring to poses an
3 inconsistency. What the brief suggested was that it
4 would impose a burden. It would be time consuming for
5 Congress to have to go back and enact a law to replace
6 Section 1981 if you reversed it.

7 QUESTION: Do you think they would enact 1981
8 in its current form?

9 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, Your Honor, I don't -- I
10 don't want to speculate on that. I think that we would
11 have -- we have demonstrated Congress' interest in
12 preserving 1981, and we have demonstrated that this
13 Court has respected that act by Congress. And we are
14 encouraging the Court here to follow the precedents in
15 this civil rights area affecting race and as the Court
16 has done in other areas.

17 Turning then to the legislative history, as I
18 suggested, Runyon was correctly decided in 1976. First,
19 let me address the defendant's or Respondent's position
20 that the 1970 -- 1874 codification of 1981 in some way
21 made 1981 a Fourteenth Amendment act.

22 We have shown in our brief that the defendant
23 relies here on a headnote and some notes that appeared
24 in a codification of 1981 after Congress had codified
25 the Act. But more particularly, the legislative history

1 clearly demonstrates that Congress in codifying Section
2 1981 in 1874 was codifying both the 1886 Act as well as
3 the 1870 Act.

4 QUESTION: If we had -- if we had had to
5 interpret the Act in 1874 and had it been interpreted at
6 that date, would we have even looked at the legislative
7 history?

8 MR. CHAMBERS: The legislative history of 1866
9 or -- ? I think the Court would have.

10 QUESTION: Really?

11 MR. CHAMBERS: Because, Your Honor, the --

12 QUESTION: In the 19th century, we looked at
13 legislative history in interpreting statutes?

14 MR. CHAMBERS: I think if the Court had a
15 question about the meaning of 1981, if the Court wanted
16 to fortify a decision that 1981 applied to private
17 discrimination, it would look at what Congress was
18 trying to address in 1866.

19 QUESTION: I think you'll find, Mr. Chambers,
20 that until probably the 1920s, we wouldn't have looked
21 at it in anywhere near -- if at all -- in anywhere near
22 the detail that was used to render our decision in
23 Runyon. So, almost inevitably the decision rendered in
24 1974 on the meaning of this statute would have been
25 different even assuming that the use of the legislative

1 history in Runyon was correct. Almost inevitably it
2 would have been different in 1874 than it would have
3 been when Runyon was decided.

4 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, Your Honor, I -- I would
5 differ with the Court. But the point is in 1988 when
6 we're looking at Runyon, we look at what Congress meant
7 with the enactment in 1866. We look at what transpired
8 in 1874, and we know that Congress was trying to address
9 a pervasive problem of enslaving blacks who were
10 recently freed from slavery through the Civil War in the
11 Thirteenth Amendment.

12 QUESTION: When was --

13 MR. CHAMBERS: That's what we were trying to
14 address in 1866.

15 QUESTION: When was the first case that was
16 brought under this new statute that was addressed to
17 that major problem?

18 MR. CHAMBERS: I don't know the exact -- I
19 don't know the date of the first case. I would refer
20 the Court to the historians' amicus brief in this case.
21 They refer to some cases that are not reported. And in
22 addition, the Court may be --

23 QUESTION: Cases against private individuals
24 who are not such things as innkeepers or transportation
25 companies or perhaps schools, some institutions vested

1 with the public interest, so to speak. When was the
2 first case that involved a purely private individual?

3 MR. CHAMBERS: Your Honor, again, I don't have
4 the date of the first case against a private individual.
5 I only point out that --

6 QUESTION: But isn't that important? I mean,
7 if the Act was clearly meant to remedy that problem, as
8 you assert the legislative history shows, you would have
9 expected if that's a big problem out there, that almost
10 immediately there would have been plenty of cases --

11 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, Your Honor, do you --
12 well, I don't know the first case that was filed to
13 enforce -- challenge the black codes.

14 QUESTION: Oh, there --

15 MR. CHAMBERS: So, I'm suggesting that there
16 are --

17 QUESTION: There were cases against States
18 almost immediately after the passage of --

19 MR. CHAMBERS: Against the black codes?

20 QUESTION: Against -- against States.

21 MR. CHAMBERS: I would suggest, Your Honor,
22 that the collection of cases challenging the enforcement
23 of the black codes equally missing as the cases
24 challenging private discrimination against a purely
25 private individual.

1 And there are a number of reasons for the
2 nonenforcement of this particular section of the Act:
3 not only the difficulty of getting to the Federal court,
4 the availability of counsel, the fear of individuals in
5 trying to use the courts. There are a number of
6 explanations. And I don't think that the fact that you
7 don't find a case in 1874 or 1875 challenging a purely
8 private discrimination suggests one way or the other
9 that the Act didn't reach private discrimination.

10 Again, I submit that the 1874 codification
11 incorporated the 1866 Act as well as the 1870 Act and
12 that Congress was carrying over the provisions
13 prohibiting public and private discrimination in 1874.

14 QUESTION: Do you find in the legislative
15 history or in the words of the statute any controlling
16 principle or guidance that we can have for the decision
17 of these cases? Suppose that a supervisor calls an
18 employee -- has a fit of temper and calls an employee a
19 name that's a racial epithet. Is that actionable?

20 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, Your Honor, it depends on
21 whether this is a practice of harassing or making the
22 working environment impossible to work in --

23 QUESTION: What's the controlling principle
24 that we look to to decide that kind of issue? We could
25 have all sorts of hypotheticals ranging from an isolated

1 incident to a pattern of conduct to constructive
2 discharge. What do we look to when we're trying to make
3 up -- when we're trying to conclude what the answer
4 should be in these cases given Congress' filing of the
5 amicus brief that they don't want to have the problem?

6 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, Your Honor, I -- the
7 Court has applied Title VII to cover harassment in the
8 work place.

9 QUESTION: So, anything that Title VII covers
10 is not covered by 1981?

11 MR. CHAMBERS: There are some -- the
12 harassment in the work place would be covered by both
13 Title VII and 1981. I'm suggesting, however, that --

14 QUESTION: So, Title VII and 1981 are
15 coextensive?

16 MR. CHAMBERS: In this particular area.

17 QUESTION: So, in order to see what 1981
18 covers, we just look to Title VII?

19 MR. CHAMBERS: No, Your Honor. I think the
20 Court looks at the facts. And the Court hasn't had the
21 difficulty that the Court pictures here in deciding --

22 QUESTION: We have a difficulty in this case,
23 counsel.

24 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, Your Honor, here I submit
25 that the legislative history shows that Congress wanted

1 to reach this kind of conduct. It saw that freed blacks
2 were subjected not only to problems in the contract
3 area, but also after they got on the job and were
4 working. Some employees --

5 QUESTION: So, my racial epithet example.
6 What result?

7 MR. CHAMBERS: Sir?

8 QUESTION: My racial epithet example. What
9 result? The supervisor does this with some regularity.

10 MR. CHAMBERS: Well, we have to prove, Your
11 Honor, that there is an intent to discriminate. We have
12 to prove that the supervisor is a person who is
13 responsible for the work by the employer. And the Court
14 looks to see whether this is simply an isolated incident
15 or whether this is something common to the work place.

16 QUESTION: But you haven't yet mentioned one
17 of the words of 1981. So, the statutory words give us
18 no guidance I take it?

19 MR. CHAMBERS: The statutory words prohibit
20 discrimination in the making and enforcement of
21 contracts, and that covers the type of conduct that we
22 have involved here with Ms. Patterson. That's the point.

23 And as we look at the legislative history, we
24 see a Congress that saw blacks, freed blacks, harassed
25 in the work place, denied pay, and that's the kind of

1 conduct that this Congress was trying to reach. This
2 case is typical of the conduct that Congress was trying
3 to address in 1866.

4 So, I don't think there's a problem about
5 applying this statute to cover harassment in the work
6 place.

7 Looking at the legislative history, I think we
8 go back to look at where Congress was trying to address
9 --

10 QUESTION: One more question on this, counsel,
11 and then I'll let you proceed.

12 I assume that the answer would be the same in
13 1866. When Congress passed the statute in 1866, it
14 thought that it was forbidding the use of racial
15 epithets in the work place?

16 MR. CHAMBERS: Your Honor --

17 QUESTION: Or is this an evolving standard?

18 MR. CHAMBERS: I think that in 1866 Congress
19 had egregious conduct and practices that it wanted to
20 correct that were perpetuated by private individuals.

21 QUESTION: And do we measure those egregious
22 standards by the changing standards of society?

23 MR. CHAMBERS: I think we apply the law to the
24 facts and at the time that we are looking at the
25 situation. I think that Congress meant to reach this

1 kind of conduct. And we look at it here. It might
2 different. It might be a different type of employer.
3 We're not working the farms now. We're working in the
4 credit union. So, the type of discrimination may
5 differ, but the conduct -- the discrimination, the
6 enslavement, the badges of slavery are the things that
7 we are trying to reach. And that's what Congress meant
8 to reach in 1866.

9 Again, going back looking at the conditions
10 that Congress was addressing in 1866, we had not only
11 pervasive practices by private individuals who were
12 placing blacks back in slavery as before, but we had
13 also some governmental legislation. And what Congress
14 was looking at in 1866 was a -- was a condition in which
15 people were concerned about the Federal Government
16 reaching State practices.

17 We all concede that the Thirteenth Amendment
18 reaches private and public act. We all concede that in
19 1866, the government approved of reaching private
20 practices. And so Congress, in enacting the 1866 Act,
21 was trying to cover public and private practices to rid
22 the country of the slavery that we had just enacted the
23 Thirteenth Amendment to cover.

24 I want to reserve some time, Your Honor.

25 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Chambers.

1 Mr. Kaplan, we'll hear now from you.

2 ORAL ARGUMENT OF ROGER S. KAPLAN

3 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT

4 MR. KAPLAN: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
5 please the Court.

6 I think the basic problem in the presentation
7 of the Petitioner's arguments in this case is that they
8 start from the wrong baseline. Instead of looking to 19
9 -- the 1960s or 1970s, I think the proper point of
10 departure is really much earlier date, 1883, when the
11 Court handed down the civil rights cases and indicated
12 in a opinion, which was generally respected for a long
13 time thereafter, that this statute would not reach
14 private acts of discrimination.

15 Many years go by. The Nation matures. We
16 encounter other types of problems, particularly in the
17 area of racial discrimination. And in the late 1950s
18 and early 1960s, there's a movement in Congress that
19 something has to be done. And after four years or so of
20 angst and anger and controversy, Congress comes up with
21 the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

22 I think what we are dealing with here is
23 really the force that sets in motion a pattern of
24 congressional action, a decision that it is the
25 legislative branch which must take control of these

1 things, which must provide the remedies, since none
2 apparently exist, and must control how our society is to
3 develop in terms of meeting racial equality in the work
4 place and elsewhere.

5 The problem that I see with these decisions,
6 Runyon in particular, is they threaten this -- this
7 orderly development and this appropriate, I think,
8 allocation of authority to Congress to deal with these
9 -- with these measures.

10 Title VII, for example, which is the primary
11 statute where these cases really come up, has a
12 different thrust, a different emphasis, than Section
13 1981.

14 QUESTION: Mr. Kaplan, I'm sure that's always
15 true whenever we come out with the wrong interpretation
16 of a statute. To some extent, we have interfered with
17 the function of the Congress and violated to a degree
18 the separation of powers, which is the point you're
19 making I suppose.

20 But surely you wouldn't say that we should
21 have no stare decisis whatever in the field of statutory
22 construction, would you?

23 MR. KAPLAN: No, I would not say that,
24 certainly.

25 QUESTION: So, what are the special factors

1 that should -- should urge us to disregard stare
2 decisis? Why is this case special?

3 MR. KAPLAN: I think that what has to be
4 focused on is the impact of this kind of legislation or
5 rule-making evident in Runyon on the operation of Title
6 VII itself. And I think this has been discussed and
7 noted, and I think it bears repeating that what that
8 statute is emphasizing is a conciliatory approach
9 involving a government involvement by the EEOC which is
10 a congressional determination as to how things should
11 operate, and also a specific congressionally determined
12 judicial remedy if that fails, which basically is
13 equitable and remedial, back pay, reinstatement.

14 This rule, the rule of Runyon, allows for
15 punitive damages, for compensatory damages. It cuts the
16 EEOC out of the process. It doesn't allow it to escape
17 -- to shape the scope of investigations and determine
18 how broad the remedies should be made. It doesn't
19 certainly encourage a conciliatory approach to
20 settlement of these problems.

21 But it also disregards something else in Title
22 VII which is federalism. And that statute specifically
23 encouraged the States to pass laws and create agencies
24 to take care of these problems and solve it in its own
25 jurisdiction through the deferral procedure. This also

1 threatens that procedure and that concern.

2 QUESTION: Mr. Kaplan, may I ask a question?

3 MR. KAPLAN: What we're dealing with is

4 basically a congressionally --

5 QUESTION: Mr. Kaplan, may I ask you a
6 question?

7 MR. KAPLAN: Yes.

8 QUESTION: Of course, Runyon wasn't an
9 employment case, and what we're really focusing on today
10 is whether Runyon, which was a denial of an opportunity
11 to go to school case -- whether that should be
12 overruled. And your argument really doesn't focus on
13 that all.

14 MR. KAPLAN: Well, it does in a sense, Your
15 Honor. What I've focused on, of course, is the
16 employment area which -- and this is an employment case
17 that we're dealing --

18 QUESTION: I know this is, but Runyon was not.

19 MR. KAPLAN: But -- that's correct. But even
20 the areas that are left untouched by legislation, such
21 as Title VII or the Fair Housing Act or the Civil Rights
22 Restoration Act, are themselves decisions of Congress
23 not to act. And that, too, I think has to be
24 respected. It is not the function, I don't think, of
25 the judiciary --

1 QUESTION: Did you say there was a decision of
2 Congress not to act --

3 MR. KAPLAN: Yes.

4 QUESTION: -- after the legislation that your
5 opponent stressed in his opening part of his argument?

6 MR. KAPLAN: Pardon me?

7 QUESTION: Your opponent made quite a point of
8 the fact that Congress did act after Runyon was decided.
9 So, I don't think you have a decision of Congress not to
10 act in the private school area.

11 MR. KAPLAN: Well --

12 QUESTION: Or do you? How do -- explain that
13 to me.

14 MR. KAPLAN: Well, I -- I think in the -- at
15 some point it certainly was aware of the problem from
16 Runyon, and it certainly passed in the -- I suppose the
17 Civil Rights Restoration Act could apply where there's
18 funding. But what Congress has and always had the
19 opportunity to deal with this particular problem and yet
20 it hasn't -- it hasn't chosen to do so. The problem is
21 not a secret. The problem has been there --

22 QUESTION: Well, it did choose to do so
23 shortly after Runyon was decided. That's your
24 opponent's point. I'm not sure of your response to that
25 point.

1 MR. KAPLAN: Well, I think that the fact -- I
2 think the focus on Runyon is misplaced on that
3 enactment.

4 What the response was certainly -- was to
5 Alyeska and Runyon happened to be at that particular
6 juncture, but --

7 QUESTION: Correct, but you do presume that
8 Congress was aware of the Runyon decision, don't you?

9 MR. KAPLAN: Well, it cited I think the Santa
10 Fe Trail case, which is a companion. I presume that
11 there was some knowledge of it.

12 But I think the focus of Congress in doing
13 that was not so much to place its imprimatur on 1981 as
14 a reexamination and approval of everything that had
15 happened there, but simply as a broad gesture, a sort of
16 a exercise in judicial parity, if you will, to create an
17 equality.

18 QUESTION: My only point is to question your
19 statement that Congress has affirmatively decided not to
20 act in the school discrimination context.

21 MR. KAPLAN: Well, I think at least it has not
22 acted, and if it has not acted, that too is an
23 appropriate aspect for the Court to respect whether or
24 not it acts is also part of the congressional judgment.
25 It doesn't mean that the Court steps in if Congress

1 hasn't simply acted in a particular area.

2 QUESTION: Once again, that's always the case
3 where the Court makes a mistake in statutory
4 construction and Congress does not act to remedy the
5 mistake. That's always the case.

6 What's distinctive in this case that would
7 justify our disregarding the normal rules of stare
8 decisis?

9 MR. KAPLAN: Well, the -- what I am concerned
10 --

11 QUESTION: You see we've gotten the law wrong,
12 but that's a given. That's the hypothesis in all of
13 these cases where we say we're not going to look into
14 it. We may have gotten it wrong, but we've gotten it.
15 And we're going to leave it alone. Why is this
16 different here?

17 MR. KAPLAN: The -- again, having notice --
18 noting that the Court has made its decisions, the fact
19 remains that when Congress addresses these problems, it
20 has an option to address particular issues or not to
21 address particular issues. And if it doesn't, then I
22 don't think it's the -- it's the function of the Court
23 to step in there and fill in all these -- all these gaps.

24 QUESTION: I don't know what to say there.
25 You're not answering my question. That is always the

1 case. Every time we come out with a statutory
2 interpretation that is wrong and Congress doesn't turn
3 around and set it right you can always make that
4 argument. So, your argument thus far is boiling down to
5 the proposition that we should not have any doctrine of
6 stare decisis in the field of statutory construction.

7 MR. KAPLAN: No, but I think there are some
8 practical --

9 QUESTION: Can't you tell me some reason why --

10 MR. KAPLAN: Sure. In this case, I think this is a
11 pretty good illustration which occurred in the oral
12 argument which took place earlier this year. And what
13 the Court was trying to define there was the statutory
14 -- reconcile the statutory language, as I gather, with
15 the argument that the Petitioner was making that any
16 sort of complaint arising out of working conditions,
17 terms and conditions of employment, can fit into this
18 rubric of the right to make and the right to enforce a
19 contract.

20 If -- what is happening here is that the
21 language of a statute which was designed for some other
22 purpose, a more limited purpose, has been used now as a
23 general anti-discrimination device, and what is
24 happening is that the Court is running into a wall as to
25 -- as to the interpretation of these -- of this

1 enactment which it's going to continue to find problems
2 with.

3 It's very difficult to square the language of
4 this statute even in a -- any sort of case which deals
5 with other than the legal capacity issue. Where do you
6 draw the line? How do you determine where -- once you
7 go beyond the right to make it, the capacity to make a
8 contract, where do you draw the line as to what is
9 covered and what isn't covered? I think that your --

10 QUESTION: Don't you have the same question
11 under Title VII? Where do you draw the line in this
12 kind of case? How many racial epithets is enough and
13 how much pushing around is enough, you know? You always
14 have line drawing problems in any statute.

15 MR. KAPLAN: I know, but often you have a
16 congressional guideline to give you -- to judge by.

17 QUESTION: Well, you don't have a
18 congressional guideline in this kind of case in Title
19 VII either.

20 MR. KAPLAN: In this kind of case, there is
21 clearly a coverage by Title VII to include all sorts of
22 working conditions. That has been generally recognized
23 since I think almost day one of that statute. But in
24 this statute --

25 QUESTION: No, but your argument goes to the

1 question of when -- how many racial epithets are enough
2 to constitute a violation of the statute. You have that
3 same difficult problem of line drawing under the
4 language of Title VII or under the language of this
5 statute.

6 MR. KAPLAN: Yes, you would but the trouble is
7 the language of this statute doesn't talk about or
8 doesn't go to that sort of problem. What it goes to is
9 the capacity issue of whether or not somebody has the
10 right to make a contract, the legal capacity to make the
11 contract, the legal capacity to enforce it.

12 What this type of procedure does is to remove
13 really, to cut loose, this statute from its roots and
14 its legislative history. And what the Congress was
15 concerned with in the Civil War -- post Civil War era
16 were these statutes and rules and procedures that were
17 growing up in the States which threatened to deprive the
18 freedmen of their ability to make contracts and to
19 enforce them.

20 QUESTION: But, Mr. Kaplan, you don't deny
21 that there's a great deal of legislative history that
22 suggests that Congress was also concerned about private
23 discrimination in the south.

24 MR. KAPLAN: I would suggest to you, sir, that
25 the history, if read in toto, strongly suggests that

1 they recognize that there were incidents --

2 QUESTION: A good many. A good many.

3 MR. KAPLAN: -- and quite widespread incidents
4 of private discrimination, but that the means that was
5 selected for dealing with the problem was to try to
6 remove these disabilities and incapacities that were
7 arising from the legislation in the South. And I guess
8 it was expected that once this was cleaned up, the
9 normal processes of State court adjudication and
10 administration would avail the freedman of his rights
11 under this particular statute.

12 QUESTION: And if that doesn't take place,
13 does the statute acquire any new meaning on its own
14 terms?

15 Let me put you this case. Suppose in 1868 the
16 only grocery store in a small town refused to sell
17 groceries to blacks. Coverage under the statute?

18 MR. KAPLAN: No.

19 QUESTION: And if this persists for 20 years,
20 and the State does nothing to correct it, still no
21 coverage under the statute?

22 MR. KAPLAN: No, I don't think so.

23 QUESTION: And Congress -- you find no
24 historical evidence that Congress was concerned about
25 this?

1 MR. KAPLAN: Well, as I said, there were
2 concerns -- expressions of concern --

3 QUESTION: We've all read the legislative
4 history.

5 MR. KAPLAN: Yes.

6 QUESTION: And really there is a brief that
7 can be made for both sides, isn't that true?

8 MR. KAPLAN: Yes, both sides are arguable, but
9 I think when you come down to it, what the history makes
10 clear -- and Senator Trumbull's remarks and the
11 congressional remarks in the House as well -- is that
12 what they were aiming at were these black codes and
13 vagrancy laws which would disable -- disable the blacks.
14 In terms of the --

15 QUESTION: Justice Harlan -- Justice Harlan in
16 Jones thought that surely 1982, for example, was aimed
17 at custom.

18 MR. KAPLAN: Yes. Custom I think has a
19 distinct meaning, custom and usage.

20 QUESTION: Well, how about the 20 -- how about
21 the 20 year business that Justice Kennedy mentioned?

22 MR. KAPLAN: Well, it depends on how -- okay.

23 QUESTION: Well, how long does it take to have
24 a custom?

25 MR. KAPLAN: Well, it's a question not simply

1 --

2 QUESTION: A hundred years or 20?

3 MR. KAPLAN: Okay. You can have a custom I
4 suppose in any one of those lengths of time that you
5 suggested. I think the operative characteristic,
6 though, is whether it was given --

7 QUESTION: Well, anyway you think -- you think
8 1981 reaches custom.

9 MR. KAPLAN: The -- yes. I think --

10 QUESTION: Suing private people who are acting
11 according to a custom.

12 MR. KAPLAN: How do you define custom I guess
13 is the question.

14 QUESTION: Well, I don't know, but whatever it
15 is you agree --

16 MR. KAPLAN: But I think what they were
17 getting to is --

18 QUESTION: -- 1981 covers it.

19 MR. KAPLAN: -- customary law, though, law
20 that arose where there was a practice --

21 QUESTION: I'm talking about a custom.

22 MR. KAPLAN: -- in the community. I'm sorry.

23 QUESTION: I'm talking about just a custom,
24 just a custom that everybody can -- let's say whatever
25 custom is, you agree it's there. Does 1981 cover suits

1 against private people who are acting according to
2 custom?

3 MR. KAPLAN: No, I don't think it that
4 circumstance it does.

5 QUESTION: Do you have to answer that way or
6 not? It's hard to say.

7 MR. KAPLAN: Pardon me?

8 QUESTION: It's hard to say.

9 MR. KAPLAN: It's hard to say.

10 QUESTION: Maybe that's what this lawsuit is
11 all about.

12 MR. KAPLAN: I think that a practice that was
13 given judicial effect if it had the force of law that
14 was actually being treated as law, not simply an
15 obnoxious practice that existed. And I think that's
16 what makes it consistent with the rest of the statute.
17 The terminology that appears in this law really goes
18 toward public actors, people acting in the -- in
19 furtherance of public -- of public goals.

20 And I think that's really why this statute
21 should be interpreted as applying to a narrower field
22 than it has presently been given effect to, and that the
23 decision that Runyon incorporates -- and it certainly
24 relies on, for example, the Johnson Railway Express case
25 -- should be reviewed.

1 There are other problems that have come up
2 here involving coverage in terms, for example, of the
3 statute of limitations. The Court has had to have at
4 least three cases dealing with that issue in trying to
5 resolve it.

6 What I find concerns me, though, is -- and I'm
7 getting back to the Title VII issue because I think that
8 is the -- has to be the primary focus because that's
9 where it's primarily being used. Approximately, from
10 what we could tell, three-quarters or more of the 1981
11 cases come in the employment area. And so, I don't
12 think you can ignore that particular focus on this
13 statute.

14 And what is happening, as we began to mention
15 before, is that it's beginning to push out Title VII as
16 a remedy and, in fact, what it's doing is creating an
17 overlay of additional remedies which Congress did not
18 decide to give. I don't -- I don't think that the Court
19 should be in the position of furthering that, and
20 certainly Congress can consider its -- the effectiveness
21 of this legislation in that area and also determine
22 whether or not the need is there in other areas.

23 QUESTION: Of course, we knew that when we
24 decided Runyon. I mean, it isn't as -- you know, it
25 would be different if Title VII came afterwards, but

1 when we decided Runyon, we knew that we were carrying
2 coals to Newcastle in a way, trumping -- trumping
3 legislation that Congress had already passed. Right?
4 It's nothing new.

5 MR. KAPLAN: Well, at that point, yes. There
6 had been previous decisions. At least the Johnson case
7 had directly applied --

8 QUESTION: What is -- what is -- nothing has
9 happened that makes this statute or this interpretation
10 not just wrong, as you keep telling us, but wrong in
11 some way that makes it different from other statutes
12 that we've gotten wrong. I expect we've gotten some
13 others wrong over the course of the year, but we just
14 don't go back and look at them anymore.

15 MR. KAPLAN: Well --

16 QUESTION: I'm still waiting to hear that from
17 you. You keep telling us that it's wrong. Let's
18 concede that it's wrong. So what?

19 MR. KAPLAN: Well --

20 QUESTION: Why should we go back and change a
21 decision that we've made? What is special about this
22 statute?

23 MR. KAPLAN: The problem that it -- the
24 specialty of the statute that it intrudes on the
25 operation of Congress. That's basically where the

1 fundamental problem lies.

2 QUESTION: If that's all you have, Mr. Kaplan,
3 I'm afraid it's nothing because that's always the case
4 when we interpret a statute incorrectly. What you have
5 --

6 MR. KAPLAN: Well, I think Runyon was based on
7 an incomplete analysis of the statute. It had no
8 independent analysis of its own. It relied on Johnson
9 which itself was a statute that -- a case -- excuse me
10 -- that was not briefed, that did not a thorough
11 consideration of the case. And Jones itself did not
12 squarely deal -- which was the earliest decision -- with
13 the 1870 to '74 period.

14 QUESTION: And by the way, I take it from your
15 brief and then your argument that if we agree with you
16 about 1981, it raises serious questions about Jones and
17 1982.

18 MR. KAPLAN: Well, I don't think you have to
19 overrule Jones as a 1982 case, but because there is a
20 common source --

21 QUESTION: Well, no, no. But --

22 MR. KAPLAN: -- there certainly is --

23 QUESTION: -- if a case came here and someone
24 asked us to overrule Jones, if we agree with you in this
25 case, there would be a powerful argument, wouldn't there?

1 MR. KAPLAN: It would -- it would -- I think
2 it would possibly affect the underlying rationale there
3 because the 1866 Act, if it came up in the discussion,
4 certainly would --

5 QUESTION: It would not just affect the
6 underlying rationale, but your principal argument about
7 overlap between the later statute and the earlier
8 statute applies more forcefully, it seems to me, in
9 Jones than it does here in the housing area.

10 QUESTION: And the overlap argument was
11 presented in Jones.

12 QUESTION: And it was specifically considered
13 by Justice Harlan.

14 MR. KAPLAN: Yes.

15 QUESTION: Mr. Kaplan, I might remind you that
16 Jones in the Eighth Circuit, which was reversed, was an
17 opinion that I wrote.

18 (Laughter)

19 MR. KAPLAN: I know that, Your Honor.

20 The --

21 QUESTION: Do you have any trouble with Jones?

22 MR. KAPLAN: I'm sorry?

23 QUESTION: Do you have any trouble with Jones?

24 MR. KAPLAN: Do I have any trouble with Jones?

25 QUESTION: Yes. You sort of skip over it.

1 You sort of skip over it.

2 MR. KAPLAN: I skipped over it because the
3 focus of this discussion was on the Runyon case, which
4 is 1981. But I think it no use denying the fact that
5 the --

6 QUESTION: Wouldn't the Jones case still be
7 there?

8 MR. KAPLAN: The Jones case would be there.

9 QUESTION: And you don't mind that.

10 MR. KAPLAN: It doesn't have to be overruled
11 in this particular proceeding, but nevertheless to the
12 extent that the legislative history --

13 QUESTION: And you don't mind Jones -- you
14 don't mind Jones remaining on the books.

15 MR. KAPLAN: Do I mind Jones --

16 QUESTION: Yes.

17 MR. KAPLAN: I don't have a particular view of
18 that at this moment, but I think that to try to get to
19 the bottom line, I think that --

20 QUESTION: Did you ever read the --?

21 MR. KAPLAN: -- the underlying rationale could
22 be affected if you accept our view of the 1866 history.

23 QUESTION: Well, that was specifically on the
24 1866 statute. Jones was.

25 MR. KAPLAN: Yes, it was. Yes. The Jones

1 case --

2 QUESTION: And that's still the law regardless
3 of what happens in this case.

4 MR. KAPLAN: That's the law in -- yes, under
5 1982 --

6 QUESTION: It's still the law.

7 MR. KAPLAN: -- it's still the law until --

8 QUESTION: That's all right with you.

9 MR. KAPLAN: -- that --

10 QUESTION: That's all right with you.

11 MR. KAPLAN: I'm not expressing an opinion on
12 that particularly. I am saying that there's -- there
13 could be a problem of that rationale being exposed --
14 and I think it would be -- if this case were turned on
15 the 1866 legislative history. You know, I don't think I
16 can address it much further.

17 I note that the rationale has started to run
18 into some problems other than in this case, which is
19 Title VII, and the Bondari type case which is on -- I
20 think it's still on petition here. The Fifth Circuit
21 has refused to apply this rationale, for example, to
22 alienage discrimination. And that may yet focus a
23 broader concern.

24 I guess what's happening is that there's --
25 there's an inevitable push, once you have this statute

1 or endorse it, to keep broadening it. And as this
2 statute or the coverage of the statute becomes
3 applicable in more and more areas, there are more and
4 more decisions that have to be made.

5 And, for example, in the Runyon case itself,
6 you had to deal with --

7 QUESTION: Well, why don't you just argue that
8 we --

9 MR. KAPLAN: -- you're sort of having to
10 define the --

11 QUESTION: -- not broaden it then? Why don't
12 you just argue that in light of the fact that it was
13 originally wrong, as you've told us, we shouldn't
14 broaden it? We should leave bad enough alone and narrow
15 it to what we've already held?

16 MR. KAPLAN: Well --

17 QUESTION: That's a quite different argument
18 from saying that we should throw the whole thing away,
19 though, isn't it?

20 MR. KAPLAN: Well, it's -- the question -- I
21 guess the argument is prompted by the fact I believe
22 that it is wrong. If you're saying that it could be
23 limited to its facts, that I suppose is a possibility.

24 I note in the Runyon case itself, though, you
25 were immediately -- having created this statute, you

1 were immediately testing the constitutional limits, it
2 seems, by having to deal with the problems of
3 association and the problems of privacy.

4 I mean, this is what I think starts -- starts
5 getting to -- to happen when you're starting to make
6 this -- these rules. Congress might relieve you of that
7 problem in dealing -- in dealing -- in making its own
8 statute, but when you have to interpret what doesn't
9 really apply to the situation, the Runyon opinion itself
10 suggests that you may run into -- create problems
11 yourself that start approaching a constitutional
12 dimension. And that's what the discussion in that case
13 seemed to --

14 QUESTION: Mr. Harbor, didn't we do exactly
15 what Justice Scalia suggests in the baseball area? We
16 did allow the erroneous decision to remain on the books
17 with respect to baseball, but we never extended it to
18 football or boxing or anything like that. And Congress
19 then did address baseball and make the rules it thought
20 would be appropriate.

21 QUESTION: And what's more important than
22 baseball?

23 (Laughter)

24 QUESTION: That's right. Today.

25 MR. KAPLAN: Well, I -- part of the problem I

1 suppose with the Runyon matter, which concerns me
2 obviously, in employment cases is that it followed the
3 employment decision which was -- it sort of put the cart
4 before the horse. And this established the basic
5 threshold principle that then -- then the employment was
6 -- was bound up into it.

7 I think that the -- if you're suggesting could
8 it be limited to -- to this particular area, I suppose
9 that the Court has done that on occasion. But I'm not
10 sure where the area would be drawn. If you're
11 suggesting a purely private school, which -- which is
12 unfunded and has no government involvement, I have no
13 idea how -- how significant that is, but it might not be
14 a very major area --

15 QUESTION: Oh, we've gone beyond private
16 schools after Runyon, I mean, in later cases. We've --
17 we've confronted cases that involve purely private
18 discrimination, haven't we, in this Court?

19 MR. KAPLAN: Subsequent to Runyon, yes, purely
20 private.

21 QUESTION: Sure.

22 MR. KAPLAN: But the -- the question is are we
23 talking about limiting it to a particular institution or
24 -- namely, that that type of school -- or are we talking
25 about some broader areas. And I don't know where you

1 would -- would draw the line with regard to that in view
2 of the somewhat -- the fits and starts that have
3 appeared in this -- in this legislative history.

4 I guess I would just like to -- to finish up
5 by mentioning that the types of issues that are coming
6 up are specific and deal with -- with problems that I
7 think are better suited to legislative judgments in
8 terms of their breadth, scope and type of remedy that
9 has to be made, and that the Court should not perpetuate
10 lawmaking in the guise of interpretation. And I think
11 that should provide the resolution for this case.

12 Thank you.

13 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Kaplan.

14 Mr. Chambers, you have four minutes remaining.

15 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF JULIUS LeVONNE CHAMBERS

16 MR. CHAMBERS: Thank you, Your Honor.

17 I first would just note that the Respondent
18 really offers no basis for the Court not applying stare
19 decisis here and certainly for not applying the
20 congressional ratification principle.

21 QUESTION: Well, this is not to say that we've
22 never overruled a statutory precedent.

23 MR. CHAMBERS: No, no. I'm just --

24 QUESTION: And we have many times.

25 MR. CHAMBERS: I concede the Court has.

1 QUESTION: But you say that none of the past
2 cases in which we've overruled or severely limited a
3 precedent is any kind of an argument for overruling
4 Runyon.

5 MR. CHAMBERS: Not in this instance from what
6 we've heard and really from what we've looked at and
7 what we submitted in our brief.

8 Second, I would ask the Court, in looking at
9 this Act that's involved in the Patterson case in terms
10 of what the Congress was trying to reach in 1866 and
11 beyond, we're talking about a black person trying to
12 work at a bank who was subjected to harassment and on
13 working in conditions that make it unbearable for a
14 black to survive. This is an Act that Congress was
15 trying to reach in 1866, and it's part of the contract
16 that the 1866 statute reaches.

17 We're not asking for an extension of Runyon.
18 We're asking only that the Court apply the statute as
19 Congress originally enacted it and as this Court has
20 applied it. When Congress looked at --

21 QUESTION: Mr. Chambers, certainly this is an
22 extension of Runyon in the sense that in Runyon you're
23 dealing with a one-shot deal: a black person is turned
24 down for enrollment at a private school. Here it's not
25 a question of a refusal to hire a person; it's a

1 question of the way the person is treated after they're
2 hired. It's a regular employment code that you're asking
3 --

4 MR. CHAMBERS: Your Honor, that's a -- that is
5 one way of looking at it, but we're looking at a black
6 person trying to work on a job. We're talking about a
7 black person trying to get a job, trying to work with a
8 contract. And we're talking about --

9 QUESTION: A black person trying to get a job
10 fits much more readily under the terms of make and
11 enforce a contract than a black person complaining of
12 harassment on the job.

13 MR. CHAMBERS: No, Your Honor. We're talking
14 about a black person trying to work and make a living.
15 That's what Congress was trying to reach in 1866.

16 QUESTION: But 1981 doesn't say the right to
17 work and make a living. It says the right to make and
18 enforce contracts.

19 MR. CHAMBERS: The right to make the contract
20 to allow one to work and make a living. Look at -- the
21 legislative history talks about this.

22 And in Johnson, where the Court talked about
23 the applicability of Runyon or 1981 to contractual
24 matters in employment, there we had harassment on the
25 job.

1 When Congress looked at the Runyon decision
2 and the Johnson cases in 18 -- 1976, it cited cases that
3 talked about harassment on the job, again, a proving of
4 the decisions that the Courts had rendered. So, we're
5 not talking about any extension. We're talking about
6 the applicability of a statute designed to make it
7 possible for a black person to work. That's the heart
8 of the matter, and that's what Congress was trying to
9 reach with 1866 and what Runyon is trying to reach and
10 what the cases subsequent to Runyon is trying to reach.

11 In 1976 -- 1972 and 1964 when Congress was
12 enacting the Title VII or the Civil Rights Act of that
13 time, it was looking at pervasive practices of
14 discrimination, and it wanted to provide a remedy. And
15 it said it wanted to provide multiple remedies to make
16 it possible for black people and other minorities to
17 challenge this kind of discrimination.

18 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr.
19 Chambers. Your time has expired.

20 The case is submitted.

21 MR. CHAMBERS: Thank you, Your Honor.

22 (Whereupon, at 11:04 o'clock a.m., the case in
23 the above-entitled matter was submitted.)
24
25

CERTIFICATION

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No. 87-107 - BRENDA PATTERSON, Petitioner V. McLEAN CREDIT UNION

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