## ORIGINAL

# OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT PROCEEDINGS BEFORE

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

### DKT/CASE NO. 82-729

TITLE DONALD T. REGAN, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, ET AL. Appellants v. TIME, INC.

PLACE Washington, D. C.

DATE November 9, 1983

PAGES 1 thru 52



(202) 628-9300 440 FIRST STREET, N.W.

1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES 2 . - - - -v 3 DONALD T. REGAN, SECRETARY OF : 4 THE TREASURY, ET AL., 5 Appellants, : 6 v. : No. 82-729 7 TIME, INC., : 8 Appellee : 9 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - x 10 Washington, D.C. 11 Wednesday, November 9, 1983 12 The above-entitled matter came on for oral 13 argument before the Supreme Court of the United States 14 at 1:06 p.m. 15 APPEARANCES: 16 ELLIOTT SCHULDER, ESQ., Office of the Solicitor General, 17 Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf of 18 the Appellants. 19 STUART W. GOLD, ESC., New York, New York; on behalf of 20 the Appellee. 21 22 23 24 25

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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: We will hear arguments 3 next in Donald T. Regan against Time Magazine. 4 Mr. Schulder, you may proceed whenever you are 5 ready. 6 ORAL ARGUMENT OF FLLTOTT SCHULDER, ESO ... 7 ON BEHALF OF THE APPELLANTS MR. SCHULDER: Thank you. Mr. Chief Justice, 9 and may it please the Court, the basic question in this 10 case is whether a statute that prohibits a publisher 11 from printing an illustration of U.S. currency in color 12 rather than in black and white, or in dimensions 13 approximating the size of genuine currency, violates the 14 First Amendment protection of freedom of speech or of 15 the press. 16 There are two statutes at issue in this case, 17 and they must be viewed in tandem. The first one, 18 18 USC 474, Paragraph 6, prohibits the printing, 19 photographing, or otherwise making or executing any 20 engraving, photograph, print, or impression in the 21 likeness of any obligation or security of the United 22 States. The term "obligation or security of the United 23 States" is also defined by statute in 18 USC 8, which we 24 have reproduced on Page 5 of our brief, Footnote 2. The second statute involved in this case is 18 25

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USC 504.1. That statute creates an exception to the ban
 in Section 474. Section 504 permits the printing or
 publishing of illustrations of U.S. securities and
 obligations for philatelic, numismatic, educational,
 historical, or newsworthy purposes in articles, books,
 journals, newspapers, or albums, provided that three
 conditions are met.

8 First, the illustrations must be in black and 9 white. Second, the illustrations must be either over or 10 undersized. In other words, they must be at least one 11 and a half times the size or less than three-guarters 12 the size of actual currency. And three, the materials, 13 the negatives and the plates used in the making of these 14 illustrations, must be destroyed after their final use.

15 This case began when appellee Time,
16 Incorporated, brought suit for declaratory and
17 injunctive relief in the United States District Court
18 for the Southern District of New York. Time claimed
19 that the statutory scheme amounted to government
20 censorship of the press, and effected a massive
21 infringement of the First Amendment rights of Time's
22 editors and publishers.

23 The basis for the lawsuit was that over
24 approximately a ten-year period Secret Service agents
25 had brought to the attention of Time's management the

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fact that a number of illustrations of currency in
 Time's magazines violated the color and size
 requirements of the statutory scheme.

The district court entered summary judgment for Time and held Sections 474, Paragraph 6, and 504.1 unconstitutional on their face and as applied to Time. The district court concluded that Section 474, Paragraph 6, was overbroad because it prohibits all reproductions of currency without regard to whether the reproduction has a capacity to deceive.

11 Turning to Section 504.1, the court focused on 12 the purpose and forum provisions of the statute, and 13 held that the statute is an impermissible regulation of 14 the manner of depicting currency because, first of all, 15 it is a content based statute that requires an inquiry 16 into whether an illustration is uniertaken or produced 17 for one of the purposes specified in the statute, and 18 two, the court concluded that there was no nexus between 19 the statutory goal of preventing counterfeiting and the 20 newsworthiness or educational value of an illustration 21 or the type of forum in which the illustration appears.

22 The court also held Section 504 void for
23 vagueness, because it concluded that it is difficult to
24 determine what is a philatelic, numismatic, educational,
25 historical, or newsworthy purpose, and what is a

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1 journal, newspaper, or album.

The government's basic submission in this case is that the statutory scheme at issue here serves what is a concededly compelling governmental interest in a manner that does not impose a substantial burden on First Amendment rights, and that leaves open ample alternative channels of communication.

First of all, the interest, government
interest in this case is that of protecting against
counterfeiting. This is an interest that has a specific
constitutional authority. Congress enacted a
counterfeiting statute, the first Congress enacting a
counterfeiting statute in reliance upon the explicit
authority of the Constitution to coin money and protect
against counterfeiting.

16 Time recognizes in this case that it is
17 essential to its facial challenge to attempt to portray
18 the case as involving a substantial infringement of
19 First Amendment interests, but Time has crossly
20 overstated the impact of the statutory scheme.

21 Time's brief contains numerous examples of
22 hyperbolic rhetoric. For example, Time states that the
23 law purports to control the editorial content of Time's
24 magazines, and that the statute prohibits, prevents, or
25 suppresses the use of the symbol of money.

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1 OUESTION: Mr. Schulder, may I ask --2 MR. SCHULDER: Certainly. 3 QUESTION: -- are these the three 4 illustrations that are involved in this case, Page 37? 5 MR. SCHULDER: The illustrations begin on Page 6 13 of the 'oint Appendix, Your Honor. 7 UESTION: But the ones actually at issue here 8 are the --9 MR. SCHULDER: No, the ones actually at issue 10 here are 13 through --11 QUESTION: Thank you. 12 MR. SCHULDER: -- 23. 13 QUESTION: Thank you. 14 MR. SCHULDER: The problem with Time's 15 exaggerated portrayal of its First Amendment interest in 16 this case is that Time's editors and publishers in fact 17 may use pictures of currency symbolically. The 18 statutory scheme does not prohibit such use. The 19 statutes merely impose reasonable restrictions on the 20 manner in which a person may print or photograph U.S. 21 currency. Thus, Time's argument really is that it has a 22 substantial First Amendment in publishing pictures of 23 currency in color, or in a size approximating the size 24 of actual currency.

25 It is our contention that this position

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trivializes the First Amendment. While Time may have
 legitimate reasons for printing color pictures of
 currency or pictures that approximate the size of
 genuine currency, we submit that it demeans the
 Constitution to say that there is a substantial First
 Amendment interest to publish pictures of currency in
 color rather than in black and white.

8 QUESTION: Nr. Schulder, I guess there is more 9 involved here than simply the size and color limitation, 10 though. If you look at Section 504, you still have the 11 restrictions on the purpose of the publication, do you 12 not, to contend with? And the government in its brief 13 has apparently conceded that at least some aspects of 14 that might be invalid, and it is suggested we should 15 narrow the construction of the statute or something.

MR: SCHULDER: Well, we would --

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17 QUESTION: I would be very interested in
18 hearing you focus on that and tell us exactly how you
19 would suggest the Court narrow the statute precisely.

20 MR. SCHULDER: Certainly. First of all, Your 21 Honor, I would like to point out that in none of the 22 instances that are involved in this case did the Secret 23 Service agents guestion in any way whether Time, any of 24 Time's publications were journals, newspapers, articles, 25 or books, or in any way suggested that the use of the

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pictures here was not for a newsworthy or other purpose
 covered in the statute.

3 QUESTION: Well, I suppose there is an
4 overbreadth challenge that we have to deal with?
5 MP\_SCHULDER: That's correct

MR. SCHULDER: That's correct.

6 QUESTION: So we need to talk about it, do we 7 not?

8 MR. SCHULDER: Certainly. Focusing on the 9 statute itself, and in order to understand the statute, 10 it is also important to understand the legislative 11 history behind it. The statute, as you can see, on 12 Pages 2 and 3 of the government's opening brief, 13 provides that certain pictures of currency are permitted 14 for a list of enumerated purposes in a list of 15 enumerated forums, but not for advartising purposes, at 16 cetera, et cetera. And then the statute sets out the 17 specific conditions under which these illustrations may 18 be published or printed.

Now, it is our -- if you lock at the
legislative history, it seems clear that what Congress
was getting at here was, Congress was attempting to
carve out an exception to the broad prohibition on the
use of currency for expressive purposes that was
established in Section 474. Congress was aware of the
fact that over the years the Secretary of the Treasury

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1 had created administrative exceptions to the broad ban
2 in 474, and in fact had permitted the use of
3 illustrations of currency for certain of these
4 purposes.

5 Congress essentially codified this 6 administrative practice in the statute, but we sumbit 7 that Congress did not intend in enacting this statute to 8 require Secret Service agents to pore over every single 9 publication that might contain an illustration of 10 currency in order to determine whether --

11 QUESTION: Well, for example, you agree, don't 12 you, that it is very difficult to support the 13 requirement that it be determined whether something is 14 newsworthy.

15 MR. SCHULDER: That's correct.

16 QUESTION: Okay. So what I want to know is
17 specifically what it is you are suggesting this Court do
18 with this statute.

MR. SCHULDER: Okay. We suggest that the
Court look at the statute and look at the legislative
history. Both the Senate and House reports, which are
identical in their language --

QUESTION: You are telling me why we should do
something, or background, but why don't you tell us what
it is you think we should do specifically? What --

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MR. SCHULDER: We suggest --

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2 QUESTION: How should it be interpreted? What
3 narrowly?

MR. SCHULDER: We suggest that the Court
construe the statute narrowly, so that the statute would
permit the printing of illustrations of obligations or
securities of the United States in publications so long
as those illustrations comply with the three conditions
set out in the statute.

10 QUESTION: Any kind of publication for any 11 purpose.

12 MR. SCHULDER: That's correct. We believe 13 that the purposes and forums that are provided in the 14 statute are basically illustrative. Congress did not 15 intend to establish a narrow list of requirements that a 16 publication had to meet in order to be able to print 17 illustrations of currency.

18 QUESTION: At one point you suggested that we
19 might strike down that section altogether and leave only
20 474 in place.

21 MR. SCHULDER: Well, we didn't suggest that,
22 Your Honor. We suggest that the two statutes be read
23 together. However, if the Court decides that under our
24 narrowing construction there still is a problem with
25 Section 504 in terms of the lines that are drawn, I will

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try to explain why the lines that are drawn in this
 statute are valid, but if the Court still finds a
 problem with the statute, then we submit that Section
 474 should still remain as a restriction on the printing
 of U.S. currency.

QUESTION: Aren't we always in a sensitive
7 area when you have a statute authorizing some government
8 official to decide what is or what is not newsworthy?

9 MR. SCHULDER: That's correct, Your Honor, and 10 that is why we have proposed this narrowing construction 11 of the statute, which we feel is fully consistent with 12 Congress's intent --

13 QUESTION: Well, how do you narrow that 14 construction?

15 MR. SCHULDER: Excuse me?

16 QUESTION: How do you narrow the phrase in the 17 exception, "newsworthy purposes, including newspapers, 18 journals, articles?"

19 MR. SCHULDER: Well, the way we have suggested 20 that it be construed is that these various purposes and 21 forums be looked at as illustrative. In other words, 22 Congress was setting out groups of illustrations of the 23 types of forums and purposes that were permissible. The 24 only purpose here that is mentioned as being 25 impermissible is advertising purposes, but we would

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submit that this list of purposes and forums was simply
 illustrative, and that Congress did not intend to have
 Secret Service agents decide in enforcing the statute
 whether --

5 QUESTION: Mr. Schulder, even if we didn't 6 agree, even if we said that we couldn't agree with you 7 based on the legislative history, and certainly not the 8 language of the statute, that that is what Congress 9 intended. Since this is a federal statute and a federal 10 court, we could just get rid of the overbreadth and 11 declare that illegal. We wouldn't have to make it a 12 statutory construction problem. We could say it is --13 we just clip off the overbreadth.

MR. SCHULDER: I believe that's correct, Your
15 Honor.

16 QUESTION: We have done it before. So whether 17 it is construing it narrowly or not, you would concede 18 that there is part of the statute that must be dispensed 19 with somehow.

20 MR. SCHULDER: That's correct.

21 QUESTION: May I inquire? The three things
22 you want to retain are the size limitation, the black
23 and white versus color, and the destruction after use.
24 As long as those three things are met, that is all you
25 ask us to save?

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MR. SCHULDER: Well, also the requirement that
 the illustration be included in a publication of some
 sort.

QUESTION: I see. In other words, that's what
5 the -- illustrative of all publications.

MR. SCHULDER: That's correct.

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7 QUESTION: And it could be for any kind of8 story, not just about the item.

9 MR. SCHULDER: That's correct. We submit that 10 the statutory scheme is an example of reasonable line 11 drawing here. It is very similar, we submit, to valid 12 statutes that regulate the size and placement of outdoor 13 advertising signs or the decibel level of loudspeakers 14 or the hours in which loudspeakers can be used, or the 15 time and place for parades.

16 Clearly, there is a nexus here between the
17 color and size requirements and the statutory goal of
18 protecting against counterfeiting. Congress
19 specifically relied on the advice of the Department of
20 Treasury in fashioning these provisions of the statute
21 here.

QUESTION: Mr. Schulder, what if the
23 illustrations in the appendix failed to comply with
24 other than color?

MR. SCHULDER: Certain illustrations failed to

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1 comply with the size provisions of the statute, Your 2 Honor. Now, it certainly is possible to think of 3 examples where the statute might proscribe protected 4 conduct, but we submit that that could probably be done 5 with almost any statute. Our submission here is that 6 Congress meant to address what is a real problem in 7 enacting this statute.

QUESTION: Mr. Schulder, may I ask, does this
9 -- do either of these statutes reach one of these things
10 on a television screen?

MR. SCHULDER: No, the statute does not -12 504, Subsection 2, specifically excludes any prohibition
13 on motion picture films, microfilms, or slides that are
14 used for --

15 QUESTION: So what Time did here could be done16 on a television screen or in a motion picture? -

17 MR. SCHULDER: That's correct.

18 . QUESTION: But not in a journal or magazine.19 Is that right?

MR. SCHULDER: And the reason for that is that the Treasury Department advised Congress that motion pictures or TV use could not be used for counterfeiting purposes, but there is a restriction in the statute that all of the materials that are used to prepare motion pictures or these other uses be destroyed after their

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1 use.

2 Now, the problem --

QUESTION: What is the purpose of the size
4 limitation? Just to make sure that no one would mistake
5 it for the actual thing?

MR. SCHULDER: That's correct, Your Honor.
QUESTION: Well, it would seem to me that
8 something in color, if it were large enough or small
9 enough, no one would ever mistake it for the real
10 thing.

11 MR. SCHULDER: Well, the problem --

12 QUESTION: I mean, it doesn't make any
13 difference how large or small it is. If it is in color,
14 it violates the statute.

MR. SCHULDER: That's correct. Now, let me explain that the statute -- there are basically two problems that the statute is directed at. One is the finished product, and both the color and size .
Imitations would go to that, because a full color, full size reproduction certainly could be passed as --

21 QUESTION: Sure, but --

22 MR. SCHULDER: Now, even in the case of a
23 color reproduction that is overblown or blown up, the
24 main problem there is in the process of producing it.
25 The four color process of producing a color print is --

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QUESTION: So the United States submits that
 it is dangerous to the currency to publish an oversized
 or undersized --

MR. SCHULDER: Color illustration.
QUESTION: -- photograph if it is in color.
MR. SCHULDER: That's correct.
QUESTION: Even if anybody would know
automatically, just at a glance, that that is not the

9 real thing.

MR. SCHULDER: That's correct, because the
process that is used to create that photograph is
identical to the process that is used by a vast majority
of counterfeiters.

QUESTION: I know, but if it is the process, if it is the process, what do you care about the results of the process being circulated? It is the process, and that doesn't go on on the magazine. That goes on when you print it or photograph it, and you are requiring that all this machinery or whatever, the plates or whatever you call them are to be destroyed.

MR. SCHULDER: Well, but by limiting the use
of -- by restricting or prohibiting the making of color
photographs, the statute narrows the universe of
publishers who are going to have materials that are
capable of printing currency in color. It will give the

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Secret Service and law enforcement agencies a smaller
 universe of people to have to deal with in investigating
 and detecting counterfeiting.

4 QUESTION: I see.

5 MR. SCHULDER: Now --

6 QUESTION: I must confess, I don't really 7 follow that. I thought any photo offset printer, any 8 gualified printer could actually do this. You don't 9 have to be taking pictures of dollar bills in order to 10 have the capacity to take pictures of dollar bills, do 11 you, if you can take pictures of other things that have 12 the same general characteristics.

13 MR. SCHULDER: I'm not sure I understand. 14 QUESTION: Well, as I understand it, you are 15 suggesting that in order to have the expertise, in order 16 to take pictures of money, you have to actually take 17 pictures of money. You can't get the expertise by --MR. SCHULDER: Oh, no. Oh, no, no. 18 QUESTION: -- your general ability as a photo 19 20 offsetter. NR. SCHULDER: No. That's not what I was 21 22 suggesting at all. I was suggesting that the statute is 23 narrowing the universe of people who are going to have

24 possession --

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QUESTION: Well, it really isn't. You don't

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1 -- This law wouldn't prevent Time Magazine from 2 publishing a color photograph of a pound note. 3 MR. SCHULDER: Well, there may be another 4 statute that prohibits --5 QUESTION: Well, I know, but -6 MR. SCHULDER: -- publication of foreign 7 currency. 8 QUESTION: -- but I can't believe, like 9 Justice Stevens, that your just prohibiting 10 photographing, publishing photographs of currency in 11 color would make any dent in the process, because there 12 would be hundreds of other things that they would be 13 using the same process --14 MR. SCHULDER: It is not a question of making 15 a dent in the process. It is a question of narrowing the 16 number of publishers, or eliminating the possibility 17 that publishers will have a legitimate basis or a 18 legitimate excuse for having possession of negatives, 19 the four-color negatives of currency. 20 QUESTION: Then wouldn't you have to get rid 21 of all photo offset people? 22 MR. SCHULDER: No, you would just have to --23 no, the problem is not with the photo cffset --24 QUESTION: Isn't that the only way you could 25 be sure?

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MR. SCHULDER: The photo offset process is not
 the problem. It is simply --

3 QUESTION: What is the problem? MR. SCHULDER: The problem is the potential 5 use of that process to create color negatives of 6 currency, which is precisely the same method that 7 counterfeiters use to produce coulterfeit currency. 8 QUESTION: Yes, but, Mr. Schulder, if I may, 9 they argue their best case is the particular things in 10 the record, so we perhaps don't even need hypothetical 11 examples. Take this example of the cover where a man is 12 holding a bunch of bills in his hand, the one on the --13 holding your pocketbook. What possible use could the 14 plates for that picture be to a counterfeiter? I mean, 15 if you made a million pictures of that, you could never 16 pass that.

17 MR. SCHULDER: No, the plate of that
18 particular photograph would not necessarily be of use to
19 a counterfeiter, although --

20 QUESTION: Is there any government interest, 21 legitimate government interest in preventing this 22 particular picture?

23 MR. SCHULDER: I would submit that there is,
24 there is, that actually the final product here on Page
25 19 of the Joint Appendix does pose a possible

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1 counterfeiting problem, and I would also refer the 2 Court --3 OUESTION: Well, what is the problem? 4 MR. SCHULDER: Well, I would like to refer the 5 Court to the preceding page also, Page 17. The problem 6 is that --7 QUESTION: I see it on 17. You've got a flat 8 bill. I see that. 9 MR. SCHULDER: Okay. But one of the -- one of 10 the most common methods of counterfeiting currency is to 11 cut the corners of a higher denomination bill and paste 12 those onto a lower denomination bill. I have seen 13 examples where someone, counterfeiters have taken one 14 dollar bills and have left the picture of George 15 Washington and one dollar on the currency, and simply 16 pasted twenties or tens in the corners, and those have 17 been passed, believe it or not. 18 (General laughter.) 19 QUESTION: I see. 20 QUESTION: Well, how would this hurt or help 21 that? 22 MR. SCHULDER: Well, it would seem to me that 23 someone --OUESTION: How would this hurt or help that? 24 25 MR. SCHULDER: This would prevent someone from

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1 being able to cut out the number ten --2 OUESTION: Well, instead of cutting out this, 3 why not cut a dollar bill, which is rather available? MR. SCHULDER: No, the problem isn't cutting a 5 dollar bill. The problem is cutting a ten dollar bill. 6 OUESTION: They are pretty available now. 7 MR. SCHULDER: But no one is going to --8 QUESTION: I even have one. 9 (General laughter.) 10 MR. SCHULDER: No one is going to destroy a 11 ten dollar bill in order to pass counterfeit. What they 12 want --13 OUESTION: I thought you said they did. I 14 thought you said they cut one bill and put the other one 15 on. 16 MR. SCHULDER: Well, they cut an illustration 17 of a bill. 18 QUESTION: All this does is, it saves the 19 counterfeiter ten bucks? 20 MR. SCHULDER: That's correct. 21 QUESTION: It hasn't run them out of business. 22 QUESTION: Well, now, let me be sure I 23 understand. You point is that even on this one, they 24 could cut the corner out of the magazine cover and paste 25 that corner, which would cost them less than ten

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1 dollars --

	uor ta co
2	MR. SCHULDER: Certainly.
3	QUESTION: onto a one dollar bill.
4	MR. SCHULDER: Certainly.
5	QUESTION: I understand.
6	MR. SCHULDER: And I think the example 's even
7	more graphically illustrated in the one on Page 1',
8	where the size is almost identical to the size of real
9	currency, and you are dealing here with a thousand
10	dollar bill, which are rarer they are not really in
11	circulation, general circulation.
12	QUESTION: If these had been oversized, or
13	sufficiently oversized or sufficiently undersized, it
14	still would violate the law if it were in color.
15	MR. SCHULDER: If it were in color. That's
16	correct. That's because of the problem
17	QUESTION: That is still not at all I'm not
18	sure I understand your color
19	MR. SCHULDER: Well, the problem is the
20	problem that Congress was trying to get at was to
21	eliminate the possibility that there would be multiple
22	plates and negatives of currency. Those are the same
23	negatives and plates that counterfaiters use, and
24	QUESTION: We just couldn't rely on them to
25	destroy them, I take it. Is that the problem?

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1 MR. SCHULDER: That's correct. 2 QUESTION: Is that the worry? 3 MR. SCHULDER: That's correct. 4 OUESTION: So it isn't the process, it is the 5 fact that there are plates and negatives that they would 6 be using. 7 MR. SCHULDER: That's right. 8 QUESTION: Because if they are taking a 9 picture of an actual bill, what would they do? Would 10 they -- would the plate be the same size? I would think 11 they would just take a picture and it would come out 12 either large or small. 13 MR. SCHULDER: Well, the plate could be 14 different sizes. I mean --QUESTION: Well, I know, but if it were 15 16 sufficiently large, no counterfeiter could use it. 17 MR. SCHULDER: That may be. 18 QUESTION: Well, still, then, I don't 19 understand the --20 MR. SCHULDER: Well --21 QUESTION: First you say it is the process, 22 which doesn't make a whole lot of sense. Now you say 23 it's the plate, the negative. 24 MR. SCHULDER: Well, by the process, I mean 25 the materials that are used in the process of producing

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1 the final product.

QUESTION: Are you using plate in the sense
that the plate is the process, part of the process?
MR. SCHULDER: That's correct.

5 QUESTION: Well, do you think at some point in 6 reproducing a color photograph there is some plate that 7 is exactly the same -- a negative that is exactly the 8 same size as a --

9 MR. SCHULDER: Yes. As I think I have made 10 clear, it is difficult to draw precise lines in this 11 area. There are situations, as I pointed out, where 12 there are clearly problems in permitting reproduction of 13 pictures of currency, and there is a continuum between 14 those cases, the case of the full color, full size 15 illustration and other cases that move away from that.

But the alternatives that might be available, But the alternatives that might be available, we submit, would create problemss of their own. They would be difficult to administer. They would leave broad discretion in the hands of law enforcement officers, and would create the possibility that the law enforcement officers would enforce the law on the basis of the content of the communcation.

We would submit, finally, that the First
Amendment interest in publishing color rather than black
and white pictures of currency is quite minimal. The

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1 color and size limitations of the statute serve the 2 concededly compelling governmental interest in 3 protecting against counterfeiting, and that the statute 4 leaves open ample alternative means of communication, 5 such as black and white illustrations that comply with 6 the size requirements. 7 Accordingly, we submit that the judgment of 8 the district court should be reversed. 9 I would like to reserve the remainder of my 10 time for rebuttal. 11 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Very well. 12 Mr. Gold, you may proceed whenever you are 13 ready. 14 ORAL ARGUMENT OF STUART W. GOLD, ESO., ON BEHALF OF THE APPELLEE 15 16 MR. GOLD: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it 17 please the Court, the central issue in this case is the 18 right of Time or anyone to make or publish pictures that 19 pose no substantial risk to any legitimate government 20 concern. I think the case is reducible when I think of 21 it to basically three words, three or four words on the 22 one hand. That is, pictures, where I thought this case 23 was about when we brought it, and color plates and 24 negatives, which is where the government has taken it, 25 although today for the first time I get the feeling we

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1 are going back to the pictures, what the case was 2 originally about, because we are now told that people 3 will clip the edge of the Lockheed cover, paste it, that 4 thousand dollar, that thousand figure, on a one dollar 5 bill and be able to pass it. 6 QUESTION: But you have heard this before? 7 MR. GOLD: I have heard that that happens? 8 QUESTION: Earlier in this case? 9 MR. GOLD: No, earlier in this case I have 10 never heard it before. As a matter of fact, the 11 government never submitted any facts. 12 QUESTION: How was it just a picture case to 13 begin with? 14 MR. GOLD: We brought this case because the 15 statute as written and indeed as interpreted by the 16 government prevents us from printing this picture of 17 George Washington, and our basic thesis was that there 18 is no danger in this picture to the currency and there 19 is no danger in the plate that was used to make this 20 picture. The plate used to make this picture has all 21 the distortions that are on this. It also prevented us 22 from presenting -- it didn't prevent us, but the 23 government --24 QUESTION: Is there a distortion there except

25 the size?

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1 MR. GOLD: There is a distortion there in 2 the --3 QUESTION: No, on the George Washington. MR. GOLD: Yes, there is distortions in the 5 overlays, just as in the Lockheed cover, which was a 6 thousand dollar bill, you have overlays. 7 QUESTION: Yes, sir, I was wondering which --8 when you cut off the thousand dollar figure and paste it 9 on a one dollar bill, what do you do with Washington's 10 picture? 11 MR. GOLD: Well, you probably --12 QUESTION: I mean, he was talking about that. 13 MR. GOLD: I don't know, and I submit that 14 when you pass a thousand dollar bill, while perhaps 15 people don't look very closely when they get handed a 16 one dollar bill, although --17 OUESTION: You can starve to death when a 18 thousand dollar bill is going to give you cash. 19 (General laughter.) 20 MR. GOLD: I do not think that that is a 21 significant danger. So this really was a picture case 22 in the sense that we brought it because we think we 23 should be able to make pictures just like Gail Wagner 24 should be able to make his three-foot thirty dollar bill 25 with Nixon's picture in it. That, too --

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1 OUESTION: Wasn't Wagner a woman? 2 MR. GOLD: Excuse me? 3 OUESTION: Wasn't Wagner a woman? 4 MR. COLD: Yes, sir. I apologize. To allow 5 Gail Wagner to make her representation. When the 6 government -- which raises another point. 7 OUESTION: It happens to be an Eighth Circuit 8 case. That's why I know. 9 OUESTION: While you are stopped there, what 10 picture appears on a thousand dollar bill, whose 11 picture? 12 (General laughter.) 13 MR. GOLD: That's a good question. 14 QUESTION: I think it is Mr. Cleveland, isn't 15 it? 16 MR. GOLD: Grover Cleveland. Yes, it is, Your 17 Honor. 18 QUESTION: But I suppose perhaps the 19 suggestion is that so few people, including some present 20 here, are familiar with thousand dollar bills that a 21 person could be deceived. Is that part of the 22 government's claim? 23 MR. GOLD: Well, if that is part of the 24 government's claim, the one thing I would know is that 25 if I was handed a thousand dollar bill with Washington,

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Jackson, Hamilton, Franklin, or Grant on it, I would be
 very suspicious.

The government also -- another point that was made today was this notion that we are now gravitating towards a case that only involves really color and size. I just want to remind the Court that as written and as enforced before this case was brought, the purpose, the purpose element was enforced against us. In fact --

10 QUESTION: Well, what if it were narrowed, as 11 the government is arguing, so that all that is left is a 12 color and size limitation?

13 MR. GOLD: And I believe the government is now
14 also still claiming that there would be a publication
15 limitation, which we might be covered in in terms of an
16 exemption, but it raises several problems for both Gail
17 Wagner and people who might want to tear out the cover
18 of Time Magazine and place it on their wall. Does it
19 become contraband then?

But putting that to one side, addressing the color and the size, which seem to be the major concerns here, the problem with the color restriction is twofold. One is, the government says it is trivial, our interest in printing in color is trivial. I don't know why they picked the word "trivial" unless perhaps it is

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something lower than what Shad says, which is, anything that puts even an incidential burden has to be looked at and examined, but again, putting that to one side, as to why they used "trivial," it is not trivial. There is, A, a marketing reason why color is important to us. We don't do it. It is very expensive. We do it because we think we have to in order to get people to buy our magazine. It is very important. This picture in black and white would not be, I submit, as effective as it is in color. So it is not a trivial interest, one, in terms of the market power, that we must print in color to compete, and to attract readers to our message, and two, color has tremendous impact.

14 QUESTION: Well, but you can put on a thousand15 other covers in color without putting this one on.

16 MR. GOLD: Excuse me?

QUESTION: I say, you can -- if you want a
colored cover, you.can pick a thousand other subjects to
do with money without printing a picture of George
Washington --

21 MR. GOLD: That is true, but I did not think
22 that unless the government can demonstrate in the first
23 instance that there is a substantial interest as being
24 furthered of theirs that they have the right to tell me,
25 go write and illustrate some other story, or put your

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story about the economy, but don't use this symbol.
 QUESTION: They say that the interest that is
 being furthered is the danger of helping
 counterfeiters.

5 MR. GOLD: But there is no danger.
6 QUESTION: Well, if the Congress has said
7 that, why should you or I try to second guess that?

8 MR. GOLD: Because Congress, when they are 9 passing laws that restrict speech, are supposed to make 10 an effort to draw lines that are reasonable. There are 11 reasonable lines here. In order to prevent what I think 12 the government is really getting at -- And there is a 13 footnote in their brief about a magazine that published 14 a full color actual size hundred dollar bill.

15 If that is what the danger is, and I can 16 conceive that there is a danger of that, then let's have 17 the government regulate that, prevent that. You don't 18 have to prevent all color representations in order to 19 pass a statute that will stop someone from making a full 20 size, actual size, actual color representation of a 21 hundred dollar bill or any dollar bill.

QUESTION: May I ask you, would you have any
23 objection if the statute merely had the size limit in
24 it?

MR. GOLD: Only had the size limit?

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1 QUESTION: It would be perfectly all right, I
2 gather, under your argument.

3 MR. GOLD: I have got a couple of problems.
4 The size -- the statute doesn't let you publish any part
5 of the bill. Now, size may again become --

6 QUESTION: Assuming that the size applies to7 parts as well.

8 MR. GOLD: Okay. I would say that if the 9 statute were struck and Congress in its considered 10 judgment, after fully vented the First Amendment 11 interest and the government's interest, drew the line in 12 terms of just the size, you cannot print in the actual 13 size, or if they drew the line as the Treasury 14 Department submitted, one and a half times as large or 15 less than three guarters, if after their considered 16 judgment that was the statute that came out, this would 17 be a very different case.

18 QUESTION: But you could still come in and
19 say, but we really can't make quite as dramatic a symbol
20 unless we have an exact size dollar bill on the cover --

21 MR. GOLD: But if the government were to
22 demonstrate that there was a serious danger for bills
23 that were one and a guarter the time -- times the size
24 of the actual thing, and Congress then passed the line
25 there, our case would be very weak, I submit. But here

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we haven't had that. Here we have had a statute that - 474, Paragraph 6, was not considered very much when it
 was passed; 504 was considered but basically on the
 submission of the Treasury Department. No one ever
 raised a First Amendment concern.

6 QUESTION: Well, what if we held it 7 unconstitutional, Congress had a committee meeting, and 8 they studied it at great length, say, we have thought 9 about this, and we think the statute we used to have was 10 absolutely necessary, and they wrote a lot of findings 11 saying that it is kind of remote, but we think there is 12 a danger that people might copy it if we don't, so they 13 re-enacted precisely the same statute after lots of 14 hearings and lots of legislative history. Would it be 15 valid?

16 MR. GOLD: I don't think so, because I don't 17 think that there would be any legislative history that 18 could show that you need to prevent these kinds of 19 pictures or these kinds of plates, even, to control what 20 you are trying to stop, the impact on counterfeiting.

QUESTION: Do you think the fact that there is
a specific provision in the Constitution permitting
Congress to enact legislation in this area gives it more
significance, the power of Congress?

25 MR. GOLD: Not --

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1 OUESTION: We are not dealing with the 2 necessary and proper clause. They have specific power 3 in the Constitution.

4 MR. GOLD: I do not think that that has 5 bearing on whether or not they are passing statutes that 6 in fact further the interest against counterfeiting. 7 This statute doesn't -- its purpose is to attack 8 counterfeiting, but I am not sure it really addresses 9 the problem. It really does not.

10 QUESTION: I suppose trademark laws impact on 11 the First Amendment rights of your client, don't they? 12 MR. GOLD: Yes.

13 OUESTION: Are they unconstitutional because 14 you can't print something that has a trademark?

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MR. GOLD: No, those are not 16 unconstitutional. However, here, there has been no 17 weighing. There is a reason why trademarks are 18 protected, just as copyrights are protected, and 19 certainly protecting copyrights, for instance, furthers 20 a purpose in which there has been a decision that First 21 Amendment rights have to give way somewhat. We are not 22 saying --

23 QUESTION: Could the Treasury -- Could the 24 Secretary of the Treasury copyright all of his currency 25 symbols?

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MR. GOLD: I don't believe so.

2 QUESTION: Why not?

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3 MR. GOLD: Let me amend that. I don't think
4 he could copyright any and each part of this -- of the
5 currency.

QUESTION: The whole thing.

7 MR. GOLD: The whole thing? I am not sure
8 whether -- I am not sure whether that expression is
9 original enough to qualify as copyright. However, if he
10 was able to copyright the entire bill, which again I am
11 not sure he could, then I think we would -- to a large
12 extent might qualify in using parts of it, and we have
13 never used the entire piece of currency as a fair use.

QUESTION: Let me pursue one of the other hypotheticals given. Suppose Congress had made this overwhelming, virtually conclusive legislative history of their belief, their collective belief that this was imperative, these limitations, to protect against counterfeiting. Would a court then approaching this problem have to weigh that value against the value of the -- the values, the First Amendment values, if any are involved, in what a publisher is trying to do, and consider whether there are other ways the publisher can accomplish the same thing without running afoul of the statute?

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MR. GOLD: Yes, I think, as I said before,
that would be a different case, if those findings were
made. However, this case has existed for guite some
time now, several years, and I have yet to hear any
compelling, compelling justification of the restrictions
of this statute in furthering the interest in preventing
counterfeiting.

8 QUESTION: But you do agree that this is a9 balancing process, from what you responded.

10 MR. GOLD: That there is some element of 11 balancing in that once the government demonstrates that 12 this is advancing in some way their interest, then maybe 13 our First Amendment rights to some extent have to give 14 way, but there has been no such demonstration.

15 QUESTION: Frequently we either modify or 16 strike down a statute because we conclude or other 17 courts conclude that there are less intrusive, less 18 difficult means of accomplishing the same objective. 19 Would we then weigh whether a publishing house has other 20 means of accomplishing their objective without striking 21 down in Act of Congress?

22 MR. GOLD: Yes, once you are convinced that
23 the government has demonstrated that this is a danger.
24 Until then, I believe that it is Time as well as other
25 people's right to make their editorial judgments, their

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1 judgments that this picture, which is banned, and that
2 we wanted to publish to demonstrate that a corporation
3 was cash rich, and while its future was uncertain,
4 depending on the decisions it made, the horizons were
5 unlimited, and had to go with a picture that has coins
6 on there to demonstrate that this is a cash -ich
7 company.

8 QUESTION: Mr. Gold, how would the government 9 go about demonstrating what you said it must 10 demonstrate? How would it go about it to your 11 satisfaction?

MR. GOLD: Well, to demonstrate a need to do13 what they want to do, I don't believe they could.

14 QUESTION: Do you agree as a starter that the 15 government does have a compelling interest to protect 16 its own currency?

17 MR. GOLD: To protect against counterfeiting?18 Yes, it does.

19 QUESTION: Yes.

20 MR.GOLD: It does. And, Your Honor, if they 21 came in with proof that demonstrated that the making of 22 plates in copies for use as magazine covers were a 23 problem, and then the Congress went on to write a 24 statute that punished you for printing, publishing, 25 possessing a plate or picture in an exact copy of the

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currency, that probably would withstand the test.
QUESTION: Have you put your hand to à draft
of a statute that you think would meet your views?
MR. GOLD: As a matter of fact, I did attempt
the first --

6 QUESTION: Is it in your brief anywhere? I7 don't recall seeing it.

8 MR. GOLD: No, it is not. But I have tried to 9 think of would we be sending this back for Congress to 10 go through the motions and then come back and say there 11 is no way to get at even what the government 12 legitimately wants to get at. I think they could if 13 they prohibited the making, possessing, selling of a 14 duplicate or exact copy of an obligation of the United 15 States or any plate or negative from which one could be 16 made.

17 Then I thought there might be a loophole
18 there, that there may be some people who make bad
19 copies, and then will try and do something with them, so
20 that they could have a statute that also prohibits the
21 making, possessing, selling, passing of a likeness of
22 any obligation and perhaps any part thereof with the
23 intent to defraud.

24 There, you will get somebody who intends to do25 something bad with it but it just didn't come close

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1 enough.

2 QUESTION: When you say, when you use the term 3 "exact likeness," that is exactly what counterfeiters 4 do. In other words, no use limiting that. Criminal law 5 takes care of that.

6 MR. GOLD: Well, but the government, if I 7 understand them, does not want, or one of their big 8 pitches to you has been, we need -- we can't catch 9 people when they are in the act of the counterfeiting. 10 We have got to stop it a step before. We want to go 11 into the printing plant, and if these plates are in 12 there, say, we now have the right to assume that these 13 plates may be used for counterfeiting.

QUESTION: Mr. Gold, you and your friend have
both focused on currency. These statutes deal with more
than currency, do they not, government bonds, for
example? What else besides currency?

18 MR. GOLD: Anything that comes within the19 definition of an obligation.

20 QUESTION: Any obligation of the government.
21 MR. GOLD: Yes.

QUESTION: Now, there are a great many,
probably many millions of people in this country who
have never seen a government bond, but if they were
confronted by something that looked the way they thought

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a government hond probably looks, there being as many
gullible people in this country as we constantly read
about, frequently in Time Magazine --

(General laughter.)

5 QUESTION: -- aren't they entitled to 6 protection, and isn't the government entitled to protect 7 those people, laying aside dollar bills?

8 MR. GOLD: Right. Well, the first thing I 9 would say is, yes, they are entitled to protect people, 10 and one way to protect that is, as was just mentioned, 11 was to go after the person who takes the copy of the --12 the counterfeit copy of the bond and tries to pass it. 13 The second step would be, again, if they demonstrated 14 that it was useful to have plates or pictures of parts 15 of bonds that could be used to defraud people, again, 16 with that kind of showing, perhaps they could sustain a 17 statute that once again would protect against what they 18 are trying to do.

19 It may be that after re-examining the statute,
20 Congress would say bonds is a different story from
21 currency. I am not sure they would, but they might.
22 Again, we are dealing here with no demonstration.

QUESTION: Mr. Gold, you never have told me
how Congress could demonstrate what you think is
necessary.

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1 MR. GOLD: I would think if there were -- if 2 the government came in, for instance, as I said, and 3 presented a problem of plates existing --4 OUESTION: Tell me where. Tell me where. In 5 this one suit? 6 MR. GOLD: Into Congress. 7 QUESTION: Oh, into Congress? You don't 8 demand that it be done here and --9 MR. GOLD: Well --10 OUESTION: -- we put it of record in this 11 lawsuit? 12 MR. GOLD: No --13 QUESTION: You want it by testimony, 14 witnesses? 15 MR. GOLD: Justice White, the record in this 16 lawsuit, certainly in the district court, there is no 17 evidence from the government. In this court, they have 18 tried to make a showing by telling -- giving you, various 19 facts, like the Impacto story. 20 That is why I said that I am highly dubious 21 that the government, if they had to present 22 justifications if the statute is struck down and 23 Congress is going to deal with it, that they could 24 justify it, because we have not heard it. I have not 25 seen anything in their submissions to this Court,

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forgetting about whether they are in the record, but in
their briefs that lead me to believe that Paragraph 6 of
474, with or without its exceptions, is a necessary tool
for the government.

If you read the rest of the statute, the other sections that they have at their call to deal with the problem, it catches most things. Indeed, there is in my mind, depending on how you read 474, Paragraph 2, you might even catch the Impacto, the full color, full size.

11 QUESTION: You don't think Paragraph 6
12 furthers their interest at all?

MR. GOLD: It furthers their interest in the sense if you are going to accept that, if it in any way furthers it, it does, because certainly they are closing a tiny loophole that may exist, but I don't believe in the First Amendment context --

QUESTION: Well, I suppose if the people at
Time Magazine, if this was the law and if Time Magazine
obeyed it, they wouldn't have to worry about plates at
Time Magazine.

MR. GOLD: They wouldn't have to worry about
23 plates at Time Magazine --

QUESTION: Or any other publisher.
MR. GOLD: But -- Well, they would still have

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1 to check them if they wanted to make sure that no one 2 was creating the plates.

QUESTION: Well, I know, but that is their
point. They want to narrow the universe of where they
have to look, and I can imagine what kind of a problem
they would get in if they wanted to get into Time
Magazine and check.

8 MR. GOLD: Your Honor, clearly, if ease of 9 enforcement were the only test here, and I think this 10 Court has stated in the Village Schaumburg case that 11 ease of enforcement is not enough to get them over the 12 hurdle before they put our burden on demonstrating why 13 we must have the ability to print these pictures and 14 express ourselves in that way.

Yes, it is easier to enforce. You can always go after a fly with a cannon. That is what they have done here. They have tried to -- What I think they have done is, they want to close the loophole that does get at the person who is making full representations of currency that do present perhaps a danger, and doing that, they say it's a lot easier if we just prevent anyone from using the symbol except in these certain ways, and when they choose the ways, they do not make any reasonable sense either. This is just not a well constructed, well thought out statute. And when I say

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1 statute, it is a scheme. I include 504 in it.

The lines that the Congress drew with 504 just don't make it. In order to get at full color representations, you don't ban all color. If you are really after the actual color, you don't ban all color. The same with size. If you want to prevent actual size representations, you don't prevent any part of currency being represented in the actual size.

9 There is a picture in our appendix of George 10 Washington in a life preserver, just the picture of 11 George Washington. That we were told was no good 12 because that part of the bill that we did show was in 13 exact size. I submit that is not a danger. That 14 picture was not a danger to the currency. And that 15 Congress could pass a statute that would further the 16 true interests that the government has a right to be 17 interested in here, and that is preventing people from 18 making things that do present a danger, and there is a 19 way to do that without stopping Time from making its 20 covers, or Gail Wagner from making her picture.

QUESTION: Mr. Gold, may I ask if there is anything at all in the legislative history to indicate that any publisher, Time or anyone else, has ever asked Congress to make certain exceptions such as you are asking us to make? Apparently the statute came about

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because the Treasury Department decided that the statute
 was broader than they really needed and they cut back,
 but has anybody on your side of the fence ever said,
 let's cut back on it?

MR. GOLD: I think there are two answers to that. The first is, there is currently, as the government points out, there is currently some legislation that is pending in which certain publishers are trying to get color removed, but to go back to 1958, I am not sure why. However, I submit that before that time, Time had not in fact, at least from Time's point of view, Time had not used currency in their covers or internal pictures in a way that might violate -- at that time any use that would have violated the statute.

15 Currency -- I am sorry. Our first instance 16 with the enforcement of the statute was in 1965, when we 17 wanted to present the Fowler cover, which is attached to 18 the Schwartz affidavit. Money has become a much more 19 important symbol, in the sixties and particularly in the 20 seventies. Most of our covers and usage have been in 21 the seventies.

So in 1958, I am not sure, at least from Time's point of view, that someone had sat down and really had the problem. It wasn't brought home until we decided to make use of the symbol, and then found that

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the Secret Service was at our door with varying
 interpretations, and many interpretations that would
 stop us from publishing.

Indeed, one thing to keep in mind is that the
Secret Service has interpreted this statute in its
narrowest form whenever it could. It has taken the -It has tried to close whatever it could to prevent
things from being published, right down to when they at
one point insisted that the representation of the dollar
-- of the currency had to relate directly to your
story. Your story had to be about that particular
representation of currency to gualify under the purpose,
and the Lockheed cover as an example, where we were told

Now, I realize that after this lawsuit was how, I realize that after this lawsuit was how, I realize that after this lawsuit was how, I realize the Treasury Department and resource have now withdrawn that interpretation, secret Service have now withdrawn that interpretation, how if you consider the way the current statute has been interpreted by the enforcement agency, that also should raise some concern.

21 QUESTION: Let me ask you one hypothetical 22 that may seem very far-fetched to you. Suppose someone 23 is charged with the traffic events of driving on a 24 particular street in excess of the 30-mile-an-hour 25 limit, and then it is tried on stipulation, in which it

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1 is stipulated that he was going 31 miles an hour, along 2 with expert testimony of traffic people and a lot of 3 others that 31 miles an hour is no more dangerous than 4 30 miles an hour, and therefore the statute is invalid, 5 and the court responds, the trial court responds that 6 legislation cannot be perfect. Legislators are entitled 7 to make general propositions. On appeal, do you think 8 that should be affirmed or reversed?

9 MR. GOLD: I would submit, and I understand 10 the teachings of cases like Grayned that we can't expect 11 mathematical certainty, but that case, I don't believe 12 that that person would be asserting a First Amendment 13 right to go 31 miles an hour. I don't think we can lose 14 sight of the fact that what we are weighing here, what 15 we are balancing is our First Amendment rights and those 16 of others against the government's assertion that it 17 must have this --

18 QUESTION: The First Amendment has been
19 thought to cover the right to travel, so it wouldn't
20 take a genius lawyer to bring this in.

21 MR. GOLD: Well, that is true, and in that 22 showing the burden, if there had been a showing that 23 that furthered the government's purpose, in fact, and 24 there had been some showing, right or wrong, and the 25 infringement on the First Amendment right was the

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1 ability to -- whether you could go that extra mile, then 2 I would say that is a different case and that probably 3 would be affirmed. But that is not our case. QUESTION: Mr. Gold, was the substance of 474 5 enacted way back in 1864? 6 MR. GOLD: Yes, it was. 7 QUESTION: And you are taking the position 8 that it has been for all those years a substantial 9 infringement of free speech, for 119 years? 10 MR. GOLD: It sat there as one, yes. 11 Unfortunately, as I have said, it wasn't brought home to 12 us until we in our editorial judgment tried to make 13 something --14 QUESTION: But free speech in the United 15 States has suffered as a result of this for all of those 16 years? 17 MR. GOLD: I submit it has suffered when 18 people have tried to do these things and been told they 19 coulin't or suffered the consequences, Gail Wagner. 20 There is suffering when that gets confiscated. There is 21 suffering when people who may have known the statute was 22 on the books -- We don't know how many covers perhaps 23 never got thought of or even attempted, or other 24 representations like Gail Wagner's never were executed 25 because the statute was on the books. We will never

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1 know how much of a restraint on free speech it actually 2 was. 3 OUESTION: Mr. Gold, I owe you an apology. 4 Gail Wagner's middle name is Edward, so it must have 5 been a man. (General laughter.) 6 7 MR. GOLD: Thank you. That concludes my presentation. 8 9 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Do you have anything 10 further, Mr. Schulder? 11 ORAL ARGUMENT OF ELLIOTT SCHULDER, ESQ., ON BEHALF OF THE APPELLANTS - REBUTTAL 12 13 MR. SCHULDER: Yes, Your Honor. I would like 14 to make several guick points. 15 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Two minutes you have. MR. SCHULDER: First of all, Time tells us 16 17 that Congress was in effect foolish to think that the 18 statutory restrictions in this case would be affected, 19 but we submit that that is really not something that 20 this Court should quickly second guess. For example, 21 Mr. Gold said that he would be very suspicious if he 22 were handed a thousand dollar bill with a portrait of 23 Grant or Franklin on it, but he himself wasn't sure 24 whose portrait was on the bill, and it is clear that 25 Congress was properly or could properly have been

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1 concerned with people not as astute as counsel in this
2 case.

3 Mr. Gold has also suggested several 4 alternative ways that the statute could be written, but 5 I believe that there would be problems with each of 6 those. The first suggestion is that Congress could 7 prohibit a duplicate or exact copy of a bill or plate or 8 negative, but what is an exact copy? A publisher could 9 produce a copy that is only one and a half percent 10 larger than the real thing, and most people would be 11 fooled, especially when we are talking about all of the 12 securities and obligations of the United States. 13 including bonds, which most people have never seen. 14 QUESTION: I take it your position is that 15 Congress could prohibit the manufacture of wooden 16 nickels. MR. SCHULDER: Well, we don't have to go that 17 18 far in this case. QUESTION: Well, I don't know why not. 19 20 Couldn't they, under your view? 21 MR. SCHULDER: It conceivably could. Yes. We 22 also -- The other alternative would be to insert an 23 intent element, but as we pointed out in our main brief 24 in this case, an intent requirement would make the 25 statute meaningless. Time could publish an exact

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1 duplicate illustration of currency with the perfectly 2 innocent intent of providing news and exercising its 3 First Amendment rights, and yet people could then take 4 that illustration and possibly pass it. 5 We can't expect all publishers to be as 6 responsible as Time, ard so we submit that Congress 7 clearly had these factors in mind when it enacted the 8 statute. 9 Thank you. 10 CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER: Thank you, gentlemen. 11 The case is submitted. 12 (Whereupon, at 2:04 p.m., the case in the 13 above-entitled matter was submitted.) 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

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