LIBRARY PREME COURT, U. S.

Supreme Court of the United States

LIBRARY Supreme Court, U. S. MAY 12 1970

In the Matter of:

Docket No.

726

CHARLENE MITCHELL, et al.,

Petitioners;

VS.

JOSEPH L. DONOVAN, et al.,

Respondents.

HAY 12 3 OB PH

Duplication or copying of this transcript by photographic, electrostatic or other facsimile means is prohibited under the order form agreement.

Place

Washington, D. C.

Date

April 21, 1970

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.

300 Seventh Street, S. W.

Washington, D. C.

NA 8-2345

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Lynn S. Castner, on behlalf of Petitioners Richard H. Kyle, Solicitor General of Minnesota, on behalf of Respondents REBUTTAL: Lynn S. Castner, on behalf of Petitioners 43	
Richard H. Kyle, Solicitor General of Minnesota, on behalf of Respondents 23 REBUTTAL: Lynn S. Castner, on behalf of	
Respondents 23 REBUTTAL: Lynn S. Castner, on behalf of	
6 Lynn S. Castner, on behalf of	
8	
10	
12	
13	
15	
16	
17	
18	
20	
23	
24	

qu IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES 2 October Term, 1969 3 2 CHARLENE MITCHELL et al., Petitioners; 5 6 VS. No. 726 JOSEPH L. DONOVAN et al., 7 Respondents. 8 9 Washington D. C. 10 April 21, 1970 11 The above-entitled matter came on for argument at 1:20 p.m. 12 BEFORE: 13 WARREN E. BURGER, Chief Justice 14 HUGO L. BLACK, Associate Justice WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Associate Justice 15 JOHN M. HARLAN, Associate Justice WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., Associate Justice 16 POTTER STEWART, Associate Justice BYRON R. WHITE, Associate Justice 17 THURGOOD MARSHALL, Associate Justice 18 APPEARANCES: 19 Lynn S. Castner, Esq. Minnesota Civil Liberties Union 20 925 Upper Midwest Building Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401 21 Attorney for Petitioners 22 Richard H. Kyle, Solicitor General of Minnesota 23 160 State Office Building St. Paul, Minnesota 55101 24 Attorney for Respondents

URG

25

PROCEEDINGS

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Next case for argument is No. 726, Mitchell against Donovan.

You may proceed whenever you are ready, Mr. Castner.

ARGUMENT OF LYNN S. CASTNER

ON BEHALF OF PETITIONERS

MR. CASTNER: Mr. Chief Justice; may it please the Court:

The appellants in this case are the Communist Party of the United States of America; the Communist Party of the State of Minnesota; Mrs. Charlene Mitchell and Mr. Michael Zagarell, 1968 Communist Party Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates; Mrs. Betty Smith, State Secretary of the Minnesota Communist Party; 10 presidential electors from the State of Minnesota for the Communist Party; 2 plaintiff appellees representing the 2,394 registered voters, who signed a petition to put the Communist Party candidates on the 1968 ballot; and one registered voter, who did not sign the petition.

The Communist Party of the State of Minnesota, as well as the National Party, are unincorporated associations.

The Communist Party of Minnesota held a duly convened state—wide convention in Minnesota on or about June 23, 1968. They elected 6 delegates and an alternate delegate to the National Convention of the Communist Party U.S.A., which was called for and held in New York July 4-7, 1968.

2 3 4

At the Communist Party of Minnesota convention a motion was passed that, if the Communist Party U.S.A. nominated a presidential ticket, that the Communist Party of Minnesota would endeavor to place on the ballot in Minnesota those candidates.

Mrs. Betty Smith attended that convention as a delegate in New York. Mrs. Mitchell and Mr. Zagarell were duly nominated by that convention. Immediately following, the Communist Party of Minnesota mounted a campaign to obtain the requisite number of signatures — under Minnesota law, 2,000 — to place the candidates on the ballot.

On this nominating petition appeared the names of the 10 Communist presidential electors. And, under Minnesota law, on the ballot only appears the name of the candidates, and, by Minnesota law, a vote for the candidates is a vote for those electors.

On Sunday September 8 the Party completed its campaign to collect signatures. On the next day, Monday the 9th, representatives of the Communist Party — the national office as well as the state — appeared at the office of Secretary of State of Minnesota, Joseph Donovan, to file the nominating petition.

The Party representatives arrived at the Secretary of State's office during the noon hour. Immediately after noon, they tendered their petition -- the petition was

anticipated -- and they were presented a written refusal of the Secretary of State. He did examine the contents of the package and satisfied himself that it was the nominating petition for the Communist Party.

His refusal said, "Please be advised that, upon the advice of the Attorney General of Minnesota and at his direction as a matter of law, I hereby officially refuse."

of which was given to the representatives, in which the Attorney General said, "In view of the federal statutes," and quoted in full sections 841 and 842 of the Communist Control Act, "we are of the opinion that you should refuse to accept for filing the nominating petition in question. However, any doubts relative to this matter can only be finally resolved by the courts pursuant to appropriate legal proceedings."

The Party went to court. Judge Devitt convened a three-judge District Court and, on September 30, heard arguments of counsel. Following that, and in spite of a request for a permanent injunction, the court ruled that a hurried decision would not be appropriate.

- Q What injunction did you ask for?
- A In the prayer for relief we asked both for a temporary and a permanent injunction.
 - Q Against what?
 - A Against the state officials, requiring them to

place the Party candidates on the ballot.

0 When?

A In the June 1968 election.

Q Is that the only injunction you asked for?

A That is the only injunction at that time. We asked for such other and further relief in the prayer for relief. And following the issuance of the temporary injunction and the passage of election, we noticed it for trial, came back to court and found ourselves arguing a motion to dismiss as moot.

Q And then what? Did you amend your complaint?

A I am sorry.

Q Did you amend your complaint?

A Yes; we amended our complaint and the threejudge court granted the motion to amend the complaint. In the
prayer we said that the Communist Party of Minnesota intended
to participate in future local, state and national elections.
This amendment was granted and it was supported by an affidavit
of Mrs. Smith to this effect on behalf of the Party.

Q You amended the complaint to allege that the Communist Party of the state intended and hoped to participate in future elections; that, I assume was not in the prayer. How, if at all, was the prayer amended?

A The prayer was not amended. We felt that under rule 54(c) the request for additional relief would incorporate

our desire to obtain a permanent injunction.

gua

Q The only injunction that you asked for, as I understand it, explicitly, was an injunction with respect to an election that is now passed and an election in which your clients were placed on the ballot.

A That is correct.

Q And that, thereafter, the only explicit relief demanded, either in the original complaint or in the complaint as amended, was one for declaratory relief, is that right?

A That is correct. Although we feel we are not able to come back to court, because of the disposition of the motion of the State to dismiss as moot, to ask for a permanent injunction which we feel we are entitled to by this Court.

Q Yes, you were entitled to ask for it and then the dismissal would have been a denial of it. But you did not in fact ask for it, did you?

A No, we did not.

Q An injunction is strong medicine, and, generally, the rules of pleading require that, if you want an injunction, you have to ask for an injunction; and that it is not incorporated in the ordinary language of "such other and further relief as may be appropriate in the circumstances," etc.

A We did feel ---

Q You know what is on my mind, I suppose, by these questions and that is whether or not this Court has

jurisdiction under Title 28 of the Code, Section 1253 -- whether or not, in other words, there was a denial of an injunction.

And there was a denial of an injunction only if you asked for an injunction that was denied.

A We feel that the relief asked for -- We did ask for a permanent injunction. We feel that this is similar to the Moore and Ogilvie Case. The specific injunction to put them on the ballot was not necessary after the election. All that remained was declaratory relief which, if granted, would have the effect of an injunction.

Q What necessitated the three-judge court?

A We sought to enjoin, both by the temporary relief requested, the permanent injunction and the declaratory relief, to stop, to enjoin the execution and enforcement of the Communist Control Act of 1954. Having obtained the declaratory relief we asked for, it would have had the effect of restraining the operation or enforcement of the Act.

Q I know, but as Mr. Justice Stewart says, I don't see any request for an injunction to restrain the enforcement of the Communist Control Act.

A The United States is not a party. We could not restrain the United States from enforcing the Act as against state elections, because the United States has no power to interfere with the state elections in this regard. The only government officials who have the ower to execute and enforce

the Communist Control Act in elections are the state officials.

Seal.

Q Well, you didn't even ask them for an injunction against obeying that Act.

A Well, we asked for the relief, which the Court held below entitled us to a three-judge court, to restrain the state officials from preventing the Communist Party from being on the 1968 ballot. Following that election, we amended our complaint to let the court know that the Communist Party intended to participate in future elections.

The next point is that, in support of the lower court's order dismissing the complaint as moot, we believe that it is clear that the Communist Party will continue to participate in elections both on a state-wide level and a national level. The Party has participated in the past in 163 elections. Forty-one states have been the sites of those elections. And in Minnesota there have been 27 elections. All but one of these have been election contests for state or national office.

The Attorney General has made the argument below thatand this was adopted by the three-judge court -- that it is
just speculative that the Party will run for future elections.

And he said the earliest time it could come up again is 1972.

We would like to point out to the Court that the time is upon us now for the Party to participate in other elections. We have state-wide elections. We have elections

for United States Senator as well as for the House of Representatives. If the order of the court below is upheld as moot, the Communist Pary will have participated in litigation for almost 2 years and be in precisely the situation that we argue such an order would place us. That is that we would have to go back into court again and litigate the question of the right of the Party to appear on the ballot.

a d

En

The court below refused to reach the merits, saying that a hurried decision would not be wise or would be unwise. They also wished the United States to be a party. Chief Judge Devitt teletyped the United States Attorney, Mr. Ramsey Clark, and ordered him to appear in the court. Mr. Clark replied with a letter, saying that he had other commitments and did not appear. However, he sent the United States Attorney for the District of Minnesota to appear amicus curiae.

He did appear and argued to the court that the

Communist Control Act does not bar the Party from the ballot;

that it can be interpreted, citing Catherwood, for the proposition that candidates could run as long as they didn't use

the label, Communist Party. He also suggested to the Attorney

General that Minnesota law might allow the Communist Party

to appear on the ballot with the designation, Communist Party—

an argument that was not accepted by either the court or by

the Attorney General.

I think that that position of the United States fails,

because it does not recognize that the Party itself, under

Minnesota law, has a right — There are provisions in the law
which allow a party to present candidates if it receives a

percentage of votes. We feel that a vote for party enthronement is equally as important as a vote for party candidates.

9 5

The United States in its brief relied on Salwen and

Rees -- the only other case construing the Communist Control

Act in terms of elections -- for the proposition that a

Communist Party candidate could run for election.

In that case the New Jersey courts, including the Supreme Court, did not accept even that argument and said that it would be a keen way to avoid the effect of the Act if Communist Party candidates could run and hide from the public -- or not mention the fact -- that they are espousing Communist Party principles.

Both the appellants and the appellees in this case agree that there is no question that the Communist Control

Act bars the Communist Party or its candidates from running in elections, whether or not they disclose or speak to the effect that they are running under the Communist Party label.

- Q Do you want us to declare that act unconstitutional?
 - A Yes; we also want a permanent injunciotn ---
- Q Can we declare that statute unconstitutional without the United States Government having anything to do

Sec.

A We believe the United States Government has had a clear position over the years.

Q What position? Who is now speaking for the United States Government?

A The United States has not appeared in this case.

Q How can we declare an act of Congress unconstitutional without the Attorney General of the United States or somebody representing him being here?

A It is my understanding that the court did not request the appearance of the United States.

Q Did they give the notice?

A Yes; Judge Devitt gave statutory notice.

Q To the Attorney General, didn't they?

A Not only gave statutory notice but teletyped an order requiring him to appear, the response to which was the appearance of the U.S. attorney as amicus curiae.

Q As I understand the judgment of the lower court, it was that there was no case in controversy, because the Attorney General in his amicus brief has suggested that the law did not apply. Is that what Judge Devitt said?

A That is one of the points relied upon. The judge pointed out three reasons why the motion was granted to dismiss: that it was moot; that it was not ripe for

controversy as required by the Declaratory Judgments Act. 2 It wasn't moot, was it? 3 We do not ---A 13 If it wasn't moot, why did you amend? Q 5 Well, we did not anticipate ---6 You amended, because it had been moot up until 7 that time. I mean there is nothing wrong with that; it is 8 done every day. 0 A We amended, because the court granted the relief 10 of the Party to appear on that ballot. 99 Q Now you don't know what the next Secretary of 12 State will do about this Act, do you? 13 We believe we do. 14 Q How do you? 15 A The Attorney General ---16 Who is the next Secretary of State? 17 A The next Secretary of State will be elected in 18 the coming election. 10 Q How do you know what he is going to do, when 20 you don't even know who he is? 21 We feel, Mr. Justice, that this case is going 22 to be presented again before that man leaves office. The filing 23 date for the national elections are in July of 1970. His office 24 does not expire until November of 1970. The Attorney General 25

adjudication; and that there was not an actual case for

Spring

will be in office until November 1970. The Party is now seriously considering the state and national elections in Minnesota. I believe no candidates have filed, although a number are talking of their intent to do so.

If the order of dismissing the case as most is upheld, the appellants are precisely in the position they were in the summer of 1968 of having to come back to court again with exactly the same defendants and waste their resources and their time again covering the same ground.

Moreover, we take the position that the mere change of the constitutional officers of the state is not enough to moot the case. There is no authority for the proposition -- save the one amicus curiae brief of the United States Attorney -- there is no legal authority for the proposition that the Act does not apply.

I can't imagine that the constitutional officer would take another position. They cite the opinion of a Connecticut Attorney General ruling the same way. Salwen and Rees stands for, not only that proposition, but that a Communist Party candidate without his party cannot participate in elections.

And the United States failure to appear ----

Q Speaking about lacking a case of controversy,

I mean, what Connecticut does and somebody else is not before

us. Do you have anything to argue for other than a claratory
judgment?

A Yes. We believe we are entitled to a permanent injunction from this Court.

Q What right did you have for an injunction?
You originally asked to get on the ballot in 1968. And then he court allowed you to amend. Then you came in and said you proposed to introduce candidates in the future. Is there anything in the record that shows that the state intends to prevent you from doing it?

A No; and the state can continually present us with the same situation whether ---

Q Is there anything in the record that says the state intends to?

A There is. In the transcript of the hearing on September 30 the court asked Mr. Kyle, who was at that time Solicitor General -- it is on page 18 of the appellants' brief and in the appendix on page 69 -- The court inquired of counsel, "On another subject I notice that counsel's affidavit says, on information and belief ---

Q Could you just defer a moment, Mr. Castner, until we are sure we have your place? Page 69 of the appendix, is that correct?

A That is correct. I misquote. It was at the hearing on November 25, 1968, hearing arguments on the motion to dismiss as most and on the appellants' motion to amend.

This exchange took place: "On another subject, I notice that

24.00 that counsel's affidavit says on information and belief he 2 has learned that you, or the attorney general, are going to 3 persist in your viewpoint that if some other Communist affilia-13 ted people file, you are going to take the same position. Is 33 there any basis for this information and belief?" 6 Mr. Kyle replied, "I think there probably is. At 7 least there is no new case law which has come down which would, as far as I am concerned, dictate a different result, ultimately." 9 Who is Mr. Kyle? 10 Mr. Kyle was the Solicitor General in the case, 11 and he is appearing for appellees today. 12 A representative of the Attorney General? 13 He was the chief officer, the Solicitor General 14 of the State of Minnesota. 95 Q He was a subordinate of the Attorney General, 16 was he not, at that time? 17 That is correct. 18 And he is no longer Solicitor? 19 A No, he is not. Yes, he is. I'm sorry. 20 He is present in the courtroom but not in the 21

General for a while and then came back to it and is presently serving in that capacity now.

A I misquote. He did leave the office of Solicitor

office, is that what you mean?

22

23

24

25

Q Well, I don't suppose anybody repudiated the fact that he was representing the Attorney General.

A In their brief subsequent, they did not like the effect of this admission in court and argued in opposing the noting of probable jurisdiction — also tying to the argument that this would not be presented again until 1972 — that there would be another constitutional officer and no way for the court to determine that this same ——

Q Did they deny that Kyle was an officer at the time he made this statement? Did they repudiate him?

A They did not.

The United States, we feel, did not appear to defend the constitutionality of the Act, because they had a longstanding provision that such an act violates the Constitution of the United States. In 1948 when Congress was considering—and the years subsequent—a number of bills which would have barred the Communist Party from activity, two congressional sub-committees were holding hearings on legislation aimed at restricting the activities of the Communist Party.

One bill would have banned from the ballot, in any election in the United States, all political parties directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party of the United States.

After the bill's constitutionality was assailed by a number of witnesses, the committee recessed to await an

opinion from the Department of Justice on this subject. The opinion was forthcoming in a letter of March 9, 1948 to the Chairman of the House Committee on House Administration. That letter said, "Although this Department is in complete sympathy, of course, with the desire that no subversive or disloyal person should be permitted to hold a position of honor, trust or profit in the Government, it is believed that the bill under consideration would be of doubtful validity and enforce—ability for many reasons, the most outstanding of which is that it might be regarded as in the nature of a bill of attainder, a denial of due process of law and an attempt by the Federal Government to legislate, insofar as it would apply to the qualifications of a political party in any election, in a field for which no federal authority exists."

A.

The United States has not, in any case that we can find, moved from this position. We believe that this position has been consistent regardless of the change of constitutional officers.

We believe, also, that any state official with the state of the law as it is today would be the same as the Attorney General of Minnesota in this case.

We urge the Court and feel the Court has authority
to issue a permanent injunction restraining state officials
from preventing Minnesota candidates from -- Minnesota Communist
Party candidates -- from presenting their nominating petitions

and participating in elections. We feel the Court should reach
the merits of constitutionality; that the argument that the
act does not apply is without merit and is not belied by
legislative history.

There was little agreement on the extent of the scope of this Act in the legislative debates -- as few as there were -- but there was agreement on one thing; that this Act barred the Party from the ballot. And the authorities that have studied and written about this Act subsequent to its passage have agreed that the Act has this effect.

Reaching then the merits ---

Q Where did they deny that the Act applied to you?
To the Communist Party?

A Pardon me, Mr. Justice.

Q Where did they deny that the Act applied to the Communist Party?

A "They" being the Department of Justice or the legislative debates?

Q The people you are after here; that you want to get an injunction for.

A Oh, the appellees in this case have not denied it that the act applies. Let me take this opportunity — thank you for reminding me — there is an error in the appellant's brief on page 45. On the first paragraph on page 45, the second sentence says, "Both the Attorney General and the U.S.

Attorney argued below that the Communist Control Act infringes
upon the power of the states in this regard, " -- That is to
qualify electors. The inclusion of the Minnesota Attorney
General should not be there. This was an error.

Act unconstitutional as a bill of attainder. We believe the Act is a classical bill of attainder, and the decisions of this Court, and all who sat on this Court, considering the cases of attainder, would find this act a classical bill of attainder.

First, the Act outlaws the Communist Party by legislative fiat. The Party itself was outlawed. This Court in the SACB Case pointed out that, if the Party by name were outlawed, the act would be a bill of attainder. The Communist Control Act of 1954 made this finding.

The second test is whether there is a legislative finding of guilt. In 841 there is the flat conclusion that the Communist Party should be outlawed, and in 841 also, in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States.

There is a legislative finding of guilt, taking away from the power of the Court to make a determination, not granting a hearing to the Party on its conclusions. And we urge that the position of the appellees, that this Court may take into consideration the legislative findings in other, and not related acts, as to the nature of the Communist Party,

cannot support this Act.

\$100g

4 mil

We feel it is a novel assertion that the findings of one act can be used to support another. This Act was adopted on the eve of adjournment in 1954. There were no committee hearings on the Act, save Congressman Dies. The legislative history has been properly described by this Court in the Catherwood Case as giving little guidance.

The third test we feel is met is that the Party is punished. There is no comparable example of such a flat legislative finding of guilt in the absence of a judicial trial. And the cases of this Court, going back to the post-Civil War bill of attainder cases, Cummings and Garland, clearly show that punishment need not be imprisonment but, in fact, point out in specific example precisely what has happened under this Act; that the Party is barred from the ballot.

The fourth test — which many authorities feel this

Court has set forth in Douds — is also met. There is no
opportunity for the Party to reform itself. It cannot escape
the provisions of this Act. Nothing it does can allow it to
come to the ballot. And, if fact, the interpretations of the
Act do not allow an individual candidate, supporting the
principles of the Party, to appear without party endorsement.

The second provision, and there are many, or the second reason of unconstitutionality, and one which we feel is of equal weight, is the infringement upon freedom of speech.

This Court, in the last term in Williams and Rhodes, made it clear that the right to vote in the First Amendment protects that right, both for the right of qualified voters to cast their votes as well as the right of individuals to associate with a party or an association to cast their votes.

State State

Total Series

The State would urge that the paltry showing of the Party in the last election, 415 votes, would minimize the importance of participation in the electoral process. We feel they cannot be serious in this regard. The real importance and contribution to participation in the political process is the forum of an electoral contest as freedom of speech.

This Court has made it clear that freedom of speech is on the highest of scale of constitutional liberties. We feel that the Court has also made it clear that the right to vote is at the top with it.

Q You mean that they argued that, because of such a small number of voters on that ticket, the state has a right to keep them off the ticket?

A They argued this in terms of its being moot; that is, with such a paltry showing how can we expect that the Party would make another serious attempt, and have ignored the fact of 163 elections of this Party. They also have pointed to the hiatus of participation in electoral politics by the Party from 1950 until the 1968 election. This lack of participation was not due to a lack of interest but to the effect of the McCarran

Ser. Act. 2 The Party itself has come back into electoral politics 3 in 1968; they did participate in local elections in New York, 13 Rashid Storey and Jesus Colon ran for mayor and comptroller. Q Well, what actual defense have they put up for 5 6 a law of this kind, that bars a party from running in the state, if they act within the law? 7 A On the merits, they merely say that to balance 8 the interests of taking the risk that a party if elected would destroy our way of government ---10 How many voters did you say they had? 500 415 in Minnesota. 12 ZA What is the population of Minnesota? 0 13 I believe it is about 3 million. A 14 They were afraid this 415 would overturn them. 0 15 A I am afraid they will have to answer that for 16 I will save my remaining time for rebuttal. themselves. 27 18 19 under Section 1253. 20

You are not going to spend any more time on the preliminary question of whether or not the Court has jurisdiction

I believe the State will spend quite a bit of time on it; then I will respond in rebuttal.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Mr. Kyle.

24

29

22

23

25

ARGUMENT OF RICHARD H. KYLE,

SOLICITOR GENERAL OF MINNESOTA,

ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENTS

MR. KYLE: Mr. Chief Justice; may it please the Court:

Maybe I should clarify my position with the Attorney

General's office at the outset in response to some questions

which arose. The Solicitor General of the State of Minnesota,

which is my title, is an appointive position by the Attorney

General of Minnesota and serves at the pleasure of the Attorney

General. He is the equivalent of an Assistant or a Deputy

Attorney General.

When this litigation first arose and through the District Court proceedings, I was the Solicitor General of the State of Minnesota. And for a period of approximately 6 months thereafter, I performed a different function within the office of the Attorney General, with a different title, and then returned to the position of Solicitor General, which position I know hold.

Q As of now?

9 9

A Yes, as of now, I am.

The statement, which is found in the record concerning the position of the Attorney General with respect to a future election and made by me, was made by me. And the statement as such stands. Now to the extent that the Attorney General will see fit to follow what I or someone else on the staff may

1 | tell him to do with respect to a given election ---

- Q Is the Attorney General of the State an elected officer?
 - A That is correct, Your Honor.
 - Q Over what? A four year term?
- A His term expires this year. He is not the candidate for reelection, as is the Sectretary of State whose term also expires this year. And he is not a candidate for reelection. So as to this particular question arising this fall, and it could, we are going to have 2 new and different constitutional officers in office when a similar petition, if ever, is going to be presented.
 - Q You have new officers after January of 1971?
 - A That is correct.
- Ω The Governor and the Attorney General take office in January?
 - A That is right, in January, Your Honor.

The position of the State, or the position of the Attorney General and the Secretary of State who were named defendants in this action, at the very outset was that a three-judge district court was not required to hear this action, because no request was made that would have the effect of restraining the operation or enforcement of an act of Congress; that even if the plaintiffs here secured the declaratory relief which they sought, that the Party be placed upon the

B	ballot and that their candidates be allowed to run, this would		
2	not have the effect of grinding to a halt, so to speak, the		
3	operations of the Communist Control Act of 1954 for whatever		
4	operation that Act had.		
5	Q Did the action of the Secretary of State, in		
6	refusing the nominating petitions, purport to be done under a		
7	state statute, or was it done pursuant to the federal statute?		
8	A There was a dispute on this, Your Honor. He		
9	received the nominating petition and asked advice from the		
10	Attorney General as to what he should do. The Attorney General		
4 d	wrote him a memorandum, or an opinion or whatever you want to		
12	call it, pointed out the provisions of the Communist Control		
13	Act and the Communist Control Act only and said that this		
94	Act appeared to apply and, therefore, bar the Party from part-		
15	icipation in the election.		
16	Q It purports to preempt In the absence of the		
17	Communist Control Act you would have accepted the		
18	A No question about that, Your Honor.		
19	Q On the face your state statutes would permit the		
20	filing?		
21	A There would be no disabling state statute.		
22	Q So this is really the State saying that federal		
23	law www w		
24	A Federal law requires us to do this.		
25	Q preempts our state law?		

1 A That is correct. That is the position we took, 2 and that is the position which we have held throughout. It was on that basis that we also objected to the convening of the 3 4 three-judge court, because we took the position that we were not acting under color of state law, which was a requirement 5 of Section 1983 of the Civil Rights Act when, "any state officer 6 acting under color of state law." 7 Now the three-judge court disagreed with us on this 8 proposition and was convened and then made its decision and this 9 appeal followed. 10 Mr. Kyle, I don't --- Excuse me. 91

Q May I ask you a question? They filed a petition against the state officers, did they?

A No, Your Honor, they presented to the Secretary of State a nominating petition of behalf of the Communist Party of the United States.

Q Then what did he do?

A He refused to accept it.

Q On what ground?

12

13

12

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

20

25

A That the Attorney General told him to refuse to accept it.

Q You mean the Attorney General of the State.

A Of the State of Minnesota.

Q And you say that he did it on the ground that the federal law barred it?

A On the ground that the Communist Control Act ---2 Q That doesn't get your state out of it, does it, to say that the federal law bars it? Wasn't it that you didn't 3 let them know whether they would accept his name as a candidate? 13 We said no. 5 You said no; then you did deny it? And you have 6 refused to let them get on the ballot? 7 That is correct, Your Honor. 8 And you did it on the ground that the federal 9 law prohibited it? 10 That is correct. 19 What did you tell them about the First Amendment? 0 12 We didn't tell them anything about that. A 13 You didn't mention that? 0 14 A No, we did not. 15 Do you think it had anything to do with it? 0 16 At the time that we were presented with the 87 petition, Your Honor, the situation arose in this manner. The 18 petition is there. We look at the Communist Control Act on 19 its face -- at least in my opinion, and I still have this 20 opinion -- it would, if constitutional, bar the Communist Party 21 from the electoral process in the State of Minnesota. Now 22 the only decisions ---23 Q That was the issue between you and the people 24 who wanted to get on the ticket? 25

A Yes.

(Contract)

9 9

Q Between the State of Minnesota -- not between the Federal Government -- but between the State of Minnesota and the people who wanted to get on the ticket.

A Well, I don't know whether that follows, Your Honor.

Q Why doesn't it? Who denied it, except the State?

It doesn't make any difference what ground.

A You are right. In the sense that the State said, "No, you are not going on the ballot," then it was an issue as between the State and the people presenting the petition as to whether they were going to be allowed to go on the ballot.

We, physically, said no and our only ---

- Q You didn't let them get on?
- A That is correct, that is correct.
- Q You haven't let them get on yet.

A Oh, they have been on. They ran in 1968, not pursuant to anything we did but pursuant to an order of a three-judge district court. But there has been no request since that time to come on again. And there has been no opportunity, or there has been an opportunity in 1969 in which we had, at least, local elections in the State of Minnesota. As far as our office was concerned, we received no information from anyone that this problem had arisen again.

Not withstanding -- I might point out -- the afficavit

presented by the secretary, Mrs. Smith, of the Communist Party that they intended to participate in future Minnesota local elections. At least one year has gone by, and, if the participation took place, it was brought to no one's attention.

No.

Q Mr. Kyle, would it be possible in your mind as solicitor general to advise that since the three-judge court has already ruled on the 1968 election, that you see no reason why they shouldn't follow that in later elections and let the Party on the ballot?

A Well, I would have no difficulty with it except that the basis of the three-judge court's ruling, Your Honor, was to specifically reserve the question of the constitutionality of the Act.

Q They haven't passed on it yet?

A They haven't passed on it yet. We were in a time, as all of these election cases are ---

O The point is that you feel obliged to follow an act of Congress, which has no means of enforcing it if you don't follow it. And you have an opinion of a three-judge constitutionally setup court that you didn't have to follow it.

Isn't that enough for you to say, "Well, let's forget about it?"

A I would like to say yes, but I can't, Your Honor, because I don't think it is. If the three-judge court had ruled on the merits of the Act, declared the Act to be unconstitutional ---

See Q You have a further impediment, have you not? 2 You are not the Attorney General of Minnesota. 3 That is correct. A Q But one of his suborinates who ---5 --- serves at his pleasure. 6 Well, can't we get somebody here who can give an 0 opinion for the State of Minnesota? If you were not authorized 7 8 to give it, what are sent here for? A No, I am authorized to make statements on behalf 9 of the State of Minnesota. 10 Q Well, you are authorized to make statements in 99 this argument, but you are not authorized to give an opinion 12 that hasn't been asked for yet. 13 That is correct. A 14 But we are asking you for one. 0 15 A Well, you are asking me, in course of an argument-16 Q We are asking you on the grounds that you are 17 here purporting to be the representative of the Attorney General 18 of the State of Minnesota. Now, are you and do you have full 19 authority to represent him in this argument before us? 20 Yes, Your Honor, I do. 21 Q But you have no authority to give an opinion 22 about the ballot in next September's election. 23 A Yes. He has not asked me for my opinion con-24 cerning ---25

Q Do you deny having that authority?

Que

- A I am not sure I understand your question, Your Honor.
- Q Do you deny having the authority which the Chief Justice asked you about? If so, how can you claim to be the representative of the Attorney General of the State of Minnesota. We usually have representatives for parties who can give us statements about the position of the parties.
 - A I have given you statements, Your Honor.
- Q You don't deny then that you have authority to determine for the State of Minnesota and speak for them now and to say you are opposing this Party getting on the ticket?
- A Yes, I am opposing this Party getting on the ticket. This is the position which we took earlier and this is the position which we take in this litigation.
- Q Do you do it on the ground that the State does it of its own will or because it does it ---
- A No, I do it on the ground that an act of Congress has said -- as I read that act of Congress -- that the Party shall not go on the ballot.
 - Q And what did the court tell you?
- A The court put them on the ballot, because the court said we do not have enough time to resolve what they considered to be the difficult, grave consitutional issues which were presented.

Q Well, why should this case not be met on its
face, like litigants should meet cases, and say whether or
not the State of Minnesota is now holding this Party getting
on the ticket?

A Well, whether it is going to be met on the merits or not, Your Honor, is a decision which this Court is going to make right now, which I have no control over.

Q You haven't control of us, but you have control over the State's case.

A But, as I read the decisions of this Court ---

Q Do you say that you have any less authority than the Attorney General of the State of Minnesota has to state the views on this particular case where you are now representing the State of Minnesota?

A No.

Q You do not claim any less authority than the Attorney General has?

A It is our position on this appeal that jurisdiction is also lacking, in addition to the fact that a threejudge court, in our view, was not required below; but that
there was no denial of a permanent injunction in this litigation
and that is a requirement of Section 1253, a section which was
recently reviewed in an analogous context in the Goldstein
decision by this Court about 2 months ago.

It says that this Court has appellate jurisdiction

from a final order granting a permanent injunction. Now there was no request for a permanent injunction in this case. It was requested that the Secretary of State accept the nominating petition and that he place those candidates upon the ballot.

8 7

To the extent that that request for relief constituted a request for a permanent injunction, it was granted. The temporary mandatory injunction issued by the three-judge court gave to the plaintiffs every aspect of the injunctive relief that they had originally sought.

It was only at that stage that we probably could have appealed to this Court for the granting of that temporary injunction, which we chose not to do.

The amendment, which came two weeks later --but before the election --, has two statements of fact, allegations: that the Communist Party of Minnesota intends to participate -- whatever that means -- in future national, local, state elections, and further that the Attorney General will continue to give his view that the Communist Control Act bars. No request that any state official present or future be barred from taking any action; none was asked for and, therefore, none was given.

So it is only, I submit, if this Court reads the order of dismissal as moot, as having the effect of denying their request for a permanent injun tion, that this Court would have jurisdiction. And I submit ---

1	Ω	Only denying what request for a permanent	
2	injunction?		
3	A	Excuse me.	
4	Q	Only if we read the dismissal as denying, you	
5	say, their req	uest for a permanent injunction? What request	
6	for a permanent injunction?		
7	A	Only if you read it as having the effect of	
8	denying whatever their prayer for relief		
9	Ω	Well, what was it?	
10	A	That the Communist Control Act be declared	
des de de	unconstitutional.		
12	Q	So that was for a declaratory judgment, wasn't	
13	it? Not for an injunction.		
14	A	No, there was no request for an injunction.	
15	Q	That is what I thought.	
16	A	No request at all.	
17	Q	The injunction requested was with respect to	
18	what election?		
19	A	With respect to the 1968 election.	
20	Q	What prayer did they grant the injunction under?	
21	A	A motion for a temporary mandatory injunction.	
22	Q	Where is that in the appendix?	
23	A	The motion, Your Honor?	
24	Ω	Where is the request for the injunction that	
0.00	they granted?		

1	Q Page 14, paragraph 2.
2	Q Paragraph 2 on page 14, is that right?
3	A That is correct, Your Honor.
4	Q "Not as granted, you did not take an appeal,"
5	is that right?
6	A That is correct?
7	Q Would you read that line to me?
8	A "That the court issue a temporary restraining
9	order and permanent injunction"
10	Q Now what does that word "permanent" mean?
comp formation	A It means that they permanently tell the I
12	think it means, in respect to the context in which it was
13	brought up, that the Secretary of State take and put the
14	candidates on the ballot.
15	Q For what?
16	A For the 1968 election.
17	Q What does a request for a permanent injunction
18	mean to you?
19	A It means that he does it for all time, with
20	respect to the 1968 election. Once the election occurs, there
21	is nothing more to occur.
22.	Q Where does it say with reference to that
23	particular election?
24	A Because it says, "To accept and file the afore-
No los	said petition," and that aforesaid petition only refers to the

1968 election. "And require the defendant Donavan include upon Sec. 2 the ballot for the general election to be held on November 5, 1968 and thereon the names ---" 3 Q What does section 5 provide on the next page? 4 What is usually required in bills for injunction. 5 A "For such further and all relief that the court 6 may deem equitable and profitable." 200g Q What do you think that means? A I think it is a standard boiler plate phrase 9 put in every prayer. I don't think it has any meaning in and 10 of itself. 97 I have used it many times in complaints. 12 I don't think it has any meaning ---13 I always thought it meant that you were asking, 0 14 not only for that relief, but for any other relief that is 15 necessary to protect the rights complained of. I never under-16 stood it to mean anything but that. 17 A But if it does mean that, Your Honor, it means 18 to protect the rights within the context of the ---19 Q That is a rather technical construction, isn't 20 it? 21 A . I don't think so. I think yours is a rather 22 liberal construction of the same phrase. 23 Q It might be, and the courts sometimes are liberal 24 in protecting the First Amendment rights. 25

Q You mean it is not a strict construction.

A In any event, Mr. Castner made a statement, during his argument, to the effect that they were unable to make an amendment to the complaint which would have amended the prayer for relief. There is no reason that that amendment could not have been made sometime during the course of these proceedings. But they chose not to, and the motion was then made to dismiss and it was granted by the three-judge court.

And it is from that matter that we are now before this Court.

The propriety of dismissing this lawsuit is, perhaps, the first and foremost issue before the Court. And I respectfully submit that, all of the factors taken together, that the three-judge district court properly determined there was no actual controversy between these parties; and that this was not a case like the Moore v. Ogilvie decision of this Court within the last year, which was capable of repetition and yet evading review.

Q Even that question we don't reach if we don't have jurisdiction.

A You do not have jurisdiction, Your Honor. That is correct.

- Q We don't even reach this first question.
- A That is correct.
- Q One other point, Mr. Kyle. This pleading on page 14, there was no pleading subsequent to that, was there?

25

Sec. O Suppose it denies it? Excuse me, that is denying a permanent injunction! 2 You said it does grant. It amounts to that 3 almost, doesn't it, in that it dismisses it? 4 No, I don't think it does. Because I don't 5 see how it can amount to anything if there is no request for 6 it to begin with, Your Honor. 7 That is going back to another question as to-8 whether or not they requested it. And from my viewpoint that 9 depends on paragraph 5, not on paragraph 2. 10 That could be although ---A 44 Mr. Kyle, surely the three-judge court didn't 12 turn this on the ground that there was no request for an 13 injunction, did it? As I read the opinion, it turned on the 14 ground there was no case of controversy. 15 Right. 16 And you are now urging two grounds: that they 17 were right in saying there was no case of controversy; and that 18 we don't even have to reach that, because there was no denial 19 of an injunction. Isn't that right? 20 That is correct. 29 We don't have the benefit of any view of the 22 three-judge court whether an injunction was requested? 23 No. They simply viewed the ---24 Q And if we think that it was sufficiently 25

etolik etolik 2 3 and Zwickler. 1 5 6 8 by there is no case of controversy? 8 9 10 11 But there is not any here? 12 A 13 94 15 16 17 18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

requested, that there was a denial here, then, I take it, that what we have to decide is whether they were right or wrong in holding that there was no case of controversy within Golden

A Assuming you also conclude that this was a type of case required to be heard by a three-judge court.

Q This amended position of yours, what do you mean

A I mean that as I read the decisions of this Court, that it is required, and under the declaratory judgment action, that there must be a live controversy between ---

I don't think there is, Your Honor. Notwithstanding the fact that we are standing before this Court. I think it is hypothetical, at best, as to whether these parties are ever going to be locked together on this issue again. And I don't think that the pleadings or the past history of the Party, the Communist Part, for that matter, support the likelihood of this occurring.

Q Did they purport to make this a class action in the pleadings?

A Yes, they did, Your Honor, with respect to class action, with respect to those who signed the nominating petition and those who did not sign the nominating petition.

Q But as to future candidates and to future

elections?

9 9

to future candidates or future elections. And with respect to the client's actions, of course, this Court in Hall v.

Beals — which was dismissal of a suit in Colorado concerning its residency requirement. The Colorado Legislature, as I recall, amended that requirement during the course of the litigation, so that the plaintiffs would have qualified — and I believe this Court said that, in so doing, the class of which the plaintiffs were members when the suit started disappeared, because they were no longer eligible.

I don't think we really have a class even of the plaintiffs here, because these are plaintiffs who signed a nominating
petition for the 1968 election or who did not sign the
nominating petition for the 1968 election. And that election
having gone by, their status as class members, I think, is
very tenuous.

Q Are you familiar with a case earlier this term of courts -- I think arising out of Ohio -- in which we dismissed, perhaps without much explanation ---

A Brockington v. Rhodes?

Q --- I wonder if we didn't give some indication that this was a dismissal, because there was no indication that these people were going to be candidates in the next election.

Is that something you have before you? I just wonder if you

are familiar with that? 9 A Yes. If it is the case which I am thinking of, 2 3 it is one in which he did not bring it as a class action. It is Brockington v. Rhodes. 4 Q Yes, that is the one I am thinking of. Where 5 is that in your brief? Do you know at the moment? 6 A I am not sure if it is cited in the brief, 7 Your Honor. But it is 90 Supreme Court 206. 8 Q What was the volume? 9 A 90 Supreme Court at page 206. 10 But in this case there is no form or letter 99 that they do intend to keep on operating? The Communist 12 Party? 13 A There is evidence in the form of an affidavit 14 by the Secretary of the Minnesota Communist Party that they 15 intend to participate in future Minnesota local elections. 16 Q Is there anything in the record that contradicts 17 that? 18 No. A 19 Q So that is in the record? 20 A That is in the record. 23 Q Which is different from the Rhodes Case. 22 A Yes. 23 It is for these reasons that we have taken the 24 position, Your Honor, that the case should be dismissed for 25

lack of jurisdiction in this Court and as failing to present an actual controversy.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Kyle.

Mr. Castner, you have a few minutes left. You have about 10 minutes.

REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF LYNN S. CASTNER

ON BEHALF OF PETITIONERS

MR. CASTNER: I would like to speak first to the question of 1253 jurisdiction. Appellants urge that the Goldstein Case is not applicable to this case. Goldstein said that the only interlocutory orders, which the Court has power to review under 1253, are orders granting or denying preliminary injunctions.

The order did not deny a preliminary injunction. The order of July of the three-judge court in this case was a final order. We feel this is similar to Moore and a number of other cases where the need for injunctive relief, though previously asked for, has evaporated.

Q What does the statute say, 28 United States
Code Section 1253? There is no question here concerned with
whether it is final or not final, whether it was interlocutory
of final. We are concerned with whether it comes under the
terms of that jurisdictional statute, are we not? Here it is
on page 2 of the appellees' brief. I think you know what it
says. It is kind of a rhetorical question I am asking. I

didn't mean to throw you off. I am sorry.

Que care

The

9 9

- Q The statute says, "For granting or denying an injunction." That is what the statute says.
 - Q Interlocutory or permanent.
 - Q What injunction was denied in this case?
- A The original injunction that we asked for was a permanent injunction prior to the election. This injunction was denied by the court issuing a final order saying the case was most and that there was not an actual controversy.
- Q The injunction was granted. The injunction you asked for was granted.
- A It was one of three types of injunctions we asked for. We asked for a temporary restraining order, which was denied, for a temporary injunction, which was granted, and for a permanent injunction, which was not granted.
- Q What was the permanent injunction you asked for?
 And please show it to me in the record. On page 14 is your injunction, what you asked for, in paragraph 2.
- A That the court issue a permanent injunction requiring the defendant, Secretary of State Joseph Donovan, to accept and file the petition for nomination as required by the statutes and require that Donovan include upon the ballot the names of Mitchell and Zagarell. The permanent injunction we ask for is the only relief we could have asked for prior to the election.

Q Aren't you bound by what you ask for here?

Number 1, you ask for the specific people, the Secretary of

State and the 1968 election. Now if you wanted a permanent
injunction, you would have said, "Any secretary of state in
any election any time in the future." You didn't ask for
anything more than that the Secretary of State by name, Joseph

L. Donovan, accept this petition and that he be permanently
enjoined from not accepting it for 1968. Isn't that what you
asked for?

A That is what we asked for prior to the elections?

Q And you weren't denied it. Now what did you ask for in injunctive relief after that?

A We did not.

Q Well then, how are you here?

A We amended the complaint, and we feel that rule 54 is broad enough and clear that, for such other and further relief, that we are entitled to a permanent injunction.

Q Then if you filed a case in which you asked for 2 declaratory judgments and for "such other and further relief," do you think you would get under this act? This is a special act and requires precise proceedings. I don't think you can say, "under further relief." Where are you going to get your permanent injunction from?

A We urge this Court to issue the permanent injunction.

- Q Under all written statutes, I guess?
- A Yes.

Cont.

H

Suda State

- Q Thanks for the information.
- Q Tell me, Mr Castner, I noticed that the opening sentence of the three-judge court opinion is, "We concern ourselves here with the propriety of entertaining that portion of plaintiffs' complaint seeking declaratory relief based on issues arising from the conduct." Are we to infer from that that, at least, the three-judge court did not regard that there was any longer before them any application for injunctive relief?

A At that point in time the issues before them were a motion to amend the complaint and a motion to dismiss. The court characterized the nature of relief as asking for declaratory relief. We urge that once a three-judge court is properly convened and has jurisdiction — and we feel the three judges below properly decided they had jurisdiction under 1983 — that once the need for the immediate injunctive relief passes, that declaratory relief is sufficient to continue the jurisdiction of the three-judge court.

We feel this was the situation in Moore and Ogilvie.

It was the situation in Zwickler and Koota. And in that case
the fact that it was moot is a separate issue from whether there
is jurisdiction to appeal from a three-judge court. In

Zwickler the need for injunctive relief had passed, and this

Court accepted jurisdiction on the remaining declaratory relief.

Although we did ask for injunctive relief, there are cases which support the proposition ---

Q Is this to say that, even if the three-judge court had not reached the conclusion there was no case of controversy but had concluded that there was a case of controversy, they may have limited any relief to declaratory relief, and under Zwickler and Koota that was perfectly proper and didn't affect the fact that it was a three-judge court?

A That is correct. We feel Moore and Ogilvie stands for the same proposition.

As to the question of case of controversy, we feel that the three cases cited to this Court and discussed, Brockington and Rhodes, Hall and Beals and Golden vs. Zwickler, are not applicable to our case.

Q Is Hall and Beals the Colorado case?

A Yes, it is. In that case this Court mooted the case because the Colorado Legislature had amended the statute under review after the Court had noted probable jurisdiction.

In Brockington the case was most because the petitioner had requested only mandamus, which could not be granted after the election. And he did not allege that he intended to run for office in the future, did not sue for himself and others

similarly situated. It was not a class action as this is.

No.

B

Q Besides appealing here, did you appeal to the Court of Appeals?

A No, we did not. We feel that had Judge Devitt and the three-judge court ruled that it found no jurisdiction, we feel then the proper remedy was to go to the Court of Appeals. But the three-judge court did not disturb the jurisdiction in the original case and only dismissed the case because of want of an actual controversy.

In an election situation which we feel is unique, we are in a round robin of going to the court, having the election pass and then coming back down to the lower court and raising the same issues.

Q This hasn't happened to you in this case. You got exactly the relief you asked for with respect to the election for which you asked it. Isn't that correct?

You didn't get caught in any round robin. The three-judge district court gave you exactly the relief you asked for with respect to the 1968 election.

A No; we asked for a declaratory judgment. They refused to reach the merits because of want of an actual controversy.

Q You wanted to get the names of your people on the ballot. They were put on the ballot, unless I am mistaken about what happened.

Q I wan't really talking about that.

A Letme make one or two more points. A question was raised as to whether it would be required by us to have a class action alleging future elections. We feel that this would be an unfair requirement to ask the Party to pick candidates in the future to run for elections to show that there is an actual controversy or that they intend to run for elections.

The Communist Party itself, the political party, is an appellant in this case. The Party has maintained that it will run for future elections. We don't feel that it need be required to pick particular candidates for elections.

Q Well, you mean that they don't have to be identified in advance except by class.

A That is correct.

One last point: We feel that the question of granting of declaratory relief after the need for an injunction has passed is founded in a number of decisions. In United States vs. 149 Gift Packages, the Court considered a case of libel against gift packages by the Government alleging them to be misbranded. The swer did not deny misbranding but filed a counter claim which attacked a statute as unconstitutional

In that case, as well as a number of others cited in the appellants' brief, declaratory relief was granted after the necessity for injunctive relief had passed and the three-judge court jurisdiction was sustained.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, Mr. Castner.

(Whereupon at 1:30 p.m. the argument in the above-

Thank you, Mr. Kyle. The case is submitted.

entitled matter was concluded.)