

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT
PROCEEDINGS BEFORE
THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE
UNITED STATES

CAPTION: J. DANIEL KIMEL, JR., ET AL., Petitioners v. FLORIDA
BOARD OF REGENTS, ET AL.; and UNITED STATES,
Petitioner v. FLORIDA BOARD OF REGENTS, ET AL.

CASE NO: 98-791 & 98-796 C-2

PLACE: Washington, D.C.

DATE: Wednesday, October 13, 1999

PAGES: 1-54

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

J. DANIEL KIMEL, JR., ET AL., :
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4 Petitioners

5 v. : No. 98-791

6 FLORIDA BOARD OF REGENTS,

7 ET AL.;

8 and

9 UNITED STATES.

10 Petitioner :

11 V. No. 98-796

12 FLORIDA BOARD OF REGENTS.

13 ET AL.

Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, October 13, 1999

17 The above-entitled matter came on for oral
18 argument before the Supreme Court of the United States at
19 10:02 a.m.

20 APPEARANCES:

21 JEREMIAH A. COLLINS, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
22 Petitioners Kimel, et al.

23 BARBARA D. UNDERWOOD, ESQ., Deputy Solicitor General,
24 Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
25 Petitioner United States.

1 APPEARANCES:
2 JEFFREY S. SUTTON, ESQ., Columbus, Ohio; on behalf of the
3 Respondents.
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PROCEEDINGS

(10:02 a.m.)

CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument now in Number 98-791, J Daniel Kimel v. The Florida Board of Regents and the United States versus the same.

Mr. Collins.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF JEREMIAH A. COLLINS

ON BEHALF OF PETITIONERS KIMEL, ET AL.

9 MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
10 please the Court:

11 Employees of State agencies who have been
12 injured by violations of the Age Discrimination in
13 Employment Act are not barred by the Eleventh Amendment
14 from suing the States in Federal court for redress,
15 because Congress unequivocally authorized such suits in
16 the statute, and Congress had the power to do so
17 under section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

18 The authorization of these suits is established
19 by the incorporation into the ADEA of section 16(b) of the
20 Fair Labor Standards Act. That section specifically
21 provides for suits by employees against public agencies,
22 including the States, in State or Federal court and, as
23 this Court observed last year in Alden, it provides for
24 those suits without regard for consent.

25 By incorporating this provision into the ADEA,

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1 together with provisions which state that claims under the
2 ADEA will be deemed to be claims under the Fair Labor
3 Standards Act for this purpose, Congress unequivocally
4 authorized these suits and abrogated the State's Eleventh
5 Amendment immunity.

6 QUESTION: Mr. Collins, how many other Federal
7 statutes purport to abrogate State sovereign immunity
8 without specifically referring to the Eleventh Amendment
9 or to sovereign immunity?

10 MR. COLLINS: I'm not sure --

11 QUESTION: Because this statute doesn't.

12 MR. COLLINS: That's correct, Justice --

13 QUESTION: And I just wondered how many others
14 there might be that use similar language without any
15 reference to the --

16 MR. COLLINS: I don't have the number, Justice
17 O'Connor. The statute, of course in Seminole Tribe did
18 not refer to the Eleventh Amendment, and the statute in
19 Union Gas didn't refer to the Eleventh Amendment or
20 sovereign immunity, and the Court held in both of those
21 cases that the intent was clear to abrogate.

22 QUESTION: In our case, Kennecott Copper,
23 though, we didn't think that the phrase, court of
24 competent jurisdiction, was enough to do the --

25 MR. COLLINS: And that was true in Missouri

1 Employees as well, Your Honor, under the FLSA, but here
2 Congress has gone further, as the Court observed in Alden,
3 and clearer, in that it refers among other things to
4 courts State or Federal, and to suits against any
5 employer, including a public agency.

6 And we also know, not merely from legislative
7 history but from the retroactivity provision of the 1974
8 amendments to section 16(b), that Congress amended section
9 16(b) into its present form for the specific purpose of
10 providing the clear statement of intent to abrogate that
11 the Court had found lacking in Missouri Employees.

12 So in these -- in this situation the specific
13 phrasing referring to public agencies, State or Federal
14 courts, combined with the retroactivity provision making
15 it unambiguous that the purpose of this provision is to
16 provide an abrogation as to suits against States in
17 Federal court, we believe is unequivocally clear.

18 QUESTION: Is --

19 QUESTION: Suppose you had -- excuse me.

20 Suppose you had a jurisdiction where the State
21 has waived its Eleventh Amendment immunity in its own
22 courts, but insists on the immunity in the Federal courts,
23 wouldn't it be fair to say that the State court is a court
24 of competent jurisdiction, but that the Federal court is
25 not?

1 MR. COLLINS: I don't believe that's correct,
2 Justice Kennedy. The -- of course, competent jurisdiction
3 is a phrase used in many statutes. If it weren't used, a
4 person conceivably could sue in an appellate court, sue in
5 a small claims court, but this Court held in Wisconsin
6 Department of Correction v. Schacht that the fact that an
7 Eleventh Amendment immunity could be available in a
8 particular case does not mean that the Federal court lacks
9 jurisdiction over that case, lacks original jurisdiction.

10 So it seems to me that the phrase, competent
11 jurisdiction, cannot properly be construed as importing
12 defenses of consent or lack of consent, immunity defenses.
13 I think Schacht is clear on that, and again, it is quite
14 clear, I think not only from Alden but from the
15 retroactivity provision of the '74 amendments that we have
16 here a statute that's unusually explicit in being designed
17 to provide the statement of clear intent that the Court
18 upheld in Missouri to have been missing from the FLSA
19 prior to the '74 amendments.

20 QUESTION: Mr. Collins, in answer to Justice
21 O'Connor's question, you mentioned the IGRA that figured
22 in Seminole that didn't use, make specific reference to
23 the Eleventh Amendment. Remind me about title VII. Does
24 title VII make a specific reference to it?

25 MR. COLLINS: That's right, Justice Ginsburg,

1 no, it does not, and I believe that there are numerous
2 others that do not make a specific reference.

3 QUESTION: And in this case the term public
4 agency is specifically defined to include a State, is that
5 correct?

6 MR. COLLINS: That's correct.

7 Now, Congress had the power to abrogate State
8 immunity from claims under this statute because this is a
9 statute aimed at arbitrary discrimination against a class
10 of people based on stereotypes about that class.

11 QUESTION: Well, probably the statute goes
12 beyond any constitutional substantive limit, does it not?

13 MR. COLLINS: It does, Justice O'Connor, and it
14 certainly goes beyond what the courts acting without
15 congressional guidance could find to be unconstitutional,
16 but it does so, as I'll undertake to explain, in a way
17 that's congruent, to use this Court's terms, with the
18 constitutional prohibition.

19 And the heart of the statute, the core, the
20 reason it was enacted, and the purpose that is served by
21 its various provisions, is to get at a form of what this
22 Court has called invidious discrimination in McKennon --

23 QUESTION: Was there any more indication in the
24 history of this legislation other than trying to reach the
25 private sector? There's very little that indicates there

1 was some need to reach State and local employment --

2 MR. COLLINS: I don't think that's the case,

3 Justice --

4 QUESTION: -- legislation, isn't that true?

5 MR. COLLINS: I would say not, Justice O'Connor,
6 because even in 1967, in the years leading up to the
7 initial enactment, what Congress was looking at, and what
8 the Labor Department, for example, studied in the reports
9 it gave to Congress, was the general approach that
10 employers of all sorts took to decisionmaking based on
11 age, and the Labor Department surveys, for example, did
12 include public agencies.

13 Many -- there were -- Congressmen referred to
14 public agencies along with private employers in '67, and
15 what Congress was finding in 1967, based on the
16 information it was receiving, was essentially a pervasive
17 problem in our society of how people look at older
18 workers.

19 QUESTION: You say that Congress was addressing
20 its attention to invidious discrimination and yet, in our
21 Murgia case, we said in effect that there wasn't, under
22 the Constitution, invidious discrimination when you
23 classify it on the basis of age, so can Congress change
24 that constitutional law?

25 MR. COLLINS: No, Congress is not changing

1 constitutional law, Mr. Chief Justice, and in Murgia the
2 Court did not say that there could never be
3 unconstitutional or invidious discrimination based on --

4 QUESTION: No, but certainly it approved the use
5 of stereotypes.

6 MR. COLLINS: I would not -- not a stereotype of
7 the sort that Congress was concerned with in the statute.
8 It approved a generalization, but what Congress --

9 QUESTION: Well, what's the difference between a
10 generalization and a stereotype?

11 MR. COLLINS: Well, I would say the difference,
12 Mr. Chief Justice, what Congress --

13 QUESTION: I would like your answer to that
14 question, not what Congress --

15 MR. COLLINS: One can make a generalization
16 regarding any classification which is for the most part
17 true but will have certain exceptions, and which is
18 essentially grounded in a rational determination.

19 One can have a stereotype, which is what
20 Congress found to be happening with regard to age, where
21 one has a generalization that first of all is not accurate
22 even on the average, which is what Congress -- what the
23 Labor Department determined and what Congress accepted,
24 and which reflects not a rational assessment of
25 qualifications, but a prejudice, an unfounded prejudice.

1 QUESTION: Any unfounded prejudice is
2 unconstitutional.

3 MR. COLLINS: At least --

4 QUESTION: I mean, I find it extraordinary that
5 Congress would have felt the need to enforce the
6 Fourteenth Amendment in an area where there was no opinion
7 of this Court saying that the Fourteenth Amendment was
8 violated, and a suggestion that it wasn't violated.
9 Congress just went ahead and identified on its own this
10 serious constitutional violation that had been occurring
11 throughout the United States that, the existence of which
12 is not reflected in a single opinion of the Supreme Court.

13 MR. COLLINS: Justice Scalia, the judgment
14 Congress made is in no way inconsistent with anything
15 reflected in the decisions of this Court. What the Court
16 had said in Murgia and Vance and Gregory was not that age
17 in general, or certainly not always, is a rational basis
18 for decisions.

19 The Court in those cases looked at the
20 particular jobs in question, looked particularly in
21 Gregory at the difficulty, in the circumstances, of making
22 individual judgments, and found a rational basis under a
23 form of --

24 QUESTION: Do you think it's unconstitutional --
25 suppose a State says, you know, we just don't have enough

1 jobs. We're just concerned, and we're going to increase
2 the number of jobs in the labor force by having mandatory
3 retirement at age 55, no indication that people can't do
4 the job after that, and that is unconstitutional.

5 MR. COLLINS: That kind of a judgment would be
6 closer, Justice Scalia, because it would not be based on
7 the kinds of stigmatizing attitudes towards people's
8 ability that Congress found to be pervasive.

9 What Congress found to be the basic reason that
10 older workers were not being retained were stereotypes
11 about their qualifications, not economic judgments of the
12 nature of --

13 QUESTION: But in Murgia -- in Murgia, it wasn't
14 economic. It was what you might call stereotypes about
15 going downhill after a certain age, which --

16 MR. COLLINS: But --

17 QUESTION: -- a lot of us can testify to.

18 (Laughter.)

19 MR. COLLINS: But Mr. Chief Justice, I think two
20 points are crucial about Murgia and Vance and Gregory.
21 First, the Court emphasized the nature and in some
22 instances the evidence about the particular jobs that made
23 it rational to conclude there was a significant problem of
24 inability of older workers, and an impossibility of making
25 individual determinations.

1 And secondly, and equally important, the Court
2 emphasized that it was applying a mode of review that
3 applies when the courts are acting without congressional
4 guidance. As the Court said in Cleburne, standards of
5 review are rules the courts devise when Congress has not
6 spoken, and that were being applied to legislative
7 judgments where the legislators don't -- can't be called
8 into court to explain all their reasons.

9 The Court in fact emphasized that one of the
10 justifications for the limited role the courts play in
11 reviewing age-based classifications is that age is a
12 matter that the political process can deal with. It's not
13 a discrete and insular minority, and Congress --

14 QUESTION: Well, was the suggestion that the
15 political process could deal with it by making new
16 constitutional law?

17 MR. COLLINS: No, Mr. Chief Justice, and we
18 don't believe that's what's been done here. The basic
19 constitutional law here is that you cannot use arbitrary
20 classifications where they are too attenuated.

21 This Court has said, for example, property
22 ownership, it's not a suspect classification, but the
23 Court held unanimously in 1989 that it violated the Equal
24 Protection Clause to deny certain Government positions to
25 people because they didn't own property.

1 QUESTION: Yes, and if Congress had addressed
2 itself in the ADEA to simply arbitrary and irrational
3 judgments based on age, but it seems to me it went a good
4 deal further than that and said that between 40 and 65,
5 that you simply could not discriminate in any way between
6 these people.

7 MR. COLLINS: It didn't go quite that far,
8 Mr. Chief Justice, and I think actually it established a
9 scheme which is more proportional to the Equal Protection
10 Clause core than in the voting rights cases, for example,
11 because what Congress did, it recognized, it learned from
12 the Labor Department that there are some instances when
13 employers rely on age in a noninvidious, rational way.

14 One area was benefits. Another was where an
15 employer can show that some older workers, because of
16 their age, are unable to perform satisfactorily, and it's
17 not practical to make individual determinations, as was
18 the situation in Gregory, for example, as the Court
19 emphasized. Sometimes you can't. Congress allows
20 reliance on age in that circumstance.

21 So what Congress has fashioned here is a system
22 of proof and defenses which, we submit, is well-calculated
23 to get at the arbitrary, invidious discrimination that
24 Congress was aiming at.

25 QUESTION: Is there any indication in the

1 statute or, as far as you know, in the legislative history
2 that Congress believed that such invidious discrimination
3 by the States was unconstitutional?

4 MR. COLLINS: There's no reference to the
5 Constitution, Justice Scalia.

6 QUESTION: That's extraordinary.

7 MR. COLLINS: There are comparisons to title VII
8 and to other discrimination statutes which Congress
9 certainly knew had been passed to deal with constitutional
10 problems, but of course --

11 QUESTION: You're saying Congress took this
12 action in order to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment, but
13 makes no reference to the Fourteenth Amendment in the text
14 of the statute, or any reference to the fact that it
15 thought this action was unconstitutional.

16 MR. COLLINS: That's correct, Justice Scalia.
17 That was the case in Fullilove, and that was the
18 situation, of course, in Wyoming, where the Court --

19 QUESTION: Fullilove has been overruled.

20 MR. COLLINS: Not on the point that Congress'
21 section 5 power could be considered as a source of the
22 statute, despite the fact that Congress hadn't mentioned
23 the Fourteenth Amendment. It's been overruled in terms of
24 the substantive analysis of when one can take race into
25 account in that context, but the lead opinion in

1 Fullilove, and even the dissent, both said we will view
2 this -- we will analyze this as legislation adopted under
3 section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment, even though the
4 fact was Congress had not referred to that.

5 And the Court has always said that what we do
6 when we review the permissibility of a congressional
7 enactment is to look at what Congress has done and see,
8 with a presumption of constitutionality, whether there is
9 any constitutional power to support it. The Court has
10 never required that Congress identify the power it's
11 invoking.

12 QUESTION: But it's one thing to say you're
13 acting under section 5, which gives the enforcement power
14 to Congress, but then for Congress to go and say we're
15 acting under section 5 but we don't even mention what
16 constitutional provision we're talking about seems
17 strange.

18 MR. COLLINS: But I submit, Mr. Chief Justice,
19 that if Congress has made clear its judgment as to the
20 nature of the conduct it is dealing with, and it made that
21 clear here not only in '67 but in the '74 legislative
22 history that it believed it was dealing with arbitrary,
23 invidious discrimination, it seems to me the fact that
24 Congress did not then finish the sentence and say, and
25 that violates the Constitution, is not dispositive as to

1 Congress' possession of the power to enact the statute.

2 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Collins.

3 Ms. Underwood, we'll hear from you.

4 ORAL ARGUMENT OF BARBARA D. UNDERWOOD

5 ON BEHALF OF PETITIONER UNITED STATES

6 MS. UNDERWOOD: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it

7 please the Court:

8 The Age Discrimination Act was passed after
9 Congress heard extensive evidence that employers were
10 refusing to hire people over the age of 40 on the basis of
11 myths and stereotypes. People in their forties and
12 fifties who lost their jobs or reentered the job market
13 after child-rearing couldn't find new jobs because of this
14 prejudice.

15 The legislative findings say explicitly that
16 older workers are, quote, disadvantaged in their efforts
17 to retain employment and especially to regain employment
18 when displaced from jobs, and when Congress extended the
19 ban on age discrimination to public employers in 1974,
20 public employers State and Federal, it did so on the basis
21 of evidence that public employers were also engaging in
22 this arbitrary and irrational discrimination. It had
23 evidence in the form of an extensive report that had been
24 done in the State of California --

25 QUESTION: Oh, excuse me. It's arbitrary and

1 irrational as to any particular individual, but it's not
2 arbitrary and irrational in gross.

3 MS. UNDERWOOD: Well --

4 QUESTION: Which I thought is the usual test for
5 rational basis scrutiny.

6 MS. UNDERWOOD: Actually, the --

7 QUESTION: I mean, in gross you could say, you
8 know, I'm better off hiring people under 60. Is that an
9 irrational calculation? You can say it's irrational as to
10 this individual. You can't say for sure that he can't do
11 the job just because he's over 60. But if I make a
12 generalization, I'm better off having younger workers, is
13 that irrational?

14 MS. UNDERWOOD: The evidence before Congress was
15 of a decision that was common, and it was irrational. It
16 wasn't under 60, Justice Scalia, it was under 40, and what
17 Congress found was that employers that -- there were
18 studies that showed that more than half the jobs in the
19 workplace were closed to people under 40, or under 45 --

20 QUESTION: So is that irrational? Is that
21 irrational?

22 MS. UNDERWOOD: And what they --

23 QUESTION: I want to hire somebody who will be
24 with my company for a long time. I don't want somebody
25 that's going to be retiring relatively soon.

1 MS. UNDERWOOD: And what Congress found was that
2 those decisions were predominantly based on beliefs that
3 Congress also found, on the basis of studies, to be false,
4 that --

5 QUESTION: But that's not false --

6 MS. UNDERWOOD: It is --

7 QUESTION: -- if the person who's 40 is going to
8 be retiring sooner than the person who's 20. How is that
9 false?

10 MS. UNDERWOOD: It's false --

11 QUESTION: Now, you can say as a policy matter
12 we shouldn't allow this. That's fine.

13 MS. UNDERWOOD: It's false --

14 QUESTION: But to say that it's unconstitutional
15 because it's irrational, I -- it just boggles my mind.

16 MS. UNDERWOOD: The studies before Congress
17 showed that in fact younger employees did not stay with
18 companies longer than people who joined them at the age --
19 in their forties and fifties.

20 It's true, Justice Scalia, that in principle, if
21 one were speculating about the probabilities, one might
22 suppose that. But the studies showed that while they may
23 leave for different reasons, they leave more often, not
24 less often than older workers. The studies showed that
25 it's -- that the workers in the protected class were not

1 more often absent, did not -- were not less loyal, that
2 is, did not move around, and were not less productive.
3 That's the evidence --

4 QUESTION: And didn't retire sooner.

5 MS. UNDERWOOD: They didn't leave sooner.

6 Obviously, they left for retirement sooner than younger
7 workers left for retirement, but younger workers --

8 QUESTION: Exclude one reason. I mean, you can
9 exclude one reason for losing the worker, and that's not
10 irrational.

11 MS. UNDERWOOD: Well, what Congress found was
12 that the reasons actually used by employers, namely, the
13 belief that they were less productive, more often absent,
14 and left sooner, were false, that that's what the studies
15 showed, and that that's the belief on which the employers
16 were by and large acting, and on the basis of that kind of
17 information, Congress passed this law.

18 QUESTION: Well, at the very least there wasn't
19 any focus, was there, on State action?

20 MS. UNDERWOOD: There was, even in 1967 when the
21 law was passed, evidence before Congress about State
22 action, although --

23 QUESTION: There's just very little reference to
24 State action, and don't most States have their own age
25 discrimination laws today?

1 MS. UNDERWOOD: Well, by now they do. Actually,
2 when the statute was --

3 QUESTION: They certainly do now.

4 MS. UNDERWOOD: When the statute was passed in
5 '67, there were only a few. When the statute --

6 QUESTION: Could not these very plaintiffs have
7 pursued State law actions? Certainly Florida has
8 actions --

9 MS. UNDERWOOD: It's actually not clear about
10 the Alabama plaintiff. There's a question --

11 QUESTION: But Florida clearly has laws.

12 MS. UNDERWOOD: Florida has laws. The existence
13 of State laws doesn't suggest that there's not a problem.
14 In fact, to the contrary. It suggests that the States
15 recognize that there's a problem and, in fact, the State
16 officials charged with enforcing the laws that were in
17 effect, the State laws that were in effect in 1974, were
18 eager to have Federal law passed because they said they
19 didn't have the resources or the ability to enforce their
20 laws adequately, so they didn't feel displaced but,
21 rather, supported by the Federal effort.

22 And the fact that States as a matter of policy
23 prohibit age discrimination doesn't mean that States as
24 employers don't engage in it. Indeed, the extensive
25 California study that was before Congress was exactly such

1 a case. It was a State with an employment -- with an age
2 discrimination law, and yet the studies that California
3 had done established that age discrimination was rampant
4 in the public service in California, and that further
5 legislative efforts and administrative efforts would be
6 necessary to do something about it.

7 QUESTION: Ms. Underwood, in that respect it
8 resembles title VII, doesn't it, because there were EEO
9 laws in the States long before title VII came on the
10 books, and I believe when title VII was extended to public
11 employment, State and Federal, the vast majority of States
12 had their own antidiscrimination statutes.

13 MS. UNDERWOOD: That's correct. It's never --
14 it would be surprising to think that the existence of race
15 discrimination and sex discrimination law somehow
16 eliminated the race and sex discrimination problem and
17 made it unnecessary even in public employment, and made it
18 unnecessary for a Federal law to address a problem either
19 in the workplace at large or in public employment
20 generally.

21 QUESTION: Of course, the reason for the
22 unconstitutionality of race discrimination is not some
23 generalized notion that it's irrational, but the explicit
24 constitutional prohibition of it. That's quite a
25 different --

1 MS. UNDERWOOD: That's correct, although the
2 history of sex discrimination is a little bit more
3 ambiguous. That is to say, at the point at which Congress
4 extended the title VII to the States, this Court had not
5 yet held that sex discrimination requires heightened
6 scrutiny, and it still hasn't put it in the same category
7 as race discrimination, and nevertheless, it is
8 appropriate for Congress to -- this Court has endorsed the
9 proposition that title VII is proper legislation even
10 against the States.

11 QUESTION: Maybe, but I've never heard it argued
12 on the basis of irrationality, that the reason Congress
13 can do this is that sex discrimination is irrational, and
14 therefore -- and therefore title -- the Fourteenth
15 Amendment is triggered.

16 MS. UNDERWOOD: The fact that age discrimination
17 is not entitled to the same kind of constitutional
18 scrutiny as race discrimination and therefore has to be
19 irrational before it's unconstitutional, as distinguished
20 from the different tests that would be applied to race,
21 doesn't put it beyond the race, the reach of the
22 Protection Clause or beyond the reach of Congress.

23 When this Court analyzed in Romer and in
24 Cleburne, this Court was looking at grounds of
25 discrimination that are not entitled -- have never been

1 held entitled to strict --

2 QUESTION: But --

3 MS. UNDERWOOD: -- or even heightened scrutiny.

4 QUESTION: But Ms. Underwood, by that standard,
5 things that are dealt with on a rational basis approach,
6 zoning decisions and that sort of thing, they're all
7 within Congress' section 5 power under your view, because
8 there can be existent cases of arbitrary exercises of that
9 authority.

10 MS. UNDERWOOD: Well --

11 QUESTION: And I presume Congress could then
12 address the subject.

13 MS. UNDERWOOD: Well, Congress -- what happened
14 here isn't that Congress identified an occasional instance
15 of arbitrary use of age and provided a remedy. It found
16 that there was widespread use of a class-based stereotype,
17 that it also found was false, that was depriving people of
18 the ability to make a living, which is -- I'm not
19 suggesting that's a fundamental right, but that it was
20 having sufficient harmful impact to warrant Federal
21 intervention.

22 QUESTION: What if Congress were to look over a
23 whole bunch of zoning decisions and say, there's just
24 evidence throughout the country that people are being
25 deprived of their right to make the best use of their

1 property by these zoning decisions, so we're just going to
2 make it a Federal statute that allows you to bring
3 everything in Federal court.

4 MS. UNDERWOOD: No, I don't think that would be
5 an appropriate exercise of the section 5 power. That
6 wouldn't involve a determination -- now, if Congress were
7 to find that a particular class on the basis of
8 stereotypes and myths about that class, were being
9 regularly --

10 QUESTION: Well, let's say their class is
11 developers.

12 MS. UNDERWOOD: Well, I think that a -- the kind
13 of person -- class-based judgment based on personal
14 characteristics have traditionally been the subject of
15 persistent discrimination that has a kind of impact on an
16 individ -- on a group --

17 QUESTION: Don't you think that the far-reaching
18 nature of these questions respecting Congress' power under
19 the Fifth -- Fifth Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment is a
20 reason why we should insist on a very clear statement of
21 intent to abrogate in the first place, then Congress could
22 have these debates. Congress did not have this debate
23 that we are having here.

24 MS. UNDERWOOD: Congress --

25 QUESTION: It didn't come to anything close to

1 it.

2 MS. UNDERWOOD: Congress had the debate about
3 the rationality of the use of age. That was extensively
4 debated. It was in years of hearings and reports, and it
5 was discussed on the floor.

6 QUESTION: Ms. Underwood, when Congress makes a
7 conclusion of irrationality regarding the treatment of
8 some insular minority within the electorate, I'm inclined
9 to credit it. When Congress makes such a determination of
10 irrationality with regard to the treatment of a body of
11 voters that is enormous, I am a little more skeptical.

12 MS. UNDERWOOD: Well, I'd like to mention --

13 QUESTION: And a body of voters that changes. I
14 mean, we're all going to be old. It's unlike other
15 personal characteristics that you mentioned, race, sex and
16 so forth. Some of us never have to worry about that,
17 right, and you cannot say that about age. We're all going
18 to be old, and therefore you can assume that the laws
19 regarding what happens to the elderly will be more
20 fairly -- will be more fairly adopted than those regarding
21 race or sex.

22 MS. UNDERWOOD: Well, I think you've identified
23 a distinction, but that doesn't mean that Congress didn't
24 have the power to find what this Court couldn't.

25 I'd like to save the balance of my time for

1 rebuttal, if I may.

2 QUESTION: Very well, Ms. Underwood. It's you
3 rather than Mr. Collins, then, who will do the rebuttal.

4 MS. UNDERWOOD: That's correct.

5 QUESTION: Very well.

6 Mr. Sutton.

7 ORAL ARGUMENT OF JEFFREY S. SUTTON

8 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS

9 MR. SUTTON: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, may
10 it please the Court:

11 In 1974, Congress became the 26th legislature in
12 the country to enact an age discrimination law that
13 applied to public employees. In 1983, 7 years later, this
14 Court in EEOC v. Wyoming held that the Age Discrimination
15 Act was permissible Commerce Clause legislation that
16 applied to the States. We do not challenge that holding.

17 In the Wyoming case, four justices also reached
18 the question whether the age laws were permissible
19 section 5 legislation. They concluded that they were not.
20 We agree with that reasoning for two reasons. First,
21 Congress failed unmistakably to abrogate the States'
22 immunity from suit and, second, lacked the power to do so.

23 As to the clear statement point, I'd like to
24 pick up on some of the questioning in the first half of
25 the argument. There are two principal problems, we would

1 submit, with the clear statement claim petitioners have
2 made. First of all, they have read 626(c) out of the
3 statute. The court enforcement provision that has existed
4 in 626(c) from 1967 all the way to the present
5 accomplishes nothing if petitioners' reading of the
6 incorporation argument is correct, and that's the first
7 problem.

8 The second problem is 626(c), even on its own
9 terms, and I would even submit 216(b), does not suffice
10 precisely for the reason Justice Kennedy identified, that
11 the phrase, court of competent jurisdiction, still creates
12 an ambiguity about abrogation. Indeed, that's exactly
13 what the Court recognized in the Missouri Employees case.

14 QUESTION: Mr. Sutton, I don't understand this
15 argument of yours. How does 626(c) have independent
16 effect under your interpretation? I mean, it seems to me
17 under either one it's swallowed up by the later provision,
18 the incorporation of section 216, no?

19 MR. SUTTON: Yes, Your Honor. Our position is
20 that in incorporating some of the powers and remedies of
21 the FLSA enforcement provision, this is simply not one of
22 the ones that was picked up, for the basic reason that the
23 626(c) enforcement provision already existed, was not
24 repealed in 1974, and has not been repealed since, so in
25 order to credit petitioner's argument one must assume that

1 Congress did a useless act.

2 The useless act was to have 626(c), the very
3 first sentence, still in existence after 1974, and it's an
4 accepted canon of construction that Congress doesn't do a
5 useless act, that the words of every statute have some
6 purpose and meaning. That may not be the best reading of
7 all of these statutes, but that's not our burden. Our
8 burden is simply to show that it's a plausible one, and
9 that they have not left any reason beyond a doubt that
10 their reading is the correct one.

11 QUESTION: When I put these statutes together by
12 using quotes and brackets and so forth, I got the
13 following: bracket, the ADEA, bracket, shall be enforced
14 in accordance with the, bracket, quote, following, quote,
15 provision. A suit for violation, quote, may be maintained
16 by, quote, any employee, quote, against any employer
17 including, quote, a State or a political subdivision of a
18 State, end quote, in any Federal, dot, dot, dot, court of
19 competent jurisdiction.

20 Now, if I put them together, how could it be
21 clearer?

22 MR. SUTTON: Two problems, Your Honor. First of
23 all, the --

24 QUESTION: If I put them together right.

25 MR. SUTTON: First of all, the problem that

1 Justice Kennedy identified, the phrase, court of competent
2 jurisdiction by itself is ambivalent, the reason being
3 there are two issues in an abrogation case. The first
4 question is whether the subsequent provisions of the law
5 have been extended to the public agency. We don't dispute
6 that. They have been extended.

7 But the second question is whether one of the
8 principal defenses to those claims has been abrogated.
9 There's plenty of reason to have a statute that reads just
10 as you've read it. I would point out that you've used
11 several subchapters and incorporated several of them, but
12 I admit correctly under petitioner's reading.

13 The problem with it is, you could still have a
14 situation where you need that statute for a Federal
15 Government action against a State for money damages, which
16 is permissible under the Eleventh Amendment. You could
17 have a situation in which you bring such claims in Federal
18 Court and the State waives its immunity from suit, which
19 is permissible, or you could have Justice Kennedy's
20 situation, where such claims are permissible in State
21 courts of competent jurisdiction where there's a waiver.

22 But your reading does leave a redundancy, and
23 the redundancy is in 626(c)(1), and the thing I've not
24 heard raised or shown by petitioners is how 626(c)(1)
25 accomplishes anything. It's at page 93a of the cert

1 petition.

2 QUESTION: If that section had been repealed,
3 would you then agree that there had been a valid
4 abrogation, or are you arguing in effect that Congress
5 must say in so many words that the Eleventh Amendment
6 immunity, the States shall not be immune under the
7 Eleventh Amendment?

8 MR. SUTTON: Our case gets much harder, Your
9 Honor, at that point. In effect at that point I'd be
10 saying that it didn't even suffice for the FSLA, which of
11 course is a difficult argument. In 1973, the Missouri
12 Employees decision came out saying the abrogation was
13 insufficient. One year later, they did amend the statute,
14 clearly for the purpose of correcting that problem.

15 QUESTION: Without saying, and the Eleventh
16 Amendment is hereby abrogated.

17 MR. SUTTON: And they've not used what we'll
18 call magic words to say the Eleventh Amendment, so my
19 case --

20 QUESTION: So what would you here -- if you say,
21 you don't need those magic words, what in addition to the
22 repealing of the section -- whose number I forgot, what,
23 in addition, would it have taken?

24 MR. SUTTON: Just what we have in Seminole
25 Tribe, which is several mentions of the phrase, State, in

1 the enforcement provision, the State itself, not just in
2 the court enforcement provision, but throughout the whole
3 remedial scheme.

4 QUESTION: How about title VII?

5 MR. SUTTON: Well, title VII is -- does mention
6 the public body in the scheme itself. In other words,
7 when they made the amendment, I think it's in '72, to
8 extend title VII to the States, they mentioned State in
9 the enforcement provision, and so that does suffice.

10 QUESTION: Although they didn't say the immunity
11 under the Eleventh Amendment is abrogated.

12 MR. SUTTON: That's true, they did not, Your
13 Honor.

14 QUESTION: And so they could have been thinking
15 of State in an Ex parte Young sense, the injunctive
16 relief.

17 MR. SUTTON: That is true, and I think that is
18 an ambiguity, and I think that's one of the things that
19 Justice Kennedy's question prompts, is the question --

20 QUESTION: So you think Fitzpatrick v. Bitzer
21 was decided wrongly.

22 MR. SUTTON: No, Your Honor. No one raised the
23 clear statement question, and I'm not saying -- I don't
24 want to be mistaken, and I hope I didn't misspeak. I'm
25 not saying there is an insufficient clear statement in

1 title VII. That's -- we don't take that position. In
2 fact, we think the title VII case is very much like
3 Seminole Tribe and is controlled by it.

4 If I could, I'd like to switch to the power
5 question.

6 QUESTION: Just before you get there --

7 MR. SUTTON: Yes.

8 QUESTION: Has either Florida or Alabama
9 permitted a suit in its own court, waived sovereign
10 immunity in its own courts, in State courts?

11 MR. SUTTON: Your Honor, there are published
12 Florida opinions where there are money damages actions
13 brought against public employees in State court against
14 Florida, public employers, as to --

15 QUESTION: Under this statute?

16 MR. SUTTON: Oh, under that -- I'm -- excuse me,
17 Your Honor. I'm not aware of that, and I don't know the
18 answer. My assumption is that most of these claims are
19 brought in Federal court. Keep in mind, and Hallett v.
20 Rose was a case that came from Florida, it would be a
21 difficult situation for a State to abrogate immunity as to
22 State law age discrimination claims and then not abrogate
23 it as to Federal claims.

24 QUESTION: Howell wasn't the State, was it? I
25 mean, wasn't it a county or something?

1 MR. SUTTON: It was a county, Your Honor. I'm
2 not saying it would be controlling, but I'm just raising
3 the issue, and I think the issue would be, at least in the
4 language of Hallett, and Justice Stevens can back me up,
5 the language of Hallett would be the question of whether
6 the State is discriminating against Federal rights, and
7 that could potentially be a problem. I'm not taking a
8 position one side or the other, but it is in an issue.

9 QUESTION: Can I quickly ask you on that
10 626(c)(1), it looks as if its there either to specify
11 legal and equitable or for the purpose of putting in the
12 proviso.

13 MR. SUTTON: Right. Right, Your Honor. Well,
14 the proviso, we're not referring to the redundancy there.
15 It would be the first sentence --

16 QUESTION: Wall, you could write (c)(1) in order
17 to put in the proviso. You want to know why did Congress
18 write it if the other thing means what it says, and the
19 answer could be, because they wanted to stick in that
20 proviso.

21 MR. SUTTON: Uh-huh. Well, let me answer the
22 first question, which it turns out is a little easier than
23 the second.

24 As to the first question, 216(b), the so-called
25 incorporated provision, also refers to legal or equitable

1 relief, so in that sense they are utterly -- they are
2 utterly redundant.

3 As to your second point, I suppose that is a
4 conceivable argument, but again I would go back to what my
5 burden is, is not to rebut every conceivable argument, but
6 to show that it wasn't clear.

7 As to power, City of Boerne makes clear that
8 there were two inquiries. The first is -- and I want to
9 be clear, two inquiries when it comes to prophylactic
10 legislation. That is, section 5 legislation that goes
11 beyond what in this case the Fourteenth Amendment
12 requires. The first inquiry is whether there is a
13 sufficient predicate for imposing extra constitutional
14 requirements on the States. The second is whether the
15 section 5 law at the end of the day is, in fact,
16 proportional.

17 As to the predicate, we would submit that, while
18 there may well be age discrimination in an Article I sense
19 in the States, in the Federal Government, in the private
20 sector, when it comes to Fourteenth Amendment equal
21 protection discrimination by State employers, the record
22 shows absolutely nothing.

23 First of all, the law was extended in 1974.
24 Murgia isn't even decided until 1976. The whole concept
25 of constitutional violations regarding the elderly wasn't

1 even on the radar screen in 1974, and that's exactly why
2 the Congressional Record is so silent. It wasn't
3 something anyone was debating.

4 But even if one goes beyond 1974, and we think
5 that would be permissible, all the way to the present,
6 looking at cases from this Court, the State courts, the
7 Federal courts, the record is still silent.

8 Now, the Federal Government in its reply brief
9 has identified three cases. These, by the way, are the
10 only three cases that have been identified so far in the
11 briefing in this case regarding State discrimination
12 against the elderly under the Equal Protection Clause.
13 None of them suffice.

14 First, for the most obvious reason, none of
15 them involve State employment. Every single one of them
16 dealt with State laws. They didn't involve State
17 employers violating the equal protection rights of their
18 State employees, which after all is just what the ADEA is
19 about.

20 One of the cases, the Seventh Circuit case, was
21 on a motion to dismiss, a situation where the State simply
22 hadn't supplied any rational basis, and the court of
23 appeals properly said, at a minimum, you've got to give us
24 something, and rejected the motion to dismiss. There's no
25 indication that there was a constitutional violation.

1 The second case is even worse. That's a case in
2 which the discrimination was against 22 and 21-year-olds
3 who were denied the opportunity to live off campus in
4 college. 23-year-olds were given that right. Well, there
5 was a violation of the U.S. Constitution, but it was
6 certainly not one that helps prevent discrimination
7 against those over 40.

8 And the third case from Colorado is a State
9 court case, involve violations under the State and U.S.
10 Constitution, which of course precluded review here and
11 again did not involve a State employee.

12 But again, Congress does have authority to do
13 more. In other words, they don't have to wait till a
14 record of violations piles up and suddenly act after there
15 have been 50 or so. There's no doubt they can head the
16 problem off, cut it off at the pass, but there's no such
17 threat, and to use the words of Florida Prepaid, any such
18 harm is exceedingly speculative, and the reason it's
19 speculative, we would submit, is if you look at page 38 in
20 our brief, we've identified what I think are eight
21 preconditions for an equal protection violation by a State
22 employer to go unremedied.

23 First, the States would have to not properly
24 enforce their age discrimination laws, which, after all,
25 overprotect the constitutional rights of their employees.

1 Then the State and Federal lower courts would have to deny
2 relief under the Equal Protection Clause. This Court
3 would have to deny relief under the Equal Protection
4 Clause. The individual would not be able to get Ex parte
5 Young relief in Federal court, which is, after all, still
6 permissible after EEOC v. Wyoming.

7 The EEOC as a Federal agency would have to
8 decide that however grave this violation was, it wasn't
9 important enough for them to bring the action for money
10 damages in Federal court and then, perhaps most
11 importantly, the judgment in Vance v. Bradley that even
12 improvident decisions by State and Federal Governments
13 usually are corrected by the political process, and one
14 would presume that would likely be the case in that
15 particular --

16 QUESTION: Of course, seven out of those eight
17 steps can be eliminated by the simple fact that the
18 elderly employee just says, life is too short, and doesn't
19 seek litigation. I mean, that would jump over seven of
20 the eight. I mean, it's possible that it is a problem,
21 but people just haven't had the time or the incentive or
22 the gumption or whatever to sue about it.

23 MR. SUTTON: No doubt, Your Honor, but that is
24 not a problem the ADEA is going to cure. If they're not
25 going to use the State laws, if they're not going to use

1 the U.S. Constitution, the State constitution, the
2 political process, it seems to me exceptionally
3 unlikely --

4 QUESTION: Doesn't the ADEA require you to touch
5 base with State law? That is, before you can institute a
6 Federal suit, mustn't you invoke the State process?

7 MR. SUTTON: That is true, and there's a 60-day
8 wait before you can bring a Federal action, but there's
9 nothing about the age laws that require you to wait. All
10 one has to do is file in State, and it can be rather
11 informal, just with the Human Rights Commission, and at
12 that point there's a 60-day timetable before you can bring
13 a Federal court action.

14 There's no requirement, which would be, I think,
15 somewhat respectful of the State --

16 QUESTION: There's no exhaustion requirement.

17 MR. SUTTON: Excuse me.

18 QUESTION: There's no exhaustion requirement.

19 MR. SUTTON: Exactly. Exactly, so you do have
20 the precondition of filing in State court, but there's no
21 requirement that you sit and wait and see if you get State
22 relief.

23 QUESTION: Well, there's one point in this that
24 puzzles me. I think I heard you concede that there could
25 be an action for injunctive relief, an Ex parte Young

1 relief, forward-looking, against a State that is
2 maintaining a practice of discriminating against people
3 over the age of 40. Did you say that that legitimately
4 under Ex parte Young the State could be sued?

5 MR. SUTTON: I -- I'm sure I did, and I most
6 clearly misspoke. It would have to be an action against a
7 State official under Ex parte Young.

8 QUESTION: Yes, I mean that. Last --

9 MR. SUTTON: Okay. Well, no, then I -- my --
10 I'm pretty sure I made that concession.

11 QUESTION: Okay. So we have action against a
12 State official --

13 MR. SUTTON: Right.

14 QUESTION: -- to stop using this formula to
15 calculate salaries because it discriminates against older
16 people, stop order from the Federal court. Armed with
17 that stop order, could the employee then go into his State
18 court, which has a State law that waives the State
19 sovereign immunity in its own court, and say, here's my
20 Federal judgment, it says the practice was illegal, that's
21 issue preclusion, now figure out what compensation I'm
22 owed?

23 MR. SUTTON: Well, Your Honor, that raises some
24 of the questions we were addressing earlier, and that's
25 whether the State waiver with respect to claims under

1 State law constitutes a waiver for Federal law claims.

2 That would be one problem we have there.

3 QUESTION: But it's not a Federal law claim.

4 It's a State law claim, but the fact question, was there
5 discrimination against older workers under this formula,
6 has already decided, been decided in the Federal court.

7 Then the worker comes to State court, suing
8 under State law, and all he's saying is, this fact issue
9 has been precluded, so the only thing that the State can
10 do, following ordinary rules of issue preclusion, is to
11 figure out how much.

12 MR. SUTTON: Your Honor, the premise of the
13 question about ordinary rules of issue and claim
14 preclusion, and I'm certainly underarmed against you on
15 this particular issue, if that is correct, I think that
16 would be a problem.

17 QUESTION: Wouldn't that depend on State law?

18 MR. SUTTON: Absolutely. I mean, if they --
19 that's exactly what I'm saying. If those rules of issue
20 and claim preclusion do apply in State courts under State
21 law, then there's no reason you couldn't do it, just for
22 the same reason you couldn't go in reverse.

23 If you won under -- in a State claim under
24 Federal law, if the Federal rules of issue and claim
25 preclusion permitted it, you could do the same thing in

1 Federal court, but again, on the assumption that those
2 rules of preclusion did apply, and permissibly applied as
3 to claims in one court based on --

4 QUESTION: But I don't follow the beginning in
5 the State, because you'd have no reason to go into the
6 Federal court for Ex parte Young injunctive relief if you
7 win on the merits in the State, where you could get both.

8 MR. SUTTON: That is true. I'm just saying as
9 a --

10 QUESTION: And you might be -- if you tried it,
11 that, encounter a problem of splitting your claims.

12 MR. SUTTON: No, I'm just saying as a
13 theoretical matter, one could. I'm not saying it would be
14 a practical thing to do.

15 The second problem with the ADEA is one
16 regarding proportionality, and the proportionality problem
17 I think is best illustrated by this Court's decision in
18 Western Airlines v. Criswell, which dealt with an age law
19 claim, and it was actually a situation in which the
20 corporate employer came in and tried to win the age claim
21 on the grounds that there was a rational basis for the
22 disparate treatment of an individual over 40.

23 And the Court quite categorically made clear
24 that rational basis review does not apply in an age claim,
25 and in fact said that that's a virtually unreviewable

1 standard, and one in which an employer would always win.
2 In fact, there would be no reason even to go to a jury in
3 an age claim and --

4 QUESTION: Well, does that -- given your
5 argument, does that as a practical matter entail that
6 there simply cannot be general statutory enforcement of a
7 first tier equal protection claim in the practical world,
8 so that your position really is that you can enforce --
9 Congress can enforce by general legislation
10 antidiscrimination against suspect categories and so on,
11 but that is really in practical terms the extent of the
12 enforcement power under section 5?

13 MR. SUTTON: Well, Your Honor, they -- and I
14 think I'm answering your question -- they can always pass
15 legislation that creates a standard that parallels the
16 equal protection standard and supplies --

17 QUESTION: What would that -- true, but what
18 would that accomplish? I mean, as a practical matter,
19 what good would it do?

20 MR. SUTTON: Well, I --

21 QUESTION: Why not simply leave it to the
22 individual claimant to come in under 1983? That would --

23 MR. SUTTON: Well --

24 QUESTION: Would there be any advantage?

25 MR. SUTTON: No, I -- 1983 is an enforcement

1 statute --

2 QUESTION: Yes.

3 MR. SUTTON: -- and I think you're right to
4 suggest that there aren't going to be many situations
5 where an individual is going to have a successful equal
6 protection claim for discrimination against the elderly.

7 QUESTION: On your view.

8 MR. SUTTON: Well, yes. I --

9 QUESTION: I'm not suggesting that as a cosmic
10 matter that I am adopting your view.

11 MR. SUTTON: No, no, no.

12 (Laughter.)

13 QUESTION: I'm simply exploring your position.

14 MR. SUTTON: No, but I -- and I'm answering it
15 by referring to this Court's cases, and that would be
16 under Murgia, Bradley, and Gregory v. Ashcroft, that that
17 seems to me a very difficult standard to meet.

18 I mean, my guess is we could posit utterly
19 irrational laws that discriminate on the basis of age and
20 in which there was no rational justification, even after
21 the fact, no conceivable basis, but that hasn't happened.
22 the Fourteenth Amendment has been around since 1868, and
23 no one's found one yet, so it does strike me as very
24 unlikely, completely unlikely up to now, and very unlikely
25 into the future.

1 But Your Honor --

2 QUESTION: Mr. Sutton, where do you put sex
3 discrimination, then, in the -- because as I understand
4 it, there's race and national origin and religion in
5 title VII --

6 MR. SUTTON: Yes, Your Honor.

7 QUESTION: -- which all had something before the
8 Civil Rights Act in 1964 to suggest that those were
9 suspect categories, but sex discrimination, as I think was
10 pointed out, even in the time title VII was extended, the
11 only decision on the book was Reed v. Reed, and that
12 applied a rational basis test.

13 MR. SUTTON: Yes, Your Honor. Title VII, when
14 it comes to gender discrimination, is an excellent example
15 of the fact that Congress is allowed, as a predictive
16 matter, to make its own judgment about what the
17 Constitution means, and in 1972 it is true, when Congress
18 extended title VII to gender discrimination, gender
19 discrimination still received rational basis review. That
20 doesn't mean it would be impossible to use it, but it
21 would have made it a lot more difficult.

22 In 1976, when Fitzpatrick was decided, or if
23 this issue were reviewed today, it would not receive
24 rational basis review. It would get exacting scrutiny.
25 So Congress is fully entitled to make that predictive

1 judgment.

2 The thing it can't do, as City of Boerne
3 reveals, is, it can't make a predictive judgment and then
4 impose it on the court. Ultimately, when that section 5
5 claim gets to the court, it's the court's judgment as to
6 what the Constitution means.

7 Now, as to remedies, the extent of them,
8 Congress does get wide discretion, as City of Boerne
9 confirms.

10 The other thing is, I think gender
11 discrimination and really all of the protected classes in
12 title VII not only are presumptively unconstitutional
13 classifications, whereas age is presumptively
14 constitutional, those are all instances where you're going
15 to have a predicate of some violations. Just looking at
16 this Court's cases you're going to find that predicate, so
17 the --

18 QUESTION: Could you add anything to the
19 catalogue? You said you recognize that Congress was
20 making a prediction, which the court later bore out, in
21 that sex classifications deserved exacting scrutiny. Is
22 there anything else that's not in the catalogue yet that
23 could be there, that Congress could make a predictive
24 judgment about, or are we at the limit?

25 MR. SUTTON: I couldn't begin to answer that. I

1 apologize, but I mean, I wouldn't even want to step into
2 Congress' shoes on that point.

3 It seems to me they are allowed to look at that
4 issue. They are allowed to decide that perhaps there is a
5 discrete and insular group with immutable characteristics
6 that do warrant additional constitutional protection.
7 That judgment's entitled to some respect, but it's not
8 entitled to complete respect.

9 When that case, and when that legislative
10 judgment gets to this Court, it seems to me that's the
11 important issue, and I'm not disagreeing with your
12 question. I don't think the important question is whether
13 such classes are out there. The important question is,
14 what happens when that section 5 law gets to court.

15 And what happens is, this Court decides whether
16 there's proportionality and whether there's a predicate
17 for this prophylactic legislation, and if it turns out
18 they predict correctly, well, it's really not that
19 prophylactic. It may be in most cases that the
20 legislative standard parallels the constitutional
21 standard, in which case there's not much of a section 5
22 inquiry.

23 QUESTION: Do you take the position, when
24 considering proportionality with respect to a first tier
25 rational basis equal protection category, that it is

1 irrelevant, or at least unnecessary for us to consider the
2 defenses in the statute, e.g., bona fide occupational
3 qualification and so on, and limitations on remedies? In
4 this case, I think the remedy is limited simply to back
5 pay.

6 Are those things really irrelevant, because the
7 burden of proof issue, and the scope of coverage which
8 follows from it, is so dispositive that we never get to
9 look at these other things like defenses and limited
10 remedies and so on.

11 MR. SUTTON: Well, Your Honor, first of all I
12 would say the defenses don't parallel Equal Protection
13 Clause defenses, so that's one of the central arguments
14 we're making, and I think it is borne out by this Court's
15 decision in Western Airlines, but there are -- it's true,
16 there are things in the statute. Justice Ginsburg
17 identified one. There's a 60-day waiting period before
18 the claim can be brought in Federal court. Elected State
19 officials and their top staff are insulated from ADEA
20 claims.

21 So it's true that --

22 QUESTION: That certainly goes to federalism,
23 but is it -- do you take the position that it's irrelevant
24 to the question of proportionality?

25 MR. SUTTON: No, it is relevant. It just

1 doesn't do the trick. It's not even --

2 QUESTION: It just doesn't get you across the
3 line. But in any case, you are taking the position that
4 the disparity between the scope, as determined by the
5 burden of proof, let's say in 1983 litigation, and the
6 burden of proof under this statute, is not dispositive
7 totally, without consideration of such factors as those
8 that Justice Ginsburg and I have been mentioning.

9 MR. SUTTON: Just, when you say 1983 litigation,
10 you're referring to litigation involving equal protection
11 claims --

12 QUESTION: Yes.

13 MR. SUTTON: -- exactly. Well, Your Honor, I
14 do think it is unfortunately a contextual facts, fact and
15 circumstances inquiry where you have to look at all of
16 those things, but it seems to me at the threshold this
17 Court's Western Airlines decision makes it crystal clear
18 that on the one hand the age laws were designed to deal
19 with prohibiting the employers from making the
20 generalization that mental and physical acuity decline
21 with age.

22 In contrast to that are this Court's trilogy of
23 decisions where they say that is permitted by Federal and
24 State legislatures, so that -- that strikes me as a very
25 serious threshold problem.

1 Now, it doesn't mean that you don't consider at
2 all, it all. In fact, I think we should embrace the fact
3 that it is a fact and circumstances test, and that there
4 is no Rosetta Stone here, and the reason that's good is
5 because the greater the underlying violations, the more
6 remedial power Congress ought to have.

7 So I think it's appropriate to embrace that fact
8 and circumstances problem, because while it's difficult
9 for this Court when it comes to drawing those lines, I
10 think it's appropriate to have the freedom to give
11 Congress much more authority in situations where there
12 truly has been a record, in the case of voting rights a
13 record of pervasive and systematic discrimination against
14 certain classes --

15 QUESTION: Mr. Sutton, can I just ask one very
16 minor question. The facts aren't very clear, because
17 everybody just got right to the legal issues. Am I
18 correct in assuming that in all three cases the plaintiffs
19 are citizens of the same State that they're suing, so that
20 this is not the real Eleventh Amendment, in my view of the
21 two Eleventh Amendment problems.

22 MR. SUTTON: With that last caveat, yes, Your
23 Honor.

24 QUESTION: Yes.

25 MR. SUTTON: That is true.

1 The -- I would like to, if I could, in closing,
2 it seems to us, we would respectfully submit, that the age
3 laws are unlike any other prophylactic section 5 law this
4 Court has ever upheld.

5 Instead of pervasive discrimination by State
6 employees, we have a situation in which all 50 States
7 overprotect the constitutional rights of their citizens.
8 Instead of a calibrated remedy that seeks to parallel the
9 constitutional standard, we have an entirely new standard
10 of review that directly contradicts this Court's decision
11 in Western Airlines, and instead of systematic,
12 constitutional violations of the protected class, we have
13 absolutely none.

14 It would seem to me a sad and unfortunate irony
15 to uphold this broadest of section 5 laws precisely in the
16 areas where the State is not only respecting the
17 constitutional rights of their citizens, but in fact
18 overprotecting them.

19 Unless there are any other questions --

20 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Sutton.

21 MR. SUTTON: Thank you, Your Honor.

22 QUESTION: Ms. Underwood, you have 3 minutes
23 remaining.

24 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF BARBARA D. UNDERWOOD
25 ON BEHALF OF PETITIONER UNITED STATES

1 MS. UNDERWOOD: As to the fact that this Court
2 has not found an age discrimination unconstitutional, I'd
3 like to point out that this is no different from what
4 happened with literacy tests for voting.

5 The Court upheld English literacy tests as a
6 reasonable voting requirement, then Congress found that
7 English literacy tests were being used invidiously and
8 prohibited them, and this Court said Congress had properly
9 used its fact-finding power to enforce the Equal
10 Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

11 As to the -- well, in fact, this is stronger
12 than that, because Congress in 19 --

13 QUESTION: It's not quite parallel, because the
14 discrimination there is discrimination on the basis of
15 race or national origin, which was clearly
16 unconstitutional discrimination, and the only issue was
17 whether this device achieved it or not. What we have here
18 is whether the discrimination on the basis of age in and
19 of itself is unconstitutional.

20 MS. UNDERWOOD: Well, no, it's whether -- I
21 think it's -- the parallel is much stronger. It's whether
22 age discrimination which could in principle be proper, as
23 literacy tests could in principle be proper, was being
24 used in an unconstitutional, arbitrary, and irrational
25 way, warranting congressional review, warranting a remedy

1 under the enforcement power of the Equal Protection
2 Clause.

3 As to the proposition that age is different from
4 race and sex, Congress calibrated this statute to that.
5 The reason age was not put in the 1964 Civil Rights Act
6 was that there was an awareness that there are proper uses
7 of age, that seniority systems and pension plans and other
8 decisions that are made in the workforce are properly
9 calibrated to age, but there are also irrational and
10 arbitrary ones, and so a separate study was commissioned
11 and a separate statute was written to deal with precisely
12 that problem, to tailor the remedy to the constitutional
13 violation that Congress perceived.

14 As to Mr. Sutton's observation that there is no
15 predicate for this, there wasn't then and there isn't now
16 in the world, Mr. Sutton is right to focus on individual
17 decisions of State employers. That is what the act is
18 largely aimed at today in view of the demise of mandatory
19 retirement, but the reported cases under State and Federal
20 statutes do show examples of irrational -- the same kind of
21 irrational, unconstitutional, arbitrary age discrimination
22 that Congress was concerned about, situations of employers
23 essentially harassing and insulting an older worker
24 because of his age, situations where a reduction in force
25 was required and the employer simply went down the age

1 list and reduced from the top down, and the allegation in
2 this case is that --

3 QUESTION: Would you say that was irrational
4 under the -- under our constitutional jurisprudence?

5 MS. UNDERWOOD: I would say that Congress --
6 that it was irrational under our jurisprudence if it was
7 based on the belief -- false beliefs, as Congress found
8 that these decisions were.

9 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Ms.
10 Underwood. The case is submitted.

11 (Whereupon, at 11:00 a.m., the case in the
12 above-entitled matters was submitted.)

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CERTIFICATION

Alderson Reporting Company, Inc., hereby certifies that
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The United States in the Matter of:

J. DANIEL KIMEL, JR., ET AL., Petitioners v. FLORIDA BOARD OF REGENTS, ET AL.; and UNITED STATES, Petitioner v. FLORIDA BOARD OF REGENTS, ET AL.
CASE NO: 98-791 & 98-796

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