

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1969

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In the Matter of:

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 LESTER GUNN, et al. :
 :
 : Petitioner; :
 :
 : vs. :
 :
 : UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE TO END THE :
 : WAR IN VIET NAM, et al., :
 :
 : Respondents. :
 -----X

Docket No. 7

Pt. 2

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Washington, D. C.

Place

April 30, 1970

Date

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LESTER GUNN, et al.,

Petitioners;

vs.

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE TO END THE
WAR IN VIET NAM, et al.,

Respondents.

----- x

No. 7

Washington, D. C.
April 30, 1970

The above-entitled matter came on for further
argument, pursuant to recess, at 10:06 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:

(Same as heretofore noted.)

P R O C E E D I N G S

1
2 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: We will resume the
3 arguments in No. 7, Gunn against the University Committee.

4 FURTHER ARGUMENT OF DAVID W. LOUISELL

5 ON BEHALF OF PETITIONERS

6 MR. LOUISELL: Your Honors, please, in view of the
7 time limits we must submit the matter of appealability that
8 we were discussing yesterday. On our supplemental brief,
9 we submit that it is covered there. It is not a judgment; we
10 have here under the statute a reviewable order.

11 I might only say that the appellees themselves who,
12 in their motion to affirm, with great candor acknowledged this,
13 insofar as it is relevant. They pointed out on page 2 of
14 their motion to affirm that under Reynolds against Simms,
15 the reapportionment case, they had no doubt about the appeal-
16 ability of the order here.

17 It would, of course, be very unfortunate, I think,
18 from a viewpoint of judicial administration if the case ---

19 Q I thought the question was not the appealability
20 of the order but whether there was any order at all which would
21 be appealable. That is what bothered me about it.

22 A And, of course, as we point out in our supplemen-
23 tal brief, what there is is in the last paragraph of the court's
24 opinion.

25 Your Honors, it seems to us that the crux of this

1 case, the real turning point where it might have gone the
2 right way, was on the motion by the appellants to dismiss made
3 very promptly, only a day or two after all of the criminal
4 complaints in the state court had been dismissed.

5 At that point, we submit to Your Honors, there was
6 no case of controversy, anything more to be done was a simple
7 matter of advice, an advisory opinion. And from the beginning
8 of this Nation to the present time the teaching of this Court
9 is there was no occasion, no reason, no right to go ahead and
10 render an advisory opinion.

11 The court insisted on the so-called using this
12 phrase, "We will carry this motion with the case." If it
13 had faced up to the motion explicitly, what happened might not
14 have happened.

15 Now remember, if I may say, as far as Dombrowski goes--
16 and I wish there were time for a full review of it, although
17 there has been so much refreshing and rethinking by the Court,
18 in any event, I doubt it would be necessary -- but far from the
19 facts here invoking Dombrowski, where there was a bona fide
20 allegation of deliberate, intentional, non-good faith use of
21 a very complicated statute to effect racial repression -- far
22 from those facts being involved here -- and even assuming every
23 disputed fact or anything that we can imagine was disputed
24 here in favor of the appellees -- this was a one-shot proposition.

25 This wasn't a continuing, concerted effort to deprive

1 anybody of his rights. Instead of Dombrowski being controlling,
2 I submit to you there are controlling words in Cameron against
3 Johnson. If the mere possibility of erroneous application
4 of the statute -- the mere possibility of erroneous application
5 of the statute does not amount to the irreparable injury
6 necessary to justify a disruption of orderly state procedure.

7 All the good that may be done ----

8 Q Are you saying there was no case of controversy,
9 or that there was, but the court should not have entered either
10 a declaratory judgment or an injunction or both?

11 A I am saying that when those criminal cases
12 were dismissed, Mr. Justice White, there was no longer a case of
13 controversy. The state had given up every effort. There was
14 no reason to go ahead with the federal three-judge case.

15 Q Even if they hadn't dismissed them, I suppose
16 you would still say ----

17 A I would still say that it wasn't the type of
18 situation. But, with the dismissal any pretense of excuse ----

19 Q You mean that brings it within Golden?

20 A Within Golden, of course, and the necessary
21 distinction between the declaratory judgment and injunction
22 thinking -- I invoke all that. But even within Golden, I would
23 say, would confirm, make more explicit, what I have said about
24 the applicability of Cameron against Johnson.

25 Q What would you say if criminal charges were

1 dismissed and no criminal charges were pending, but there were
2 allegations that because of the statute and because of past
3 conduct, we are now deterred from following the course that
4 we would otherwise. Would that not be a case of controversy
5 in your view?

6 A If there were a genuine position to that effect,
7 there might be within the doctrine of Golden, from Dombrowski
8 through Golden, there might have been. But there was nothing
9 here. Far from meeting the strong requirements of the very
10 words of Dombrowski, there wasn't even a serious claim that
11 there was any concerted effort.

12 Q I understand that. There were no allegations
13 of harassments or non-good faith application of the law, but
14 I suppose the allegation was that we know that this statute
15 might be applied in these circumstances, and we are now not
16 holding any more demonstrations or expressing our views at all
17 because of this statute. And that gives us a case of
18 controversy.

19 A If there were a real showing, a real position,
20 that they were so inhibited by the statute, that would be one
21 thing. But I want to come to that and show that the statute
22 as construed never in Texas had attempted to reach the content
23 of speech. It was only a method of controlling disturbance
24 and the hysterical need of disorderly conduct.

25 Q Was there an actual allegation here of

1 deterrence?

2 A There was an actual allegation of deterrence.
3 But I submit there was absolutely nothing but the narrow,
4 conclusory, mere allegation. Now we all know -- even from
5 the viewpoint of the strongest support of the Dombrowski
6 philosophy -- Dombrowski is strong medicine, strong medicine
7 in a federal-state relationship. And I respectfully submit
8 that unless taken according to prescription, strong medicine
9 is poison.

10 But giving to the claims of the appellees every
11 possible assumption -- Mr. Justice White, if it is true that
12 they were being kept out of the county by a concerted action
13 between these people, wasn't the remedy to grab an injunction
14 against that sort of an abuse, rather than to reach out and
15 declare unconstitutional a conventional, orthodox disorderly
16 conduct statute?

17 Q Did they declare the whole statute unconsti-
18 tutional?

19 A The whole statute. At one point they seemed to
20 be emphasizing one part of it. But the net conclusion is, and
21 the assumption among the lower courts of Texas, apparently,
22 is that all of 474 is gone.

23 Q Of course, that is one of the difficulties in
24 this case, there being no injunction. You can't tell just what
25 was ---

1 A You can't tell the precise notion the court had
2 in mind, but they did say "entitlement to injunctive relief."

3 I want to reserve a few minutes, so I will just say
4 now that, of course, historically the purpose of this statute,
5 I suppose, was to meet the conventional types of disorder,
6 scenes on the street, disturbances in church, and so forth.
7 Today the need for this kind of a statute is the kind of a
8 situation where a mob may come to a schoolroom, a classroom,
9 and screech and shout so as to disrupt. Your Honors, that
10 has nothing more to do with free speech than the fact that it
11 involves noise from the vocal cords.

12 Q Did you understand that the district court, in
13 fact, did declare null and void under the Constitution those
14 parts of this statute that have to do with indecent exposure
15 and firearms and so forth?

16 A Of course, they didn't direct themselves to
17 that, specifically, but in the final conclusion of the court
18 the whole statute went.

19 Q They didn't care about any exceptions?

20 A No exceptions to the condemnation.

21 Q But they did say what the state could pass as
22 legal.

23 A They did say that. As a matter of fact, the
24 next session of the legislature met and adjourned without
25 taking any action, as we point out in our supplemental brief.

1 Q That is the difficulty in a case when there is
2 actually no injunction, you can't tell. And that is the
3 reason for the rule and the law that requires an injunction to
4 be very carefully and precisely drafted. And here there is
5 no injunction at all.

6 A There is the concluding paragraph. Of course,
7 if we did have ---

8 Q A statement that they are entitled to an
9 injunction.

10 A If the court had been obedient to the notion
11 that Your Honor has just put, we would have a specific in-
12 junction. But you can go to the whole opinion of the court,
13 including the so-called "addendum" opinion, to see the
14 completeness of the condemnation of section 474.

15 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Louisell.
16 Mr. Clinton.

17 ARGUMENT OF SAM HOUSTON CLINTON, JR.

18 ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENTS

19 MR. CLINTON: Mr. Chief Justice; may it please the
20 Court:

21 We think the disposition of this case here, for
22 reasons about to be stated, is a rather simple matter and
23 suggest that that disposition is to affirm what the district
24 court has done and remand for further proceedings not incon-
25 sistent with whatever action the Court does take.

1 Q Are you addressing that observation to the
2 limitation of the injunction, so that it would have some
3 rational relationship to the events?

4 A I am addressing it to remanding it to the
5 court in order that then the court may actually enter and order
6 for injunction if the court now deems it meet and appropriate
7 to do so.

8 Q We don't have any power at all to review a case
9 where an injunction hasn't either been granted or denied, and
10 your suggestion is we now remand it so that an injunction can
11 be granted. We don't have any jurisdiction in this case, unless
12 an injunction has been granted or denied under section 1253.

13 A The real problem here is, I suggest, that the
14 court in real deference to the Legislature of the State of
15 Texas stayed any action under its opinion. With that occurring,
16 prevailing counsel -- just as a practical matter -- is not going
17 to try to bother the court below with getting some kind of
18 order. We are still waiting for the legislative action.

19 Q Well then, as a practical matter, this Court
20 has no jurisdiction to review anything, under section 1253.
21 You know what its words say, don't you? It is very understand-
22 able the courtesy and deference that the three-judge court
23 showed to the sovereign State of Texas. I suggest that the
24 result of what it did was quite unfortunate, because it leaves
25 an essentially advisory opinion unreviewable.

1 A The opinion does, in the last paragraph say
2 that ---

3 Q Express the view that you are entitled to an
4 injunction.

5 A --- we are entitled to declaratory ---

6 Q But there is no order granting an injunction.
7 There is no injunction.

8 A Certainly, that is true.

9 May I, however, clear up one thing that arose
10 yesterday as to whether the district court's old suspension of
11 its order later somehow became effective by reason of the
12 legislature meeting and adjourning.

13 What actually was, the legislature did meet on
14 June 4, 1968 in special session that was scheduled by the
15 normal course of events to adjourn on July 3. In the mean-
16 while, the state, the appellants here, applied to His Honor
17 Mr. Justice Black, and he on June 12, I believe, entered a
18 stay order, which in effect superceded whatever the district
19 court's stay of mandate meant. And actually, we are still
20 today under that stay order.

21 I want to discuss what counsel says is the crux of
22 the case; that being the motion to dismiss. I would like to
23 put that in context, if I may-- the events that led up to that.
24 This particular occurrence was on December the 12th. We filed
25 our complaint by the 21st. The single judge granted a

1 temporary restraining order, holding things in status quo.

2 We also filed a motion for preliminary injunction and
3 requested the convening of a three-judge court. In January,
4 on January 2, the TRO was extended, as I recall by agreement.
5 On the 19th the defendants filed an answer to the motion for
6 injunction, joining issue on our allegation. On January 23
7 the TRO was extended to February 23, which was also the date
8 of the hearing set for the three-judge court.

9 So by January 23 everybody had their pleadings in
10 order, and the three-judge court had been convened, and the
11 application for the preliminary injunction was then pending.

12 It was February 15th, some 2 or 3 weeks later, that
13 for the first time the motion to dismiss surfaced and was
14 called to the attention of the court, in connection with a
15 contemporaneously filed motion for continuance, seeking to
16 have the court put off the hearing that had already been
17 scheduled on the pleadings and concentrate only on the motion
18 to dismiss.

19 The court, on February 20, 3 days before the prev-
20 iously scheduled hearing entered an order deferring the motion,
21 or carry it along with case, as we say down there, and denying
22 the motion for continuance. And then on the 23rd the hearing
23 was held -- on which date, incidentally, and for the first time
24 the defendants filed any character of proof, this being in the
25 form of affidavits from some of them and some of the deputies.

1 I think and submit that the court was entitled, with
2 respect to the motion to dismiss, to be very suspicious of the
3 validity of the good faith, coming not only as a matter of
4 time as it did -- and, in fact, as I recall, the presiding
5 judge, Judge Thornberry, raised that very question during the
6 hearing as to the timing of that motion. He said, "If you
7 thought these events had occurred on federal enclave over
8 which the state had no jurisdiction, why have you waited this
9 long to call it to our attention?"

10 But, in any event, the motion to dismiss, if the
11 Court please, is directed only to that event. The motion to
12 dismiss is limited to the fact that ---

13 Q Where does that appear, Mr. Clinton?

14 A It is page 16 of the brown appendix.

15 Q Thank you.

16 A The last two sentences: " The defendants would
17 show the court that no useful purpose could now be served
18 by granting an injunction to prevent the prosecution of these
19 suits because the same no longer exists. Plaintiffs can ask
20 no greater relief in the instant case than that the complaints
21 heretofore filed be dismissed for want of jurisdiction."

22 Well, of course, we not only can but did ask for
23 more relief. And just to stop the pending prosecution, we had
24 a prayer for declaratory judgment, that the statute be declared
25 unconstitutional. We had a prayer for preliminary injunction,

1 later, permanent injunction. We had a prayer for general
2 relief that, I submit, is so broad that if leave could be
3 granted, we could still ask for monetary damages for the
4 action visited upon the appellees here.

5 The court had this kind of evidence before it, too,
6 which I think this Court can easily conclude that the district
7 court not only considered but was impressed by. To justify
8 this kind of evidence -- to justify the sworn testimony in the
9 sense of affidavits we agreed in the stipulation that those
10 affidavits meant that those people giving the affidavit, if
11 called to testify, would testify in the fashion shown in the
12 affidavit. This was all done by agreement for the convenience
13 of the court.

14 The appellees here, the three young men who were
15 handled in Bell County as they were, and others called as
16 witnesses through their affidavit who were there also as a
17 part of the demonstration, all said that they were limiting
18 their activity in the Committee and in its peaceful protest,
19 that they would not return to Bell County, that they would not
20 engage in any demonstration in Bell County -- and some said
21 elsewhere -- so long as the statute was being used in the
22 fashion that it was.

23 Q Could that conceivably be a form of protest
24 against the statute as well as bona fide expression of fear?
25 According to the statute, it has got to be a fear, an

1 apprehension, doesn't it?

2 A Well, I think it was an expression of fear.
3 Maybe it wasn't stated directly to the statute itself, but it
4 was stated in terms of, if people can be charged for disturbing
5 the peace for what we have done, then we are not going to do
6 it until something is done about the statute.

7 The point I am trying to get to is to suggest to the
8 Court that when the district court accepted those statements,
9 not only by the appellees but by their witnesses who were
10 there in the demonstration, they had very good reason for
11 accepting them and believing them and granting relief based
12 on that or indicating that we were entitled to relief based on
13 that.

14 Q Professor Louisell, I think, argued yesterday,
15 Mr. Clinton, that the 1871 statute was not aimed at isolated, or
16 sporadic, enforcement of a particular statute in a particular
17 way but systematic, or patterned, use of the local statutes
18 to inhibit constitutional rights. Do you think -- going back
19 to your original pleading -- do you think you have a case of
20 systematic conduct, or a pattern of conduct, to deprive people
21 of their constitutional rights here?

22 A We did not allege that the defendants, the
23 appellants here, had previously used this statute.

24 Q Let me try a hypothetical case that might
25 illustrate it. I think someone said Texas had 365 or 367

1 counties.

2 A Actually, 254.

3 Q Two hundred and fifty four? Well, that is
4 still quite a few. Suppose you have a prosecutor in each
5 county, and you have one prosecutor in one of those counties
6 who has some aberrations about a Texas statute and enforces it
7 in a certain way. Is that the kind of state action which the
8 1871 act contemplated where it is one prosecutor in one of
9 254 counties, or must it be something farther than that?

10 A I think it is, especially in this case, where
11 the state attorney general appears in the case for the State
12 of Texas.

13 Q That is after the event.

14 A But he is in effect saying, as he did in the
15 pleadings, that the statute was valid, that the events that
16 occurred there were the disturbance of the peace, and he is
17 alleging really that that local event in Bell County was proper,
18 and is, in effect, the State of Texas adopting that position.
19 I think the court was entitled to consider that.

20 Q But that is an argument over the factual issue,
21 whether this was a disorderly conduct case or whether it was
22 a repression of First Amendment rights, isn't it?

23 A Yes.

24 Q He is defending on a quite different ground than
25 your attack.

1 A We contended and we alleged that what was
2 happening in Bell County -- which is a focal point for such
3 demonstrations for the reason that counsel pointed out -- was
4 deterring the exercise of free speech of people that wanted to
5 go to Bell County to demonstrate. We did not contend that the
6 same thing was happening in other parts of the state, because
7 we weren't really trying that. All this is very true.

8 Q But did you allege anything in your complaint
9 that indicated that there was something you wanted to do that
10 you had not done?

11 A Actually wanted to do?

12 Q That you had not done. I mean, specifically,
13 other than just generalities?

14 A We alleged what the University Committee did,
15 in terms of its activities: demonstrtrions, distribution of
16 literature ---

17 Q Did you allege you had ceased it?

18 A Various individuals handled it in different ways.
19 Some individuals said, "We have ceased all activities." Others
20 said, "We have ceased any activity in Bell County. We will not
21 go back to Killeen and Bell County and the Fort Hood area."

22 Q This was in your complaint or in the affidavits
23 or what?

24 A I believe it is in both. We allege in our
25 complaint ---

1 Q But you say "will" ---

2 A --- that the sole purpose of these activities
3 by the defendants were to deter, intimidate, hinder, and
4 prevent plaintiffs and the members of the University Committee,
5 as friends and supporters, from exercising the rights guaran-
6 teed. We say unless the court restrains the operation and
7 enforcement of a void, invalid, nonconstitutional statute,
8 plaintiffs and members of the committee will suffer immediate
9 and irreparable injury.

10 Q I know, but that is a long way from saying that
11 you had actually been deterred from a course of conduct.

12 A Well, we say that as long as the charges are
13 pending, we will be fearful of exercising the rights, the
14 federal rights guaranteed. And then the affidavits come along
15 and say that they have, indeed, ceased activities, either
16 statewide in the event of some of the affiants or just in Bell
17 County.

18 Q The details are in the affidavits?

19 A The details are in the affidavits, and what I
20 want to try to point out at this time is to show why the court
21 below was justified in accepting those statements against the
22 background of the other evidence that was before the court.

23 What counsel labeled yesterday as unfortunate events.
24 Some of those unfortunate events include the following, based
25 on the evidence that was before the court. Sheriff Gunn

1 himself said to two of the demonstrators -- who were not actually
2 handled, who were not arrested, who were not jailed, Sue
3 Granville and Phillip Juvenile -- "Get out of my county and
4 don't come back. Don't ever want to see your faces in Bell
5 County again."

6 Sheriff Gunn -- contrary to counsel's suggestion
7 yesterday -- does not deny having made those statements.
8 He denies having said other things to the specific appellees
9 here in and out of the jail, but he does not deny, in his
10 affidavit, making those statements to Sue Granville and
11 Phillip Juvenile.

12 Q Mr. Clinton, my problem is, assuming that the
13 officials in this county did exactly everything that you allege
14 they did, why is that sufficient ground to knock out a state-
15 side statute? Do you allege that any other county is going to
16 enforce it?

17 A We do not allege experience in any other county.

18 Q Do you allege that any other person, police
19 official, is going to use it the way it was used here?

20 A This case arises solely from what happened in
21 Bell County.

22 Q Could you get the same relief by enjoining
23 those officials from acting, without knocking the statute out?

24 A It appears to me that if the statute is -- of
25 course, if it is invalid in Bell County, it is invalid

1 statewide.

2 Q Why?

3 A It just happens that this situation arose from
4 Bell County.

5 Q Well, I respectfully submit the situation would
6 not arise again in Bell County, unless the President of the
7 United States came down there.

8 A No, sir, that is exactly another point that is
9 made throughout these affidavits.

10 Q Well, I can't leave that out.

11 A May I comment about that?

12 Q First I want to know, can you get your relief
13 without knocking the statute out?

14 A I don't see how we could. We have to allege,
15 as I understand it, under Dombrowski that the statute is
16 unconstitutional.

17 Q Dombrowski said the statute was being used,
18 systematically, over and over and over again. You say the
19 statute was used once by one group of officers.

20 A We say it was used on this occasion and that
21 they were threatening us with, in effect, using it again and
22 again and ain if we came back.

23 Q Where do you get that from?

24 A I infer that from all of these events that
25 happened: the sheriff saying, "Don't come back, we don't

1 want to see your face here again." The other things that I
2 have to call to the Court's attention are these other eviden-
3 tiary events that happened that portend what would happen in
4 the future.

5 Q Did you ever apply for an injunction after
6 the judgment in this case?

7 A I am sorry, I don't get your timing there. After
8 the court handed down its opinion? We did not apply, because
9 the court said, "We are deferring any further action until
10 the legislature acts."

11 Q And then the legislature closed?

12 A The legislature met. While the legislature was
13 in session, Mr. Justice Black entered a stay order, which is
14 still in effect.

15 Q Still in effect?

16 A Yes, sir.

17 Q But if this case is decided and sent back, then
18 you will apply for an injunction; you will get it or not. Will
19 you get the injunction?

20 A As we point out in our brief, we will appear
21 before the court and make application for whatever relief then
22 appears to be appropriate.

23 Q Well, what other relief is appropriate, other
24 than an injunction?

25 A We think, frankly, that the declaration that

1 the statute is unconstitutional is sufficient to preclude
2 any other bona fide prosecution under the statute. We believe
3 the state local, district and county attorneys will follow the
4 law. If it is declared unconstitutional ---

5 Q So you wouldn't ask for an injunction?

6 A We may not, in view of the problems ---

7 Q Well, if you are not interested in an injunction,
8 where do we get our jurisdiction?

9 A I don't suggest that we are not interested; I
10 say we may not.

11 I must again emphasize this point that I am trying
12 to make; that the court below acted very properly in seeing
13 that there was a case and there was a controversy; that it
14 was continuing; that it was very live, because of what the
15 appellees said as to restricting their activities; and that
16 they were justified in accepting that by reason of what had
17 happened to them in Bell County and what was threatened would
18 reoccur, in the event they went back to Bell County.

19 I have indicated what the sheriff himself said. When
20 they were taken before the Justice of the Peace, he greeted
21 them -- under the evidence in this case -- he greeted them with
22 the statement, "We don't like traitors around here." He said,
23 "You can plead guilty and be fined \$200, or you can plead not
24 guilty and I will put you in jail until you can make a \$500
25 bond."

1 One of the appellees here said, "Isn't that a little
2 high?" And he said, "Why sure it's high, but I want to make
3 sure you're back, because I want to see that this case is tried."

4 After that happened, an officer of the law is there
5 in the J.P.'s office, and he confronts one of the appellees,
6 and he is toying with live bullets in his hand, and he says,
7 "You know, sonny, I've shot a lot of mad dogs in my day, and I
8 could shoot a traitor and never give it a thought. It would
9 be just like shooting a mad dog."

10 When they finally got moved from the Killeen City
11 Jail to be taken over to Belton, a community, or town, some 15-
12 20 miles away, to be put in that jail, the Killeen police chief
13 tells them, "Don't come back here. We don't like your kind
14 around here, and tell your University of Texas friends the same
15 thing, because we've got all the education we need right here
16 at the junior college."

17 All of these activities, all of this evidence --
18 the whole point of bringing it up is to justify what the court
19 below found was a live controversy, a genuine, good faith, solid
20 based statement by each of the appellees and their associates
21 that they were no longer going to engage in demonstrations,
22 because this is what happened to them, or would happen to them.

23 Q Let's assume they could have demonstrated, with
24 solid evidence that all of those allegations are true -- those
25 are just allegations now -- do you think those allegations, if

1 true, would bring it within the systematic pattern of conduct
2 the Dombrowski Case was talking about?

3 A Obviously, not statewide.

4 Q In Dombrowski it was sustained over a period of
5 time. The Dombrowski opinion describes the series of events
6 which has this inhibiting effect -- drying up contributions,
7 acts that took place over a period of many months, if not years.
8 Here you have one event on one day, don't you?

9 A One event on one day, with the threat of what
10 would happen if they came back to have any other event on
11 any other day. It occurs to me that we should not be required
12 to keep testing the statements that these officers had made,
13 in order to have standing to complain and say, "We are being
14 put upon, and we are being mistreated, and we can't get a
15 fair trial up there," and come into federal court for relief.

16 Q That is again what was suggested about the 1871
17 act. It was aimed only at sustained, systematic, organized
18 patterns of harassment of a particular group of people or of
19 a particular kind of conduct. Is that not true of the 1871
20 statute?

21 A I will accept the Professor's statement on that.

22 Q I think the Dombrowski opinion reflects that.

23 A I am suggesting to the Court that we have
24 definitely shown in his case the chilling effect by reason of
25 the acts and conduct that happened there and that are threatened

1 to reoccur every time any of these people, or their associates,
2 or their friends and supporters ever again enter Bell County,
3 in order to engage in any peaceful demonstration. In order to
4 do -- what counsel himself said to the Court yesterday -- there
5 was nothing improper about their protest.

6 May I hark right back to the business about the
7 President of the United States to show that -- Not only does
8 this evidence show that any other time they went up there for
9 any other purpose the same was likely to occur, but also to
10 suggest that to protect the President on this occasion all that
11 was necessary was to -- once, whoever the officers were that
12 seized them and detained them and walked them out to the edge
13 of the crowd, was then to suggest that they leave. There
14 was no necessity in protecting the President for these deputy
15 sheriffs then to seize them and handcuff them and frisk them
16 and put them in cars and take them down to the Killeen Jail,
17 choking them all the way down there, and engaging in this
18 further activity that really gave rise to the complaint.

19 Q Since you have pushed that point so far, do you
20 think the sheriff, or any of his people, had the slightest idea
21 that they were going to use this statute? Weren't they just
22 working them over, period?

23 A Oh, no.

24 Q And then later they found the statute?

25 A No. The sheriff -- and the evidence shows --

1 the sheriff, while still at the scene, told his deputy -- who
2 was Deputy Strange, I believe his name is, and Deputy Strange
3 confirmed this -- that while he was taking the appellees into
4 the Killeen Jail, he was in communication with the sheriff,
5 who told him to file disturbing of the peace complaints.

6 Q That was after, wasn't it?

7 A Just a matter of minutes.

8 Q But it was after. All I am trying to say is that
9 your complaint is against the police officials of that county,
10 not against the statute. Suppose there had been a Texas
11 statute, a disorderly conduct statute, that was satisfactory
12 to you and the 9 of us, and they did the same thing -- and
13 there is no doubt they would -- you wouldn't have been able
14 to get to the statute, would you? The statute was just an excuse,
15 wasn't it?

16 A You are suggesting that if the statute were
17 constitutional?

18 Q Yes.

19 A Well, no, we would have to complain about the
20 abuse of the statute, but here we are complaining about both:
21 that it is unconstitutional, and we also allege the other branch
22 of Dombrowski, too, below.

23 Q I know, but the court took the one prong, that
24 the statute was unconstitutional.

25 A That is correct, yes, sir. Thank you.

1 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Clinton.
2 Mr. Louisell, you have 2 minutes left.

3 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF DAVID W. LOUISELL

4 ON BEHALF OF PETITIONERS

5 MR. LOUISELL: If the Court please:

6 Before I forget, I just wanted to point out all that
7 this Court has done to make freedom of speech really viable
8 when it has an orderly procedure before it -- as contrasted
9 with what went on here. I simply refer to your own recent
10 decision in the Batchelor Case for Maryland and, if I may add,
11 two California cases -- certainly, a court trying to be
12 obedient to your teaching on free speech -- they were too late
13 to get into the brief. These cases show how you don't reach out
14 to strike down the California Disorderly Conduct Statute because
15 you have got to grant some kind of relief: In re Kay, 1
16 California 3rd 930, In re Bushman, 1 California 3rd 767.

17 The one thing that Mr. Justice Stewart directed
18 himself to is all I will have time to comment upon, but I would
19 like to call Your Honors attention to the fact that we are not
20 dealing here with rule 65 that uses the phraselogy, "preliminary
21 injunction, temporary restraining order and permanent injunction."
22 We are dealing with section 1253.

23 Fortunately, I need not take a lot of -- even if I
24 had time on this. Your Honors had occasion to carefully
25 rethink this problem in the Goldstein Case. In the Cole against

1 Richardson proposition that was referred to from the bench
2 yesterday that -- as I understand it from the concurring
3 opinions (there was only a very brief per curiam order) and
4 the dissenting opinion -- in that case the matter was one of
5 mootness. There is no possible claim of mootness here, Your
6 Honors.

7 Q I had in mind section 1253, and I point out
8 in your own words in a motion for a new trial in the district
9 court. I am quoting from your motion; you said that the
10 court had given, "not a declaratory judgment, but an advisory
11 opinion." So according to your submission to that court --
12 with which I agree -- the court has not even given a declaratory
13 judgment, much less entered, or refused to enter, an injunction.

14 A But wouldn't it be a very serious commentary on
15 judicial administration if an opinion that is so effective, but
16 for Mr. Justice Black's stay of mandate, that is so effective,
17 as a practical matter -- and remember there is no other review,
18 except to this Court ---

19 Q An outrageous situation.

20 A An outrageous situation, and also, I invite the
21 attention of Your Honor to the fact that you can't blame
22 counsel, or the appellees for that matter, because the very
23 last sentence of rule 58 provides, "Attorneys shall not submit
24 forums of judgment except upon direction of the court, and
25 these directions shall not be given as a matter of course."

1 So I have to leave it to the Court to find a way
2 of avoiding the continuation of a reprehensible order that is
3 operating de facto as an advisory opinion and arrest the
4 processes of enforcing the law. Something has to be done, or
5 the situation will become impossible.

6 Q Just to pursue the point that, I think, Mr.
7 Justice Stewart raised earlier: Isn't the very function of the
8 judgment, which ordinarily follows the opinion, the expression
9 of the court as to what it is going to do -- isn't the very
10 function of that judgment to define precisely, narrowly and
11 specifically the general thrust which the court's memorandum
12 opinion has articulated?

13 A Yes.

14 Q And wouldn't it be very likely that an injunction
15 of this stringent nature would have been very precise and very
16 specific as against the broad and sweeping language of the
17 court's opinion?

18 A Hopefully, certainly it would.

19 Q Where do you find the judgment in this appendix?

20 A In the appendix, Your Honor, and I again call
21 your attention to the fact that in the docket entries it is
22 referred to as a judgment.

23 Q Yes; but where can you find the judgment? Any
24 judgment?

25 A You must turn to the last paragraph of the

1 opinion. You don't find, as I said yesterday, you do not find
2 any separately entered document ---

3 Q There is not even a judgment here, is there?

4 A But, Your Honors ---

5 Q Just a paragraph of an opinion.

6 A You will remember in how many instances -- in
7 fact the very rules provide -- that if findings of fact and
8 conclusions are embraced within an opinion, the opinion is
9 adequate for that purpose. If in substance a judgment is
10 embraced within a form of words concluding an opinion, even
11 though it isn't entered as the rule requires on a separate
12 piece of paper, we respectfully submit it can constitute --
13 at least, I submit, that this Court should strain ---

14 Q Did you go back to the court at any time asking
15 them to ---

16 A No, and I think -- of course, I had nothing
17 to do with the case at that stage, but the attorney general ---

18 Q I am talking about the last year. You had
19 something to do with it in the last year, didn't you?

20 A Yes. In fact, I argued the first appeal.

21 Q My question was, did any of the parties ask the
22 court, since the last argument; this question was raised last
23 time.

24 A To my knowledge, no; but Your Honors, will note
25 again the last sentence of rule 58. This is a matter that is

1 left to the court, and the court has never entered what
2 is should have done under rule 58. But that isn't the question.
3 That isn't the question as we respectfully submit the question
4 is, Mr. Justice. The question is, is there any kind of an order
5 under 1253 of the Judicial Code. The language in 1253 is not
6 in terms of a preliminary injunction; it is a interlocutory
7 order, granting or denying relief.

8 Q Well, is this anything more than a judgment of
9 a court that we will hold this case and retain jurisdiction
10 over it? Is there anything else in that last paragraph?

11 A There is the explicit provision that the court's
12 stay expires upon the termination of the next session of the
13 state legislature.

14 Q Stay of what?

15 A The stay of what the court conceived of as its
16 injunction, because it specifically ---

17 Q When are we going to agree there is no injunction?

18 A Your Honor, words are words. "Oh to distinguish
19 the reality of things."

20 Q I haven't implied any criticism of you, at all,
21 sir.

22 Q May I ask you one thing, Professor, how can
23 anybody give them contempt for that piece of paper?

24 A The whole problem of the establishment of a
25 contempt, of course, would be a very difficult thing, but with

1 the clear intention that is deducible from the words of the
2 opinion, I would say it is conceivable. In any event, being
3 subject to a contempt order is not the definition of section
4 1253, Mr. Justice.

5 Q But it has something closely resembling an
6 order?

7 A Yes.

8 Q But you don't have an order here, do you?

9 A We have what the judge intended to embrace
10 within his opinion as an order, however ineptly such a thing
11 was done.

12 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Louisell.
13 Thank you, Mr. Clinton. The case is submitted.

14 (Whereupon, at 10:55 a.m. the argument in the above-
15 entitled matter was concluded.)

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