TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

RONALD W. REGAN, ET AL.,

Petitioners,

No. 86-656

JAMES ABOUREZK, ET AL.,

Respondents.

SUPREME COURT, U.S. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20543

Pages: 1 through 44

Place: Washington, D.C.

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1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	x
3	RONALD W. REAGAN, ET AL., :
4	Petitioners, :
5	v.
6	JAMES ABOUREZK, ET AL, : No. 86-656
7	Respondents. :
8	X
9	Washington, D.C.
10	Monday, October 5, 1987
11	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
12	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
13	at 1:00 p.m.
14	APPEARANCES:
15	LAWRENCE G. WALLACE, ESQ., Deputy Solicitor General,
16	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf of the
17	Petitioners.
18	STEVEN R. SHAPIRO, ESQ., New York, New York; on behalf of
19	the Respondents.
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1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(1:00 p.m.)
3	CHIEF JUDGE REHNQUIST: We will hear arguments, first
4	this afternoon, in Number 86-656, Ronald Reagan versus James
5	Abourezk, and you may proceed whenever you are ready, Mr.
6	Wallace.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF LAWRENCE G. WALLACE
8	ON BEHALF OF PETITIONERS
9	MR. WALLACE: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, and may
.0	it please the Court, these cases, which were consolidated in
1	the District Court, present questions concerning the denial, on
.2	foreign policy grounds, of non-immigrant visas to aliens
.3	invited by persons or groups in this country to participate in
4	public or academic discussions.
.5	The denials were based on a provision that appears on
6	page 2 of our brief, Subsection 27, of a list of provisions in
.7	Section 1182 of Title VIII, which are provisions or bases for
.8	excluding aliens from the issuances of visas. And, in this
.9	instance, they were denied as prejudicial to the public
20	interest or endangering the welfare, safety, or security of the
21	United States.
22	The Court of Appeals held, and it is not contested in
23	this Court, that foreign policy concerns can be a proper basis
24	for a denial under Subsection 27; that something detrimental to
2.5	our foreign policy interests would be within the broad

1	formulation of prejudicial to the public interest of
2	endangering the welfare of the United States.
3	And the statutory issues that remain in the case, are
4	whether that denial can be based on detriment to our foreign
5	policy that flows from the very presence or entry of the alien
6	into this country? Or whether it must be based strictly on
7	something detrimental about the particular activities in which
8	he plans to engage? And whether, if that question is answered
9	favorably, to the Government, the authority that we would then
10	have to deny the visas, under Subsection 27, has been abrogated
11	by what is commonly called the McGovern Amendment, which
12	amended another provision of Section 1182, Subsection 28?
13	Before
14	QUESTION: May I ask, Mr. Wallace?
15	I gather you have to persuade us that to engage in
16	activities, is virtually meaningless, do you not?
17	MR. WALLACE: Well, I would not characterize my
18	burden that way, Mr. Justice.
19	Obviously
20	QUESTION: Well, what does it mean, do you think?
21	MR. WALLACE: Well, there are two ways of looking at
22	it, that support our position. The one that has been more
23	commonly used in this litigation is to say that presence or
24	entry into the United States are, themselves, activities. That
25	is a little difficult to reconcile with the words, "to engage",

1	in activities, but it is not beyond the pale, in light of the
2	legislative history.
3	Another way, which I think may be more helpful, is to
4	say that, yes, they are admitted to engage in activities. And
5	that those activities, while not detrimental to the public
6	interest if engaged in by somebody else, would be detrimental
7	to the public interest, if engaged in by this individual,
8	because it would involve his presence or entry into the United
9	States, to engage in those activities.
10	QUESTION: Well, in this case, as I understand it,
11	there is no evidence, whatever, that they had any intention of
12	engaging in any activities. This rests, does it not, entirely
13	on the fact that they are members of what, the Communist Party?
14	MR. WALLACE: Yes. Various organizations. In one
15	instance, the Government of Nicaragua; in the other instance,
16	the Federation of Cuban Women; and in the third instance, a
17	group called the World Peace Council, which was found to be
18	QUESTION: And by reason of their association of one
19	or the other or more of those organizations, that they were
20	said to be excludable under the Statute?
21	MR. WALLACE: It was by reason of that, coupled with
22	the State Department's determination that these organizations
23	are instruments of a particular foreign government; and that it
24	would be disadvantageous to our conduct of foreign policy, to
25	admit someone for the purpose of carrying on that

- organization's program, in the activities in which they want to engage in the United States. It would be detrimental to our foreign policy just to extend our hospitality to these
 - 4 individuals, by the issuance of a non-immigrant visa to engage
 - 5 in these activities.
 - QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, it was charged that they were
 - 7 going to engage in those activities in this country?
 - 8 MR. WALLACE: That is correct. I mean, they wished
 - 9 to enter the country to engage in activities. I mean, anyone
- 10 who wants to enter the country wants to engage in activities.
- 11 QUESTION: Like what? Making a speech?
- MR. WALLACE: That is correct, and to participate in
- 13 discussions.
- 14 QUESTION: Ereedom of speech?
- MR. WALLACE: Undoubtedly, when engaged in by someone
- 16 properly present.
- 17 QUESTION: There is nothing other than speech
- 18 involved?
- MR. WALLACE: Our position is there need not be any
- 20 misconduct in the activities, themselves, for Subsection 27 to
- 21 apply. The activities might even be constitutionally protected
- 22 activities. But Subsection 27, nonetheless applies, if the
- 23 presence or entry of the individual to engage in those
- 24 activities would be detrimental to our foreign policy
- 25 interests. And that I --

1	QUESTION: Is it critical to your position that the
2	activities be activities that could be attributed to the
3	organizations with which the three people were associated?
4	MR. WALLACE: Well, it
5	QUESTION: You seem to suggest that on an earlier
6	statement?
7	MR. WALLACE: It is a part of our position.
8	QUESTION: Well, then, it is not a case of mere
9	presence or mere entry?
10	Your proof is that these people are engaging in
11	activities on behalf of some organization.
12	MR. WALLACE: That is correct.
13	QUESTION: That is a different theory than the
14	dissent below, I think.
15	MR. WALLACE: Well, the dissent authorizes in its
16	theory, a broader use of Subsection 27, then we are actually
17	making of it.
18	QUESTION: So you are not espousing the theory of th
19	dissent?
20	MR. WALLACE: Well, I am not disassociating myself
21	from it, but we do not have to go as far as some of the
22	implications of the dissenting opinion.
23	QUESTION: Well, you are not arguing that mere
24	presence and mere entry is an activity, within the meaning of
25	Subsection 27? Or are you?

1	MR. WALLACE: Well, that is one of our alternative
2	contentions, yes. We have the authority to decide that mere
3	entry or mere presence is an activity, that within itself, is
4	detrimental to our foreign policy interests.
5	But in administering the statute, the fact of the
6	matter is, we look at the activities in which they propose to
7	engage, before making the determination of whether entry or
8	presence would be detrimental to our foreign policy.
9	But we do so in a very limited way. In other words,
10	we allow individuals to enter, even though we might deny them
11	entry for this purpose, but we would allow them to enter and we
12	have allowed some of these same individuals to enter
13	including Olga Finlay to attend meetings of an international
14	body, such as the United Nations.
15	We would allow them to enter for limited purposes.
16	We would allow them to
17	QUESTION: Is there a finding here, that it was the
18	activities in which they intended to engage that explain the
19	reason for their exclusion?
20	MR. WALLACE: There were affidavits submitted
21	QUESTION: No, I said, was there a finding to that
22	effect?
23	MR. WALLACE: The finding by the District Judge, is
24	that we had facially valid foreign policy reasons for denying
25	their entry, which under this Court's decision, in <u>Kleindienst</u>

_1	v. Mandel, he has no right to look behind and make a finding
_2	with respect to
_3	QUESTION: I still ask is the facially valid reason
_4	the fact that their mere presence or mere entry would be
_5	detrimental, or is it, that the activities in which they would
_6	engage would be detrimental?
7	What is the finding?
_8	MR. WALLACE: I cannot say that the District Judge's
9	finding is articulated so as to draw that distinction, as I
10	recall it.
11	It would be a
12	QUESTION: It would make a difference in this.
13	MR. WALLACE: I am looking at Page 80-A of the Joint
14	Appendix, where the District Court merely says, it has
15	concluded that, "Facially legitimate reasons exist for denying
16	visas to the four individuals, whose entry is being sought in
17	these actions."
18	"And they were not denied entry because of the
19	content of the expected speeches, but because of their personal
20	status as officials of governments or organizations which are
21	hostile to the United States."
22	But the affidavits, on which he relies, do state, as
23	part of the reasons why their entry would be detrimental to our
24	foreign policy interests, is because it is entry to function as

25 representatives of -- in Mr. Borge's case, in the case of the

1	Cuban women of organizations controlled by the Nicaraguan or
2	Cuban governments; and in Mr. Pasti's case, to further the
3	program of an organization controlled by the Soviet Union.
4	That is necessarily related to the kinds of
5	activities that they propose to engage in. But the distinction
6	that we make, with respect to activities, is not that someone
7	submits the speech that he is planning to give, and a board of
8	censors sits at the State Department and reads the speech and
9	decides whether giving that speech is detrimental to our
10	foreign policy interests. It is a distinction between entry
11	for the limited purposes I started to describe to you to
12	attend an international meeting of a body that meets in the
13	United States; to conduct bi-lateral discussions with
14	representatives of the United States; humanitarian entry, such
15	as to get medical treatment; to attend a family funeral.
16	We would allow people in for those purposes, but not
17	extend our general hospitality to them of providing them with a
18	non-immigrant visa, because, as the affidavits explain, in the
19	case of
20	QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, the thing that troubles me is
21	that you are telling me what the affidavits say, but the
22	finding just relates to the personal status of the three
23	people. I would think that it would apply going to a funeral,
24	that they were not denied because of the content of their
25	expected speeches, but because of their personal status, as

1	officials of governments or organizations, which are hostile to
2	the United States.
3	I would think that would apply if they wanted to come
4	in and have lunch.
5	MR. WALLACE: But the finding was made based on
6	affidavits that explain the reasons
7	QUESTION: Well, let me just ask you, is it necessary
8	for us to support your position to go behind the finding, and
9	rely on what is in the affidavits, instead of what the finding
10	says?
11	MR. WALLACE: I think that
12	QUESTION: That is your whole argument, is it not?
13	MR. WALLACE: I would say that it is necessary to
14	read the finding in light of the affidavits on which the
15	finding is based, because the finding is very succinctly
16	stated. The finding is very responsive to this Court's holding
17	in Kleindienst v. Mandel, that the Courts are not to go behind
18	facially legitimate reasons that have been given.

And he is relying on the affidavits as the facially

20 legitimate reasons, and in a sense, the finding incorporates

21 the affidavits, if I may say so. I do not think that the

22 District Court's decision can be read without reference to the

23 affidavits.

QUESTION: We have the affidavits.

MR. WALLACE: They are in the Joint Appendix, and the

1	classified ones that he refers to, are in the Appendix to the
2	Petition for Certiorari because they were declassified and
3	reprinted there.
4	QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, when you speak about a
5	finding in this case, actually the District Court granted
6	summary judgment for the Government, did it not?
7	MR. WALLACE: That is correct.
8	QUESTION: So you are not talking about finding, in
9	the ordinary sense, of a finding of fact at a bench trial?
10	MR. WALLACE: That is correct. It granted summary
11	judgment. It concluded that there were no material issues of
12	fact that it had to resolve in light of the facially legitimate
13	reasons given by the Government in this series of affidavits,
14	for the exclusion.
15	QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, may I ask whether you agree
16	with the dissent in the Court below, that <u>Kleindienst v.</u>
17	Mandel, necessarily upheld the constitutionality of the
18	exclusion of communists based on their political beliefs?
19	Was that, do you agree that that was the necessary
20	holding of <u>Mandel?</u>
21	MR. WALLACE: I do not read Kleindienst v. Mandel as
22	necessarily holding that. It said that there was a facially
23	legitimate reason for that particular exclusion, because
24	Professor Mandel had violated restrictions on his visa, in past
25	entries.

1	And that that was a sufficient basis to uphold the
2	visa, here, and to override any First Amendment claim that was
3	implicated on behalf of those who invited him. So, I cannot
4	say that we can read <u>Kleindienst v. Mandel</u> as having resolved
5	that question so definitively, with respect, I have to say that
6	is slightly overstated in that dissenting opinion.
7	The reasons given in these affidavits do relate to
8	specific foreign policy concerns and we have summarized them
9	briefly, in our brief. Let me say that with respect to those
10	who would be entering here, as representatives of an
11	organization and to further the purposes of an organization,
12	controlled by the Cuban government, the reference was to our
13	country's policy of trying to diminish the disruptive influence
14	of the Cuban government in Latin America, that is detrimental
15	to the conduct of our foreign policy. And that extending
16	hospitality to representatives of that government for purposes
17	of participating in discussions in the United States, would
18	contribute to giving that government an aura of legitimacy,
19	that would enhance that government's ability to undermine our
20	foreign policy objectives, in Central America.
21	QUESTION: But do you need our Courts for that
22	purpose to enforce public policy in foreign governments and
23	to prevent foreign governments?
24	MR. WALLACE: We did not need the Court and we were
25	not the one who invoked the Court's jurisdiction. We were sued

1	in this case, Mr. Justice. We simply denied visas.
2	QUESTION: You want us to say that the Court can
3	approve the denial of an entry of somebody who is going to make
4	a speech, because the State Department does not like the
5	country or the person.
6	MR. WALLACE: Because the State Department thinks
7	that it is detrimental, has concluded that it would be
8	detrimental to our foreign policy to extend our hospitality to
9	that person, with a non-immigrant visa. And that that was
10	within the authority of the Department of State to do.
11	With respect to the Interior Minister of Nicaragua,
12	rather similar reasons were given, having to do with the
13	undermining of our efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of
14	hostilities in Central America, should we, at the time, extend
15	our hospitality to the Interior Minister, of that state, to
16	which we were, to some extent, in an adversarial relationship.
17	With respect to Mr. Pasti, an active member of the
18	World Peace Council, which the State Department had determined
19	to be a Soviet-controlled organization, at the time, he was
20	coming, that organization was engaged in a vigorous campaign to
21	undermine support within Western Europe for the deployment of
22	American missiles partly through a campaign of
23	disinformation, that is elaborated upon in an Attachment to one
24	of Undersecretary Eagleburger's affidavits.
25	And he was an active member, coming to further the

1	purposes of that campaign which was aimed at achieving
2	unilateral disarmament, to the extent of not deploying those
3	particular missile systems in Europe. And, obviously,
4	extending our hospitality to him, for that purpose, would have
5	a tendency to encourage that organization's efforts and
6	contribute to its esprit for that purpose.
7	These matters change over time, and these are now
8	missiles that are currently the subject of negotiation between
9	the Soviet Union and ourselves, for the possibility of some
10	mutual withdrawal of the missiles. But these determinations
11	have to be made in the context of the times, in which they
12	actually occur.
13	I think some further insight into the problems of
14	this case, can be had by looking at the statistics that we
15	collected on page 6 of our brief, in the footnote, which are
16	also based on affidavit in this record. And that show, in the
17	20-year period and this is footnote 2, on page 6 from
18	1963 to 1983, Consular officers issued nearly 70 million non-
19	immigrant visas, and denied on either foreign policy or
20	internal security grounds, under Subsection 27, only 519
21	applications.
22	And in the most recent times, 1981 through 1983, 6 to
23	7 million per year have been granted, an average of less than
24	30 have been denied.
25	This, in itself, is reflective of the consistent

1	dominant thrust of our foreign policy, which is to encourage in
2	all countries including our own because reciprocity is a
3	very important consideration in foreign policy to encourage
4	freedom of travel, through non-immigrant visas, and indeed,
5	even to encourage freedom of immigration. It is a policy that
6	not only reflects our ideals about free interchange of persons
7	and ideas, but it is further supported from the likelihood of
8	re-examination by the very practical consideration that, in our
9	country, there is already a much greater diversity of views
10	being expressed than is true in many countries.
11	And it would not be to our ultimate advantage,
12	overall, to be opposing travel by persons who might express
13	diverse views, because we tend to benefit much more from
14	additional views being expressed in other countries through
15	travel, than that it would be at all practical to hope to
16	monitor the expression of views in our country.
17	We do not know what these 70 million people might say
18	when they arrive here. There were only a very minute number
19	of people that we had reason to keep out because of foreign
20	policy concerns of the type I mention, with respect to these
21	particular applicants.
22	We have, in the Joint Appendix, some other examples.
23	This is on pages 111 to 114, and the earliest examples that
24	became known of the use of denials for foreign policy

25 reasons -- most of these do not become known because there is a

1	statutory inhibition on public disclosure of them but these
2	were three examples that, indeed, had come to the attention of
3	Congress.
4	One was a denial of a visa to a Mr. Liao, a proponent
5	of an independent Formosa. And another was a denial to Mr.
6	Otto Skorzeny, a former Nazi SS Officer. And the objection to
7	him was based on the detrimental foreign policy ramifications
8	of granting our hospitality to him regardless of any particular
9	activities that he might be planning to engage in. The other
10	mentioned, is Madame Nhu.
11	The problems that the State Department is faced with,
12	have to do with factions in exile; of factions that may be
13	engaged in armed resistance to governments; deposed former
14	heads of state
15	QUESTION: Mr. Wallace, about the Nazi who was
16	Skorzeny, I think that you referred to?
17	MR. WALLACE: Certainly.
18	QUESTION: That was back in 1959, and is it not true
19	that a few years later, they amended the statute to provide a
20	new section that covered the people of that status?
21	MR. WALLACE: People who were associated with the
22	Nazi Regime, during the thirties and World War II, but it does
23	not cover people who engaged in brutality while in office, in
24	other countries at other times, and there are many such people
25	QUESTION: No, but I was just wondering, if you are

1	correctly interpreting 27, and you gave us an example, this
2	Skorzeny, why did they need to enact 33? They could have used
3	27?
4	MR. WALLACE: Perhaps it was done for emphasis. They
5	did not necessarily mean that Congress thought that 27 was
6	misapplied with respect to Mr. Skorzeny, and we have taken the
7	position right along, that we can apply it with respect to
8	others who have engaged in physical brutality, which are not
9	embraced while in office, which were not embraced within
10	Subsection 33.
11	There have been deposed governments in many countries
12	I do not want to create international incidents by
13	mentioning some of them where we might very well deny, on
14	foreign policy grounds, the entry of these persons. And this
15	has not been disputed by the other side, nor do they deny our
16	basic proposition that it is not necessary for the activities
17	to be, in themselves, misconduct, because they point to the
18	case of a Libyan, young person denied entry to study aircraft
19	maintenance and engineering, as a proper example of the use of
20	Subsection 27.
21	But there is nothing inherently wrong about studying
22	that and certainly having a willing student attends one's class
23	is a part of academic freedom the First Amendment interests
24	are implicated in such a case. The problem is the detrimental

consequences to our foreign policy.

1	In a case like that, where you are dealing with a
2	non-prominent person, the particular nature of the activities
3	looms as a larger consideration.
4	But in the case of prominent people, such as are
5	involved in our case, what really looms large on the foreign
6	policy call, is whether extending our hospitality to them, at
7	all, is going to be detrimental to our foreign policy?
8	Let me say that once it is concluded, as we submit,
9	that Subsection 27 authorizes us to exclude persons on these
10	grounds, it seems clear to us, that the McGovern Amendment is
11	not meant to take that away.
12	It says, on its face, that it applies only to person
13	otherwise admissible to the United States. And the legislative
14	history we have recounted, particularly in connection with an
15	Amendment to the McGovern Amendment, shows that it has always
16	been understood not to diminish the authority that we had unde
17	Subsection 27, specifically, the Chairman of the House Foreign
18	Relations Committee made that point, as we recounted in our
19	brief.
20	I would like to reserve the balance of my time.
21	CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr. Wallace.
22	And now, we will hear from you, Mr. Shapiro.
23	ORAL ARGUMENT OF STEVEN R. SHAPIRO
24	ORAL ARGUMENT ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT
25	MR. SHAPIRO: Mr. Chief Justice, may it please the

1	Court, I think that it is obvious from the Government's
2	argument that the issues raised in this case are critical ones
3	in a constitutional democracy whether and to what extent,
4	the government may bar foreign speakers from addressing
5	American audiences in the United States, on issues of obvious
6	and substantial public concern?
7	As the Government points out and I just want to
8	reiterate, because I think that it is important to an analysis
9	of the case, there are two separate but related statutory
10	questions before the Court today.
11	One is, whether (a)(27) Section 212(a)(27), applies
12	in the absence of any allegation by the government that the
13	excluded foreign speaker is likely to engage in prejudicial
14	activities, if admitted to the United States?
15	The second question, which the government barely
16	reached in its argument, is whether the Executive may
17	circumvent the Congressional restrictions embodied in the
18	McGovern Amendment, by using an alien's organizational
19	membership as the basis for exclusion under (a)(27)?
20	I must say that I am somewhat flabbergasted by Mr.
21	Wallace's argument, today, which apparently abandons the
22	principle legal contention that the government has advanced in
23	this case from day one. And that is, until 30 minutes ago, the
24	government's position in this case, was that an alien could be
25	excluded, a foreign speaker could be excluded from the United

1	States, based on the contention that his or her mere entry or
2	presence in the United States were prejudicial to the public
3	interest. That was the government's phrase not ours, but that
4	the alien's mere entry or presence in the United States would
5	be prejudicial to the public interest.
6	That argument, as the Court of Appeals found, as the
7	government now apparently concedes, is simply impossible to
8	square with either the language or the history of $(a)(27)$.
9	Indeed, the extent to which the government has, at
10	least until today, construed its authority under (a)(27), is
11	illustrated by the example of Nino Pasti. Pasti is a former
12	NATO General, a former Italian Senator, and he worked in the
13	Pentagon for three years as a liaison between the Italian Armed
14	Services and the United States Armed Services. In 1983, he was
15	invited to address a disarmament rally on Boston Commons by an
16	American peace group and he was denied the visa on the grounds
17	that the government feared that he would spread disinformation,
18	if permitted to enter the United States, and give his views on
19	the propriety of American missiles in Europe.
20	The statute that we are dealing with, $(a)(27)$, quite
21	plainly speaks to the requirement of activities.
22	QUESTION: The government has abandoned its prior
23	position in favor of what? Just how do you understand its
24	argument?
25	MR. SHAFIRO: The way that I understand its argument,

1	now, Your Honor, and I must say that there were seeds of this
2	in its brief, is that its previous argument was that it did not
3	need to allege any activities, and indeed, it has not alleged
4	any activities.
5	Not only is there no finding of prejudicial
6	activities, but by any of the Courts who have ruled on this
7	question below, if you, in fact, look at the affidavits
8	submitted by the government either their original public
9	affidavits, or their original classified and now declassified
10	affidavits you will not see any reference to prejudicial
11	activities. What you will see is a conclusion that the alien'
12	mere entry or presence in the United States is prejudicial.
13	What I now understand the government to be saying is
1.4	that a claim of mere entry or presence is not sufficient under
1.5	(a)(27), but we have more, and they say this in their brief,
16	since after all any alien who enters the country necessarily
17	engages in some activity. And the activities that they cite is
18	their brief, as an illustration of that legal contention are:
19	every alien eats, sleeps, travels in the United States. Those
20	are activities sufficient to invoke (a)(27).
21	I think that is equally a fallacious ruling of
22	(a)(27) since (a)(27) does not require some activities, it
23	requires activities prejudicial to the public interest. And
24	the government has not claimed that the sleeping or eating is
25	prejudicial to the public interest, it is just another way or

1	restating a position, which I think that the government now
2	understands they cannot sustain and that is
3	QUESTION: Well, I understood the government's
4	position, particularly with respect to someone like Mr. Borge,
5	as being just a highly placed official of the Sandinista
6	government and anything that he did in this country would be
7	prejudicial, just his presence here, would be.
8	MR. SHAPIRO: Just his presence here would be, you
9	are right, that is exactly their position, Your Honor. That
10	what he does is
11	QUESTION: What is your answer to that?
12	MR. SHAPIRO: That what he does is irrelevant. That
13	merely his presence in the United States is prejudicial. My
14	answer to that is, a visa denial based on that allegation was
15	never authorized or contemplated by Congress when they adopted
16	Section 212 (a)(27), because Section 212 (a)(27) provides that
17	an alien may be excluded if there is reason to believe that
18	they will engage in prejudicial activities, not if there is
19	reason to believe that their presence in the United States may
20	be prejudicial to the United States' foreign policy.
21	QUESTION: Then you are saying that there cannot be
22	someone of sufficiently bad omen of our foreign policy that
23	anything that he does in this country would be prejudicial?
24	MR. SHAPIRO: I am saying that that is not a (27)
25	exclusion. As we said, in the Court below, and we continue to

1	believe, there are other provisions of the Immigration and
2	Nationality Act, including Section 212(f) of the Immigration
3	and Nationality Act, which may well permit the government unde
4	certain circumstances to exclude somebody because their mere
5	presence in the United States is prejudicial to foreign policy
6	interests.
7	But those other Sections of the Act are hinged in by
8	other procedural protections that Congress has provided, namel
9	in the case of $212(f)$, the requirement of a Presidential
10	finding to make sure that our government is not excluding
11	foreign speakers based merely on a bureaucratic judgment that
12	their speeches in the United States are likely to create
13	problems for American foreign policy interests.
14	And I think that if you look at the affidavits
15	QUESTION: Of course, I do not understand the
16	government's version of why it excluded Borge. To be his
17	speeches might create problems just that anything he did
18	here, his mere presence here would create problems.
19	MR. SHAPIRO: I think that the government, in the
20	case of Borge, the government's position is, that his mere
21	presence in the United States will create problems for us.
22	And our answer to that, and the answer of the Court
23	of Appeals to that, is that is not what Section 212(a)(27)
24	provides, and that is the only statutory authority that the
25	government has cited in this case.

1	With regard to Pasti, if you look at the affidavits
2	concerning Pasti, either the public or classified affidavits,
3	it is perfectly clear that the government's allegation, in that
4	case, was that his presence in the United States would create
5	problems because they did not like what they expected him to
6	say on the Boston Commons about American Pershing Missiles in
7	Europe and he was a person who came to that setting with great
8	credibility, because he was formerly the Chief Nuclear
9	Strategist for NATO.
10	And they would prefer not to have him in this
11	country, at that time, delivering that message, because it made
12	it more complicated for them to put their missiles in Europe.
13	I do not think that there is any indication that
14	(a)(27) permits a visa denial on those grounds.
15	And in terms of the entry or presence, versus
16	activities claim, as the Court of Appeals likewise pointed out,
17	the government's interpretation of $(a)(27)$ is inconsistent with
18	the statutory scheme of the Immigration Act for a variety of
19	reasons.
20	One reason being that there are 33 categories of
21	excludable aliens, listed in Section 212 of the Immigration
22	Act. Congress, by and large, has traded, has categories of
23	exclusion based on status and categories of exclusion based on
24	conduct. And 212(a)(28), which is the exclusionary provision

at issue in Mandel, which says that communists cannot come into

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the country unless they get a waiver, that is a status
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 2
     exclusion.
               And 212(a)(27), with its reference to prejudicial
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 4
     activities, is a conduct exclusion and the burden on the
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     government is to show some evidence of prejudicial conduct in
     the United States and there was absolutely nothing in the
 6
 7
     record to sustain that burden.
               As Justice Brennan also pointed out, the word,
 8
     activities, is introduced by a phrase, that says, seeks to
 9
     enter to engage in activities. The word, to engage, not only
10
     in the abstract is an active verb, it does not make sense to
11
12
     read the language and say that an alien seeks to enter to
13
     engage in entry. That simply does not make sense as a
     grammatical proposition, but within the Immigration Act,
14
15
     itself, the phrase "to engage" is a phrase that Congress used
16
     when it meant to justify, permit an exclusion based on
     anticipated conduct in the United States.
17
18
               So, that the Immigration Act, for example, permits
     the exclusion of an alien who seeks to enter to engage in
19
20
     espionage; seeks to enter to engage in sabotage; seeks to enter
21
     to engage in immoral sexual activities. That is the
22
     phraseology that Congress used over and over again, in
23
     the Immigration Act, and does not support a reading of (a)(27)
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that an alien seeks to enter to engage in the act of being

present in the United States. It simply does not make sense.

24

1	Let me say something as well about the
2	administrative practice that the government cites. The
3	government makes a variety of claims with regard to past
4	administrative practice. One being, that over the last 20
5	years, 70 million people have been issued non-immigrant visas
6	and only 500 or 600 have been denied admission under (a)(27).
7	With all due respect, that is not an argument that I
8	understand, because to the extent that those 500 or 600 may
9	have been improper, they remain improper regardless of the fac-
10	that 60 or 70 million other people may have properly been
11	granted visas.
12	In terms of concrete illustrations, concrete
13	illustrations, and the government was questioned quite
14	precisely about this in the Court of Appeals how many times
15	have you denied entry to an alien under (a)(27) based on the
16	alien's entry or presence in the United States the claim
17	that their entry or presence would be prejudicial to American
18	foreign policy interests?
19	The government came up with three examples in the
20	Court of Appeals. We, by the way, have had no opportunity for
21	discovery, so that we have no idea of what contrary examples
22	may be in the administrative record. But the government came
23	up with three examples that Mr. Wallace has, again, referred to
24	today.
25	The example of Mr. Liao; the example of Madame Nhu;

1	the example of Otto Skorzeny. And aside from the fact that all
2	of them are at least 25 years old, Mr. Liao and Madame Nhu as
3	the Court of Appeals points out the majority opinion in the
4	Court of Appeals were, in fact, excluded based upon
5	anticipated activities and that is what the correspondence
6	submitted by the government to the District Court established.
7	In terms of Otto Skorzeny, the former Nazi General,
8	he may well have been excluded based on his status as a former
9	Nazi, but aside from the fact that one exclusion 30 years ago,
10	is not, I do not think probative of anything, let alone a
11	consistent administrative practice as Justice Scalia pointed
12	out, in 1978, Congress amended the Immigration Act, to add
13	Section 212(a)(33) that expressly provides for the exclusion,
14	now of former Nazis.
15	And when they did so, both the Congressional sponsors
16	and the Justice Department, itself, in a supporting letter
17	submitted to Congress and these can both be found attached
18	to the House Report referred to the fact that the Nazi
19	exclusion provision that was added in 1978, was added to fill
20	an existing loophole in the law, that previously the
21	administration did not have the authority to keep people out of
22	that sort, or at least Congress did not think that they did.
23	And Congress wanted to fill the loophole and so they passed the
24	Nazi Amendment.
25	QUESTION: Would you say, Mr. Shapiro, suppose that

1	the claim is that Section 27 permits the exclusion of an alien,
2	where his mere presence, for the purpose of making speeches,
3	would endanger our foreign policy, would you think that Section
4	27 would permit that?
5	MR. SHAPIRO: I do not think that Section 27 permits
6	well, several things. I do not think it is what the
7	government has alleged here. I do not think that it is what
8	QUESTION: Well, that is not what I asked you.
9	MR. SHAPIRO: I do not think that it is what 27 now
10	says, and to the degree that it is what 27 says, then I think
11	that you would be smack up against a significant First
12	Amendment problem. And I do not think that there is any need to
13	confront that problem.
14	OUESTION: Well, let us just stick to the statute.
15	If the government says, well, look, his presence
16	here, for the purpose of making speeches, no matter what he
17	says, if our allies think that we are permitting him in this
18	country to be privy to go around and make speeches, that is
19	just offends them.
20	Is that outside the reach of the statute, do you
21	think?
22	MR. SHAPIRO: I think that that is outside of the
23	reach of the statute, because I do not think that the statute,
24	with its reference to prejudicial activity was discussing
25	speech making in the United States, as Justice Marshall

1	suggested.
2	And I think that is for very good reason that the
3	government has refrained from taking that position, all
4	throughout this litigation. The government has never come in,
5	from day one and
6	QUESTION: Well, they were pretty close to it, in
7	this argument today, saying that they may consider what they
8	are here for, they are here for making speeches.
9	MR. SHAPIRO: Well, to the extent, as I said, to the
10	extent that the government's position now is that these people
11	can be excluded because they are here to make speeches, and
12	here to make speeches which the government openly admits, by
1.3	the way, that it is not a viewpoint neutral judgment if your
14	question, Justice White, is meant to suggest that the
15	government does not care what these people are saying, that it
16	is the act of making a speech, while present in the United
17	States, circa (a)(27), first of all, the record, itself, does
18	not support that.
19	If you look at the classified affidavits submitted by
20	Undersecretary Eagleburger with regard to Nino Pasti, for
21	example, it is quite clear that the State Department's
22	objection is, that at the time that we were engaged in the
23	critical negotiations about the deployment of the American

Pershing Missiles in Europe, they anticipated that Nino Pasti

would come to the United States and tell people that those

24

missiles were not necessary or appropriate. 1 To the degree that the government's position is that 2 it is that anticipated speech that justifies their exclusion 3 under (a)(27), I do not think that (a)(27) provides that and if 4 (a)(27) provides that, I do not think that the Constitution 5 6 permits that. And one of the --7 OUESTION: Well, suppose that we disagree with you on 8 your construction of (27), that the government may deny a visa 9 to a person whose presence here, for the purpose of making 10 11 speeches, would really cause the government trouble? Suppose the Section covers that? Are we foreclosed 12 from reaching that ground here? 13 MR. SHAPIRO: Well, I think, Your Honor, I think 14 15 that --QUESTION: On what basis did the District Court 16 decide the case? 17 18 MR. SHAPIRO: Well, that is a hard question for us to answer, as I will explain in a moment. 19 QUESTION: Well, it is hard for us too, and I want 20 21 you to --MR. SHAPIRO: Well, let me give you the background on 22 23 what happened, having been there since the case --QUESTION: Well, what does his opinion say? 24 MR. SHAPIRO: What Judge Green's opinion says, is 25

1	that the government may not delly visas for concent-based
2	reasons.
3	QUESTION: Right.
4	MR. SHAPIRO: And having read the public affidavits,
5	submitted by Undersecretary Eagleburger, which in conclusiory
6	fashion, simply recited the language of the statute. It said,
7	I denied these visas, because I determined that their admission
8	would be prejudicial to the public interest. He said, he read
9	the public affidavits. They do not satisfy me, and I do not
10	know what they mean. He then entertained the government's
11	classified affidavits, in camera, ex parte, without sharing
12	them with us, and he wrote in his opinion because these were
13	still ex parte classified affidavits that I have read the
14	affidavits and I am convinced that the government had
15	legitimate and bona fide reasons which he, then, did not
16	explain, because at that point they were still classified.
17	That is the difficulty in understanding the District
18	Court's
19	QUESTION: Well, do you read his opinion as accepting
20	the government's position that mere presence is enough?
21	MR. SHAPIRO: I think that he accepted the
22	government's position that mere presence is enough. I do not
23	think that the Court of Appeals accepted the position that mere
24	presence is enough.

QUESTION: Oh, I know that.

T	Mr. Sharino. And one of the things, the court of
2	Appeals remanded on two grounds. And one of the Court of
3	Appeals' remands was to determine exactly
4	QUESTION: That is right.
5	MR. SHAPIRO: their position was, that entry or
6	presence is not enough. It looks to us, from your affidavits,
7	that that is why you kept these people out but since we are
8	sending it back for some other reasons, you might want a better
9	opportunity to explain to the District Court if you had some
10	reasons other than entry or presence, because the Court of
11	Appeals likewise read the current state of the record, as
12	supporting an exclusion based only on entry or presence.
13	The other difficulty with reading $(a)(27)$, to permit
14	exclusions based on entry or presence, is that it really then
15	does run smack up into the McGovern Amendment, which I want to
16	just discuss for a moment.
17	There are vastly greater numbers, or there
18	historically have been vastly greater numbers of aliens kept
19	out of the United States under Section (a)(28) rather than
20	(a)(27). And $(a)(28)$ being the statute that was at issue in
21	Mandel, which basically says, if you are a member of a
22	communist organization or if you advocate the doctrines of
23	communism, you shall be excluded from the United States, unless
24	the Attorney General grants you a waiver.
25	In 1977 Congress adopted the McCovern Amendment to

1	promote the principles of the Helsinki Accords as it states in
2	its preambles. And what the McGovern Amendment essentially
3	says is, we no longer want to keep people out based on this
4	notion of guilt by association. And so, notwithstanding the
5	fact that aliens may belong to communist organizations, or be
6	affiliated with communist organizations, our presumption is
7	they will now be admitted to the United States, unless the
8	government executive is are prepared to certify that both
9	houses of Congress that national security interests are at
10	stake.
11	Even if you put the best gloss possible on the
12	government's affidavits, what you will find, at least with
13	regard to Nino Pasti and the two Cuban women, is that the
14	government's position is that Pasti is a Member of the World
15	Peace Council and the World Peace Council is affiliated with
16	the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is engaged in a propaganda
17	campaign and therefore, Pasti must also be engaged in a
18	propaganda campaign.
19	There is no specific allegation with regard to Nino
20	Pasti that is independent of an assumption that the government
21	made based on his organizational affiliation. He is connected
22	to this group and this group is doing bad things, and
23	therefore, we presume that if we allow him into the country, he
24	will do similar bad things.

That is precisely our position, at least is, that is

1	precisely the kind of leap, the kind of presumption, the kind
2	of guilt by association, that Congress meant to prohibit by the
3	McGovern Amendment. And one of the reasons that I believe that
4	these speakers were excluded under (a)(27), rather than
5	(a)(28), where they would have more naturally belonged, is
6	precisely because the government did not want to have to deal
7	with the rigors of the McGovern Amendment, because the
8	government was not prepared, in fact, to certify to both houses
9	of Congress, that national security would be jeopardized if
10	Nino Pasti were allowed in the United States and to give the
11	speech that he wants to give on the Boston Commons.
12	QUESTION: Well, in terms of the last argument of
13	yours, Mr. Shapiro, is it possible that Pasti's case could come
14	out one way and Borge's case come out another?
15	MR. SHAPIRO: I think that there are two answers to
16	that. And this is where there are two statutory issues before
17	the Court.
18	If the Court agrees with our interpretation of
19	(a)(27), that it requires activities and not mere entry or
20	presence, then I think that all of these visa denials fall,
21	Borge's included.
22	If the Court concludes that entry or presence is
23	encompassed within $(a)(27)$, then I think that we still have to
24	deal with the McGovern Amendment. We would still say that the

presence, flowing from entry or presence, has to really be tied

1	to the individual not based on organizational membership and at
2	that point, it may be that Borge would be in a different
3	situation than Pasti is and the two Cuban women.
4	I mean, Borge, there is no doubt that he is a member
5	of the Sandinista Junta. He is an official of the Nicaraguan
6	government. Nobody disputes that. At the very least the
7	allegations connected to him, are connected to him personally.
8	The allegations connected to Pasti and to Finlay and
9	to Lezcano, are connected to them because of the organizations
10	to which they belong, and that is, we think, forbidden by the
11	McGovern Amendment, regardless of how you decide the other
12	(a)(27) question about entry or presence.
13	And let me come back to the entry or presence issue
14	for one more moment, then, just debunk this reliance on
15	legislative history.
16	The government makes a passing nod to the doctrine of
17	plain language that any analysis of the statute has to begin
18	with the language which the Congress has drafted, and it then,
19	for very understandable reasons, wants to get off that language
20	as quickly as possible, because, it, in fact, speaks to
21	activities and not entries or presence.
22	And where it winds up is in the legislative history.
23	And the government's position with regard to the legislative
24	history and it was a position that was echoed by Judge Bork, in
25	dissent, below, is that over the 40 or 50 years that this

statute has been developing, there are five or six references 1 2 in committee reports, to the words, entry or presence, and therefore, that supports the claim that when Congress referred 3 to activities, it really meant to include entry and presence 4 within the term, activities. 5 As we point out, in our brief, if you in fact, look 6 7 at the full passages cited by the government and not the isolated phrases that I believe the government takes out of 8 9 context, you will see that every reference to entry or presence is followed by a reference in the next clause, or the next 10 sentence, to prejudicial activities within the United States. 11 12 And that, on the basis of a full and fair reading of the legislative history, it seems quite clear, that what 13 Congress has been consistently concerned about, in (a)(27) and 14 15 its predecessor statutes, was entry and presence to engage in prejudicial activities. And (27), if it is linked to anything, 16 it is more closely linked to (29). That talks about entry to 17 engage in sabotage or espionage. 18 And that what Congress understood, I think, is that 19 there are some activities that may not rise to the level of 20 21 sabotage or espionage, but nonetheless are prejudicial activities. It is a very big leap to go from there to the 22 claim that either no activities are required at all, under (27) 23 despite its language, or that the kinds of activities that 24 25 Congress meant to prohibit or meant to justify a ban under

And when you look at the statements that Senator 2 McCarren made on the floor of the Congress when he introduced 3 the predecessor provision in 1950 -- in 1952, when Section 4 5 212(a)(27) was enacted, there was very little colloquy or conference language about the provision. 6 And there was more in 1950 when its predecessor's 7 provision, the Internal Security Act was adopted and what 8 Senator McCarren, quite clearly says, and we cite it in our 9 brief, is that his concern, the concern of Congress, was with 10 aliens who seek to enter or engage after entry, in activities 11 prejudicial to the public interest, and he, in fact, referred 12 to the requirement of overt acts. 13 And as I have said, previously, this record is 14 totally barren of any allegations that even comes close to 15 16 that. Let me raise just a few other points with you. In 17 18 terms of -- to come back to administrative practice, for a second -- the government does not make very much mention of the 19 contemporaneous administrative record, which under standard 20 21 doctrine of statutory construction is, if anything, more 22 relevant than current interpretations.

(27), included speech making.

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In terms of contemporaneous interpretations of

(a)(27), there are two things worth noting. One is a Board of

Immigration Appeals decision in 1953, in which the government

- attempted to exclude a pacifist from the United States and the Board of Immigration Appeals one year after (a)(27) was adopted, said, no, you cannot do that. You are keeping him out
 - A on the basis of status And (a)(27) requires activities. We
 - 4 on the basis of status. And (a)(27) requires activities. He
 - 5 was, I think, engaged in a speech making tour, Justice
 - 6 Rehnquist. The BIA in 1953 said that that is not enough, under
 - 7 (a)(27).
 - The other thing that I want to bring to the Court's
 - 9 attention, and I say this with regret, but it does not appear
- in either side's brief, or in the opinion by the Court of
- 11 Appeals, are some 1952 regulations by the State Department on
- 12 (a)(27), which disappeared in 1954.
- Since 1954, the State Department has had no
- 14 substantive regulations interpreting this Section. But from
- 15 1952 until 1954, and this appears at 17 Federal Register, page
- 16 11590, and December 19th, 1952.
- The Section on (a)(27) says, the provision of Section
- 18 212(a)(27) that the Act shall be considered to relate to the
- 19 ineligibility of aliens to receive visas, because of their
- 20 purpose, plan, intention or design, whether solely,
- 21 principally, or incidentally to engage in activities after
- 22 arrival in the U.S., which would be prejudicial to the public
- 23 interest, or would endanger the welfare, safety or security of
- 24 the United States.
- Once again, the emphasis on activities after

1	admission, not somebody whose mere entry or presence, because
2	of their status, would create difficulties for the government.
3	Let me just wind up by making a brief comment about
4	the First Amendment issue in this case. We raised the First
5	Amendment claim in the District Court. It was not reached by
6	the Court of Appeals because of its interpretation of the
7	statutory language. It is not before this Court, in any real
8	and concrete way. It was not raised by the government in its
9	cert petition.
10	But I think that it undeniable, that the
11	interpretation and application of these statutes, in these
12	cases,
13	QUESTION: Well, the government would not be expected
14	to raise it in its petition, would it? The government does not
15	want to claim that it violates the First Amendment.
16	MR. SHAPIRO: No, what the government did, Your
17	Honor, what the government did, in their petition, in fact, was
18	to drop a footnote on the final page of their brief on the
19	merits, saying that even though, we have not raised the First
20	Amendment question in our questions presented, it was reached
21	by dissent below, it was alleged by the Plaintiffs, and
22	therefore, this Court has jurisdiction, and should reach out to
23	decide it.
24	What I am saying is that I do not think that it is.
25	necessary for this Court to decide the First Amendment

1	question, but I do think that the presence of significant First
2	Amendment claims has to affect the interpretation of the
3	statute. And that the statute can, and should be interpreted,
4	in a way that minimizes its First Amendment difficulties, and
5	that is not the case, if the statute is interpreted to permit
6	exclusions from the United States, based on a claim that an
7	alien's substantive speeches within the United States, create
8	prejudice to American foreign policy interests.
9	And I do not believe, as Justice O'Connor's question
10	indicated and I was delighted to hear the government's
11	response, I do not believe this Court, by any means, foreclosed
12	the First Amendment issue in <u>Mandel</u> . <u>Mandel</u> was a case, in
13	which the excluded foreign speaker was kept out of the United
14	States, 'ecause he had violated the terms of a past visa, by
15	engaging in activities that were not permitted under that visa.
16	Nothing in the holding of Mandel, I do not believe,
17	even remotely suggests that if the government keeps somebody
18	out of the country, because it does not like the speeches, they
19	are likely to give in this country, that that is a facially
20	legitimate and bona fide reason.
21	And I think that those First Amendment considerations
22	have to necessarily at least be part of the process, of
23	interpreting the statute to conform, not only with
24	constitutional requirements, but to conform with, what I
25	believe, is the clear and obvious intent of Congress, as

1	reflected in the plain language of the statute, and a fairly
2	consistent legislative history.
3	Thank you, very much.
4	CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr. Shapiro.
5	Mr. Wallace, you have two minutes remaining.
6	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF LAWRENCE G. WALLACE
7	ON BEHALF OF PETITIONERS
8	MR. WALLACE: The Court of Appeals referred to the
9	legislative history of Subsection 27 as interchangeably using
10	references to entry and activities as the basis of concern, and
11	that is, entirely consistent with Judge Harold Green's saying
12	that it is a distinction without a difference in this context.
13	And, that, as I tried to relate it to the text, that
14	the thing that can be prejudicial about the activities, is the
15	entry of the proposed activities, is the entry or presence
16	of the individual who is seeking the visa.
17	That is the thing that can be prejudicial rather than
18	anything that is malum and say, about the activities that is
19	our reading of our Subsection 27 and the way to reconcile it
20	with the repeated entries, repeated reference to entry or
21	presence in the legislative history of that provision and its
22	predecessors.
23	The affidavits, in this case, and I refer the Court
24	to Joint Appendix pages 59, 62, and 89, repeatedly say that no
25	one is excluded from this country solely because his views are

1	critical of our foreign policy views or in any way to deny the
2	expression of points of view to the American people.
3	The reason that one looks to the proposed activities,
4	is to see whether they come within the narrow class for which
5	we would admit someone without extending our general
6	hospitality the narrow classes that I tried to describe to
7	you to attend a meeting of the UN; to engage in bilateral
8	negotiations; to get hospital treatment, etc.
9	We can allow people in for limited purposes, but not
10	to extend our general hospitality to them. My time has
11	expired.
12	CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Mr. Wallace, the
13	case is submitted.
14	(Whereupon, at 1:59 o'clock p.m., the case in the
15	above-entitled matter was submitted.)
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CERTIFICATE Heritage Reporting Corporation hereby certifies that the attached pages represent an accurate transcription of electronic sound recording of the oral argument before the Supreme Court of the United States in the matter of: Ronald W. Reagan, et al., v. No. 86-656 James Abourezk, et al. and that these pages constitute the original Transcript of the proceedings for the records of the Court. Heritage Reporting Corporation Sayward TT.

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