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PROCEEDINGS BEFORE  
THE SUPREME COURT  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES

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SUPREME COURT, U.S.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20543

**CAPTION:** MISSOURI, ET AL., Petitioners v. KALIMA JENKINS, ET AL.  
**CASE NO:** 88-1150  
**PLACE:** WASHINGTON, D.C.  
**DATE:** October 30, 1989  
**PAGES:** 1 - 52

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

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MISSOURI, ET AL., :  
Petitioners :  
v. : No. 88-1150  
KALIMA JENKINS, ET AL. :  
-----X

Washington, D.C.  
Monday, October 30, 1989

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

APPEARANCES:

H. BARTON FARR, III, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of  
the Petitioners.  
ALLEN R. SNYDER, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of  
the Respondents.

C O N T E N T S

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ORAL ARGUMENT OF

PAGE

H. BARTON FARR, III, ESQ.

On behalf of the Petitioners

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ALLEN R. SNYDER, ESQ.

On behalf of the Respondents

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REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF

H. BARTON FARR, III, ESQ.

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

2 (10:04 a.m.)

3 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument first  
4 this morning in Number 88-1150, Missouri v. Kalima Jenkins.  
5 Mr. Farr?

6 ORAL ARGUMENT OF H. BARTON FARR, III

7 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

8 MR. FARR: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice. May it  
9 please the Court:

10 The issues in this case are important ones regarding  
11 the nature and extent of federal judicial power. The Eighth  
12 Circuit has held that a federal court, in seeking to remedy a  
13 constitutional violation, can give higher authority for state  
14 taxes than state law allows, and it further has held that the  
15 district court properly exercised that authority in this case.

16 We think that the court of appeals was wrong on both  
17 counts. In our view, a federal court can't authorize a  
18 government to tax its citizens without its consent, and it  
19 certainly can't do so without showing that no other remedy and  
20 no other means of financing is available.

21 Now, before turning to the merits, I'd like to spend  
22 a few minutes on the issue of jurisdiction in this Court. The  
23 basic issue seems to us pretty straightforward: did the court  
24 of appeals treat our rehearing petition, which sought en banc  
25 review, as a petition for rehearing as well as one for en



1 banc?

2 If it did, and several circuits have made an express  
3 practice of treating petitions this way, then it seems clear  
4 to us that under the rules the time for seeking review in this  
5 Court was tolled until after the petition was denied.

6 Now, the Eighth Circuit has said itself how it  
7 treated this particular petition. In an order that it entered  
8 nunc pro tunc it said that it had denied petitions for  
9 rehearing with suggestions for rehearing en banc, and it  
10 corrected its earlier order to reflect that fact.

11 QUESTION: Mr. Farr, we occasionally run into a  
12 situation here where a court of appeals or a state court will  
13 enter a judgment nunc pro tunc where the Petitioner has had  
14 his time for certiorari expire just so that the person will be  
15 able to petition in what they think is a timely manner. This  
16 would be somewhat disturbing, I think, if there were any  
17 thought that the court of appeals had just kind of given a  
18 break to your client.

19 MR. FARR: Well, Your Honor, I don't think there's  
20 any reason to treat the order in that particular way for a  
21 couple of reasons.

22 First of all, there's certainly nothing on the face  
23 of the order or anything that it suggests that it is simply  
24 doing that as an accommodation to the parties.

25 Secondly, it is in fact the regular practice of the

1 Eighth Circuit to treat petitions for rehearing en banc as  
2 petitions for rehearing with suggestions for rehearing en  
3 banc, just as several other circuits do, as I say, express a -  
4 -

5 QUESTION: A regular practice?

6 MR. FARR: I'm sorry?

7 QUESTION: A regular practice?

8 MR. FARR: That is what we understand from the  
9 clerk's office, that this is a practice that was instituted  
10 well before the petition was filed in this case and that the  
11 court of appeals does follow, and it is -- our understanding  
12 is the only reason it was not followed in this case was simply  
13 a matter of inadvertence in the clerk's office.

14 QUESTION: So there are no instances in which that  
15 was not done?

16 MR. FARR: Your Honor, I can't certainly say that I  
17 know of no instances in which it was not done. All I can say  
18 is that I do understand that from a period of time beginning,  
19 I believe, sometime in 1987, that the court has been following  
20 this practice as a general matter and they have --

21 QUESTION: The Eighth Circuit has no rule to that  
22 effect, does it?

23 MR. FARR: It does not have an express rule to that  
24 effect, no.

25 QUESTION: Was there anything in the petition for

1 rehearing en banc that indicated that it was intended to serve  
2 both purposes?

3 MR. FARR: No, Your Honor, there was not. Now, I  
4 would say, though, I don't think that in any sense the court  
5 of appeals are or should be limited by what is specifically  
6 asked for in the petition.

7 As I say, in these other circuits which do have it  
8 as an express matter of rule, there is no requirement that, in  
9 order for the rule to come into play, you actually have to  
10 have said, I would like rehearing from the panel, in the  
11 process of applying for rehearing at all. They simply have  
12 decided as a matter of internal court business that that would  
13 be the more flexible way to deal with these, in fact, I think  
14 to eliminate some of the confusion that has arisen out of  
15 problems like this one.

16 QUESTION: The petition -- it used the word  
17 rehearing.

18 MR. FARR: I'm sorry?

19 QUESTION: It used the word rehearing, at least.

20 MR. FARR: Our particular petition did, yes.

21 QUESTION: It didn't say just a suggestion.

22 MR. FARR: That's correct.

23 QUESTION: It said rehearing.

24 MR. FARR: It used the word rehearing specifically,  
25 that's correct.

1 QUESTION: Mr. Farr, did you say our clerk's office  
2 treats this as a permissible practice?

3 MR. FARR: Just when -- I'm sorry if I wasn't clear.  
4 It's the Eighth Circuit's clerk's office that I was talking  
5 about.

6 QUESTION: Oh, I see.

7 MR. FARR: What they have informed us, just once  
8 again, is that when a petition is filed, even if it is  
9 entitled Petition for Rehearing en Banc, it has become the  
10 regular practice of the Eighth Circuit to treat that as a  
11 petition for rehearing with a suggestion for en banc. And  
12 what the court did, therefore, in its order -- its amended  
13 order -- was simply to --

14 QUESTION: But didn't you say they treat it as  
15 tolling the time when you're --

16 MR. FARR: Well, if a petition for rehearing is  
17 filed, that does toll the time under this Court's rules.

18 QUESTION: If it's a petition for rehearing by the  
19 panel.

20 MR. FARR: Well, in fact, the court's rules state a  
21 petition for rehearing. They don't specifically specify the  
22 panel, but I think that is at least --

23 QUESTION: But that's what it means.

24 MR. FARR: That is my understanding of what it means  
25 --



1 QUESTION: And the practice of this Court, I assume,  
2 is to treat both a suggestion for rehearing, or a petition for  
3 rehearing en banc, as not tolling the time?

4 MR. FARR: Your Honor, my understanding is that the  
5 practice in this Court is that if the court of appeals issues  
6 an order and says, we have essentially treated this only as a  
7 suggestion for a rehearing en banc, this Court has not taken  
8 that to toll the time.

9 But again, I would like to go back and say that is  
10 not what the Eighth Circuit has done here. The Eighth Circuit  
11 has said, we have treated this as a petition for rehearing  
12 with a suggestion for rehearing.

13 QUESTION: Well, but that was by a nunc pro tunc  
14 order which perhaps it didn't have any authority to enter. I  
15 mean, if there wasn't any jurisdiction they can't come in  
16 later and create it by that kind of an order.

17 MR. FARR: Your Honor, I don't know of anything that  
18 would prevent a court of appeals, certainly before this Court  
19 has ruled on a petition, from saying we have made a mistake in  
20 the form of our order, or the order should have read  
21 differently from the particular order that was entered and we  
22 would like to correct that order and to reflect it. That  
23 seems to me fully within the power of the court of appeals.

24 QUESTION: Yes, but when it comes here, we have to  
25 determine whether the petition to us was timely or not.

1 MR. FARR: Well, that's correct, Your Honor.  
2 There's no question, this Court has to determine whether to  
3 give effect to the order of the Eighth Circuit or not. I'm  
4 not saying that -- that that is not an issue before the Court.

5 What I am saying, though, is that there is no good  
6 reason not to give effect to the order of the Eighth Circuit,  
7 because it is reflecting its practice, and what the Eighth  
8 Circuit says, at least in its order, was in fact what it did  
9 in this case, and I don't think there's any reason to second-  
10 guess the Eighth Circuit on that.

11 One other point I would make, at least as some  
12 independent evidence to suggest that the Eighth Circuit is not  
13 engaging in some sort of device or sham, here, is what  
14 happened with the mandate.

15 Under the rules of -- the federal Appellate  
16 Procedure Rule 35, the mandate would not automatically be  
17 stayed simply by a petition or suggestion for rehearing en  
18 banc. But there's no question, in this case, that the mandate  
19 was automatically stayed.

20 There is no order staying that, but the mandate did  
21 not issue until after the petition was denied, so we think  
22 that what the court's order says is consistent with, in fact,  
23 the way the court showed it treated the petition at the time  
24 the petition was filed.

25 Now, turning to the merits, as I have said, the case

1 involves questions first about whether federal courts can ever  
2 give authority for higher state taxes and, second, whether  
3 they could do so here. And these questions involve, I think,  
4 some common issues about just what judicial power is and how  
5 it ought to be exercised.

6 I begin with what I think are two relatively  
7 uncontroversial propositions. First of all, that the federal  
8 courts do have broad remedial powers to correct for  
9 constitutional violations.

10 The second point, however, is that that power is  
11 subject to limitation, in particular, limitations that are  
12 drawn from the Constitution itself. And these limitations can  
13 be of different kinds.

14 For example, they can be absolute limitations, ones  
15 that completely bar the use of judicial power in a particular  
16 circumstance, or they can be more flexible. They can be  
17 limitations that allow the courts to exercise power but  
18 require the courts to take account of other important  
19 institutional interests.

20 Now, for example, in the first category I think a  
21 federal court simply could not tell a senator or a congressman  
22 to refrain from activities which are protected under the  
23 speech and debate clause, and in fact the Court so held in  
24 *Eastland v. U.S.S.F* in 421 U.S. Nor do we think a federal  
25 court could tell the President that it had to appoint a

1 particular Cabinet official. Sovereign immunity, where it  
2 applies, can be an absolute barrier to relief.

3 But then there are other doctrines which fall under  
4 the second category, doctrines like comity and judicial  
5 restraint, which -- which do require the courts to give weight  
6 to other branches of government or, in the case of comity, to  
7 state and local governments.

8 It's simply not correct, therefore, as a starting  
9 point for this discussion, to say that a federal court can  
10 always bring about a particular result, or should always bring  
11 about a particular result in a case before it, and indeed, the  
12 particular case cited by the Eighth Circuit for the idea that  
13 courts generally must have the power to carry out their  
14 particular orders is Marbury v. Madison, a case in which this  
15 Court held that it did not have the power under Article 3 to  
16 give the relief that the litigants sought.

17 Now, what has happened in this particular case is  
18 that the courts below have ventured into new ground. We  
19 believe for the first time ever, a federal court has  
20 authorized a government to assess and levy taxes that its  
21 citizens haven't authorized.

22 There seem to be some very good reasons, and I will  
23 discuss them, why this power may be absolutely beyond the  
24 reach of the federal courts.

25 QUESTION: As the case comes to us, then, we --



1 we're dealing with an -- an authorization by a court to a  
2 local body to levy a tax, rather than -- rather than the court  
3 itself purporting to, itself to tax?

4 MR. FARR: Your Honor, I have stated it that way  
5 because first of all I don't think it makes any difference  
6 which of the two it is. I think they're both improper, but  
7 just to save quibbling over it, I think what in fact happened  
8 is that the district court ordered the school district to levy  
9 the tax. The Eighth Circuit then essentially said well, we  
10 will authorize, we will change this slightly so that we will  
11 authorize the school district to levy the tax. There is no  
12 question, however, that if the school district said, now that  
13 we've been authorized to levy the tax, we've decided not to  
14 levy it, that an order would be forthcoming, at least under  
15 the way the courts below have treated it to date. So I think  
16 that the authorization is in fact one that is backed up by the  
17 order.

18 QUESTION: Are you talking about the future or the  
19 one year, '91-'92? I thought there was some difference in the  
20 order for the future and for the one year?

21 MR. FARR: Well, the -- there certainly was an order  
22 that applied before -- to a tax year before the court of  
23 appeals got involved, that's correct, Justice O'Connor. After  
24 that what they're saying is, we'll follow a -- simply a  
25 different procedure, where we authorize the district --

1 QUESTION: Do we not have at issue the levy for '91-  
2 '92? That's not --

3 MR. FARR: I'm sorry?

4 QUESTION: The levy for '91-'92 is not before us,  
5 then?

6 MR. FARR: Well, I think that the order runs to not  
7 just the particular levy that the court had ordered, but  
8 indeed, the order to set levies in the future, so I --I would  
9 think all of them --

10 QUESTION: But do we have both questions before us,  
11 or do we not?

12 MR. FARR: I believe that both questions are before  
13 you, Justice O'Connor.

14 QUESTION: And for at least for one year, the --the  
15 court below ordered the tax --

16 MR. FARR: That's correct.

17 QUESTION: -- to go into effect --

18 MR. FARR: That's my understanding.

19 QUESTION: -- and for the future authorized the  
20 board to levy the increased tax?

21 MR. FARR: That's correct.

22 QUESTION: Mr. Farr, is the district court following  
23 the modifications that the Eighth Circuit put on?

24 MR. FARR: Is the district court following --

25 QUESTION: Yes.

1 MR. FARR: It will. What the parties by agreement,  
2 Your Honor, said for this particular tax year, we would not go  
3 through that particular process because the case was pending  
4 in this Court, but there's certainly no question, I think,  
5 that the district court intends to follow that.

6 QUESTION: And what alternative did the court below  
7 have? How was it going to achieve what it had determined had  
8 to be achieved in the absence of the money?

9 MR. FARR: Well, Your Honor, I think the question is  
10 -- if I understand it -- how would it achieve it in the  
11 absence of the tax? Now, I think there are two questions  
12 there. First of all, if you simply isolate the funding, and  
13 as I will say, we don't think that's the correct thing to do,  
14 but if you simply isolate the funding, then we think the court  
15 should have addressed the question of whether it would have  
16 been less intrusive, as we believe it is, to simply put all of  
17 the funding responsibility on the defendants jointly.

18 We think, although that obviously does have an  
19 effect on the state, that that is a less intrusive use of  
20 judicial power.

21 QUESTION: Well, are they -- are the state and the  
22 school district jointly and severally liable here?

23 MR. FARR: There is some dispute about that in the  
24 lower court, but some of the orders clearly read that way,  
25 Your Honor, yes, they do.

1 QUESTION: Well, let's assume they are jointly and  
2 severally liable, what could the court have done, just order  
3 the state to pay it all?

4 MR. FARR: Your Honor, we think that would have been  
5 a less intrusive form of financing if the question came to  
6 that. Now, I want to make clear, our position here is that  
7 that is not the only alternative that the court --

8 QUESTION: But it is one alternative?

9 MR. FARR: That is one alternative, that's correct.  
10 We believe there is another alternative, however; the court,  
11 if it was going to increase the burden of the state, should  
12 have examined whether it was possible to reach the  
13 constitutional goal by means that didn't put such an enormous  
14 burden.

15 But -- so I think both of those should be  
16 considered. But we do think one of them would be the  
17 possibility of saying that the state, as the sovereign body,  
18 would be responsible for seeing that the financing was  
19 obtained.

20 QUESTION: Well, what -- what is there in the record  
21 that indicates the court did not consider those less intrusive  
22 alternatives?

23 MR. FARR: Well, Your Honor, we believe that there  
24 is simply -- the record will stand on its own, that there is  
25 no adequate discussion by the court of looking at and



1 rejecting the various alternatives that we are talking about.  
2 I mean --

3 QUESTION: Now, when you're talking about  
4 alternatives, are you talking about alternatives to the  
5 substantive provision of -- provisions of his order, or just  
6 funding?

7 MR. FARR: What we are -- essentially, what we are  
8 talking about is both, Your Honor. Because I don't think that  
9 they can be taken, one from the other, at least in our view of  
10 how the court ought to exercise power.

11 What we think should happen is that a court, in --  
12 in putting together remedies, must be aware, from the  
13 beginning, of the particular financing concerns that are being  
14 caused by the remedy. And if you look just very briefly at  
15 the history here, from the very first order, remedial order,  
16 in June of 1985, the court indicated that the school district  
17 was going to have difficulty raising really any significant  
18 funding to contribute to the remedy.

19 The very next year, however, the court, with only  
20 the very briefest conclusory discussion of cost, adopted, at  
21 the urging of the school district itself, an experimental  
22 remedial program, which went well beyond any remedial program  
23 ever ordered in a school desegregation case.

24 Ten months after that, when the school district had  
25 come back in, in the meantime, and said, we don't have the

1 funding for that order, the court issued another unprecedented  
2 order in a facilities -- you know, on facilities programming,  
3 to -- to impose another hundred of millions of dollars in --  
4 in liability on the defendants, again, with only the briefest  
5 discussion of the cost. [Inaudible] --

6 QUESTION: So your position is that before this --  
7 the district court can either order a tax or order the state  
8 to pay for funding, it must make a finding on the record that  
9 there are no remedies or alternatives other than the ones that  
10 it is adopting that are sufficient to meet the remedial  
11 objectives that the court has decreed?

12 MR. FARR: That's correct, Your Honor. We think  
13 that is the process. We're -- we're not saying that -- that  
14 there's a specific result that we're asking for here.  
15 Obviously, that is something that the court would be required  
16 to determine itself. But in terms of the process, we believe  
17 that that is something that, in exercising equitable powers,  
18 and -- and let me stress again, I'm assuming at the moment  
19 we're -- that there is an -- a power to tax somewhere at the  
20 end of this, but before exercising any equitable powers that  
21 put these unusual burdens on, the court should engage in just  
22 that sort of analysis, and make proper findings.

23 And --

24 QUESTION: Did the state help out the court by  
25 making a lot of suggestions as to how it might have been done

1 differently?

2 MR. FARR: Your Honor, we did. We made suggestions  
3 at -- at every stage. Now, the court didn't accept --

4 QUESTION: Including how the money could be raised?  
5 I'm not talking about the -- the -- the nature of the remedy,  
6 I'm talking about how to fund the remedy. Did the state come  
7 in and say, why don't you put it all on the state, Your Honor?  
8 That -- then -- then there wouldn't be any problem.

9 MR. FARR: We did not say that, Your Honor, because  
10 --

11 QUESTION: But you're saying it now.

12 MR. FARR: What we are saying is that we believe  
13 that is an alternative that is preferable to ordering the tax.  
14 And that in terms of looking at how judicial power is  
15 exercised, that that would be less intrusive than the order to  
16 tax, even assuming that the power to tax exists at all. But -  
17 -

18 QUESTION: Mr. Franken -- I'm sorry, had you  
19 finished your answer? I --

20 MR. FARR: Yes, Your Honor.

21 QUESTION: No, I just want to say, it's a little dog  
22 in the manger, isn't it? To not propose that below, and then  
23 come in and say, he should have laid it all on us.

24 MR. FARR: Well, Your Honor, what we have said, and  
25 what we, in fact, are saying here is that we think that should

1 be considered in conjunction with a look at the remedy itself,  
2 to determine whether all of the funds are needed. That that  
3 is the full exercise of equitable power that we are asking the  
4 court to examine.

5 We are not even here suggesting that the proper  
6 result is simply to say, let's ignore whether these costs are  
7 absolutely necessary or ignore the burdens they may put on a  
8 particular defendant, just let's shift the money around.  
9 That's not our position in this court, and that was not our  
10 position in the courts below.

11 QUESTION: May I just ask this? If we just confine  
12 our attention for a moment to the question we granted cert on,  
13 you -- you'll recall we limited the grant to the question of  
14 power. On that issue, isn't it clear that the position you're  
15 advocating is against the best interests of your client?

16 MR. FARR: Your Honor,

17 QUESTION: It puzzles me --

18 MR. FARR: -- it's only against the best interests  
19 of the client if two assumptions are made. First of all, that  
20 the court will not consider in exercise -- the issue of  
21 exercise of power as to how it properly should be determined -  
22 -

23 QUESTION: Well, I'm assuming we just -- just  
24 answered the question we granted cert to decide -- the  
25 question of power.



1           MR. FARR: Well, Your Honor, let me say -- and I'll  
2 come back to it, that I -- that I think that what I'm talking  
3 about is fairly encompassed within the question the court did  
4 grant, but the other assumption, of course, that has to be  
5 made is that the only interest of the state is the financial  
6 one. And I think that's not true. That there is a question  
7 here both of the sort of sovereignty of the state and its  
8 state laws, and essentially the commission that the state has  
9 from its people.

10           And I think that is the thing that is so troubling  
11 about an order that involves the power to tax is that, in this  
12 particular case, what it says to the state is -- or says to  
13 the school district -- you have authority now from the court  
14 itself to levy a tax that the citizens have not given you  
15 authority to levy -- in fact, it specifically denied you the  
16 authority to levy.

17           And the idea of taxation without representation,  
18 which is of course a catchy slogan, but I think it's something  
19 more than that, too. I think it's rooted in the idea that the  
20 power to take property from citizens -- the government's power  
21 to take that property is -- is exercised through elected  
22 representatives and not through courts, unless there is  
23 individual adjudications, which of course we don't have here.

24           So, the -- that is the principle that the state does  
25 believe is one that is -- is worth preserving and that its

1 laws simply shouldn't be set aside because the court feels  
2 that that would be a more convenient way of achieving its  
3 goal.

4 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Farr, your argument makes it  
5 sound like what you're saying is there's no power to tax  
6 because it's too expensive -- this program is too expensive.

7 MR. FARR: Your Honor, the -- the --

8 QUESTION: Is that what you're urging?

9 MR. FARR: Well, I've -- I've jumped around, and let  
10 me make clear that there are two different points that I'm  
11 urging. The first is that there is no power to tax, period.  
12 That federal courts simply don't have the power to say to a  
13 legislative body or a school district, whatever, the people  
14 have not given you this authority, but I, as a federal judge -  
15 - [inaudible] --

16 QUESTION: Even if there is no other alternative to  
17 remedy --

18 MR. FARR: That ultimately would --

19 QUESTION: -- desegregation order?

20 MR. FARR: That ultimately would be the burden of  
21 our position, although, I would point out, of course, that in  
22 desegregation litigation, that has not proved generally  
23 necessary. The courts have been able to find remedies that  
24 will work and be effective without a tax. But logically  
25 that's -- that is the ultimate extent. But that is of course

1 the logical point that one gets to any time one puts any  
2 limits on judicial power.

3 One can always look at a -- the particular exercise  
4 of power and say, if there weren't limits on these powers, we  
5 could quash the subpoena that the House subcommittee has  
6 issued, for example, which may infringe somebody's rights.  
7 That is -- so that is why you only obviously limit judicial  
8 power when the institutional considerations are of extreme  
9 importance. But we think they are of extreme importance in  
10 this particular case.

11 So that's the first point that we are making, that  
12 that power simply does not exist in federal courts, even, as  
13 you posit, in the most extreme case.

14 The second question, though, the second point we are  
15 putting, is that as an exercise of power, of equity and  
16 comity, that this is not the extreme case. If anything, it's  
17 the extreme case the other way, that the court essentially put  
18 itself into this whole and then said, having gotten into it,  
19 that there were only two ways to extricate itself, the tax and  
20 perhaps levying it all on the state. And we don't believe  
21 that that process should be looked at once the hole is dug.

22 Now I would say one -- one more word about power. I  
23 have made the point, I think, that the power, in and of  
24 itself, is an extraordinary power, but I think it can't just  
25 be viewed in isolation. I think the other thing that this

1 claim of power does is it concentrates, in the federal court,  
2 a range of powers that are really quite extraordinary,  
3 beginning with the power to declare what the Constitution  
4 means -- the power, of course, that everybody concedes -- to  
5 the power to issue orders for particular programs, orders that  
6 require state and local officials or federal officials, in  
7 some cases, to comply and implement those programs, and  
8 ultimately, now, the ability of the courts to try to go out  
9 and get the citizens to support these programs beyond the  
10 power that they have already given to their elected  
11 representatives.

12 That is a concentration, I believe, that is well  
13 beyond the idea of judicial power that is embodied in article  
14 three, which anticipated that courts obviously would have  
15 important power, but that power would be distributed, not just  
16 among the courts themselves, but among and -- and between  
17 other branches of government.

18 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Farr, let's assume that the  
19 school board or the local officials could have levied this tax  
20 under state law, that they had the power to do it. Could the  
21 court order them to enact a certain tax?

22 MR. FARR: That -- I am not sure of the answer to  
23 that question, Justice White.

24 QUESTION: Well --

25 MR. FARR: I think that it involves some of the --



1 the precise concerns that I'm talking about. It's still  
2 ultimately --

3 QUESTION: Well, I know, but part of your argument  
4 must be -- you say it's a job of the elected representatives  
5 to pass taxes, pass tax laws. And so I -- I would think from  
6 your argument you would answer the question, no --

7 MR. FARR: Well --

8 QUESTION: -- you cannot order the -- the  
9 authorities to pass a tax, even if you -- even if -- even if  
10 they have the power to do it.

11 MR. FARR: I think that is basically the position  
12 that I would take.

13 QUESTION: Well, I thought so.

14 MR. FARR: Let me at least explain what I see as the  
15 difference between the two. At least in that case, the  
16 citizens have authorized the legislature, or the school  
17 district, to impose those taxes on them. They have gone that  
18 far. Now I think the place where I have trouble with that  
19 exercise of judicial power is I think that people did that on  
20 the expectation that the legislature would, in fact, do it in  
21 its own judgment.

22 QUESTION: Well, would you say that -- would you say  
23 that the -- the federal court would be out of bounds if it  
24 said, well, we realize that there is this limitation on the  
25 local authority's taxing power, but we're going to declare

1 that unconstitutional because it's a -- it inhibits a -- what  
2 is a absolutely necessary remedy? We need some money for this  
3 remedy. So, that we are going to disregard that limitation on  
4 the grounds that it's unconstitutional.

5 MR. FARR: I -- I would think that's beyond the  
6 power of the court. If -- if it is unconstitutional --

7 QUESTION: Why? Why?

8 MR. FARR: If it is unconstitutional in and of  
9 itself, of course, if --

10 QUESTION: Well, what if it -- what if the -- what  
11 if the state just had a -- just had a rule on the books, you -  
12 - you shall have no power ever to comply with a court order?  
13 Can't you declare that unconstitutional?

14 MR. FARR: I think you can declare that  
15 unconstitutional.

16 QUESTION: Well, here's a limitation that absolutely  
17 inhibits a proper remedy for a constitutional violation.

18 MR. FARR: But I don't think -- Justice White, I  
19 don't think you can simply lump all limitations together.  
20 That's the thing. I think you have to look at the effect of  
21 what the court is doing. Virtually any order could be  
22 characterized in some way as simply striking down a particular  
23 limiting power. If that was true, then -- then judicial power  
24 would essentially be unlimited.

25 I think you have to look at what the effect of the

1 order is. And if the effect of the order is to say, we're  
2 striking down a limitation on the power of the representatives  
3 of the people to obtain money from the people, that, in fact,  
4 is a tax levied under the authority of the courts. Whether  
5 it's characterized that way or not, that's what it is. And  
6 that's what we think the courts can't do.

7 Your Honor, if I could, I'd save the remainder of my  
8 time for rebuttal.

9 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Very well, Mr. Farr.

10 Mr. Snyder, we'll hear now from you.

11 ORAL ARGUMENT OF ALLEN R. SNYDER

12 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS

13 MR. SNYDER: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please the  
14 Court:

15 If this Court finds that it has jurisdiction in this  
16 case, and we believe there is a very serious question on that  
17 which I would like to address first, but the fundamental issue  
18 on the merits of the case is whether the court below properly  
19 exercised its power, its discretion and, we believe, its  
20 responsibility to ensure the implementation and the funding of  
21 the remedy determined by the court to be necessary to correct  
22 a clearly proven constitutional violation.

23 Now, turning first to the jurisdictional issue, we think  
24 that the clerk of this Court was correct in his initial  
25 determination that the 90-day statutory time limit for filing

1 petitions for writ of certiorari had run before any petition  
2 was filed and, thus, that there was a jurisdictional bar from  
3 this Court considering the case.

4 The state now relies basically on the nunc pro tunc order  
5 that was issued just a very few days after this  
6 clerk's -- this Court's clerk's determination, where the  
7 Eighth Circuit declared that it had denied petitions for  
8 rehearing and petitions for rehearing en banc.

9 This Court, in the Credit Company v. Arkansas Central  
10 Railway case, stated clearly that jurisdiction in this Court  
11 cannot be created by an order of a lower court or by a nunc  
12 pro tunc determination. The fact is, the very plain fact is  
13 that the state did not file a petition for rehearing below.

14 QUESTION: May I ask right there, supposing at the time  
15 the Eighth Circuit initially denied the petition for rehearing  
16 en banc, it had said the petition for rehearing and the  
17 suggestion for rehearing en banc are both denied, basically  
18 what they said in the nunc (inaudible). Say they had said  
19 that the first time.

20 What would your view of the case be then?

21 MR. SNYDER: Well, it obviously would be a more difficult  
22 case for us. But I would suggest that the language of this  
23 Court's Rule 20.4 makes this jurisdictional question turn not  
24 on what a lower court characterizes but, rather, the language  
25 of the rule says that the timely filing of a petition for



1 rehearing tolls the -- the time for review.

2 If the state had filed a timely petition for rehearing  
3 regardless of how it was characterized, we would concede that  
4 the time -- the time would be tolled even -- even regardless  
5 of the phrasing of the Eighth Circuit's rule.

6 QUESTION: But surely it's up to the Eighth Circuit what  
7 it takes before the Eighth Circuit to file a petition for  
8 rehearing.

9 MR. SNYDER: Justice Scalia --

10 QUESTION: Could the Eighth Circuit if it  
11 wished -- indeed, haven't some other circuits done so  
12 explicitly, said that when you file a petition for rehearing  
13 en banc, it shall be deemed to be a petition for rehearing  
14 with suggestion for rehearing en banc?

15 MR. SNYDER: Justice Scalia, we agree that a circuit  
16 court can do that and is certainly free to treat the petitions  
17 in any way it wishes.

18 First of all, I think there is a serious question whether  
19 in that way it can extend this Court's jurisdiction when the  
20 rule of this Court talks in terms of whether the parties have  
21 filed a timely petition for rehearing. But we really do not  
22 need to reach that question here, because, first of all, the  
23 Eighth Circuit did not -- does not have such a rule, as other  
24 circuits do.

25 Second of all, the -- the Eighth Circuit's opinion, even

1 its nunc pro tunc opinion, contrary to the suggestion of  
2 counsel, the nunc pro tunc opinion did not say we have elected  
3 to treat this petition as if it were a petition for rehearing  
4 by the panel. It simply said we have in front of us a  
5 petition for rehearing.

6 We have copied verbatim at page 489 of the joint appendix  
7 the entire petition for rehearing en banc that was filed by  
8 the state. I would respectfully suggest that that is not only  
9 entitled petition for rehearing en banc but, as counsel has  
10 essentially acknowledged this morning, it was in -- in form  
11 and in substance in every other way a petition for rehearing  
12 en banc which is actually the title used by the Eighth Circuit  
13 in its rules to describe an en banc petition. Some --

14 QUESTION: Mr. Snyder --

15 MR. SNYDER: -- circuits refer to them as suggestions.

16 QUESTION: Mr. Snyder, it's not only counsel who says  
17 that that's wrong but it's the Eighth Circuit.  
18 You're -- you're really -- you're really saying that despite  
19 the presence of some evidence to the contrary -- and I would  
20 think the failure of the Eighth Circuit to issue the mandate  
21 immediately is -- is substantial evidence that it didn't make  
22 up this view of the matter afterwards. Despite that evidence,  
23 we should say the Eighth Circuit was essentially lying when it  
24 said this is how we -- how we regarded this thing, now isn't  
25 that?

1 MR. SNYDER: Well --

2 QUESTION: You know, I -- I'm prepared to do that where --  
3 - where there is a lot of evidence to that effect, but --

4 (Laughter.)

5 MR. SNYDER: Justice Scalia, I do not suggest that;  
6 however, I do suggest that, first of all, the failure of the  
7 mandate to issue does not, in our view, indicate that the  
8 court was treating this as a petition for rehearing. In fact,  
9 we cited the United States v. Samuels case as an example of a  
10 case where the Eighth Circuit has held up a mandate because a  
11 judge was considering en banc treatment.

12 And so the circuit courts have the power to hold the  
13 mandate whether or not a rehearing petition has been filed.

14 QUESTION: Would the circuit court have had the authority  
15 during the pendency of this petition to amend the panel  
16 opinion? Suppose three judges of the panel had -- had thought  
17 it appropriate or -- or prudent to amend their opinion? Could  
18 they have done it?

19 MR. SNYDER: Justice Kennedy, yes. I think they can  
20 amend the panel opinion sua sponte or based on a petition, and  
21 a new panel opinion would be a new judgment. And under the  
22 language of the statute and of this Court's rules, a new  
23 judgment provides 90 days for a new cert petition.

24 However, if a party is relying on the timely filing of a  
25 petition for rehearing to toll the time and the judgment

1 hasn't been changed, there's no new judgment, we submit that  
2 the issue is whether a petition for rehearing was filed; and  
3 just as in the Credit Company v. Arkansas Central Railway  
4 case, I believe the fact is that the Eighth Circuit's opinion  
5 does not accurately describe what's at page 489 of the joint  
6 appendix. And I think that the state has in essence  
7 acknowledged that they did not file what they intended to be a  
8 petition for rehearing by the panel.

9 Now the question of whether the Eighth Circuit has a  
10 pattern and a practice and a regular custom of so treating it  
11 that might have lulled a party into filing something different  
12 or thinking as if there were a local rule that this would be  
13 treated differently, the state in its main brief cited as its  
14 principal support for the proposition that the Eighth Circuit  
15 has a regular practice the McDonnell Douglas case and said  
16 that that and other cases suggest this is how the Eighth  
17 Circuit treats all of these matters.

18 We responded in our brief by citing two published  
19 decisions that we found, and most of these rulings on en banc  
20 petitions, I believe, are unpublished. But we found two  
21 published decisions from 1985 where en banc petitions were  
22 denied and were labeled en banc petitions without any  
23 suggestion that they were treated or otherwise denominated as  
24 panel rehearing decisions.

25 In its reply brief, the state has come back in footnote 2



1 and says, "We are advised" that this practice of the Eighth  
2 Circuit that is not written anywhere -- it's not in its rules  
3 -- is more recent than 1985.

4 Well, there are two problems, we would submit, with this  
5 argument. First is that the McDonnell Douglas case on which  
6 they initially relied was a 1973 decision, and so we are  
7 surprised now to hear that the practice is allegedly more  
8 recent.

9 But more fundamentally, we do not believe that this  
10 Court's jurisdiction can or should rest on what counsel may or  
11 may not be advised by unknown persons and unknown details.  
12 There is nothing in the Eighth Circuit's rules or its internal  
13 operating procedures or any of its opinions that suggest that  
14 this is a standard practice.

15 We, frankly, do not know whether this is a practice that  
16 is more commonly used than not, or less commonly. We just  
17 don't know. And I believe that this Court should not have a  
18 policy of allowing jurisdiction by anecdote. I think the  
19 jurisdictional rules should be clearly written and should be  
20 interpreted and implemented in a way that the parties and the  
21 lower courts can know what they mean and can be governed  
22 accordingly.

23 QUESTION: You say, then, that unless there's a rule like  
24 there is in some other circuits, a practice uniformly followed  
25 by the circuit but not confided to rule, is not sufficient?

1 MR. SNYDER: I believe it would not be sufficient, Mr.  
2 Chief Justice, particularly because this Court I think is not  
3 in a good position to engage in evidentiary hearings or  
4 proceedings to try to determine what the practices might be.

5 The best evidence of such a practice if a circuit court  
6 wishes to adopt it is to put it in the rules, which would  
7 allow the parties to know when their time was running and when  
8 it wasn't; and not only the parties filing the petition but,  
9 hopefully, the parties who might be opposing the petition  
10 would like to know when the case is final.

11 Now turning, if I may, to the -- the merits of the  
12 argument here, the state's position comes down basically to  
13 the bald suggestion that in at least some cases the federal  
14 courts simply lack the power to ensure that  
15 constitutionally-required remedies are implemented and funded.  
16 We believe that that position is without any precedent in this  
17 Court's jurisprudence and is dangerously wrong.

18 Counsel referred to Marbury v. Madison, which was in fact  
19 cited below, and one can go back as far as Marbury v. Madison  
20 and find where Chief Justice Marshall, at page 163 of that  
21 decision, said, and I quote, "The government of the United  
22 States has been emphatically termed a government of laws and  
23 not of men. It would cease to deserve this high accolation if  
24 the laws failed to furnish a remedy for a clearly  
25 vested" -- "for the violation of a clearly vested legal

1 right."

2 I think since Marbury v. Madison, it's been understood  
3 that the federal courts, once they accept jurisdiction of a  
4 case and have the power to hear the case and find a violation  
5 of the Constitution, have the power and have the duty to use  
6 their equitable discretion to find and to be sure that it is  
7 implemented, a remedy for that violation.

8 QUESTION: Why use the Constitution, Mr. Snyder? I  
9 assume it's just as bad for the state to violate a federal  
10 law. Indeed, when a state violates a federal law it's  
11 violating the Constitution, the Supremacy Clause.

12 So I -- I suppose you would say the same thing for -- for  
13 any violation of a law.

14 MR. SNYDER: Justice Scalia, I think -- I think that is  
15 the -- the implication of my position. I think the argument  
16 is stronger in the context of the kind of violation we have  
17 here, but I agree under the Supremacy Clause there should be a  
18 remedy for any violation of federal law.

19 We would acknowledge that in exercising the lower court's  
20 discretion and power, they should look to questions and issues  
21 of comity and of federalism and equitable principles. We  
22 agree that those should be considered in fashioning the  
23 appropriate remedies.

24 QUESTION: Suppose, Mr. Snyder, there -- there are a  
25 large number of people who are violating the federal law, a

1 really large number, and the courts' marshals can't possibly  
2 stop the violation, and the court says, you know, what I  
3 really need is an army and, you know, it tells the executive,  
4 the federal executive, this situation is out of control,  
5 they're violating federal law, and the executive, for -- for  
6 whatever reason, declines to use federal troops.

7 Now, do you think the Court has the power in -- in that  
8 situation, since it must stop the violation, to requisition  
9 the state national guard and direct it in -- in -- in battle?

10 MR. SNYDER: No. I think, Justice Scalia, that would be  
11 an inappropriate use of the Court's discretion --

12 QUESTION: I'm not talking about inappropriate. I'm  
13 talking -- never mind discretion. Does it have the power?

14 MR. SNYDER: I think as a matter of pure power --

15 QUESTION: It does.

16 MR. SNYDER: -- the Court is required to find the  
17 appropriate constitutional remedy.

18 Now there may be a -- there may be a possibility such as  
19 the one you posit, Justice Scalia, where a particular remedy  
20 or maybe even the only remedy would be unworkable or beyond  
21 any realistic limits.

22 In *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, which the state cites, and in some  
23 of the cases we cite --

24 QUESTION: No, I'm just talking about power. I'm just  
25 talking about power. Let's assume that it's practicable.



1 Does the Court have the power to do --

2 MR. SNYDER: If it is -- yes, if it is practicable.

3 Now I do think the questions of practicability, the  
4 courts -- this Court and -- and the courts low -- lower  
5 courts, have talked about equitable discretion being limited  
6 by principles of workability, practicability, feasibility, and  
7 I submit that the hypothetical that's been suggested of  
8 raising an army is not a feasible, practical, workable  
9 solution.

10 But I believe the courts have the power to find, if it is  
11 at all possible, a feasible and practical remedy for  
12 constitutional --

13 QUESTION: Well -- well, notice that -- that in the  
14 Little Rock incident, the President called out the troops, and  
15 I assume the President and Congress are here to assist  
16 the -- this federal court if it finds that Missouri is in  
17 violation of the Constitution and the federal court cannot  
18 correct it.

19 MR. SNYDER: I would hope that the -- the legislative and  
20 executive branches would cooperate with --

21 QUESTION: Well, so then it's not -- so then it's not  
22 necessarily a case where there's no other remedy.

23 MR. SNYDER: Well, in this case, turning to whether here  
24 there was any other remedy, it is absolutely true that in the  
25 courts below there were two possible remedies -- two possible

1 approaches to funding this remedy that were considered. The  
2 state has acknowledged that. The lower courts refer to it.

3 One possibility was to enjoin the provisions of the state  
4 law that otherwise prevented the school board from exercising  
5 the taxing power that it has. That was one option, and that's  
6 what the Eighth Circuit did. It did not directly levy a tax  
7 of its own. It enjoined a state law which prevented the local  
8 government from acting to -- to meet the constitutional duty.

9 QUESTION: Well, it certainly did more than that, at  
10 least for one year, did it not?

11 MR. SNYDER: The district court --

12 QUESTION: The district court did more than that.

13 MR. SNYDER: Yes, I agree that the district court,  
14 the way it phrased its order, it phrased it as implementing  
15 the tax order. The Eighth Circuit on  
16 review --

17 QUESTION: Has the district court ever implemented  
18 that order to increase the property tax levy to \$4?

19 MR. SNYDER: The district court order was initially  
20 implemented prior to the Eighth Circuit's ruling. The Eighth  
21 Circuit on review -- and it's the Eighth Circuit's judgment, I  
22 would submit, that's here before this court for review -- the  
23 Eighth Circuit modified the district court's ruling to the  
24 extent that it said that the appropriate way to deal with this  
25 problem rather than directly calling for the tax was to enjoin

1 the state law that prevented the board from doing it. It is  
2 that order --

3 QUESTION: Well, for the future., I thought it left  
4 in place at least one or two years of levy.

5 MR. SNYDER: The levy had been in place prior to the  
6 Eighth Circuit's ruling, and the Eighth Circuit did not try to  
7 apply its ruling retroactively, keeping in mind that the  
8 practical effect of the Eighth Circuit's ruling was to --  
9 likely still to allow for a tax.

10 QUESTION: So, the Eighth Circuit did not disapprove  
11 what had happened before. It left that in place, which  
12 included a levy at the rate of \$4?

13 MR. SNYDER: Yes, it did leave the levy in place  
14 that --

15 QUESTION: Excuse me, I though that they affirmed  
16 that. They say we affirm the actions that the district court  
17 has taken to this point.

18 MR. SNYDER: Yes, Justice White.

19 QUESTION: And then modified the procedure for the  
20 future.

21 MR. SNYDER: For the future as of the day of that  
22 opinion.

23 QUESTION: So, they affirmed, expressly affirmed,  
24 that additional levy for those years.

25 MR. SNYDER: They affirmed the levy that had been in

1 place up to the date of the Court of Appeals opinion --

2 QUESTION: Yes.

3 MR. SNYDER: -- which had been about one year. And  
4 then --

5 QUESTION: All right. And as to that could the  
6 district court instead have ordered the state to pay all the  
7 costs?

8 MR. SNYDER: That is the second option to which I  
9 was referring. It was considered by the lower court, and we  
10 believe it is inappropriate at this stage for the state to be  
11 totally switching its position on that issue because in the  
12 district court when a motion was filed that raised the  
13 question of which of these options should be pursued, the  
14 state -- and we've included this in the joint appendix in toto  
15 -- the state filed pleadings that said that they recognized  
16 that under some circumstances the lower courts might have the  
17 authority to order a school district to implement a tax, or to  
18 be allowed to implement a tax, and that the state wasn't  
19 really taking a position in the district court on whether this  
20 was an appropriate case.

21 QUESTION: Well, the state's change of position,  
22 then and now, is not a very attractive posture, certainly, but  
23 that doesn't answer the legal question that we have to answer.

24 Now, should the district court have used this other  
25 alternative and ordered the state to pick up the entire cost



1 and thereby not have had to impose an actual tax levy at the  
2 local level --

3 MR. SNYDER: No --

4 QUESTION: -- that violated Missouri law?

5 MR. SNYDER: No, Justice O'Connor. In the  
6 circumstances here, we think the district court acted properly  
7 because we think that the principles of comity and federalism  
8 and equitable discretion require the district judge to look at  
9 the circumstances before him which included the positions of  
10 the parties.

11 Comity and federalism call for the courts -- they  
12 are not bars to the power of a court. They are practical and  
13 equitable considerations that a court should weigh, and they  
14 call upon the court particularly to look at the interests of  
15 the governmental defendants here --

16 QUESTION: But do you see no difference in levying  
17 an actual tax than to finding other means of paying the costs  
18 of such an order?

19 MR. SNYDER: Oh, I certainly agree, Justice  
20 O'Connor, there's a difference, and if the parties' positions  
21 had been different below, I think the equitable balance and  
22 the comity issues might have come out differently.

23 The fact is that the elected school board felt that  
24 it was appropriate for the citizens of Kansas City to pay a  
25 portion of the remedy here. The state --

1 QUESTION: But -- but -- am I not right, Mr. Snyder,  
2 that state law did not authorize them to levy this sort of a  
3 tax?

4 MR. SNYDER: That's basically correct, Mr. Chief  
5 Justice. It did authorize exactly this kind of a tax except  
6 that it had a limitation that it required a vote of the  
7 citizens of the district after the vote by the  
8 representatives.

9 QUESTION: Well, that's a condition to the exercise  
10 of --

11 MR. SNYDER: Absolutely.

12 QUESTION: -- of the taxing power.

13 MR. SNYDER: Absolutely.

14 QUESTION: And the citizens --

15 QUESTION: Just a minute. Is there any suggestion  
16 that this particular limitation was enacted to frustrate  
17 desegregation?

18 MR. SNYDER: No, Mr. Chief Justice. There is  
19 nothing in the record to suggest that.

20 We do believe, however, that cases like North  
21 Carolina v. Swann and other cases from this court suggest that  
22 if a state law has the effect of preventing the implementation  
23 of a constitutionally required remedy, to that extent, the  
24 state law can be overridden.

25 QUESTION: But if you have a state law saying that

1 students in school shall be segregated by race, it's one thing  
2 to override that sort of a law by saying that is -- that is  
3 itself unconstitutional. But it seems to me it's another  
4 thing to say that students shall not be segregated by race.  
5 This school district at one time did segregate them by race.  
6 We're now trying to find a remedy for that and get out into  
7 the area of how -- how municipal corporations raise money.

8 MR. SNYDER: Well, Mr. Chief Justice, I do not  
9 believe this court's cases limit the statutes that can be  
10 stricken where they interfere with the implementation of a  
11 remedy to those that are an independent constitutional  
12 violation, and I would cite, for example, Washington versus  
13 Fishing Vessel Association which we cited in our brief, where  
14 perfectly neutral state law provisions had the effect in that  
15 case of preventing the implementation of the remedy the court  
16 had already ordered was the right remedy.

17 And this court said that even seemingly neutral  
18 state laws, if they have the practical effect of stopping  
19 implementation of a constitutionally required remedy, can be  
20 overridden.

21 In this case, the state in the district court said  
22 that the one issue it cared the most about with regard to the  
23 funding was that the state felt it was wholly inappropriate  
24 for the state to pay any more money than it had already been  
25 ordered to pay, and it objected to joint and several liability

1 or any other basis for the state to pay part of the costs that  
2 otherwise the district would have to bear.

3 The district court, exercising his discretion in  
4 looking at principles of comity, saw that both governmental  
5 defendants, in essence, were agreed in saying that an order  
6 that allowed the school district to pay its share of the  
7 remedy allowed the citizens of the district to contribute when  
8 it had been found guilty of a constitutional violation as  
9 well, that that was the most appropriate remedy where both --  
10 all the parties agreed that that was preferable to what the  
11 state now is saying should have been done below.

12 QUESTION: Well, counsel, in -- in any event, I take  
13 it you concede that this is a highly intrusive remedy.

14 MR. SNYDER: Yes.

15 QUESTION: This is a drastic remedy.

16 MR. SNYDER: It is an unusual remedy, Justice.

17 QUESTION: All right.

18 Wouldn't it make sense for this court to say that  
19 before such a remedy can be adopted, the district court must  
20 make an explicit finding that the remedy it seeks to fund in  
21 this way is the most reasonable and the most feasible, and  
22 perhaps the only essential way to implement the court's  
23 ultimate decree?

24 MR. SNYDER: Yes, I think that's a reasonable  
25 requirement, and it was met then.



1 QUESTION: And that was not done here.

2 MR. SNYDER: It was met here. I think if you read  
3 the opinions below, each of the remedial orders made explicit  
4 findings that this remedial decree was, "necessary" to cure  
5 the specific constitutional violations that were found, citing  
6 this court's Milliken versus Bradley, the need to tailor the  
7 remedy to the violation.

8 QUESTION: But we, of course, don't have question  
9 one on the cert petition before us, and I'm concerned that  
10 that puts the question here in a very abstract form.

11 MR. SNYDER: Well, it does. It does, I believe,  
12 place us in a position where we have a final determination  
13 that the lower courts appropriately tailored this remedy to  
14 the violations found, and we think they did. What  
15 -- they cited the appropriate legal standards, Milliken versus  
16 Bradley and other cases, in each of those cases.

17 QUESTION: But that's just not borne out by the  
18 record. It doesn't seem to me that there is an explicit  
19 finding that the substantial funding requirements here are  
20 essential to implementing the court's ultimate objective.

21 MR. SNYDER: Well, the word that was used repeatedly  
22 by the lower court is not essential. I believe the word was  
23 necessary, but I think it means basically the same thing.

24 And the lower court, starting in 1985, repeatedly  
25 recognized that it would be expensive to fund the remedy that

1 was needed for the very serious constitutional violations  
2 here.

3 QUESTION: Well, of course, in McCulloch versus  
4 Maryland, we said necessary means appropriate.

5 MR. SNYDER: Well, I think in the context that the  
6 district court used the word necessary, after citing Milliken  
7 versus Bradley, and finding that each of the provisions here  
8 was necessary to cure the constitutional violations, I believe  
9 the context suggests he was trying essentially to say that he  
10 found it essential.

11 QUESTION: Mr. Snyder, do we --we --I mean, do we  
12 really -- can we really believe that from this record? I mean  
13 -- it -- it is the case that half of the -- half of the  
14 elementary schools are magnet schools, and every single one of  
15 the secondary and high schools have been made magnet schools?

16 MR. SNYDER: Yes, sir.

17 QUESTION: One of them bought a farm so that it  
18 could specialize in farming. That -- that -- that was in the  
19 order.

20 A portion of the order rejected the state's claim  
21 that you didn't need so much money for painting and for  
22 repairing carpets because you could just paint the portions of  
23 the schools that needed repainting, and the court said no,  
24 that would -- that would not give a -- an adequate visual  
25 attractiveness that you -- you have to replace all of the

1 carpeting and paint the entire building.

2 And you think that all of this on its face  
3 represents a determination that this was essential to -- to  
4 cure the constitutional violation, so essential that we're  
5 going to raise taxes when the people don't vote for it?

6 MR. SNYDER: I do, and I recognize that this court,  
7 not having in front of it the full record -- after cert was  
8 denied, we've not transmitted all as part of the record here  
9 everything that went into those remedial determinations, and  
10 we have not briefed that issue, but I do believe that the  
11 record shows that the constitutional violations here were  
12 particularly pernicious and, in fact, resulted in the Kansas  
13 City school district becoming a 74 percent minority district  
14 because of the actions of the state and at an earlier stage  
15 the, the local officials, and that the only way to reverse  
16 what had occurred on this record was to try to make the -- to  
17 bring the quality of the schools up to where they would have  
18 been but for the violation and to try to attract back into the  
19 schools the people who were driven out of them.

20 QUESTION: Is it necessary to gold plate every  
21 school in order to achieve that result? If there is no way to  
22 get people to come back into the Kansas City schools except to  
23 make them all golden, the court could lay a tax for that.

24 MR. SNYDER: Well, obviously I find that  
25 hypothetical difficult to accept, but accepting that

1 hypothetical --

2 QUESTION: Well, I -- you know --

3 MR. SNYDER: -- I would say, Justice Scalia, that  
4 the principle that I suggested earlier of feasibility and  
5 practicability and workability should be the limit on the  
6 court's discretion.

7 It would not, I submit, be feasible or practicable  
8 to gold plate all the schools.

9 QUESTION: All right.

10 MR. SNYDER: However, we think it is feasible to do  
11 what the court below did, which is to demand that these  
12 schools be brought up to the level comparable to other schools  
13 in the area so as to attract back in the students who left  
14 when the facilities were, "literally rotting" as was found  
15 below.

16 There were holes in the roofs. The buildings were  
17 rotting down, and water was pouring in, because the local and  
18 state authorities had stopped funding the schools. This is  
19 really --

20 QUESTION: But in the abstract way in which the  
21 question was presented here, none of those arguments are  
22 properly before us.

23 MR. SNYDER: I think that's correct, Justice  
24 Kennedy. I was trying to respond to the question of really  
25 whether the state is right in suggesting that you have to look



1 at the scope of the remedy together with the funding order.

2 I think that it is appropriate at this stage of the  
3 proceeding to accept the remedy which was found to be  
4 necessary, following the right precedents --

5 QUESTION: Even if that presents an abstract  
6 question divorced from the concrete realities of this case?

7 MR. SNYDER: Well, I think this court frequently  
8 will consider abstract or legal questions and will leave the  
9 factual determinations to the lower courts. I assume, perhaps  
10 presumptuously, but I assume when this court denied cert on  
11 question one, it felt that there was not a legal question  
12 worthy of review on question one, but felt that the issue  
13 raised by question two raised a legal question for review. I  
14 think they can be separated.

15 In conclusion, we really come back to the  
16 proposition with which we started, and that is that violations  
17 of constitutional rights we believe require the federal courts  
18 to use their discretion looking at principles of comity and  
19 federalism, looking at the practical circumstances of --

20 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Snyder, do you see any  
21 difference between -- on -- legally between what the district  
22 court did and what the court of appeals said should be done in  
23 the future?

24 MR. SNYDER: A small difference, Justice White. I  
25 think the practical --

1 QUESTION: But both of them -- both of them are  
2 proper?

3 MR. SNYDER: I think that the -- the district  
4 court's decision is not quite as easy to articulate the  
5 defense of as the Eighth Circuit decision. I think they're  
6 both proper.

7 QUESTION: Does that -- is that issue before us?

8 MR. SNYDER: I do not believe it is, Justice White.

9 QUESTION: You mean the money's already been  
10 collected, or what?

11 MR. SNYDER: Well, what I mean to say is, I think  
12 it's not before you because the Eighth Circuit in modifying  
13 the judgment -- I think it's that determination that this  
14 court should review and money was collected  
15 for the first year --

16 QUESTION: But it affirmed -- it affirmed what the  
17 district court did for a couple of years.

18 MR. SNYDER: Well, I think it was one year.

19 QUESTION: Is that issue before us?

20 MR. SNYDER: I think technically it is before you,  
21 but because the Eighth Circuit modified the judgment and  
22 really recharacterized what was done for the future, I don't  
23 believe that there's any violation.

24 QUESTION: Well, has the -- has that -- has what the  
25 district court did -- did the levy go into effect?

1 MR. SNYDER: Yes, sir.

2 QUESTION: And was the money collected?

3 MR. SNYDER: Yes, sir, it was although there was  
4 some that was paid under protest that remains awaiting this  
5 court's decision.

6 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr. Snyder.

7 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Snyder. Mr. Farr, you  
8 have three minutes remaining.

9 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF MR. H. BARTON FARR, III

10 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

11 MR. FARR: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice. Just a  
12 couple of brief points.

13 Returning momentarily to the jurisdictional  
14 question, the Respondents take the position I think, as I  
15 understand it now, that what this Court ought to do is review  
16 the particular papers that were filed in the Court of Appeals,  
17 rather than taking the Court of Appeal's order at face value.

18 We don't think that is in fact a rule that is likely  
19 to lead to a great deal of certainty and we think that the  
20 Court of Appeals is entitled to treat the papers before it as  
21 a rehearing petition if it wishes to do so. As we have  
22 pointed out several times, several circuits do.

23 The difference between a case like this and --

24 QUESTION: Well, I'm -- you know, I'm not sure.

25 Where you want certainty is ex ante. You want the person who

1 files this petition to know whether the consideration of it is  
2 going to toll his time to appeal and to tell him that he's  
3 only going to know that when the Court comes out with its  
4 decision that says well, we've treated this as this, or we've  
5 treated it as the other, that doesn't help, does it?

6 MR. FARR: But Justice Scalia, there's no such  
7 absolute certainty in any event. I mean, because everybody  
8 agrees, I believe that the Court can treat it as a petition  
9 for rehearing if it wants. It could grant it as a petition  
10 for rehearing, it could modify its opinion, all sorts of  
11 things could go on, and I think to allow the Courts that sort  
12 of flexibility as part of their own operating procedures  
13 simply makes sense even though there might be some less  
14 certainty on the front end as to what the particular litigant  
15 expects.

16 The difference between this and the Credit Company  
17 case I think is that a Court of Appeals can and should have  
18 the power to do that. What a Court of Appeals can't do is, it  
19 can't treat June 15th as if it were June 1st. That's just  
20 something that's wholly outside the ambit of the power of a  
21 Court of Appeals and therefore that purely -- that effort to  
22 convey jurisdiction by taking an action like that is literally  
23 outside its power.

24 The second point, briefly, on the question of the  
25 position below, just so it is understood, the state's position



1 has always been opposed to a tax. The school district,  
2 despite what it is saying right now, has at various times  
3 throughout the litigation said that the school district should  
4 bear none of the cost. We have said we as a general principle  
5 are opposed to that.

6 We think the school district should bear some of the  
7 cost, and we think that the Court should devise remedies that  
8 allows both of those principles to be carried out, where the  
9 state would bear a burden, the school district would bear a  
10 burden, and constitutional compliance would be achieved with  
11 both of them doing that.

12 The problem, as we have said, is that the Court  
13 simply ignored those considerations in developing the  
14 particular remedy and essentially made the kind of order that  
15 it led to, or the alternative of the state bearing all of it,  
16 a foregone conclusion.

17 Finally, I'd just like to say -- sorry?

18 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr. Farr. The  
19 case is submitted.

20 (Whereupon, at 11:05 a.m., the case in the above-  
21 entitled matter was submitted.)  
22  
23  
24  
25

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Missouri, et al., Petitioners v. Kalima Jenkins, et al.

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