

8/69

Supreme Court of the United States

October Term, 1968

In the Matter of:

----- -X Docket No. 244
:
JOHN S. BOYLE, CHIEF JUDGE OF THE CIRCUIT :
COURT OF COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS, et al., :
:
Appellants, :
:
vs. :
:
LAWRENCE LANDRY, et al. :
:
Appellees. :
:
----- -X

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FILED
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JOHN F. DAVIS, CLERK

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Place Washington, D. C.
Date March 24, 1969

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C O N T E N T S

ORAL ARGUMENT OF:

P A G E

Ronald Butler, Esq.
on behalf of Appellants 2

Ellis E. Reid, Esq.
on behalf of Appellees 19

REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF:

Ronald Butler, Esq.
on behalf of Appellants 39

1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

2 October Term, 1968

3 ----- x
4 John S. Boyle, Chief Judge of the Circuit :
5 Court of Cook County, Illinois, et al., :
6 Appellants, :
7 v. : No. 244
8 Lawrence Landry, et al. :
9 Appellees. :
10 ----- x

11 Washington, D. C.
12 Monday, March 24, 1969.

13 The above-entitled matter came on for argument at
14 12:55 p.m.

15 BEFORE:

16 EARL WARREN, Chief Justice
17 HUGO L. BLACK, Associate Justice
18 WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Associate Justice
19 JOHN M. HARLAN, Associate Justice
20 WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., Associate Justice
21 POTTER STEWART, Associate Justice
22 BYRON R. WHITE, Associate Justice
23 ABE FORTAS, Associate Justice
24 THURGOOD MARSHALL, Associate Justice

25 APPEARANCES:

26 RONALD BUTLER, Esq.
27 Assistant State's Attorney,
28 500 Chicago Civic Center,
29 Chicago, Illinois 60602
30 Counsel for Appellants

31 ELLIS E. REID, Esq.
32 123 W. Madison Street
33 Chicago, Illinois 60602
34 Counsel for Appellees

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

2 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN: No. 244, John S. Boyle,
3 Chief Judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois,
4 et al, versus Lawrence Landry, et al.

5 THE CLERK: Counsel are present.

6 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN: Mr. Butler.

7 ORAL ARGUMENT OF RONALD BUTLER, ESQ.

8 ON BEHALF OF APPELLANTS

9 MR. BUTLER: Mr. Chief Justice, your Honors.

10 This is an appeal from a permanent injunctive order
11 issued by a three-judge court in the Northern District of
12 Illinois, which order for purposes of this appeal held un-
13 constitutional one subsection of the Illinois Intimidation
14 Statute, Illinois Revised Statute, Chapter 38, Section 12-6(a)(3).

15 Jurisdiction is conferred upon this court by a
16 title 28, Section 1253 and 2281. Probable jurisdiction was
17 noted on the 9th of December 1968.

18 The posture of this case in the lower court is as
19 follows: A complaint was filed by the plaintiffs purportedly
20 alleging a conspiracy to violate the plaintiff's constitutional
21 rights and setting forth that by the use of unconstitutional
22 statutes on their face or the misuse of statutes which would
23 be otherwise constitutional, that the plaintiff's constitu-
24 tional rights were violated.

25 The defendants filed a motion to dismiss initially

1 alleging four basic grounds. First, lack of jurisdiction;
2 second, no relief upon which a claim can be granted; third,
3 as to those subclassifications of plaintiffs who had been
4 arrested prior to the filing of the complaint for Federal
5 equitable jurisdiction, the bar of of 28 USC 283; and lastly,
6 as to those class of plaintiffs who had not been arrested
7 but who were plaintiffs in the case, the claim that the lack
8 of specificity in the complaint takes jurisdiction away from
9 the District Court.

10 The single trial judge dismissed the motion to
11 dismiss filed by the defendants. In doing so he stated that
12 the plaintiffs did have proper standing, that the question of
13 2283 was a premature question because that statute was not
14 jurisdictional, that a three-judge court would be convened
15 and the first order of business upon convening the three-judge
16 court would be to determine the threshold questions of
17 constitutionality with respect to the five enumerated statutes
18 which the plaintiffs have challenged.

19 The appellants thereby filed an answer denying the
20 material allegations of the complaint and specifically in an
21 affirmative series of affirmative defenses setting forth those
22 statements which we made in the motion to dismiss.

23 Now the statute in question reads as follows: A
24 person commits intimidation when within intent to cause another
25 to perform or to omit the performance of an act he communicates

1 to another a threat to perform without lawful authority any
2 one of the following acts and subsection 3 commit a criminal
3 offense.

4 The lower court held that the statute in question
5 was overbroad because it prohibited insubstantial evil.
6 They said that the Commission of offenses against public
7 order only is not such a substantial evil that the State may
8 prohibit the threat.

9 And they further stated that the prohibition of
10 insubstantial evil is outweighed by legitimate political
11 discussion on the wide berth.

12 There are two issues presented for review in this
13 case. One, whether the plaintiffs have sufficient requisite
14 standing to entitle them to a determination of the constitu-
15 tionality of the intimidation statute, and two, if they do
16 have such standing whether the First Amendment prohibition
17 against abridgement of speech is violated by a State statute
18 which prohibits threats to commit a criminal offense where
19 the intention is to force another to surrender his freedom of
20 choice.

21 Now as to the standing point the complaint shows
22 the constitutional validity of five Illinois statutes. The
23 mob violence statute, resisting arrest, aggravated assault,
24 aggravated battery and intimidation.

25 There are seven subclasses of plaintiffs. Six of

1 subclasses had been arrested in incidents prior to the filing
2 of the Federal declaratory complaint and whose cases were
3 presently pending at the time that the Federal declaratory suit
4 was filed.

5 Q Were any of those suits under the intimidation
6 statute?

7 A None were under the intimidation statute, your
8 Honor.

9 Now as far as the complainants who were not arrested
10 but who were party's plaintiff the complaint as the appellant's
11 view it show no specificity with respect to any factual
12 allegation which can be shown to depict a deprivation of
13 constitutional rights.

14 In my view, reading the 37 paragraph complaint there
15 are six paragraphs which have anything at all to do with the
16 intimidation statute and with the subclassification of the
17 plaintiff's who have challenged the statute under it. That
18 was paragraphs 8, 24 and 25, paragraphs 34, 37(b) and 37(f).

19 But in each of those six paragraphs the complaint is
20 devoid of any specificity of effect. All we see are con-
21 clusionary allegations. I am intimidated because of the
22 intimidation statute.

23 Now the purported foundation for this case lies in
24 two cases, Dombrowski versus Pfister and Zwickler versus Koota.
25 Both of those cases, your Honors, there were specificity effects

1 at least in Dombrowski there were affidavits filed. There were
2 offers of proof made. In both Dombrowski and Zwickler we had
3 situations where there were prior arrests even though the
4 arrests were not pending at the time of the Federal declaratory
5 relief and lastly there was in the complaint the specific
6 intention shown by the defendant to futur harassment, future
7 violation of the plaintiff's constitutional rights.

8 I submit that this case does not fall within the
9 precept of Dombrowski and Zwickler but rather falls within the
10 concept of DuBois versus Clark and the recent case of Golden
11 versus Zwickler.

12 In DuBois, this Court declined to hear a situation
13 where they said, this Court said that no specificity at all
14 is shown. In Golden versus Zwickler we had a situation where
15 the Court stated that the complaint failed to present probably
16 because of the lack of specificity of the complaint failed to
17 present an actual case or controversy.

18 It is our opinion that the present complaint fails
19 both the show specificity or to show an actual case or
20 controversy.

21 Q Now is the situation different at the time of
22 the judgment do you recall in Golden we felt that the three
23 judge court had erred in making this determination of case
24 controversy on the allegations alone rather than on the situa-
25 tion as it existed at the time of the remand.

1 A Yes.

2 Q Well, what is your position?

3 A We don't have any facts, your Honor. We have
4 no facts.

5 Q So that we do have to go back then to the
6 complaint itself?

7 A We have to go back to the complaint itself for
8 purpose of the jurisdictional argument, yes. We would be in
9 the same situation as Zwickler versus Golden before this court
10 the second time.

11 Q Well, I know, but this argument based on Golden
12 this is what I am trying to get clear.

13 A Yes.

14 Q Is this an argument that even on the face of
15 the complaint there is no case or controversy in the sense of
16 a live fight alleged within the four corners of the complaint?

17 A That is our allegation, yes. Unless this Court
18 is prepared to allow that much more wide of a latitude than
19 it seemed that the intendment of Dombrowski was designed to
20 protect.

21 Q Yes.

22 A Secondly, as to the issue on the merits, the
23 appellants contend that a statute which prohibits threats to
24 commit a criminal offense where the threats are intended to
25 force another to surrender their freedom of choice is not

1 within the purview of the First Amendment. We contend this
2 upon two factors. First, an analysis of the thrust of the
3 statute and secondly the scope of the First Amendment with
4 respect to threatened conduct where the intention is to force
5 another to surrender their freedom of choice.

6 The lower court in this case in a very fine opinion
7 found that the intimidation statute as a whole was designed
8 to protect communications intended to compel another to act
9 against his will.

10 The court defined a threat then and they said a
11 threat was an expression of an intention to inflict harm or
12 evil against another. They said that it was more than a mere
13 intention, however, that it was a menace, that it must unsettle
14 the mind of the person on whom it operates and that it must take
15 away from his acts that free and voluntary choice which would
16 alone constitute consent.

17 They said further that the expression of that threat,
18 it must have a reasonable tendency to be carried out by the
19 threatenor according to its tenor. This is the definition
20 of threat. This is the definition we abide by.

21 Now yet when the lower court approached the sub-
22 section involved, it shifted its emphasis from the substan-
23 tiality of the threat to the substantiality of the crime.
24 This we feel is what precipitated the error in the lower court's
25 decision.

1 The lower court itself stated earlier that the sub-
2 stantiality of the crime was not really the important thing
3 because they said that a mere expression of intent to commit
4 a criminal act was not itself sufficient under this statute.

5 We need the final element of extortion which com-
6 pletes the prohibitive act which is the taking away of that
7 free and voluntary action which alone constitutes consent, so
8 the substantiality of the evil must go to the threat and to
9 the fear committed by that threat as far as the object of the
10 threat is concerned, the victim, and not to the substantiality
11 or the insubstantiality of the crime threat.

12 The court made three illustrations to justify their
13 proposed opinion. In the three illustrations were the
14 following:

15 A group of dissidents who asked for certain things
16 or will commit disorderly conduct.

17 People in a high crime neighborhood who ask for more
18 police protection or failing to get it threaten to carry
19 concealed weapons.

20 And finally, a group of mothers who threaten to block
21 a highway should they not get a traffic regulatory signal.

22 And the lower court was of the opinion that since
23 those crimes that they threatened were so insubstantial when
24 measured against legitimate political discussion on a wide
25 berth, that the First Amendment should then protect those

1 statements.

2 In those examples the Court in looking to the crime
3 threat failed to observe the main purpose and spirit of the
4 statute toward the person threatened. The substantiality of
5 the threat could be great and the substantiality of the crime
6 need not be great, need be insignificant, can be insignificant.

7 One example of this would be a threat by an individual
8 to burn two pieces of lumber placed together in the form of a
9 cross in an open field next to a school which is to be inte-
10 grated the next day. A situation involving a substantial
11 threat but yet an insubstantial crime.

12 A further example, individuals on a campus who
13 approach the chancellor and tell the chancellor that unless
14 their demands are met within five days that they are going to
15 disrupt classes, that they are going to take over his office,
16 they are not going to threaten him personally or physically,
17 they are not going to destroy a building, but they are just
18 going to make it impossible for the school to function.

19 This would be a situation where the threat would be
20 very substantial but yet the crime might be nothing more than
21 disorderly conduct.

22 It is appellant's contention that these type of
23 examples along with the examples cited by the lower court would
24 fall within the purview and concept of this statute and that
25 this statute is valid.

1 In essence then, what the lower court seems to be
2 saying is that the threat of an insignificant crime when they
3 say that the threat of an insignificant crime should not be
4 punished they are really saying that a little bit of illegality
5 is not so bad and can be protected by the First Amendment
6 so long as speech is involved.

7 Yet examining this issue in the light of First
8 Amendment protections it doesn't seem to meet the category of
9 the First Amendment precepts.

10 An extortion by threat is not the edification of ideas,
11 it is not the teaching of ideas, it is not the exposition of
12 ideas, it is not legitimate political discussion on a wide
13 berth. The entire history of the cases of this Court from
14 Baldwin versus Robinson in 1896 to the statement made in
15 Carroll versus President and Board of Commissioners of
16 Princess Anne County late last year seemed to indicate that
17 speech uttered in a context of violence or speech uttered
18 to follow an illegal course of conduct are not prohibited,
19 are prohibited rather by the First Amendment. The First
20 Amendment should not protect that type of conduct.

21 In our brief on page 18 and 19 we have set forth
22 a myriad of cases respecting this point. I should just like
23 to mention a few.

24 In Bridges versus California, where this Court --
25 a contempt case where this Court reversed a contempt

1 conviction, this Court was very clear to point out that under
2 no construction therefor -- and I am quoting -- that under
3 no construction therefor can we take the telegram of Bridges
4 to be a threat to follow an illegal course of conduct.

5 In Chaplinsky versus New Hampshire where this Court
6 said fighting words are no essential part of any exposition of
7 ideas. In American Communication versus Douds where the
8 majority said the Government may cut off a speaker only when
9 his views are no longer views but threaten clearly and
10 imminently to ripen into conduct into which the public has a
11 right to protect.

12 Even Roth and Smith in the concurring and dissenting
13 opinions, the dissenters, or the individuals who concur stated
14 that freedom of expression can be suppressed if and to the
15 extent it is so closely brigaded with illegal action as to be
16 an inseparable part of it.

17 Your Honors, the approval of a little bit of ille-
18 gality constitutes the doctrine of permissive lawlessness which
19 this Court has never sanctioned and which I hope it never will.

20 How can we allow individuals or pressure groups to
21 exact gain from others based upon the threat to commit a
22 criminal offense and at the same time maintain that we live
23 under a system of order, under a system where First Amendment
24 rights are protected under a system where individual rights
25 are first and foremost.

1 I don't think we could live with the opinion of the
2 lower court and so state.

3 In conclusion the effect of the decision of the lower
4 court is to insulate via the First Amendment threatened acts
5 which force other individuals to surrender their freedom of
6 choice.

7 The statute under consideration when measured by the
8 scope of the decisions of this court failed to transgress the
9 sanctity of free expression of ideas. Since the protection of
10 the right of another as freedom of choice stands upon as
11 equal a footing as the right of the speaker to say it.

12 Q May I ask you a question, going back to your
13 standing point, is it your statement that the complaint on its
14 face fails to show any charge formal or informal under the
15 particular statute that the District Court held was uncon-
16 stitutional, a particular section, is that challenged by
17 your opponents?

18 A Yes, he challenges it, yes.

19 Did you ask if my opponent challenges it?

20 Q Yes.

21 A Yes, he says that there is sufficient standing.

22 Q I understand that but I understood your
23 statement was that as to the group of defendants who were
24 charged, formally charged, of something this particular statute
25 the District Court relied on the intimidation statute was not

1 involved in any of those charges?

2 A That is correct.

3 Q And then I understood you to say that as to
4 the defendants who were not formally charged that there is no
5 allegation in the complaint that they were threatened in any
6 way.

7 A Yes, there is an allegation that they were
8 threatened but it is our contention that the allegation in
9 the complaint is conclusory and there are no facts to
10 support this. They said that they were threatened, yes.

11 Q My recollection of the complaint is and perhaps
12 I am wrong, is that in one general allegation at the beginning
13 they list this intimidation statute among the others, they
14 come down to saying what the specific defendants are complaining
15 about this intimidation statute is not referred to.

16 A That is correct.

17 Q Am I right?

18 A That is correct. Although they later on restate
19 in conclusory fashion that they are intimidated and harassed
20 by the intimidation statute.

21 Q Yes.

22 Q But they don't allege that any State officer
23 actually threatened them with prosecution under the statute?

24 A No, they don't.

25 Q Of anything?

1 A That is correct.

2 Q They allege that they feel threatened and
3 intimidated?

4 A Yes, that is my reading of the complaint.

5 Q And as a matter of fact they say they are
6 deterred from exercising their free speech?

7 A Yes, that is correct.

8 Q Now is that conclusory?

9 A I think it is conclusory, yes. I think we need
10 something along the lines of Dombrowski in the sense of when
11 and how and where, how did this happen? Can you just say I
12 have been intimidated?

13 Q Can you say there are some demonstrations that
14 I would engage in except for these statutes? Is that too
15 general for you?

16 A I think there are many demonstrations that one
17 could engage in and still with the statute.

18 Q No, how about my question?

19 A Maybe I didn't understand it.

20 Q Well, they say there are some demonstrations
21 that we would engage in except for these statutes. Is that
22 too general an allegation to satisfy you?

23 A I think it is, yes.

24 Q You want to say on there that there was a
25 demonstration on such and such a date?

1 A No, I think it would be more valid to say that
2 we were going to involve ourselves in a demonstration that we
3 have been specifically harassed by police officers.

4 Q You mean it has to be specific action by the
5 State under these statutes?

6 A I would think that there should be, yes.

7 Q Some allegation of it?

8 A Some allegation of it, yes.

9 Q Is this the only statute in the State of
10 Illinois that covers intimidation commercial intimidation, for
11 example, expose, a ganster goes to a store, the owner of a
12 store says unless you pay me \$100 a week we will burn your
13 store?

14 A Yes. This is the only statute with its seven
15 subpoints, one of which is that.

16 Q How do you construe the effect of the Court's
17 judgment here? The Court says that, as I understand it, that
18 this statute is hereby declared unconstitutional, null and
19 void in that it violates the due process clause of the
20 Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. Isn't that right?

21 A Well, yes -- no, no, well they said -- maybe
22 that is true but the basis of it is it violates the Fourteenth
23 Amendment because it is overbroad. Because it sweeps
24 unnecessarily broadly.

25 Q As you understand it would that mean, the

1 Court's judgment here mean that the statutes unavailable to
2 the State in the situation that I have described?

3 A Yes, absolutely with respect to subsection
4 (a)(3), yes, sir.

5 Q Subsection (a)(3)?

6 A Which is the only subsection on appeal before
7 this Court, yes.

8 Q And that this is not equivalent to a holding
9 confined to the First Amendment area?

10 A I couldn't believe that that is true, your Honor.

11 Q Because it has nothing to do with the
12 application of the statute?

13 A That would be correct.

14 Q Thank you.

15 A Yes.

16 Q In your opinion if the decision below is
17 sustained, even a substantial threat, a serious threat or a
18 serious crime would not be punishable under the section?

19 A That is correct, it would have to come under
20 one of the other sections and may I state to the Court that
21 there are other specifically enumerated crimes such as bribery,
22 perjury, theft, anything as far as concealed weapons are
23 concerned, which would be within the confines of subsection
24 (a)(3) but not within the confines of subsections (1), (2),
25 (4), (5), (6) and (7) which would fall as well along with this

1 legitimate political discretion.

2 Q Do you think that these crimes that once
3 bothered American cities so much like the garage extortion
4 racket and the cleaners and dyers racket and all those others,
5 do you think so far as this subsection is concerned those prose-
6 cutions would be wiped out?

7 A I believe so, your Honor. I think the legis-
8 lature tried to make specific wherever they can in each of
9 the subsections and then they put in the final section which
10 was narrowly limited to the prevention of threats to commit
11 a crime and still take in the areas which were not covered by
12 the other subsections.

13 Q But you do have some independent criminal
14 statutes against extortion?

15 A No, not against extortion, your Honor. We have
16 the specific criminal sections when the act is completed.
17 As far as extortion is concerned ---

18 Q This is only threat.

19 A Except for Section 33(3) which has to do with
20 extortion by public officials which is the old common law
21 extortion, the only other extortion intimidation statute we
22 have. Yes.

23 Thank you, your Honor.

24 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN: Mr. Reid.
25

1 ORAL ARGUMENT OF ELLIS E. REID, ESQ.

2 ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

3 MR. REID: Mr. Chief Justice, may it please the Court.

4 Basically to begin with, I would like to point out
5 and quote from page 8 of my brief:

6 "Legitimate political expression intended to
7 secure changes in society's legal, political,
8 social, or economic structure frequently takes
9 the form of expressions about future events or
10 conditions. Such expression may be in the form
11 of promises, predictions or warnings, or threats
12 of lawful action."

13 Now apparently the basis of this quote is that the
14 court below deemed it inappropriate to circumscribe a threat
15 of miniscule illegal activity.

16 But what we have here is really a collision between
17 the right of certain individuals in this society to exercise
18 what has been historical and classical First Amendment free-
19 doms and the right of the State to protect itself and to
20 protect the ordered liberty, without which we would not have
21 any freedom of speech.

22 So we always will have a conflict in this area and
23 this court has on many occasions tried to resolve that conflict.
24 But now we have a statute before this Court which the State
25 contends is an extortion statute in the classic sense. It is

1 not. This statute does not require the defendant to take or
2 to attempt to take anything of value from the purported victim.

3 I say it is not an extortion statute. It is over-
4 broad. An extortion statute could have been drawn to protect
5 the State against that evil and in fact you have Section (a)(1)
6 of that statute which is not here on appeal and which will
7 remain valid which says, of course, the threat of inflicting
8 physical harm on the person threatened or any other person or
9 on property.

10 Now if they want to protect people from extortion
11 I say well and good the State has an interest in that which is
12 substantial but when you deal with what they term as the right
13 of a public official to have freedom of choice, I say you
14 have made the statute so broad as to really put a five-year
15 noose or a \$5,000 fine around anyone's neck who have the
16 temerity to publicly utter that we will march around Mayor
17 Daly's house and violate let us say an ordinance which maybe
18 would cause us to pay \$100 fine at the most. Now we must face
19 five years in the penitentiary or forfeit \$5,000.

20 This is the real guts of this particular case. The
21 statute also makes criminal the threat to commit a criminal
22 offense without regard to the degree of the threat. This is
23 the point I am making.

24 In other words, if you carry out the threat in its
25 final analysis and its going to violate a misdemeanor and it

1 would be punishable only by fine, why then will you take it
2 one step back and say I am going to do this tomorrow. Now
3 you face five years in the penitentiary.

4 I suggest to you that this is the reason that the
5 Court below struck this particular portion of this statute.

6 Q Don't you have to have another element under
7 this statute which is, take your example, Mayor Daly, unless
8 you fire the Superintendent of School we are going to commit
9 this misdemeanor around your house?

10 A Yes. That is correct

11 Q And that element of the threat is not part, a
12 necessary part of the supposed misdemeanor?

13 A That is correct. In other words, in every form
14 of let us say direct action protest, there is always an evil
15 that you are trying to get rid of or there is always some
16 change in the society that you are trying to bring about so
17 I am saying that this statute when you take just historical
18 direct action protest it elevates what has been the exposure
19 of using misdemeanors and punishment by fine or short detention
20 to the area of a felony.

21 And I think that it puts a chill on legitimate free
22 expression of ideas, and a chill on the right of individuals
23 to determine that they will do something in a way to bring
24 about legitimate change.

25 Q To get around to the first question which I

1 assume you are going to meet has there been any threat of
2 invoking this statute against any of the plaintiffs here?
3 Against any of the appellees here?

4 A Yes. In the complaint we allege a scheme and
5 we alleged a conspiracy and we allege the chronology of events
6 most of which, in fact all of which took place in 1967. There
7 were a series of mass arrests in Chicago involving about three
8 or four incidents, separate and distinct incidents.

9 There are seven subclasses in the total class
10 action presented to the Court below.

11 Q But nobody, but they didn't use the intimidation
12 statute?

13 A They did not arrest anybody for the intimidation
14 statute but we allege they threatened to do so and it would
15 be a question of whether or not we could prove that they in
16 fact threatened to use this particular statute but we were
17 going to prove that there were meetings of officials and they
18 had set about a scheme of high bonds and to use everything at
19 their disposal, including the statute.

20 Q Did you specifically allege a threat to prose-
21 cute under this statute?

22 A I believe we did.

23 Now whether or not it is a conclusion as my opposing
24 counsel said, I would say that we alleged it as a fact.

25 Q I missed that if you did and I haven't seen that.

1 I would like to be directed to it if there is such an
2 allegation.

3 A Pursuant to, this is page 17 of the appendix
4 and this is paragraph 34 of the complaint.

5 Pursuant to the aforesaid plan or scheme defendants
6 have threatened to continue -- no strike that -- have
7 threatened and continue to threaten to enforce the said
8 unconstitutional void and illegal statutes and ordinances
9 against the plaintiffs herein for the sole purpose of harassing,
10 intimidating, subjecting and causing to be subjected, plain-
11 tiffs and their members.

12 Now I suggest to you that this statement met all of
13 the statutes including intimidation statute, and I would like
14 to point out I think at page 18 also which is paragraph 37(a)
15 where we alleged as a result of those threats -- now we never
16 really got down to the factual issues because we felt that
17 we could prove that there were meetings of the chief judge,
18 meetings of the States Attorney's Office and that they had gone
19 over all of these statutes and we didn't just pull these
20 statutes out of a hat. These were the statutes that we had on
21 information and belief that they were going to use in the
22 scheme of dealing with so-called mass arrest situations.

23 Now we allege that. Now we didn't name names or
24 dates and meeting places ---

25 Q Your books would have gone only so far as to

1 show that there had been as I understand you, meetings of
2 these various law enforcement authorities where there had been
3 discussions of each of these statutes.

4 A That is correct.

5 Q That they in the event certain things happened
6 they would bring to bear these statutes?

7 A That is correct.

8 Q But was there ever anything in the way of
9 coming to any one of these appellees and saying this is what
10 we are going to do if you do that?

11 A Well, I would suggest no -- no one ever pointed
12 a finger and said they were going to do it directly to us.

13 Q And you don't have any allegation in here do you
14 that a threat out of the kind that I have just suggested was
15 ever made?

16 A No, not a direct threat but I suggest to the
17 Court that a threat can be just as obvious if it is indirect
18 and it gets back to you by a third party as if the finger
19 was pointing in your face and said we are going to do this to
20 you.

21 Q Well, I would suppose that law enforcement
22 authorities would be doing this sort of thing every day in
23 the week, aren't they? They have got to anticipate if certain
24 arise they may have to bring to bear the circumstances in the
25 particular statutes, don't they?

1 A But the question here is one of standing and
2 one of chill and one of ---

3 Q Well, frankly, what I am thinking, I am not
4 thinking to those so much as I am of the issue which of
5 course we dealt with here only in Golden.

6 A Yes.

7 Q And the issue we are on I don't see how you
8 frankly, how this alleges within the principle of Golden, a
9 case of controversy.

10 A Well, in Golden the language that I have picked
11 out of Golden states that the difference between an abstract
12 question and a controversy contemplated by the declaratory
13 judgment act is necessarily one of degree, and it would be
14 difficult if it would be possible to fashion a precise test
15 for determining in every case whether there is such a contro-
16 versey.

17 Basically the question in each case is whether the
18 facts alleged under all of these circumstances show that there
19 is a substantial controversy between the parties having
20 adversely interest of sufficient immediacy and reality toward
21 the issuance of a declaratory judgment.

22 Now I am asking this Court to take into account the
23 fact that you have to look at all of the facts and circum-
24 stances as to what is alleged in the complaint. Here we have
25 had experience with the circumstances that we contended with

1 in the mass arrest circumstances.

2 We had undergone the mass arrests of 60 people,
3 some of which were on their front porches.

4 Q Mr. Reid, what experience did any of these
5 people have with these statutes that was held unconstitutional
6 in this case?

7 A What is it your Honor? I didn't understand.

8 Q What experience did any of your people have
9 with the enforcement of this statute which was declared
10 unconstitutional in this case?

11 A With the intimidation statute only. Actually
12 no one was ever charged so we had no experience other than let
13 us say an indirect threat that the next time around we will
14 not only use mob action but we are going to use the intimi-
15 dation statute as well.

16 Q An indirect threat?

17 A Yes.

18 Q That is sufficient to declare a statute
19 unconstitutional?

20 A I would say whether or not the threat is
21 indirect or direct it is still a threat and either I am going
22 to be chilled in my feeling that I can go out and exert my
23 First Amendment freedoms or not.

24 Q Could you be chilled by rumor?

25 A Well, I would suggest this was more than a rumor.

1 Q Well, weren't you chilled when this statute
2 was passed?

3 A Yes, we were but it is a question of degree,
4 your Honor, and I am saying ---

5 Q You just found it didn't you?

6 A What did you say?

7 Q You just found the statute?

8 A I didn't hear you.

9 Q You just found the statute before this was
10 filed?

11 A Did we just find the statute?

12 Q Yes.

13 A Well, you mean so far as our drafting the
14 complaint?

15 Q Yes, sir.

16 A Well, I would suggest it didn't start from our
17 end as to which statutes we were going to sit down and try to
18 get the Court to define to be unconstitutional. I suggest
19 that in light of what was happening and in light of what we
20 felt was going to happen to our plaintiffs below and appellees
21 here that we said in light of these statutes where they have
22 already taken action and we have this history behind us now
23 and in light of the fact that we are being threatened in the
24 future by intimidation statute, let us file a complaint taking
25 care of what has gone before the mob action, disorderly conduct

1 as well as intimidation because we want perspective relief
2 as well as, you know, dealing with history.

3 Q But every one of these cases so far, Mr. Reid,
4 I think this is right, isn't it -- in Golden, Zwickler had
5 been arrested and convicted, on one occasion for violation of
6 the statute involved.

7 A That is correct.

8 Q In Cameron and Johnson after the statute was
9 enacted the police came down and they arrested all the
10 picketers.

11 In Dombrowski we had raids on the plaintiff's offices
12 and you recall and taking all their papers and all the rest
13 of it. And I guess actual indictments of them under some of
14 those Louisiana statutes.

15 Now you are carrying this pretty far aren't you to
16 suggest that merely because officers get together and decide
17 that they are going to cope with this developing situation by
18 applying this and that and the other statute but no threat of
19 any kind to any particular individual, none of your clients
20 was in fact threatened with a prosecution under this or in
21 fact threatened that this statute would be brought to bear if
22 he carried on this conduct.

23 We don't have anything like that here.

24 A I am suggesting to the Court that your Honors
25 and from your question I take the attitude or the idea from

1 that, that you feel that a police officer must first come down
2 or a State's attorney and say I am going to charge you, Ellis
3 Reid.

4 Q No, what I am suggesting, Mr. Reid, is that the
5 cases where this issue has arisen have all been cases where on
6 the fact the statute was actually applied against the plaintiff
7 who sought the relief, declaratory relief.

8 A That is correct.

9 Q And here at least we don't have that factual
10 situation.

11 A That is a difference.

12 Q Yes.

13 A But I am suggesting that even though that is
14 a difference and I recognize that to be a difference, I am not
15 trying to minimize that -- I am saying you can't try this case
16 in a vacuum. Surely if you said nothing else had happened
17 before you might be right it would be pretty remote but when
18 you have the chronology and the dealing with the plaintiffs
19 below with the other statutes that were in fact applied I
20 think that the threat became so eminent and immediate and there
21 was an actual controversy between live litigants at that point
22 although the indictment had not followed them and no one had
23 come down to make an arrest I still think although we were in
24 Court perhaps early I don't think we were in Court too early
25 as to make the issue one that would be not an actual case or

1 controversy and I am asking you to really look at the facts
2 and circumstances involving the mass arrest situation where
3 they used other statutes and we cannot divorce this statute
4 from the total scheme of things. And it is the total scheme
5 of things.

6 Q Well, did this case come up on a motion to
7 dismiss?

8 A It did.

9 Q Was it after an answer?

10 A No, they came up on a motion to dismiss before
11 Judge Will alone and it was denied.

12 Q And he denied the motion to dismiss?

13 A That is correct.

14 He felt that there was sufficient allegations to
15 state a claim and, of course, now at that point we were not
16 split off between intimidation, mob action, disorderly conduct,
17 resisting arrest.

18 Q But there has never been any facts in this case?

19 A Other than in some other circumstances what
20 Judge Will termed ad hoc hearings involving whether or not he
21 would enjoin particular prosecutions which came at a subsequent
22 point in time. But there has never been an evidentiary
23 hearing dealing with the threat or the nature of the threat
24 involved in ---

25 Q Now I take it that the State is saying that

1 your allegation in paragraph 34 which is an express allegation
2 that the defendants have threatened the plaintiffs was not a
3 sufficient allegation to survive a motion to dismiss?

4 A That is what they are saying, and, of course,
5 the court below sought our way that it was substantial and
6 it is a question of semantics whether or not this ---

7 Q I know, but whatever the actual facts were is
8 another matters. The question is sufficiency of these alle-
9 gations.

10 A That is correct.

11 Q The question is whether you must not only say
12 you have been threatened but then go on and allege specifically
13 how you have been threatened on a certain day or by a certain
14 letter or by words or telephone call or what.

15 A That is the issue, and, of course, we contend
16 that in the totality of the complaint that we have made out a
17 case on the pleadings. When you read the complaint as a whole
18 not picking out certain portions and forgetting others but
19 when you take it on a whole that we have stated a cause of
20 action upon which relief could be granted, that is the way the
21 case was presented below and I would urge the court to deal
22 with it in that fashion here.

23 Q What do we do with the State's specific denial
24 of 34?

25 A Well, I would say ---

1 Q What do we do with that?

2 A At that point we did not really get to an
3 evidentiary hearing because basically the court ---

4 Q You say you were threatened and the State says
5 you were not threatened.

6 A That is correct.

7 Q On the basis of that, that is all the court had
8 to go on?

9 A That is what the court had before it, yes.

10 But specifically, though, I have raised the point
11 in my brief, and I like just to point out to the Court now
12 that I see that the Court has a great deal of interest in this
13 point probably in light of Golden, but perhaps I was in error
14 when I pointed out that this matter comes here really on a
15 direct appeal and in their jurisdiction statement it is our
16 contention that this issue was not fairly comprised within
17 that jurisdictional statement and, therefore, this particular
18 issue is not before the Court.

19 Now I understand that if the Court wants to deal
20 with this as a jurisdictional requisite then the doctrine of
21 waiver may not apply but it is our contention that this
22 particular standing argument has been waived because it was
23 one wherein an appeal should have been taken directly to the
24 Court of Appeals because it was based on a decision of a
25 single judge.

1 Q Well, you don't waive. That is a jurisdictional
2 matter, isn't it?

3 A Well, that is why I am saying that if that is
4 a matter of jurisdiction then I would say that it would not
5 be one that could be waived but I don't feel that under the
6 circumstances here that it would be a matter of jurisdiction.

7 Q Did the State ever move to dismiss for want of
8 jurisdiction or did they just move for failure to state a claim?

9 A They moved for failure to state a claim.

10 Q And they thereby admitted your allegations in
11 34, didn't they?

12 A They did what?

13 Q They must have admitted the allegations in 34?

14 A Well, I don't have a copy of the answer before
15 me now and, of course, unfortunately Mr. Tucker below argued
16 the matter ---

17 Q I know but the motion to dismiss before Judge
18 Wills as a single judge that was just a motion to dismiss for
19 failure to state a cause of action?

20 A Correct.

21 Q And for those purposes they admitted your
22 allegations?

23 A That is correct, but for those purposes.

24 Q And they never moved to dismiss for want of
25 jurisdiction?

1 A That is correct.

2 I would say that if you read their motion to dismiss
3 it does not really articulate want of jurisdiction. I think
4 it is found again at page 30 of the appendix.

5 Q But then after the three judge court was con-
6 vened they did file their answer denying 34?

7 A That is correct, and then the three judge court
8 ruled.

9 Q You challenged quite a lot of statutes, didn't
10 you, in your initial complaint? Did you challenge all of
11 those statutes that were listed beginning on page 25 of
12 the transcript, record, in the appendix? Page 25.

13 A Twenty-five of the appendix?

14 Q Yes. Did you challenge all of those?

15 A Basically, no. We challenged the disorderly
16 conduct ordinance D93-1. We challenged the mob action statute.
17 We challenged the intimidation statute and I believe the
18 resisting arrest ordinance. And there were some few others
19 which we -- I don't have a copy -- where we withdrew more or
20 less a challenge for the court below. Basically it was two
21 ordinances and two statutes that were challenged.

22 Q Which two?

23 A The two statutes were mob action and the
24 intimidation statute which is before this particular Court.
25 The other ordinances were dealt with by the single judge,

1 Judge Will below. He separated them saying that he felt that
2 he was not for a three judge court being that they were only
3 ordinances of local application.

4 Q How did this list on page 25 get into this
5 appendix?

6 A I don't know. I did not make a point of it. I
7 read it but I really, I guess what this is on page 25 is
8 really a listing of the grab-bag of the city council of
9 ordinances that fall under Chapter 193 of the Municipal Code
10 of Chicago.

11 Q Yes.

12 Q That was attached to your complaint, wasn't it?

13 A I don't think this was attached to my complaint.
14 I have not looked ---

15 Q It is part of Exhibit A as I see it, to your
16 complaint, statutes and ordinances.

17 A Well, I would say this: Although it might have
18 been it was just an index maybe of all the available ordinances
19 under Chapter 193 but we only challenged 192-1.

20 Q You don't contend that you are really in danger
21 of being arrested for advertising psychic or magical powers or
22 for promotion of marriage or spiritualism and fortune telling,
23 do you?

24 A Well, basically, I guess when we realize that
25 many of these ordinances that were passed for specific reasons

1 all of which and some of which have long since ceased to have
2 any meaning, maybe, I did not -- I would say -- deal with this
3 particular portion of the complaint and I don't know why it
4 was put in there. Maybe it was to show that they have many,
5 many ways to control us and that we were specifically dealing
6 with disorderly conduct.

7 Q It amuses me but it sort of highlights what is
8 a real problem in the case to me which is whether you can go
9 through a statute book and without any specific or explicit
10 basis in threats of enforcement you see against you whether you
11 can just go through the statute book and pick out statutes
12 which might conceivably be used by the police in a civil rights
13 demonstration, and then bring an action based on Dombrowski
14 seeking relief or whether you have got to have a specific
15 basis and specific threats and specific harassment, specific
16 action taken under a specific statute before you can utilize
17 Dombrowski.

18 That is the issue here and this long list is merely a
19 humorous illustration of the kind of intellectual problem and
20 legal problem that I suspect is very real in this case.

21 A I would ask the Court to reach a middle ground
22 from what you said. I think there is a point inbetween those
23 two poles. In other words, I would agree this Court should not
24 sit to hear contrived, not substantial litigation where one
25 would go through a statute book and dig them out.

1 But I think also we should not in the area of First
2 Amendment freedoms and this is where I think this is unique
3 and this I think is the reason for Dombrowski. Wait until
4 someone has been tried and convicted before they would have
5 standing before this Court.

6 I think that this particular case presents a factual
7 circumstance of that middle ground. There was a scheme that
8 was entered into and upon where we were harassed, where we
9 were intimidated, where we were thrown into jail with high
10 bonds and where there were meetings and where the police
11 prosecutors starting going through the statute book and we
12 heard about it and we got to court before they did.

13 Now I don't think we lose our standing by beating
14 them to court. And that is the issue I am trying to impress
15 upon this court. I think when I say look at the totality of
16 the chronology of events.

17 Q Yes, but the question perhaps is whether you
18 have just by general allegation, listing some general statutes
19 and then inserting a general allegation that you are threatened
20 with harassment under those statutes -- that is your paragraph
21 34 -- whether you made out a basis, whether you made out or
22 whether you have got a complaint that really comes under
23 Dombrowski. Now Dombrowski is quite a different kind of case
24 and it is at least arguable that Dombrowski is quite a different
25 kind of case than you have been presenting to us with respect

1 to the intimidation statute because all you have alleged here
2 is very general statement embracing a number of statutes without
3 any particularization and embracing and alleging a general
4 danger of prosecution again so far as this statute is concerned
5 without any particularization.

6 A Yes, I can see your concern but again I am
7 saying that had nothing occurred, had no one been arrested,
8 rather than the many, many people who were arrested, perhaps
9 you would be right. But here we had a series of arrests, mass
10 arrests and here we had albeit other statutes and ordinances
11 used that showed a scheme to deal with this type of protest
12 activity in a certain way.

13 I think then we are in a different position and we
14 then perhaps, and I urge upon the court, I think we would have
15 the right to then allege they are not only going to use the
16 ones they already arrested us on, but you might call it pendant
17 jurisdiction or whatever you want to deal with, but I am saying
18 to get away from circuitous litigation let us deal with the
19 total problem now because they now are threatening not only to
20 use mob action and disorderly conduct, they are threatening to
21 use intimidation, too, so we, therefore, put it in as part and
22 parcel of this complaint.

23 Therefore, I feel that the court below had jurisdiction
24 and I feel as I stand here now I have standing to sue and the
25 right to attack the intimidation statute also, as well as the

1 ones that we attacked below with proper standing and I would
2 say with no allegation below that we did not have proper
3 standing.

4 Basically for those reasons I would like to urge that
5 the Court affirm the law because unless we have a basis for
6 dealing with these matters within the framework of the Courts,
7 all of those things that we urge about taking to the streets
8 in a riotous way may come to pass and I would suggest that when
9 we tighten the noose around people's necks and they become
10 frustrated, they have no way to go but mostly the illegal way.

11 Thank you for listening.

12 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN: Mr. Butler

13 REBUTTAL ORAL ARGUMENT OF RONALD BUTLER, ESQ.

14 ON BEHALF OF APPELLANTS

15 MR. BUTLER: Several short points on rebuttal, your
16 Honor.

17 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN: Very well.

18 MR. BUTLER: First of all in answer to Mr. Justice
19 White's question with respect to the pleadings on page 30 of
20 the appendix, first point under the motion to dismiss is that
21 this court has no jurisdiction and it has been realleged.

22 Q Was that argued in the context of case and
23 controversy?

24 A It was argued in the context of case and
25 controversy in the memorandum that was filed, yes, which is

1 not a part of this.

2 Q It doesn't appear on this, Judge Wills' opinion
3 of a motion to dismiss that he ever dealt with this in the
4 context of declaratory judgment rather than an injunctive
5 relief?

6 A He dealt with it in the context of Dombrowski
7 generally, your Honor, where there is a statement, I believe,
8 on page 487 of Dombrowski which said that the minimum require-
9 ments of standing have been lessened and the court, the three
10 judge court, on page 64 of the appendix, footnotes 25 and 26
11 repeated that statement in a manner in which it seemed to
12 indicate that the standing requirement was lessened.

13 Q But at least he never did address himself
14 specifically to the elements of either injunction or declaratory
15 judgment with respect to this threat statute?

16 A Yes, I believe in all fairness to him, I believe
17 he tried to attribute it toward the declaratory judgment phase,
18 not the injunctive phase.

19 Q I don't see it even mentioned the declaratory
20 phase.

21 A Well, no, well, maybe not in the opinion.
22 Probably not in the record, but I was cognizant at least ---

23 Q But either declaratory or injunctive was not --
24 in either aspect he didn't talk about that particular ---

25 A No, that is correct. But we must remember that

1 Zwickler versus Koota had been decided at the time of this and
2 he was cognizant of it although it doesn't appear.

3 Also, as far as paragraph 34 is concerned, your Honor,
4 I see no difference between the allegations which I contend are
5 conclusory in that respect or in a civil case where I state
6 that someone else was negligent and someone else committed a
7 tort against me. I think that is conclusory. I don't think
8 that has any kind of even quasi-specificity.

9 I think I could take paragraph 34, as it had been
10 pointed out by one of the Justices earlier, and include every
11 single State of Illinois Criminal Statute in paragraph 34
12 because all I have to say is I am in fear.

13 Q Thirty-four says more than that; 34 says
14 defendants have threatened.

15 A Well, I think the same allegation could be made.
16 Defendants have threatened to use every single statute.

17 Q Do you think that on a motion to dismiss for
18 failure to state an equitable claim that you could say that
19 you hadn't threatened these people?

20 A I think so, yes. Because a motion to dismiss
21 admits all pleaded allegations but the question is whether
22 that is well pleaded.

23 Q So you wouldn't admit it by that motion to have
24 threatened anybody?

25 A No, I would admit only well pleaded allegations

1 and if something says I have been threatened it is the same as
2 saying I have a tort committed against me. Someone has been
3 negligent.

4 Q This says defendants have threatened and con-
5 tinue to threaten.

6 A When someone says a defendant is threatened,
7 that is a conclusion. How did the threat come about. That is
8 a conclusion based upon something else with something else
9 not involved here.

10 Q That is just a general description of the facts.

11 A I respectfully disagree with you as far as
12 that is concerned. I think it is not.

13 Q What do you think a conclusion is?

14 A I think a conclusion is something that is based
15 upon a series of other statements. I can't say that I
16 committed a negligent act against you and have a complaint
17 withstand a motion to dismiss. I can say that you injured me
18 as far as a certain time and a place in an automobile when you
19 went into the back of my automobile.

20 I could make a conclusion from the basis of those
21 statements but I can't just make the statement and expect it
22 to withstand the motion.

23 Q Do you have any cases indicating that this kind
24 of an allegation is insufficient?

25 A No, I have no cases, your Honor.

1 Q Anywhere?

2 A No, Dombrowski and Zwickler and the rest of the
3 cases have been quite difficult and up until Golden versus
4 Zwickler was taken I didn't know myself whether a standing
5 argument would be sufficient in this case.

6 Q How about a civil tort action in which the
7 allegation is made that the six defendants threatened me with
8 bodily harm. Do you think that would stand up?

9 A I think there would have to be something more,
10 your Honor.

11 Q Like what?

12 A Like time, like place.

13 Q Which is evident, which you don't usually plead.

14 A It can, yes, it can be evidence at times.

15 Q Why do you run off the point that you filed an
16 answer and you keep running away from it?

17 A No, I am not running away from it, your Honor.
18 I am not running away from it at all. The answer was filed,
19 there was a denial.

20 I have nothing more.

21 MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN: Very well, Mr. Butler.

22 (Whereupon, at 1:55 p.m. the oral argument in the
23 above-entitled matter was concluded.)
24
25