

# Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1969  
1970

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In the Matter of:

.....

EVELLE J. YOUNGER,

Appellant,

vs.

JOHN HARRIS, JR., et al.

Appellees

.....

Docket No. 4  
2

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Place Washington, D. C.

Date April 29, 1970

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October Term, 1969

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EVELLE J. YOUNGER, :

Appellant; :

vs. : No. 4

JOHN HARRIS, JR., ET AL., :

Appellees :

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Washington, D. C.  
April 29, 1970

The above-entitled matter came on for argument at  
10:08 a.m.

BEFORE:

- WARREN E. BURGER, Chief Justice
- HUGO L. BLACK, Associate Justice
- WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Associate Justice
- JOHN M. HARLAN, Associate Justice
- WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., Associate Justice
- POTTER STEWART, Associate Justice
- BYRON R. WHITE, Associate Justice
- THURGOOD MARSHALL, Associate Justice

APPEARANCES:

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Counsel for Appelles

1 PROCEEDINGS

2 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Case No. 4, Younger against  
3 Harris.

4 Mr. Harris, you may proceed whenever you are ready.

5 ARGUMENT OF ALBERT W. HARRIS, JR., ESQ.

6 ON BEHALF OF APPELLANT

7 MR. HARRIS: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.

8 Mr. Chief Justice, may it please the Court:

9 This is an appeal from an order of a three-judge court  
10 in the Central District in California, declaring the California  
11 Criminal Syndicalism Act was unconstitutional on its face and in  
12 all of its parts and enjoining the District Attorney of the  
13 Los Angeles County from enforcing and continuing with the prose-  
14 cution of a man named John Harris, Jr., who was one of the  
15 plaintiffs in this case.

16 The appeal is by the District Attorney and represented  
17 here by the Attorney General of the State of California.

18 The complaint in the District Court was filed by John  
19 Harris, Jr., following his indictment on two counts of violating  
20 subsection (3) of Syndicalism Act. He claimed in the complaint  
21 by reason of his prosecution and the presence of the act, he was  
22 inhibited in the exercise of his First Amendment Rights. There  
23 were three other plaintiffs enjoined in the lawsuit: Jim Dan  
24 and Hirsch both alleged that they were members of the Progressive  
25 Party, a party that advocated political and industrial change,

1 and they felt inhibited in attempting through peaceful nonviolent  
2 means to advocate Progressive Labor programs in light of the  
3 presence of this statute and the prosecution of John Harris.

4 The fourth plaintiff was a man named Broslawsky, who  
5 alleged that he was a teacher of history and he taught subjects  
6 in which Marxism was involved and he was uncertain what he could  
7 say about these matters by reason of the presence of the act  
8 on the books and by reason of the prosecution of John Harris.

9 Q Where did he teach these subjects?

10 A At State College, San Fernando State College, I  
11 believe, sir.

12 Q Was it a regular part of the curriculum of the  
13 course he taught?

14 A Well, it is all contained in about one paragraph  
15 in the complaint and that is all we know about it.

16 Q What is all we know. Thank you.

17 A The plaintiffs allege that there was irreparable  
18 injury. They allege no specific facts in support of this  
19 claim except the conclusion that they felt inhibited and were  
20 prevented from exercising fundamental constitutional rights.

21 The District Court held that it had jurisdiction to  
22 pass on all phases of the Act, not only the section under which  
23 John Harris was prosecuted. It held that it could not abstain  
24 in light of Dombrowski and Zwickler against Koota. The District  
25 Court went to hold the Act unconstitutional on its face in all

1 its provisions with no mention whatever of any California case  
2 that had construed any of the sections of the Act.

3 Finally, the Court issued an injunction against the  
4 pending prosecution of John Harris. The appellant submits here  
5 that the District Court had no jurisdiction whatever in respect  
6 to the claims of Dan, Hirsch, and Broslawsky. Those were the  
7 three plaintiffs that had not been indicted.

8 Q Was any threat made against them?

9 A There was no such allegation. Your Honor, in the  
10 complaint and, in fact, the District Court said in the opinion  
11 that it did not believe that the plaintiff stood in any danger  
12 whatever of prosecution for the conduct that they had alleged  
13 that they had engaged in.

14 In addition, in connection with the jurisdictional  
15 question, we contend that the Court had no jurisdiction to pass  
16 on any provision except Section 3, the section under which  
17 John Harris was charged and upon which he was awaiting trial.

18 Secondly, as to Section 3 the District Court should  
19 have abstained.

20 Third, on the merits we submit that the Act is valid  
21 in the light of the narrowing state constructions in a number  
22 of state cases that we have cited in our brief.

23 Finally, all other things failing, we submit an injunc-  
24 tion was barred under Section 2283 of Federal 28 and that there  
25 was no irreparable injury in support of the injunctive relief.

1           The first point in connection with the lack of juris-  
2 diction in respect to the three plaintiffs other than John Harris  
3 is basically on the proposition that there was no overt acts by  
4 the State of California or representative of the state that might  
5 be construed in any way to have inhibited these plaintiffs in  
6 the exercise of Federal constitutional rights. There have been  
7 no arrests, there have been no threat of arrests, no searches,  
8 no denunciations of these plaintiffs.

9           The only claim that they can make is that the mere  
10 presence of the Act is sufficient to create a case for contro-  
11 versy. We submit that it is not and we submit that under the  
12 circumstances here that the action of the District Court amounted  
13 to an advisory opinion on an abstract question.

14           The facts as set forth in the complaint in connection  
15 with these three plaintiffs who were not charged do not show any  
16 substantial controversy between parties having adverse legal  
17 interests of sufficient immediacy and reality to warrant the  
18 declaratory relief and to give rise to a case for controversy.

19           We rely principally in that connection upon your deci-  
20 sion in the last term in Golden against Zwicker, where you dis-  
21 missed the case because there was no case for controversy even  
22 though having included the statute was arguably over-broad and  
23 affecting rights under the Fifth Amendment.

24           Q     Did an injunction actually issue against the  
25 state prosecution of Harris?

1 A Yes, it did, Your Honor.

2 Q And that has been existing all the way through?

3 A For four years or thereabouts, Your Honor.

4 In connection with Harris himself, we wouldn't argue  
5 that there is only an abstract question. He is under indictment  
6 and if the trial is ever held, he could possibly be convicted.  
7 But he is only charged under Section 3 of the Act.

8 We submit that the District Court had no jurisdiction  
9 to reach to other sections of the Act. There are five sections  
10 in Section 11401 that deal with different forms of conduct  
11 and declare them illegal under the general definition of of  
12 "criminal syndicalism" contained in Section 11400.

13 The Legislature provided in connection with this Act  
14 that if any portion of it, for example, Section 3, which relates  
15 to the distributing of handbills and the like, printing matters  
16 and things of that kind, any part should be held unconstitutional  
17 and the rest remaining portions should be sustained.

18 We have argued in our brief that in the Smith Act  
19 cases and the Smith Act had a structure very similar to this  
20 with a membership provision, with a printing or distributing  
21 section. In those cases this Court took each section and examined  
22 that section and declined to pass on the other sections; only  
23 the section that was specifically involved and had been invoked  
24 against the particular defendants in the Dennis Case, in the  
25 Yates Case and in the Scales Case.



1           We think that one of the problems in this case is  
2 that the District Court in passing upon sections of the Act that  
3 had not been invoked, sections of the Act as to which there was  
4 no actual controversy. For example, Section 4 is a membership  
5 clause provision. It prohibits organizing, it prohibits know-  
6 ingly becoming a member of a criminal syndicalist organization,  
7 as defined therein. This was struck down by the District Court.

8           Harris was not prosecuted under this section. There  
9 was no intention by the District Attorney, nor has there been  
10 any contention by anyone in California, that the group to which  
11 Harris belongs, the Progressive Labor Party, I believe, is a  
12 proscribed organization and that belonging to it constitutes any  
13 crime.

14           In short, there was no actual controversy on that ques-  
15 tion and we think one of the problems may be -- when you don't  
16 have an actual controversy, and this case may illustrate that,  
17 is that there is not an informed judgment passed by the District  
18 Court.

19           The pertinent cases, and we have cited some of the  
20 cases, apparently were never considered by the Court, and we  
21 think this was due probably because the District Attorney was  
22 not interested in the membership clause, he was not prosecuted,  
23 Harris had not been charged under the membership clause and he  
24 was only interested in an abstract way in the validity of that  
25 section.

1           We submit that the decision here is concrete proof of  
2 what happens when a court goes ahead and, in effect, issues an  
3 advisory opinion. There isn't enough interest in the case  
4 apparently to give the informed judgment that constitutional  
5 adjudication that we submit calls for it.

6           Now, in connection with subsection (3), the only  
7 section we feel is properly before the District Court, we think  
8 the District Court should have abstained.

9           There are three reasons why we believe this to be  
10 true.

11           Q     Mr. Harris, has that section ever been the sub-  
12 ject of construction in other cases?

13           A     Section 3, yes.

14           Q     If it has, you will get to it I am sure.

15           A     Yes, I will. Yes, it has been construed.

16           We think the Court should have abstained for three  
17 reasons, even though we don't argue as to the jurisdiction as  
18 to subsection (e) in connection with John Harris.

19           In the first place, this law was susceptible of a  
20 narrowing interpretation that would by revolving vagueness in  
21 terms of the statute, cure any problem of overbreadth, and thus  
22 we submit that there was a reasonable expectation there would  
23 be no necessity to adjudicate the constitutional limits of the  
24 state's legislation in this field.

25           Q     What was the indictment charged against him

1 as to a public act?

2 A Circulating, actually, two handbills in the  
3 course of a coroner's inquest in Los Angeles.

4 Q What was the purport of the handbills?

5 A The handbills are set forth in an appendix filed  
6 by the appellees here and, in essence, it was directed to --  
7 well, I will have to give a little bit of background.

8 This even occurred in May of 1966, the inquest. This  
9 was some six months after the Watts riots in Los Angeles County.  
10 The inquest concerned the death of a man named Leonard Detwiler,  
11 who had been shot by a police officer stopping him while he was  
12 driving under the influence of intoxicating liquor and acciden-  
13 tally the gun was discharged and Mr. Detwiler was dead.

14 The officer was named Bova. The first of the hand-  
15 bills that were set forth and attached to the indictment refers  
16 to "Bova the cop." It says "Wanted for the Murder of Leonard  
17 Detwiler." The statement is made that "they" referring to the  
18 Police Department, must all be wiped out before there is complete  
19 freedom. "South Los Angeles is one big concentration camp."

20 It goes on for two or three pages and this is in the  
21 appendix to the appellee's supplemental brief under the argument

22 Q What is this, the appendix to the brief filed by the  
23 appellant on February 27, 1969?

24 A Those are illustrative ---

25 Q "Wanted for murder, dead or alive," This is the San

1 Francisco Michael O'Brien.

2 A Yes, Your Honor, that is from the Black Panther  
3 paper in San Francisco. That has nothing to do with the facts  
4 of this particular case. Those are illustrative of the condi-  
5 tions that we submitted at that time and warranted the upholding  
6 of this Act.

7 In connection with the question of abstention, we say  
8 that the state law can be saved. And if can be saved, it will  
9 avoid a constitutional decision by the Federal Court, be it the  
10 District Court of this Court, and that is one of the purposes  
11 of the doctrine.

12 There is a pending vehicle in the indictment of John  
13 Harris and the, if he is ever tried, trial and his appeal.

14 Finally, there is no evidence whatever, nor is it even  
15 claimed that there has been bad faith enforcements of the statutes  
16 for the purpose of denying the people of California their Federal  
17 constitutional rights. There is a contention that many years  
18 ago this may have occurred, but there is no contention that at  
19 or about the time this case was filed and decided in Los Angeles  
20 there was any bad faith enforcement of the Act.

21 We say that this Act is susceptible to a clarifying  
22 and a narrowing construction for a number of reasons. First of  
23 all, there have been a number of cases in California that have  
24 passed on various provisions of the Act since it was enacted in  
25 1919.

1           The great flurry of prosecutions arose between 1919  
2 and 1924, and there has been very little -- only this case having  
3 reached any kind of an appellate statute.

4           Q     Excuse me, Mr. Harris. You were referring to  
5 something that was an appendix or a supplementary brief in the  
6 argument?

7           A     Yes, I have got a supplemental brief to the  
8 argument and reply thereto.

9           Q     The blue cover ---

10          A     The blue cover, Mr. Justice Brennan, and it is  
11 an appendix to that supplemental brief.

12          Q     I guess I don't have it here. Thank you.

13          A     It was filed by the appellees, not by the appellant

14          Q     I don't have it either.

15          A     The decision over 20 years ago in the Danskin  
16 case by Justice Trainer made it very clear that in view of the  
17 California Supreme Court, the California Criminal Syndicalism  
18 Act couldn't be evaluated simply on its face and in its own  
19 terms. It had to be evaluated in light of decisions by this  
20 Court in the area of the First Amendment. In fact, Justice  
21 Trainer said that the Act should only be applied to prohibit  
22 conduct where there was imminent danger that advocacy will give  
23 rise to the evils that the state may properly prevent.

24                 That is language that is very reminiscent and is very  
25 close to the language used by this Court in the Brandenburg case

1 last term when you struck down the Ohio Syndicalism Law on the  
2 ground that it was not limited to speech or advocacy directed  
3 to and exciting violent action, and it contained no condition  
4 that such actions are likely under the circumstances.

5 We submit that a fair reading of Danskin gives a very  
6 close parallel with your decision in Brandenburg, and you can  
7 reasonably anticipate the California Supreme Court, if it sus-  
8 tains the law, would sustain it under that kind of a clarifying  
9 and narrowing construction.

10 Now, in connection with Section itself, the so-called  
11 "circulating or distributing section," in the Malley case --  
12 People against Malley, which is cited in our briefs -- the State  
13 Court many years ago and in anticipation of many of the doctrines  
14 that have developed, held that to prosecute and convict a person  
15 under this section, it had to be proven that he understood the  
16 doctrine in the material, in the handbills that he was handing  
17 out, that he wasn't just out there handing out something because  
18 somebody told him to.

19 He had to understand it and he had to intend to bring  
20 about the consequences, that is, the unlawful acts, the unlawful  
21 means, terroristic means, that are proscribed under the statute.  
22 He had to have an intent himself to do that. And in addition  
23 there had to be a clear and present danger of such unlawful act  
24 occurring.

25 This is very close, we submit, to what the decisions

1 of this Court have held in the intervening years in the Dennis  
2 case, and in many other cases.

3 Looking to New York, to anticipate State Court action  
4 in the Epton case. The criminal anarchy statute there was given  
5 a narrow construction.

6 Looking to the decisions of this Court in this field,  
7 the Smith Act cases all gave a clarifying and narrowing con-  
8 struction to those sections, the Dennis, Yates and Scales deci-  
9 sions, and each of those cases finds its parallel in one the  
10 provisions in the Criminal Syndicalism Act.

11 This is not a case such as Baggett -- in the Baggett  
12 case, the Zwickler case, Zwickler against Koota, where the Court  
13 felt that there was no chance that this statute could be saved,  
14 that it affected expression, but it could not be saved by a  
15 narrowing construction.

16 In fact, we think this is a classic example of the  
17 other extreme, a case that can and, I would say, in speaking of  
18 the probabilities, which I supposed we are concerned with in  
19 this issue, the odds are certainly very heavy that this statute  
20 can be saved and that it would be saved by the California Courts  
21 if ever presented to them.

22 Now, there is a case at the moment. That is the prose-  
23 cution of John Harris. If he is found guilty and sentenced, he  
24 has an absolute right to appeal his conviction and the validity  
25 of his conviction .

1           Q     Mr. Harris, I don't seem to have that indictment  
2 here. I don't have that appendix or whatever it is. The Clerk  
3 doesn't seem to have it either. You have it there. What is the  
4 form of the indictment in relation to the statute?

5           A     Well, the indictment is a typical indictment in  
6 California. California indictments are in the language of the  
7 statute.

8           Q     In the language of the statute?

9           A     Pardon me?

10          Q     In the language of the statute?

11          A     In the language of the statute.

12          Q     And does that say, then, that subsection (3) is  
13 reprinted in the indictment?

14          A     Well, not reprinted, but he is charged with having  
15 -- accused of having violated this particular statute, 11401(3)  
16 of the Penal Code, and it goes on to say that on or about the  
17 certain date he did wilfully, unlawfully and feloniously issue  
18 and circulate and so forth certain papers and forms that contained  
19 written and printed advocacy of, in effect, criminal syndicalism,  
20 advocating terrorism and advising the commission of crime, et  
21 cetera.

22                   It is rather lengthy because the statute itself is  
23 rather lengthy. And, in addition, attached to the indictment  
24 is the specific handbill that he handed out on each occasion.

25          Q     And that is the Clerk's room now, I hope. Thank



1 you.

2 Now what page is the indictment?

3 A The indictment starts at page 3 of this appendix  
4 and it runs for quite a number of pages because there were two  
5 different days, two different handbills and two different counts  
6 in this indictment.

7 The indictment should be read in light of the California  
8 procedure wherein the defendant had made available to him the  
9 Grand Jury transcript automatically without any questions asked,  
10 so that to charge him simply in the language of the statute  
11 doesn't prejudice him. He can find exactly what the evidence  
12 was and pinpoint the charge.

13 Q At what stage is this first opportunity to get  
14 this limited as you have suggested that the California Court would  
15 limit it?

16 A Yes.

17 Q That is clear and present danger and so forth.

18 A We submit, Your Honor, that under the standard  
19 California procedure the first opportunity in the trial court  
20 would be when instructions are given to the jury.

21 Now the question might arise in connection with evi-  
22 dence as it is offered, but by and large it would be, I think,  
23 the elements would be set forth in the instructions to the jury,  
24 the things the jury has to find in order to convict this man.

25 Now, it has been contended here that Harris moved under

1 995 of the Penal Code to dismiss the indictment. That motion  
2 was denied.

3 He demurred to the indictment on the ground that the  
4 statute upon which the indictment was founded was wrong on its  
5 face. The demurrer was denied. The motion under 995 was denied.

6 Now those are simply trial court rulings.

7 Harris then applied to the District Court of Appeals  
8 under Section 999(a) of the Penal Code. Now, this is a special  
9 California procedure. Under 995 you can attack an indictment  
10 on the ground either that the indictment either was unlawfully  
11 returned, some error occurred in the process, or on the ground  
12 of not probable cause to hold the defendant to answer.

13 That turns on the evidence before the Grand Jury. It  
14 is an evidentiary issue.

15 Now, if this is denied, California has a special statu-  
16 tory procedure, 999(a), and I don't know of anything similar  
17 in Federal practice -- it is a very good provision -- whereby  
18 you can go to the appellate court, the intermediate appellate  
19 court, and ask for a writ of prohibition under this section on  
20 the ground that you are being held without probable cause and  
21 that you shouldn't be put to all the trouble of trial.

22 999(a), however, is limited to this issue, whether or  
23 not the defendant is being held without probable cause.

24 Q You say that is in Texas with reference to the  
25 Grand Jury?

1           A     Yes, that is correct, Your Honor.

2           That is the only issue that may properly be raised  
3 with this special statutory section. Now, the question of whether  
4 or not the statute is itself valid on its face and similar ques-  
5 tions cannot be raised at that point.

6           This is simply to determine whether the man should be  
7 for trial.

8           Q     Suppose there was nothing whatever in the Grand  
9 Jury testimony which satisfied the ingredient of clear and present  
10 danger and so forth, then what would happen?

11          A     Well, I think you con't have any precedent as to  
12 precisely what would happen under those circumstances, Your Honor,  
13 but I think clear and present danger is one of those elements  
14 that would be tested at the trial as opposed to Grand Jury indict-  
15 ment.

16          The Grand Jury indictment is just to put the man to  
17 trial, not to convict him. And there is evidence in this tran-  
18 script which would indicate the clear and present danger, but I  
19 don't think that under our procedure it is called for at that  
20 particular time.

21          Now, it has been argued that the application for  
22 999(a) relief, which was denied, and in a petition for a hearing  
23 by the California Supreme Court was denied, it has been claimed  
24 by the appellees that this, in effect, gave the State Courts a  
25 chance to limit the statute in its application.

1           They didn't take that chance. We don't think that is  
2 a sound argument for the reasons I mentioned. 999(a) does not  
3 embrace a question of this kind. It embraces only the eviden-  
4 tiary question.

5           Secondly, there are considerations in any pretrial  
6 motion of this kind, in addition to the legal question that is  
7 presented. There is a question of whether you should disrupt the  
8 criminal trial or whether you should not, whether you should let  
9 it proceed.

10           The application of the California Supreme Court is  
11 like the application to this Court for certiorari. It is a  
12 highly discretionary act. We don't think this has been properly  
13 presented to the California Courts. We are confident that when  
14 it is, the statute will be limited and brought within constitu-  
15 tional limitations.

16           The place in California procedure where this should  
17 really be accomplished is in the jury instructions. And then  
18 if those are not adequate, in the event that Harris is convicted  
19 -- there is the possibility that he may not be. If he is con-  
20 victed, there can be a review on a full record of instructions  
21 as applied under the evidence in light of the statute and all of  
22 its controlling cases.

23           It is not a simple question. It is a complex question  
24 We think that that is the time to review and we think that it  
25 will not prejudice John Harris to await that time for review of

1 the interests he is concerned with. That is whether he is going  
2 to be held guilty of violating Section 3.

3 Certainly a trial court, in passing on a demurrex that  
4 was no authoritative interpretation of the State Courts of this  
5 section of the Criminal Syndicalism Act.

6 There are procedures available in California that per-  
7 haps could secure a ruling pretrial on this question. They were  
8 not invoked here. Habeas corpus might lie. A writ of prohibi-  
9 tion in the sense that the normal extraordinary writ, not the  
10 special statutory 999(a), might possibly lie in this situation.

11 These things were not done. These are the cases that  
12 were referred to in the briefs filed by the appellees as showing  
13 this opportunity given to the State Courts.

14 I would like to save anytime that I have.

15 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Very well, Mr. Harris.

16 Mr. Wirin?

17 ARGUMENT OF A. L. WIRIN, ESQ.

18 ON BEHALF OF THE APPELLEES

19 MR. WIRIN: Mr. Chief Justice and may it please the  
20 Court:

21 The ultimate question, as we view it, is whether or  
22 not the California Criminal Syndicalism Act is unconstitutional  
23 as violating the First Amendment and whether the District Court  
24 in so ruling was correct. But long before that ultimate ques-  
25 tion was reached, there is concededly a serious threshold

1 question, and we the appelless, and particularly appellee Harris  
2 have to succeed in crossing that threshold in order to prevail.

3           The threshold question is whether or not, where there  
4 is a special procedure in a state for the raising of Federal  
5 as well as state constitutional questions prior to trial, as  
6 there is in the State of California as frankly and candidly and  
7 fairly stated by Mr. Harris. Where there is a special procedure  
8 or raising, both of constitutionality of a statute on its face  
9 and as applied and the sufficiency of the evidence adduced before  
10 a Grand Jury in connection with such a statute, and where a  
11 defendant charged with an offense has exhausted every available  
12 -- where there is a procedure available to him and where he has  
13 taken every step under that procedure, and having failed in  
14 these steps to secure to narrowing of the statute or a dismissal  
15 of cases violating the First Amendment, whether or not if and  
16 in the case involving only an expression of opinion, only pure  
17 speech un accompanied by plots or conduct or acts or anything  
18 other than expression of opinion.

19           The question is, therefore, when a defendant in that  
20 circumstance, under that kind of a procedure in a State Court,  
21 after having failed to secure narrowing of the statute in the  
22 State Court by a procedure available to him to secure such a  
23 narrowing, whether it be then and only then he repairs to a  
24 United States District Court, whether the United States District  
25 Court then if it chooses fails to abstain, then it uses its

1 discretion in such failure to abstain.

2 Q Mr. Wirin, is there anywhere in these appendices  
3 a record of what you did in the 999(a) proceeding or something?

4 A Your Honor, the record is in two parts. In the  
5 first place, it is set forth in the complaint filed in the Dis-  
6 trict Court in the record at page 2, and particularly in paragraph  
7 8 on page 6, filing of adequate proceeding in the Federal Court  
8 the plaintiff has -- appellee here -- filed proceedings in all  
9 of the State Courts of California and that section 995.

10 Now in addition to that, Your Honor -- and I do want  
11 to emphasize, I suppose one should emphasize -- two matters with  
12 respect to the record. One is we submitted to the District  
13 Court at its request the leaflets now the subject matter of the  
14 indictment. We have set forth these leaflets now in an appendix  
15 to our supplemental brief, as we have set forth the entire  
16 transcript before the Grand Jury, namely, all of the evidence  
17 against this defendant before the Grand Jury.

18 Now, in addition that, Your HONors, because and in  
19 view of the fact that this is one of a number of cases which are  
20 going to be argued before Your Honor on the issue of abstention,  
21 we thought this Court ought to have available to it all of the  
22 proceedings in the California Courts, the proceedings before  
23 the Superior Court, trial court, the proceeding before the Court  
24 of Appeals and in the Supreme Court of California, so that Your  
25 Honors will see that he raised the Federal constitutional questions

1 as well as the state constitutional questions, because my client  
2 is not well-heeled and was permitted to proceed in the form of  
3 paupery. We did not have the funds. We did not print the entire  
4 record of the proceedings in California Courts, but they are  
5 lodged with the Clerk of this Court for Your Honors' examination,  
6 should you be so advised.

7           However, we have pulled from that record, which is  
8 in the possession of the Clerk, portions which we think are  
9 highly relevant and we printed them in this appendix to which  
10 Your Honors have referred.

11           Now, as stated by the Attorney General in his brief,  
12 the Attorney General says that the defendant has been charged with  
13 acts in violation of the California Criminal Syndication Act.  
14 One may call it what one wants, but the acts with which he is  
15 charged consists solely of the distribution of two handbills on  
16 two separate days, therefore he is charged with two violations  
17 under the California Criminal Syndicalism Act.

18           A violation of the California Criminal Syndicalism  
19 law was considered by the California Legislature very serious when  
20 this statute was adopted 50 years ago. So he faces a peniten-  
21 tiary sentence of 28 years, 14 years for each pamphlet distribu-  
22 tion, for pamphlets only being distributed on two days, one after  
23 the other.

24           Moreover, there could be no question of that these  
25 leaflets were concededly highly critical of Los Angeles Police



1 and were distributed at a proper place and a proper time on a  
2 proper occasion. A Negro had been shot and killed by a white  
3 officer. Negroes in Los Angeles were very concerned about the  
4 matter.

5 An inquest was being held as to the cause of the death  
6 and these leaflets conceivably couched in very strong language  
7 were distributed outside of the inquest hearing on the steps of  
8 the building where the hearing was held.

9 Now I must hasten to add one thing, Your Honors. The  
10 leaflets -- I want to try to clear up a matter about which there  
11 could be some misunderstanding. The leaflets which this defen-  
12 dant distributed, as Mr. Harris stated, Your Honors, are not the  
13 horrendous leaflets issued by the American Nazi Party which are  
14 attached to the appellant's opening brief, which have nothing to  
15 do with the defendant, which three leaflets pertaining to state-  
16 ments made by organizations with which the defendant has no rela-  
17 tionship. These were leaflets which were never introduced before  
18 the Grand Jury, leaflets which couldn't have been introduced  
19 before the Grand Jury because they are dated two years after  
20 the indictment.

21 They are offered to Your Honors as evidence that Cali-  
22 fornia is in grave peril from organizations that want to destroy  
23 it and, therefore, these leaflets two years thereafter are rele-  
24 vant to the indictment of the defendant two years before.

25 Q Are the leaflets distributed by your client --

1 are supposedly here somewhere. I can't seem to find them.

2 A Oh, well, I can help you with that.

3 Q I have found the ones you told us to disregard,  
4 but I haven't found the other ones.

5 A As a matter of fact, I don't mind your reading  
6 them because we make an argument about those leaflets that the  
7 Attorney General of California is a zealous prosecutor and sees  
8 dangers to California which no one else sees by virtue of these  
9 leaflets.

10 But the leaflet I have doesn't answer your question.

11 Q No.

12 A The answer is, it is a blue document and on page

13 3 ---

14 Q The appendix to appellee's supplemental brief on  
15 reargument?

16 A Exactly, Your Honor. And pages 3, 5 and 6 are  
17 -- contain the complete text of the indictment against the defen-  
18 dant, and the complete text of the leaflets.

19 Now you will notice upon reading the indictment, there  
20 is no reference to any conduct or any acts other than the distri-  
21 bution of these leaflets.

22 Now I have said to Your Honors and I am trying to  
23 emphasize, because as I read this Court's decision, the distri-  
24 bution of leaflets unaccompanied by acts constitute freedom of  
25 the press exercise by the poor man, and I don't want to get into

1 the argument whether the exercise of freedom of the press has a  
2 higher priority than other rights in the Constitution, But, in  
3 any event, it is a right which this Court has recognized again  
4 and again where there is expression of opinion, where there is  
5 no claim by the prosecution to the expression of opinion accom-  
6 panied by any overt acts ---

7 Q I would like to get this clear. I gather your  
8 basic position is that it was appropriate for the Federal Dis-  
9 trict Court to intervene, as it did, because, if I understand  
10 your argument, you had in fact exhausted this special procedure  
11 that California provides unsuccessfully to get a determination  
12 that the statute was unconstitutional or to get a narrowing con-  
13 struction.

14 A That is precisely my argument, which I hope to  
15 reach now in just about a minute or half-minute.

16 Q Don't overlook it.

17 A No, I had better not. But just let me quickly  
18 emphasize at this point that the Criminal Syndicalism Act, a part  
19 of which the Court passed and which may be found in the record,  
20 which is a green paper, at pages 8 and 9, it is the record on  
21 appeal.

22 Q When you speak of "record," you mean the one  
23 labeled "appendix"?

24 A Yes. Thank you, Your Honor. That is what I mean.  
25 Your Honors will look for a moment -- my moments to me

1 are precious -- at the text of the Criminal Syndicalism Act you  
2 will find on page 8 that it is an act which proscribes doctrine  
3 and precept. So, it is an act aimed at expression of opinion.

4 And, says Mr. Harris the Assistant Attorney General,  
5 the defendant Harris was charged with subsection (3). If Your  
6 Honors will take a third of a minute to look at that which is  
7 on page 9, you will find that that makes it a crime to print,  
8 publish, edit, issue, so forth. So far as any charge against  
9 this defendant is concerned, it is purely a charge involving the  
10 expression of opinion.

11 Now, I had better get to that problem of ---

12 Q Yes, I suppose you are right, because, whether  
13 or not that is constitutional, the real issue here is whether  
14 you ought not fight that out in the state courts and not in the  
15 Federal Courts at this junction.

16 A Yes.

17 Now our position is that this is not a case under some  
18 of the abstention decisions by this Court where a person rushed  
19 into Federal Court. It is not a case where he sought relief in  
20 the Federal Court prior to exhausting available remedies to him  
21 to secure the same kind of relief which he ultimately secured from  
22 the Federal Court from the State Courts.

23 And that leads me to a discussion, then -- what I  
24 would agree is the heart of this case -- as to the special  
25 procedure, the nature of the special procedure in California to

1 do that because if California has a special procedure, whether  
2 or not other states have it is at this moment of no concern to me,  
3 though I think it is, of course, of concern to Your Honors. But  
4 I think in other cases, in the other abstention cases following  
5 this one rather than this one, where it is conceded by Mr. Harris  
6 there is a procedure in California.

7           Of course we don't agree entirely as to the scope of  
8 that procedure. We have briefed the man and, by way of capsule  
9 summary, this is the thrust of our brief and this is the nature  
10 of our position.

11           We challenge the constitutionality of the statute on  
12 its face and as applied in the trial court, to start with. As  
13 Mr. Harris conceded, in the California procedure, in contra-  
14 distinction to procedure in the Federal Courts, a transcript  
15 of the proceedings before the Grand Jury is filed with the Clerk  
16 of the Court and a copy furnished to the defendant.

17           He may challenge the sufficiency of the evidence as  
18 well as the constitutionality of any prosecution -- of any  
19 statute upon which a prosecution is based in a proceeding which  
20 is known as Section 995 of the Penal Code.

21           Q     What is the number of that?

22           A     Section 995. It is referred to in the complaint.  
23 It is discussed more or less extendedly, particularly, Your Honor,  
24 in our reply brief, which is a manila covered document, at pages  
25 6, 7 and 8.

1 Mr. Harris said to Your Honors that before a trial in  
2 California -- I think he said -- may challenge the constitutional-  
3 ity of a statute by habeas corpus or by petition for prohibition.

4 A petition for a prohibition was filed by this defen-  
5 dant.

6 Q In what court?

7 A That goes to the first immediate appellate court  
8 called the Court of Appeals.

9 Q That is your intermediate appellate court, not  
10 that special appellate you have in California?

11 A No, that is not Appellate Superior Court, because  
12 felonies are filed in your Superior Court. Then it goes to an  
13 intermediate appellate court known as Court of Appeals.

14 So an adverse ruling by the Court of Appeals, one goes  
15 to the California Supreme Court by a document known as a petition  
16 for hearing, in which petition for hearing all of the papers  
17 which are filed for proceedings in the Court of Appeals go up  
18 to the Supreme Court.

19 And in this state, as Your Honors will see if you will  
20 examine the one copy of the proceedings in the California courts  
21 compiled by the Clerk's office, all of the proceedings in the  
22 trial court are annexed to the proceeding in the Court of Appeals,  
23 including the transcript of the record before the Grand Jury.

24 Q Are you going to deal at some point with the  
25 impact of 995 and 2283?

1           A     Yes, yes, I am.

2           Now, it is our view and we discuss it, Your Honor,  
3 particularly at these pages which I have referred to, pages  
4 6, 7 and 8, that under California procedure the California statute  
5 itself and the California Courts have ruled that relief must be  
6 accorded to a defendant where the evidence is insufficient after  
7 any essential element of the offense.

8           In this case, the essential element of the offense,  
9 as Your Honors decided unanimously just this last term in Brander-  
10 burg vs. Ohio, is that the advocacy must be accompanied by  
11 incitement to imminent lawless action. Urged upon all of the  
12 California Courts was that there was no evidence before the  
13 Grand Jury as there is no charge of the indictment of any incite-  
14 ment as distinguished from advocacy of abstract doctrine.

15           And incidentally, Mr. Justice Harlan, you will be  
16 interested to know that the District Court was greatly persuaded  
17 by Your Honor's ruling in Yates and in Noto -- maybe that remark  
18 I just made is irrelevant to my point which I am making.

19           But the distinction between abstract advocacy, on the  
20 one hand, and incitement against those laws, on the other, which  
21 distinction is not drawn by this statute and, hence, it is over-  
22 broad and vague under decisions of this Court. That distinction  
23 was never made, that distinction was never recognized by any  
24 California Court in claims made by this defendant to that Court,  
25 and therefore -- two more things and then I am sure my time is

1 up.

2           Therefore we do not agree with our adversary that the  
3 California Criminal Syndicalism Act, an act aimed at precepts and  
4 doctrines of that time, has ever been narrowed by the California  
5 Courts to comply with the limitations that this Court has imposed  
6 in Yates, Noto and in other cases and, in particular, in Branden-  
7 burg.

8           Q     Are we called in this case to review the proceed-  
9 ing that you have been spending so much time on here? The ques-  
10 tion is whether the Federal Court had any business barging in  
11 on the state prosecution at the stage in the face of 2283 and  
12 in the face of a situation that carries no harassment of this  
13 man by finding an indictment against him.

14                     That is the narrow issue in this case.

15           A     Well, I will address myself to that issue.

16           Q     Well, that is the whole issue.

17           A     But I will agree to do it.

18                     But, Mr. Justice Harlan, it is my position that a  
19 district court -- now I want to say this firmly, but very  
20 respectfully -- does not barge into a state prosecution when  
21 there is a state procedure which authorizes and provides for  
22 relief prior to trial, which state procedure has been exhausted  
23 by a defendant in every California court.

24                     It is our view it is no disrespect to a state court,  
25 it is no prostration of the authority of a state court if in



1 that circumstance, when a state court has been given every oppor-  
2 tunity to narrow a statute and has not done so, for a defendant  
3 to then repair to the Federal Courts, particularly when he  
4 couldn't come to this Court, because that situation is not a  
5 final judgment reviewable.

6 And I must also confess, Your Honors, that I do draw  
7 the distinction between a free speech case and another case.

8 Q Mr. Wirin, you are not suggesting, are you, that  
9 having exhausted this rather unusual California pretrial pro-  
10 cedure, that he could not under state law continue to assert  
11 his constitutional defense that the criminal prosecution -- you  
12 are not suggesting anything of that sort?

13 A No, I am suggesting nothing of that sort. I am  
14 merely suggesting ---

15 Q So that now he would be in the same position as  
16 would be the defendant in any other state that did not have any  
17 such pretrial procedure as California has. It need be just  
18 simply a defendant having been charged with an offense and there  
19 were available to him in the state courts all of the constitu-  
20 tional defenses. Isn't that correct?

21 A I agree entirely with what Your Honor has said  
22 with, of course, a qualification. My qualification is that so  
23 far as the doctrine of abstention is concerned, a doctrine  
24 which is positive on the constitutional principle that the  
25 Federal Court should not prostrate the actions of state courts,

1 except where appropriate, that if there is a special procedure  
2 in the state court and it is followed by a defendant, that it is  
3 timely for him to repair to the district court and secure redress  
4 in the district court with respect to matters for which he has  
5 not secured redress, ---

6 Q Then you run up against 2283.

7 A Now I come to 2283.

8 And there are two things to be said about 2283 in  
9 connection with this case. First, 2283 was never raised by the  
10 District Attorney in the trial court. I don't know how important  
11 that is. Maybe after I explain in a moment.

12 In the notice of appeal to this Court 2283 was not  
13 mentioned. In the jurisdictional statement to this Court 2283  
14 was not relied upon, although shortly thereafter the Attorney  
15 General filed a memorandum in support of the jurisdictional  
16 section, raising for the first time Section 2283.

17 Of course, in Section 2283 -- it is a jurisdictional  
18 statute, and I don't understand that position, Mr. Harris. It  
19 can be raised here, whether it was raised below. But I make some  
20 point of the fact that it wasn't raised below for this reason:  
21 The District Court essentially made a declaration that the  
22 statute was unconstitutional on its face.

23 Then, if I may say, to help the District Attorney it  
24 went on and issued a preliminary injunction, sua sponde, not a  
25 request of the plaintiff, because all that was pending before

1 all that was pending before the District Court was a motion to  
2 dismiss by the appellant. It issued a preliminary injunction  
3 and in order to give the District Attorney an opportunity to  
4 appeal to this Court and secure a review, and had Section 2283  
5 been raised in the court below, it is very possible that he would  
6 not have been issued an injunction for his declaration of  
7 statute being unconstitutional would probably have been insuffi-  
8 cient.

9 Now that is part of the argument, but not the main  
10 part.

11 Now, Section 2283 contains three subdivisions, each of  
12 in our view was complied with in this case. One of the subdivi-  
13 sions in Section 2283 is, "Where an order of a District Court  
14 is an aid of its jurisdiction or an aid of its judgment."

15 At the time this matter was heard by the three-judge  
16 District Court, no responsive pleading had been filed by the  
17 appellate. All that was before the Court was a motion to dis-  
18 miss, which motion to dismiss the District Court rejected. It  
19 had jurisdiction over the cause, so Mr. Harris concedes and,  
20 therefore, to preserve its jurisdiction and its authority,  
21 ultimately later it went a judgment, a declaratory judgment under  
22 Zwickler vs. Koota, which doesn't involve the injunction statute  
23 at all, and which was the only matter which the District Court  
24 really decided.

25 And in Zwickler vs. Koota he won it unanimous, although

1 there was an exciting and concurring opinion by Justice Harlan.  
2 So, what the Court did, therefore, was to issue an injunction to  
3 sustain its jurisdiction in order to be able to effectuate its  
4 ultimate judgment, which could have been only a declaratory  
5 judgment, which as we say under Zwickler vs. Koota, it is quite  
6 a "dump."

7           And finally, of course, Your Honors, we make the argu-  
8 ment, though this Court has never decided the matter, that the  
9 Civil Rights Act under which this suit was filed in the District  
10 Court, which authorizes the District Court to grant relief in  
11 the way of damages and injunction, is one of the exceptions to  
12 the injunction statute and that the District Court below, there-  
13 fore, merely was complying with the authority which the Congress  
14 has conferred upon it in the Civil Rights Act in issuing the  
15 injunction in this case against an injunction not necessary,  
16 not issued at the request of the plaintiff, but issued to help  
17 the District Attorney and to help Mr. Harris.

18           Q     Now would the result of that be that the state  
19 has been helped to the extent that for four years they haven't  
20 been able to move? Is that right?

21           A     Well, Your Honor, it turns out that four years  
22 is one year too long. Maybe that isn't important.

23           Q     Well, I was ---

24           A     Also part of the time, Your Honor, it is attribu-  
25 table to this Court because you heard this case before.

1           Q     The thing we have before us is the injunction and  
2 whether or not the appellant asked for it anything, to me, is  
3 rather unimportant. He did issue the injunction and it has to  
4 be tested against 2283.

5           A     And we say that there are three exceptions per-  
6 taining to 2283, and that in this instance -- and these are  
7 disjunctive, these exceptions -- any one of them, and in this  
8 case ---

9           Q     I don't see what jurisdiction he was protecting.  
10 He could issue his declaratory judgment. He didn't need to issue  
11 an injunction to protect his right to issue a declaratory injunc-  
12 tion.

13          A     I think he -- it was a three-judge court, that  
14 is all right. In any event, to maintain the status quo in order  
15 not to have its jurisdiction mooted, we think it was proper to  
16 issue some kind of a relief.

17          Q     Well, isn't it answered very simply by the fact  
18 that he hasn't issued a declaratory judgment yet?

19          A     What the District Court did, in effect, was to  
20 issue a declaratory judgment, but not a final declaratory judg-  
21 ment, because ---

22          Q     He hasn't made it final yet. What is stopping  
23 him from making it final?

24          A     To appeal to this Court.

25          Q     He just decided that that was enough?

1 A To appeal to this Court.

2 Q Well, so if we upset the injunction, then he can  
3 go ahead to file his declaratory judgment.

4 A In the District Court.

5 Q Then how is he damaged?

6 A Not very much, except we think that the three-  
7 judge District Court had the impression of anticipating this  
8 Court's ruling in Brandenburg. We wouldn't like to see the  
9 judgment reversed.

10 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Wirin.

11 Mr. Harris? You have four more minutes.

12 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF ALBERT W. HARRIS, JR., ESQ.

13 ON BEHALF OF APPELLANT

14 MR. HARRIS: I didn't get to the last two points in  
15 my opening remarks, because at the time the problem -- I didn't  
16 mean to waive any point in connection with either the merits  
17 of the Act or the impact of Section 2283, which we set forth at  
18 very considerable length in our brief.

19 We think it barred the injunction here in looking at  
20 the complaint, which appears in the appendix and at page 7  
21 it is quite apparent to me that a permanent injunction was  
22 prayed for, a temporary restraining order and a preliminary  
23 injunction, in fact, were all prayed for by the plaintiff, John  
24 Harris, and by the other plaintiffs here.

25 We still urge and I think if you will examine the

1 cases that have been cited by the appellee that the 999(a) pro-  
2 cedure does not permit the raising of the constitutional ques-  
3 tion that they presented here. They argued, but they didn't do  
4 it within a procedural framework that would permit the state  
5 courts to decide it.

6 We also submit that, however, whatever our view might  
7 be or whatever the District Court's understanding might be of  
8 the procedural niceties in California shouldn't be determina-  
9 tive of this case.

10 2283 still bars an injunction without any regard to  
11 what interlocutory procedures are provided for in California.  
12 Now, as far as the declaratory judgment is concerned, we urge  
13 that the statute can properly be saved and under Zwickler this  
14 is a consideration that should have prompted the District Court  
15 to abstain and let this statute be thrashed out in the state  
16 courts and let John Harris have his remedy, and I think there  
17 can be no real doubt that he has a real and meaningful remedy  
18 within the California courts.

19 Only a week ago, Monday, this Court in Ware against  
20 Schneider in 1225 affirmed percuriam a case out of Louisiana,  
21 where the Federal District Court had abstained from getting into  
22 a Louisiana prosecution and there there had been an application  
23 to the Louisiana courts, in fact, an application to the Louisiana  
24 Supreme Court for relief by the defendant during the course of  
25 his application to the Federal Court.

1           This was not deemed to be of any great consequence  
2 under that particular situation and we think it is somewhat  
3 comparable to the situation here. Now what the procedural  
4 niceties are in Louisiana, I have no idea, and we don't that this  
5 case should turn on that.

6           2283 clearly barred the injunction. The statute can  
7 be salvaged insofar as Harris is concerned and certainly no more  
8 than the one prosecution that he is facing.

9           There is no -- I think the delay here, as mentioned  
10 in a question, has been very considerable. As the case pro-  
11 ceeded in the state courts, no doubt it could have been termi-  
12 nated long since, and we stand here four years with the State  
13 of California in the situation of being unable to proceed against  
14 John Harris, whatever the merits of that case might be; and,  
15 more importantly, unable to proceed within the constitutional  
16 limits of the Criminal Syndicalism Act.

17           It is not a question of zealous prosecution, it is a  
18 question enforcing the law within the proper constitutional  
19 limits that this Court has laid down. And it certainly suggests  
20 in Brandenburg that within the Criminal Syndicalism Act there  
21 is an area within which the state may properly act to prohibit  
22 the advocacy of criminal means, whether it be killing all cops,  
23 whether it be blowing up a building, arson or whatever.

24           We think the state should be able to prove the  
25 positive relationship between the advocacy and these criminal



1 acts.

2 Thank you.

3 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Harris.

4 Thank you, Mr. Wirin.

5 The case is submitted.

6 (Whereupon, at 11:10 a.m. the argument in the above-  
7 entitled matter was concluded.)

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