

COURT OF APPEALS
STATE OF MICHIGAN

PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN,
Plaintiff-Appellee

v.

KWAME KILPATRICK
Defendant-Appellant

Court of Appeals No. 304991
Lower Court No. 08-010496-FH

COA No. 304991
Circuit Court No. 08-010496

**BRIEF OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PUBLISHERS, INC.,
AMERICAN BOOKSELLERS FOUNDATION FOR FREE EXPRESSION,
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITY PRESSES, COMIC BOOK
LEGAL DEFENSE FUND, FREEDOM TO READ FOUNDATION,
INDEPENDENT BOOK PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION, MOTION PICTURE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC., AND PEN AMERICAN CENTER AS
AMICI CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF DEFENDANT-APPELLANT**

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The Association of American Publishers, Inc., American Booksellers Foundation for Free Expression, Association of American University Presses, Comic Book Legal Defense Fund, Freedom to Read Foundation, Independent Book Publishers Association, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., and PEN America Center (collectively, the “Amici”)¹ submit this brief as *amici curiae* in support of Defendant-Appellant.

INTRODUCTION

Requiring a convicted criminal to pay restitution is, in itself, constitutionally unproblematic. The principle that criminals should not be allowed to profit from their crimes is unobjectionable, and the state interests in compensating crime victims and obtaining reimbursement for the costs of incarceration are legitimate. However, while such justifications for so-called “Son of Sam” laws do not, in and of themselves, raise First Amendment concerns, problems arise when the law imposes a specific requirement of forfeiture of all proceeds from speech that in any way touches on the author’s crime, as is true of Mich. Comp. Laws § 780.768. Penalizing expression that may not, in fact, represent exploitation of crime or even be related to crime is a forbidden intrusion on the First Amendment rights of the speaker as well as those of the audience.

Deeply embedded in the First Amendment is the principle that the government may not dictate the content of public discourse. Yet section 780.768 denies constitutional protection to the ideas of certain speakers (convicted criminals) on a specified topic (their crime(s)) by imposing a speech-chilling financial penalty on those ideas (and any others

¹ A description of the Amici is provided in the Appendix.

contained in the same expressive work) without the precise fit between means and ends that the First Amendment demands.

When first presented with this appeal, the Court summarily rejected Kilpatrick's constitutional challenge to section 780.768, as had the trial court. These rulings overlooked the fact that the U.S. Supreme Court spoke clearly to this issue some twenty years ago in *Simon & Schuster, Inc. v. Members of the N.Y. State Crime Victims Bd.*, 502 U.S. 105 (1991), where it struck down New York's Son of Sam law. The highest courts of several states have subsequently followed *Simon & Schuster* in striking down other Son of Sam laws. The fact that Kilpatrick agreed to pay restitution does not shield section 780.768 from First Amendment scrutiny, as the Circuit Court appeared to believe. Amici endorse Kilpatrick's constitutional arguments and urge the Court to heed them by striking down section 780.768.

Kilpatrick's constitutional arguments should be considered not only in light of controlling precedent but also against the backdrop of core First Amendment values. Last term, the U.S. Supreme Court reiterated the principle that "speech on public issues occupies the highest rung of the hierarchy of First Amendment values, and is entitled to special protection." *Snyder v. Phelps*, 131 S. Ct. 1207, 1215 (2011) (citation omitted). Discussion of public issues, the Supreme Court has declared, "should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open," *N.Y. Times Co. v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254, 270 (1964), because it is "the essence of self-government." *Garrison v. Louisiana*, 379 U.S. 64, 74-75 (1964). These statements reflect the understanding that First Amendment values are served by more, not less, speech on topics of public concern, even when that speech may be widely regarded as ignorant or offensive. *See, e.g., Snyder*, 131 S. Ct. at 1219 (speech on a

matter of public concern “cannot be restricted simply because it is upsetting or arouses contempt”); *Texas v. Johnson*, 491 U.S. 397, 414 (1989) (“If there is a bedrock principle underlying the First Amendment, it is that the government may not prohibit the expression of an idea simply because society finds the idea itself offensive or disagreeable.”). The precept that even in pursuing a worthwhile objective the government may not set the parameters of public discourse is embodied in the Supreme Court’s recent observation that the First Amendment “reflects a judgment by the American people that the benefits of its restrictions on the Government outweigh the costs.” *United States v. Stevens*, 130 S. Ct. 1577, 1585 (2010).

Crime and criminal justice are among the most important subjects of public discourse. Amici’s members are dedicated to furthering free-speech values by creating and disseminating works in a variety of media on diverse subjects, including crime. First-hand accounts of crime and its aftermath by convicted criminals have long been an integral part of our national discourse on crime. Such works play an important role in public discussion on the causes, nature, and consequences of crime, as well as on the criminal justice system through which society passes judgment on those who have committed crimes, bringing before the public viewpoints unavailable from other sources.

Section 780.768 violates the First Amendment by erecting a financial barrier to the creation of speech that lies at or near the core of First Amendment protection – on the mistaken premise that it necessarily represents “fruits of crime.” The statute fails to take into account the salutary ways in which crime might be discussed in works authored by a convicted criminal. As the Supreme Court of California observed:

[O]ne motivated in part by compensation might discuss his or her past crimes, including those that led to felony convictions, in many contexts not directly connected to exploitation of the crime. One might mention past felonies as relevant in personal redemption; warn from experience of the consequences of crime; critically evaluate one's encounter with the criminal justice system; document scandal and corruption in government and business; describe the conditions of prison life; or provide an inside look at the criminal underworld.

Keenan v. Super. Court, 27 Cal. 4th 413, 433 (2002). The *Keenan* Court noted that “[m]ention of one’s past felonies . . . may have little or nothing to do with exploiting one’s crime for profit, and thus with the state’s interest in compensating crime victims from the fruits of crime.” *Id.* A statute that “discourages the discussion of crime in nonexploitative contexts,” the Court stated, sweeps within its scope “a wide range of protected speech” and is “not narrowly focused on recouping profits from the *fruits of crime*.” *Id.* at 435 (emphasis in original). The Court further observed that the California statute under review – which was similar to section 780.768 – disturbed or discouraged protected speech “to a degree substantially beyond that necessary to serve the state’s compelling interest in compensating crime victims from the fruits of crime,” *id.*, because it reached “all income from the criminal’s speech or expression on any theme or subject,” if the story of the crime were included. *Id.* at 417-18.

In *Simon & Schuster*, AAP attached to its amicus brief what the Supreme Court called “a sobering bibliography listing hundreds of works by American prisoners and ex-prisoners, many of which contain descriptions of the crime for which the authors were incarcerated, including works by such authors as Emma Goldman and Martin Luther King, Jr.” 502 U.S. at 121-22. The list demonstrated, the Court concluded, that New

York's Son of Sam law clearly reached "a wide range of literature that does not enable a criminal to profit from his crime while a victim remains uncompensated." *Id.* at 122.

Among the diverse works dealing with the subject of crime created, published, and disseminated by Amici's members are those from the first-hand perspective of the author. Contemporary examples include Leonard Peltier, *Prison Writings: My Life Is My Sun Dance* (St. Martins Press 1999), Mumia Abu-Jamal, *Live from Death Row* (Addison-Wesley 1995), David Carr, *The Night of the Gun* (Simon & Schuster 2008) (New York Times columnist describing his past as a drug addict and dealer), and Kevin Mitnick, *Ghost in the Wires: My Adventures as the World's Most Wanted Hacker* (Little, Brown and Co. 2011). By depriving of constitutional protection works by convicted criminals that contain his or her "recollections of or thoughts or feelings" about the crime in "books, magazines, media entertainment, or live entertainment," section 780.768 represents the imposition of a government-dictated bias on the public discussion of matters of obvious public importance and an intolerable intrusion on the "marketplace of ideas."

Section 780.768 threatens to deprive the public of information that it demands and is entitled to receive and that convicted felons are entitled to disseminate and to be compensated for. Any assumption that the government can be trusted to invoke the statute only in cases of egregious exploitation of criminal conduct is belied by the facts of this case and would, moreover, contravene the Supreme Court's pronouncement that it will "not uphold an unconstitutional statute merely because the Government promise[s] to use it responsibly." *Stevens*, 130 S. Ct. at 1591.

Kilpatrick's book *Surrendered: The Rise, Fall & Revelation of Kwame Kilpatrick*, published by Creative Publishing Consultants Inc., is a good example of a memoir by a convicted criminal – a former public official with notoriety independent of his crimes – that is not primarily about the crimes for which the author was convicted but which nevertheless was singled out by the Wayne County Prosecutor because section 780.768 (i) is on the books and (ii) does not require the prosecutor to distinguish exploitative from non-exploitative speech or speech that deals primarily with the author's crime from speech that deals with it only tangentially.

The premise underlying section 780.768 would authorize a speech-chilling confiscation order on proceeds from books by notable public figures such as former New York Times reporter Judith Miller (convicted for refusing to name a confidential source before a grand jury); former New York City Police Commissioner and U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security nominee Bernard Kerik (convicted of tax fraud and lying to White House officials); former Illinois governor Rod Blagojevich (convicted of corruption charges); former lobbyist Jack Abramoff (convicted of mail fraud and conspiracy);²

² On October 11, 2011, the District Court for the District of Columbia issued a garnishment order against Mr. Abramoff and Worldnetdaily Books, the publisher of Abramoff's book *Capitol Punishment: The Hard Truth About Washington Corruption From America's Most Notorious Lobbyist* (2011). The order requires reporting of any monies owed to Abramoff from the book contract for purposes of paying restitution Abramoff previously had been ordered to pay. See Writ of Continuing Non-Wage Garnishment, Criminal No. 06-001 (ESH), *United States v. Abramoff and Worldnetdaily Books*, Doc. No. 61-1 (D.D.C. Oct. 11, 2001). Notably, the government, in its application for the writ, did not rely on the federal Son of Sam law, 18 U.S.C. § 3681, but relied instead on 18 U.S.C. § 3613 and 28 U.S.C. § 3205, which offered a content-neutral basis for the garnishment. See Application for Writ of Continuing Non-Wage Garnishment, Criminal No. 06-001 (ESH), *United States v. Abramoff and Worldnetdaily Books*, Doc. No. 61 (D.D.C. filed Oct. 11, 2001). These documents are attached as Exhibit A hereto.

former advisor to Vice President Dick Cheney I. Lewis “Scooter” Libby (convicted of obstruction of justice, perjury, and making false statements); and former U.S. House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (convicted of money laundering), as well as by less consequential but no-less prominent public-figure convicts such as Martha Stewart (perjury), Lindsay Lohan (drunk driving), Dennis Rodman (who published *Bad As I Wanna Be* in 1997; domestic violence, drunk driving), Plaxico Burress (reckless endangerment), and Marshall Mathers (Eminem) (possession of a concealed weapon, assault). The public has a right to hear – and a legitimate interest in hearing – from such individuals not only about their crimes but also about other aspects of their lives that might contribute to a better understanding of their wrongdoing.

As noted, the state has a legitimate interest in preventing criminals from profiting from their crimes and in obtaining restitution. But it does not have a legitimate (let alone compelling) interest in attaining those goals by focusing on profits derived from storytelling. *See Simon & Schuster*, 502 U.S. at 119. The escrow order in this case is particularly dubious because it adds nothing of substance to Kilpatrick’s preexisting obligation to pay restitution except to ensure that some of the money comes from Kilpatrick’s book proceeds while imposing new obligations on Kilpatrick’s publisher. Moreover, the fact that the Circuit Court deemed “the citizens of Detroit” to be the victims of Kilpatrick’s crimes reflects a strained reading of the statute to reach speech relating to offenses that, however reprehensible, lack the identifiable crime victim that section 780.768 appears to contemplate.

If not struck down, section 780.768 threatens to inhibit the publication of socially valuable works by convicted criminals – including current or former public officials – in

contravention of fundamental First Amendment values and without any compelling rationale. Indeed, Son of Sam laws such as section 780.768 that single out speech-derived assets are self-defeating in that they reduce the incentive to engage in speech that might generate income from which restitution can be paid.

This appeal does not concern the merits of Kilpatrick’s conduct or his obligation to pay restitution. It is solely about whether section 780.768 violates the First Amendment on its face by singling out profits from the sale of protected expression for an economic burden in a manner not narrowly tailored to serve a compelling state interest. Amici believe it clearly does.

ARGUMENT

I. SECTION 780.768 IS A CONTENT-BASED STATUTE THAT IS PRESUMPTIVELY INCONSISTENT WITH THE FIRST AMENDMENT AND CANNOT WITHSTAND STRICT SCRUTINY

A. The Impermissibility of Content-Based Statutes Is Well-Ingrained in First Amendment Doctrine

It is axiomatic that content-based regulations of speech are presumptively invalid. *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377, 382 (1992); *Simon & Schuster*, 502 U.S. at 115. As the Supreme Court explained in *Simon & Schuster*, a statute is “presumptively inconsistent with the First Amendment if it imposes a financial burden on speakers because of the content of their speech.” 502 U.S. at 115.³ This presumption is particularly strong in the context of financial regulation of speakers, as “the government’s ability to impose content-based burdens on speech [through such regulations] raises the

³ This is a notion so engrained in our First Amendment jurisprudence that the Supreme Court has found it “so ‘obvious’ as to not require explanation.” *Simon & Schuster*, 502 U.S. at 115-16 (citing *Leathers v. Medlock*, 499 U.S. 439, 447 (1991)).

specter that the government may effectively drive certain ideas or viewpoints from the marketplace.” *Simon & Schuster*, 505 U.S. at 116. *See also First Nat’l Bank of Boston v. Bellotti*, 435 U.S. 765, 784-85 (1978) (“In the realm of protected speech, the legislature is constitutionally disqualified from dictating the subjects about which persons may speak and the speakers who may address a public issue.”). In order to overcome this formidable presumption, the statute must be subjected to strict scrutiny, meaning that it must be shown to be narrowly drawn to achieve a compelling state interest. *Simon & Schuster*, 502 U.S. at 118.

B. Section 780.768 Is Content-Based

Section 780.768 provides that a person convicted of a crime “shall not derive any profit from the sale of,” *inter alia*, the person’s “recollections of or thoughts or feelings about the offense committed by the person” until the victim receives any court-ordered restitution or compensation, expenses of incarceration are paid and any fines, costs, and other assessments against the defendant are paid. Mich. Comp. Laws § 780.768(1)(a). Upon the conviction of a defendant for a crime with a victim, a county attorney may seek an order that the defendant “forfeit all or any part of proceeds received or to be received” by the defendant or the defendant’s representatives or assignees from, *inter alia*, contracts “relating to the depiction of the crime or the defendant’s recollections, thoughts, or feelings about the crime, in books, magazines, media entertainment, or live entertainment.” Mich. Comp. Laws § 780.768(2)(a).⁴

⁴ Proceeds ordered forfeited are to be held in escrow for up to five years and shall, during that time, be distributed to satisfy, *inter alia*, an order of restitution and a civil judgment in favor of the victim against the defendant. Any remaining balance in the escrow fund at

The Circuit Court’s June 20, 2011 order establishing an escrow account pursuant to section 780.768 required Kilpatrick to forfeit all any of his proceeds from *Surrender* and also required his publisher to pay fifty percent of the gross receipts payable to Kilpatrick or his agent, assignees, etc. into the escrow account and to disclose to the court all money collected in connection with *Surrender*.⁵

By prohibiting payments to convicted felons due under media contracts covering expression of a convicted criminal’s “recollections of or thoughts or feelings about” the person’s offense, section 780.768 is indisputably a content-based speech regulation that must be subject to strict scrutiny. It “establishes a financial disincentive to create or publish works with a particular content.” *Simon & Schuster*, 502 U.S. at 118. *See also Keenan*, 27 Cal. 4th at 422, 429 (holding that California Son of Sam provision applicable to materials that “include or are based on the story” of the author’s felony is content-based); *Opinion of the Justices to the Senate*, 764 N.E.2d 343, 345, 348 (2002) (holding that proposed Massachusetts law that would have required the reporting of a contract to pay the defendant “any assets, material objects, monies, and property obtained through the use of unique knowledge or notoriety gained by means and in consequence of the commission of a crime” is content-based); *Bouchard v. Price*, 694 A.2d 670, 676-77 (R.I. 1997) (holding that Rhode Island Son of Sam statute applicable to “any publication, reenactment, dramatization, interview, depiction, explanation, or expression through any

the end of the escrow period is to be paid to the crime victim’s rights fund. Mich. Comp. Laws §§ 780.768(3), (5).

⁵ Order Establishing Escrow Account Pursuant to MCL 780.768, *People v. Kilpatrick*, Case No. 08-010469-01 (June 20, 2011).

medium of communication” of a felony is content-based); *Seres v. Lerner*, 102 P.3d 91, 96 (2004) (holding that Nevada Son of Sam statute allowing crime victim to claim proceeds from “any contribution to any material that is based upon or substantially related to the felony which was perpetrated against the victim” is content-based).⁶

C. The Targeting of Speech-Derived Assets Is Both Constitutionally Problematic and Unjustified

The targeting of expression on a particular subject has been called “the Achilles’ heel of a Son of Sam provision.” *Keenan*, 27 Cal. 4th at 441 (Brown, J., concurring). As the U.S. Supreme Court has explained, the State “has a compelling interest in compensating victims from the fruits of crime, but little if any interest in limiting such compensation to the proceeds of the wrongdoer’s speech about the crime.” *Simon & Schuster*, 502 U.S. at 120-21. Justice Brown, concurring in *Keenan*, observed that a law that “neutrally seizes all profits of crime comports with *Simon & Schuster* . . . and thus the First Amendment.” 27 Cal. 4th at 443 (Brown, J., concurring).⁷ The Supreme Court of Rhode Island, in *Bouchard*, observed that the state’s interest in compensating victims

⁶ See also *Arkansas Writers’ Project, Inc. v. Ragland*, 481 U.S. 221, 231 (1987) (holding that state cannot justify tax that was applied differently among various members of the press based upon content-related characteristics); *Minneapolis Star & Tribune Co. v. Minnesota Comm’r of Revenue*, 460 U.S. 575, 585 (1983) (holding unconstitutional statute that imposed tax only upon the press).

⁷ As an example, Justice Brown cited Va. Code § 19.2-368.20, which seizes any “proceeds or profits received or to be received directly or indirectly by a defendant or a transferee of that defendant from any source, as a direct or indirect result of his crime or sentence, or the notoriety which such crime or sentence has conferred upon him,” as well as Cal. Civ. Code § 2225(b)(2), which authorizes the seizure of “all income from anything sold or transferred by the felon . . . including any right, the value of which thing or right is enhanced by the notoriety gained from the commission of a felony.” See 27 Cal. 4th at 441-42 (Brown, J., concurring). Section 2225(b)(2) was not challenged in *Keenan*, and the Court accordingly did not rule on its constitutionality.

from the proceeds of crime “would be better served . . . by making available to a victim *all* the criminal’s assets, however and wherever derived,” which “avoid[s] the statute’s Achilles’ heel of singling out only expressive activity for a special burden.” 694 A.2d at 677-78. The court pointed out that crime victims normally can bring a civil damages action against the offender and recover against the victim’s assets “whether or not these assets represent royalties obtained from the commercial exploitation of the crime.” *Id.* at 678. As noted above (*see supra* note 1), a recent garnishment proceeding against convicted former lobbyist Jack Abramoff relating to the proceeds from his book relied upon 18 U.S.C. § 3613, a civil remedy for satisfaction of an unpaid fine, rather than on 18 U.S.C. § 3681, the content-based federal Son of Sam law.

It may be that accounts of crime by criminals have a unique capacity to offend and to inflict emotional pain on crime victims. However, the case law teaches that the impulse to impose specific, targeted burdens on a criminal’s speech-related assets is constitutionally impermissible.

D. Section 780.768 Is Overinclusive

The Supreme Court’s reasoning in *Simon & Schuster* as to the constitutional deficiency of New York’s Son of Sam law is equally applicable to section 780.768. The New York statute, N.Y. Exec. Law § 632-a, was passed to prevent the so-called Son of Sam killer, David Berkowitz, from profiting from the sale of his story, although the statute was never applied to him. That statute, as amended, required any entity that contracted with a person (or the representative or assignee of a person) accused or convicted of a crime in New York “with respect to the reenactment of such crime, by way of a movie, book, magazine article, tape recording, phonograph record, radio or television

presentation, live entertainment of any kind, or from the expression of such accused or convicted person's thoughts, feelings, opinions or emotions regarding such crime" to submit a copy of the contract and to pay any monies owed under the contract to the state Crime Victim's Board for deposit into an escrow account. The monies were to be paid out primarily for the benefit of victims of the person's crime.

The law was challenged on First Amendment grounds by Simon & Schuster after the Crime Victims Board ordered the publisher to turn over all monies payable to convicted mobster Henry Hill, whose life and crimes were chronicled in the book *Wiseguys* by Nicholas Pileggi (published by Simon & Schuster in 1986), and ordered Hill to pay to the Board all the money he already had received for the book. Simon & Schuster sought a declaration that the statute violated the First Amendment and an injunction against its enforcement. The law was upheld by the district court and by the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, but the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously reversed (with Justice Thomas not participating).

The Supreme Court found that the New York statute was content-based, as it "single[d] out income derived from expressive activity for a burden the state place[d] on no other income," and it was "directed only at works with a specified content." 502 U.S. at 116. *See also id.* at 118 ("The Son of Sam law establishes a financial disincentive to create or publish works with a particular content."). Applying strict scrutiny, the Court held that the statute was "significantly overinclusive" because it applied to "works on *any* subject, provided that they express the author's thoughts or recollections about his crime, however tangentially or incidentally." 502 U.S. at 121 (emphasis in original). The Court also noted the overly broad definition of "person convicted of a crime," which included

anyone who admitted to a crime, whether he was ever accused or convicted. *Id.* The Court went on to list prominent works, including *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, and autobiographies by Jesse Jackson and Bertrand Russell, as examples of works that would have been covered by the law. The Court concluded that the statute "clearly reaches a wide range of literature that does not enable a criminal to profit from his crime while a victim remains uncompensated." *Id.* at 122.

The differences between Michigan's section 780.768 and the New York statute struck down in *Simon & Schuster* (which has since been amended) are constitutionally immaterial. The Michigan statute applies to any work that includes the author's "recollections of or thoughts or feelings about the [defendant's] offense." Mich. Comp. Laws § 780.768(1)(a). Although, unlike the New York law, section 780.768 does not apply to persons merely accused but not convicted of a crime, it clearly does not shelter the full range of speech the Supreme Court has found to be entitled to First Amendment protection.

In *Keenan*, which arose out of the purchase by Columbia Pictures of the film rights to a magazine article about the kidnapping of Frank Sinatra, Jr., the California Supreme Court considered the constitutionality of Cal. Civ. Code § 2225(b)(1). The statute imposed an involuntary trust on the proceeds paid or owing to a convicted felon from the sale of expressive materials that "include or are based on the story" of the felony. "Story" was defined as "a depiction, portrayal, or reenactment of a felony," with an exemption for a "passing mention of the felony, as in a footnote or bibliography." 27 Cal. 4th at 422. The Court held that, like the New York statute, Cal. Civ. Code § 2225(b)(1)

penalize[d] the content of speech to an extent far beyond that necessary to transfer the fruits of crime from criminals to their uncompensated victims [S]ection 2225(b)(1) confiscates *all* of a convicted felon's proceeds from speech or expression on *any* theme or subject which includes the story of the felony, except by mere passing mention. By this financial disincentive, section 2225(b)(1), like its New York counterpart, discourages the creation and dissemination of a wide range of ideas and expressive works which have little or no relationship to the exploitation of one's criminal misdeeds.

27 Cal. 4th at 431-32. Section 780.768 is even more infirm, as it contains no exemption for mere "passing mention" of the crime.

That the Michigan legislature amended the statute in 2006 to include the sale of memorabilia relating to the crime and the sale of property the value of which has been enhanced or increased by the defendant's notoriety, *see* Act 184 (effective Jan. 1, 2006); Mich. Comp. Laws § 780.768(1)(b), (c), may lessen the statute's *underinclusiveness*, but it does nothing to remedy the *overinclusiveness* on which the *Simon & Schuster* Court rested its holding. *See also Bouchard*, 694 A.2d at 677 (finding Rhode Island Son of Sam law overinclusive); *Seres*, 102 P.3d at 97 (finding Nevada Son of Sam law overinclusive).

Another provision of the California statute at issue in *Keenan* provided for the confiscation of the proceeds of sales of memorabilia and of property or rights the value of which had been enhanced by the notoriety of the crime, but the California Supreme Court found no need to decide whether the statute was underinclusive because, like the New York statute, it was fatally overinclusive. *See Keenan*, 27 Cal. 4th at 431. The same conclusion should obtain here: section 780.768 is overinclusive because it applies to

works that include any mention of any crime for which the author was convicted so long as it involved a victim.⁸

II. SECTION 780.768 CHILLS CONSTITUTIONALLY PROTECTED SPEECH

Crime has always been a subject of absorbing public interest. Writings about crime are a staple of our literary heritage. It is a core function of the First Amendment to enhance the public's knowledge on matters of public moment – to promote debate and guide our leaders to proper decisions. Few subjects are more worthy of public discourse than crime and criminal justice, which are fundamental to the self-definition and self-preservation of any civilized society. The perpetrators of crimes, no less than anyone else, have the right to participate in that dialogue; indeed, they may offer a particularly valuable perspective on the root causes of crime, its methods, and its consequences, and insight into more just and effective means of law enforcement. The Michigan statute at issue here, by reducing the financial incentive for speech by those convicted of crimes, threatens to constrict this debate, thus limiting the information available to the public and harming the public interest.

Hundreds of American convicts have published accounts of their crimes or have contributed their stories to works written by other persons.⁹ These accounts, which

⁸ Amici endorse, but do not otherwise address, Kilpatrick's argument that section 780.768 is an impermissible prior restraint. The Court need not reach that issue to strike the law down as overinclusive.

⁹ Bruce Franklin's *Prison Literature in America*, the source of an appendix submitted by AAP to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Simon & Schuster* that was specifically cited by the Court as a basis for its overinclusiveness holding (*see* 502 U.S. at 121-22), illustrates the vast number of literary works by convicted criminals published during this nation's history. This compilation bears witness to the size and importance of the prison literature

describe and help us understand criminal behavior in our culture, have in many cases represented arguments for social justice by those whose crimes were committed for political purposes. They appear in an extraordinary array of forms, including personal journals and diaries, poems, magazine articles, short stories, personal narratives, plays, and novels. The sheer volume of works of this kind reflects the public's curiosity – and, more than that, society's demand to *know*. Yet, many such works would have been subject to the law at issue here, or others like it, were it in effect at the time. The likely result would have been that many of these widely read works would never have been published or would have appeared in diminished form, at an incalculable loss to the reading public.

Many publications have centered on the lives of notorious criminals, exploring the roots of their criminal careers and attempting to delve into the criminal mind. Still other works have recounted convicted criminals' experiences with the United States criminal justice or penal system, a system with the highest prison population in the world.¹⁰ Some of these works have been directed to the general public, others to academic, professional, and penological audiences.

The range of materials within the statute's proscribed activities is not limited to crimes against people or property. As noted above, important works discussing governmental conduct, often written by or about people convicted of politically charged

genre. A copy of this appendix, as it was provided to the U.S. Supreme Court, is attached hereto as Exhibit B.

¹⁰ See International Centre for Prison Studies, University of Essex, http://www.prisonstudies.org/info/worldbrief/wpb_stats.php?area=all&category=wb_pop_total (last visited May 30, 2012).

or white-collar crimes, also would be stifled under this law, as is suggested by the Circuit Court's determination that the "citizens of Detroit" are Kilpatrick's victims within the meaning of the statute. *See* Order Denying Defendant's Motion for Reconsideration and Defendant's Motion to Alter, Amend and/or Vacate, *People v. Kilpatrick*, Case No. 08-010496-01FH (Aug. 17, 2011) at 3. Frustrating the expression of this type of speech is particularly objectionable, as it has been recognized as lying "at the core of the First Amendment." *Gentile v. State Bar of Nevada*, 501 U.S. 1030, 1035 (1991) (quoting *Butterworth v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 624, 632 (1990)); *Keenan*, 27 Cal. 4th at 433 n.18 (citing AAP amicus brief). *See also* *Mills v. Alabama*, 384 U.S. 214, 218 (1966) ("Whatever differences may exist about interpretations of the First Amendment, there is practically universal agreement that a major purpose of that Amendment was to protect the free discussion of governmental affairs.").

Under section 780.768, for instance, valuable works written by convicted Watergate conspirators, such as Charles Colson's *Born Again*, G. Gordon Liddy's *Will: The Autobiography of G. Gordon Liddy*, or John W. Dean's *Blind Ambition: The White House Years*, might never have been written – an unacceptable loss to the American public and to history.

Other writings with political content such as Martin Luther King's famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," Eldridge Cleaver's *The Catechism of a Revolutionist*, and Angela Davis's *With My Mind on Freedom: An Autobiography* are works by authors convicted of crimes who (regardless of whether one is sympathetic to their cause) engaged in political challenges to prevailing norms of social justice. We as a society discourage such speech at our peril.

It is unquestionably true that the discourse protected by the First Amendment would be enhanced by publication of the first-person perspectives of such high-level recently convicted former office holders such as Rod Blagojevich and Tom DeLay, whatever the merits of their views. Constitutional values are honored, rather than diminished, by writings and other speech about crimes committed by politicians and political operatives, whose conduct affects the lives of so many others.

Of course, works by convicted criminals that do not aspire to the level of political discourse also merit the full protection of the First Amendment. *Wiseguys*, the subject of the *Simon & Schuster* case, is one example.¹¹ Another in the crime memoir genre, the 1997 bestseller *Underboss: Sammy the Bull Gravano's Story of Life in the Mafia* by Peter Maas, which tells in largely first-person narrative the story of the gangster's life, exemplifies the type of valuable insights into criminal activity of which the public could be deprived by operation of section 780.768. *Underboss* not only exposes the inner workings of the most powerful criminal organization in America, whose activities have had a direct effect on the pocketbooks of consumers, but also reveals the complicity of law enforcement officers who permitted Mafia criminality to flourish under their noses. Rather than glorifying the Mafia, it is a story of false honor and betrayal that punctures the romanticized myths that have grown up around the Mafia. The book is, moreover, the compelling story of a man who, although without remorse for his crimes, in the end showed great personal courage in deciding to turn informer, thus leading to the

¹¹ *Wiseguys* and the award-winning movie based on it, Martin Scorsese's "Goodfellas," both communicate valuable lessons derived from unique inside knowledge of crime that would never have been available to a mass audience without the financial incentive provided by the marketplace.

convictions of Gambino family boss John Gotti and others. The notion that such a valuable work should be denied the protection of the First Amendment cannot be squared with this country's constitutional commitment to a robust and uninhibited dialogue on matters of public interest.

In addition, countless works whose focus is not on crime nevertheless recount prior criminal convictions. For example, many biographies and autobiographies, such as the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, depict youthful transgressions, such as the use or selling of illegal drugs. Rarely are such accounts central to the works; they do, however, present a fuller picture of the subject's background, character, and human frailties.

Amici's members regularly create, publish, and sell works falling into each of the foregoing categories. Depending, in any given instance, upon whether a particular publisher determines that the viability and/or vitality of the publishing project calls for authorship by, or collaboration with, a convicted criminal, prospective works within these categories may never be published or, if published, may be radically altered, as a direct result of a Son of Sam law like section 780.768. Such a result conflicts with the basic free-speech tenet that "a speaker's rights are not lost merely because compensation is received; a speaker is no less a speaker because he or she is paid to speak." *Riley v. Nat'l Fed'n of the Blind of N.C., Inc.*, 487 U.S. 781, 801 (1988). *See also United States v. Nat'l Treasury Emps. Union*, 513 U.S. 454, 468 (1995) (federal law prohibiting federal officers from accepting compensation for their unofficial and nonpolitical writing and speaking activities "unquestionably imposes a significant burden on expressive activity").

Denying speakers the financial incentive of compensation unquestionably chills expression. The Supreme Court has noted that "[p]ublishers compensate authors because

compensation provides a significant incentive toward more expression” and that denying authors that incentive “induces them to curtail their expression.” *Nat’l Treasury Emps. Union*, 513 U.S. at 469. *See also Curran v. Price*, 638 A.2d 93, 99 (1994) (“It is . . . beyond question that to deny compensation for certain speech will chill such speech.”). Short of total self-censorship, concern over entanglement with statutes like section 780.768 often will lead to editorial alterations unrelated to the merits of the publishing project, a form of self-censorship motivated solely by the costs, burdens, and administrative scheme of the statute. As the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts wrote concerning a proposed Son of Sam law in that state:

Interfering with publishers’ ability to compensate an entire class of authors will likely prevent publishers from preparing and publishing works concerning persons who have, at some point in their lives, engaged in criminal activity. The administrative burdens associated with notifying the division, challenging the division determinations, and depositing funds with the division would make publishers less inclined to pursue such works.

Opinion of the Justices to the Senate, 764 N.E.2d at 350.

In effect, the state is relying on the public service instincts of convicted felons to ensure the continued dissemination of first-hand accounts of criminal activity. *Cf. Nat’l Treasury Emps. Union*, 513 U.S. at 469 n.14 (stating that proposition that honoraria ban will induce government employees to curtail expression is “self-evident even to those who do not fully accept Samuel Johnson’s cynical comment ‘No man but a blockhead ever wrote, except for money.’”). Under section 780.768, one convicted of committing a felony in Michigan has a greatly diminished financial incentive to undertake the labor of

committing his story to writing or to give the hours of interviews necessary to convey his story to a collaborator.¹²

The First Amendment protects the right “to receive information and ideas, regardless of their social worth,” a right that is “fundamental to our free society.” *Stanley v. Georgia*, 394 U.S. 557, 564 (1969). *See also Nat’l Treasury Emps. Union*, 513 U.S. at 470 (“The large-scale disincentive to Government employees’ expression . . . imposes a significant burden on the public’s right to read and hear what employees would otherwise have written and said.”). Commentary on crime, its implications for the criminal justice system, and the quality of life in our society is vital and deserving of presentation to the American public from as many perspectives as possible. It is through such educative processes that manifold works dealing with various aspects of crime add to our storehouse of knowledge, thereby promoting better societal decision-making. *See Associated Press v. United States*, 326 U.S. 1, 20 (1945) (“the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public”); *Bellotti*, 435 U.S. at 776 (“Freedom of discussion, if it would fulfill its historic function in this nation, must embrace all issues about which information

¹² The fact that the escrowing of profits under section 780.768 is linked to satisfaction of a restitution order has no bearing on the statute’s overinclusiveness or on the speech-chilling burden it creates. The State has no legitimate interest in ensuring that restitution is paid specifically out of book proceeds. Moreover, nothing on the face of the law prevents the state from seeking a forfeiture order in the absence of a preexisting restitution order. The chilling effect of the law is exacerbated by the fact that any remaining balance in the escrow account after five years is not returned to the defendant but rather is paid into the crime victim’s rights fund. *See Mich. Comp. Laws* § 780.768(5).

is needed or appropriate to cope with the exigencies of their period”) (*quoting Thornhill v. Alabama*, 310 U.S. 88, 101-102 (1940)).

The consequential impact of Michigan’s Son of Sam law upon the First Amendment rights of Amici’s members and others similarly affected warrants the application of a vigorous strict scrutiny review.

CONCLUSION

By imposing a financial burden on the creation of expressive works dealing in any way with the author’s crime, section 780.768 strikes at the heart of the constitutional right of all persons to speak on all subjects. Allowing section 780.768 to stand could mean that speech of substantial social value will never reach the public. This result would be brought about by a statute that clearly fails to meet the strict scrutiny standard applicable to content-based regulations of speech. Michigan may have an interest in seeing that crime victims are compensated and other restitution paid, but this statute is not the least constitutionally burdensome manner in which to accomplish that goal.

Amici respectfully urge this Court to declare section 780.768 to be unconstitutional and, accordingly, to invalidate the restitution order against Mr. Kilpatrick based on section 780.768.

Respectfully submitted,

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APPENDIX

THE AMICI

The Association of American Publishers, Inc. (AAP), is the national trade association of the U.S. book publishing industry. AAP's approximately 300 members include most of the major commercial book publishers in the United States as well as smaller and non-profit publishers, university presses, and scholarly societies. AAP members publish hardcover and paperback books in every field, educational materials for the elementary, secondary, post-secondary, and professional markets, scholarly journals, computer software, and electronic products and services. The Association represents an industry whose very existence depends upon the free exercise of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment.

American Booksellers Foundation for Free Expression (ABFFE) was organized as a not-for-profit organization by the American Booksellers Association in 1990 to inform and educate booksellers, other members of the book industry, and the public about the danger of censorship and to promote and protect the free expression of ideas, particularly freedom in the choice of reading materials. ABFFE has 300 member bookstores, located primarily in the United States.

The Association of American University Presses (AAUP) is an association of 131 nonprofit scholarly publishers affiliated with universities and non-degree granting research institutions, including scholarly societies, museums, and foundations. Collectively, AAUP members publish about 10,000 books a year and over 800 journals in a variety of print and electronic formats. They publish in every field of academic and

scholarly endeavor, and their publications are widely used by scholars doing their own research, for teaching in post-secondary education, and by general readers seeking peer-reviewed, high-quality information.

Comic Book Legal Defense Fund (CBLDF) is a non-profit corporation dedicated to defending the First Amendment Rights of the comic book industry. CBLDF, which has its principal place of business in New York, New York, represents over 1,000 comic book authors, artists, retailers, distributors, publishers, librarians, and readers located throughout the country and the world.

The Freedom to Read Foundation is a not-for-profit organization established in 1969 by the American Library Association to promote and defend First Amendment rights, to foster libraries as institutions that fulfill the promise of the First Amendment for every citizen, to support the right of libraries to include in their collections and make available to the public any work they may legally acquire, and to establish legal precedent for the freedom to read of all citizens.

The Independent Book Publishers Association (IBPA) is a nonprofit trade association representing more than 3,000 publishers across the United States and Canada. IBPA's members include independent publishers, non-profit , university presses, and self-publishers who publish a variety of literary works including autobiographies, memoirs, true crime, and non-fiction books on all topics. Its members' works contribute to the public debate on social and political issues and provide a forum for creative talent that contributes to the public discourse on those topics. The importance of free speech is of paramount concern to IBPA's members. The IBPA believes that section 780.7681 burdens the First Amendment rights of its members and bears directly on the ability of its

members to depict contemporary events and of readers to read its members' books and receive information.

The Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. (MPAA) is a New York not-for-profit corporation that seeks to advance the interests of the American motion picture industry. MPAA's members are primarily engaged in the production and distribution of audiovisual entertainment, including theatrical motion pictures and television programs. Michigan's "Son of Sam" law places substantially the same burdens upon filmmakers as it does upon book publishers: persons convicted of a crime will have no incentive to grant motion picture companies the right to make motion pictures that are based upon or depict their crime. Therefore, many works of social and political importance either will not be made or will be significantly truncated. This chilling effect on film-making represents a matter of grave concern to the MPAA.

PEN American Center, the professional association of over 2600 literary writers (poets, playwrights, essayists, editors, and novelists), is the largest in a global network of 131 Centers around the world comprising International PEN. PEN's mission is to promote literature and protect free expression whenever writers or their work are threatened. In particular, PEN defends writers from censorship, harassment, and imprisonment. In the United States, PEN American Center defends the First Amendment whenever it comes under attack. To advocate for free speech in the United States, PEN mobilizes the literary community to apply its leverage through sign-on letter campaigns, direct appeals to policy makers, participation in lawsuits and amicus briefs, briefing of elected officials, awards for First Amendment defenders, and public events.

An Annotated Bibliography of Published Works by
American Prisoners and Ex-prisoners, 1798-1988

Introduction

The bibliography included in the 1978 edition was the first attempt to catalog the works published by American prisoners and ex-prisoners in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It made no claim to be exhaustive, since finding and identifying literature by convicts is a formidable bibliographic task. In the ensuing four years, so many new books by American prisoners were published and so many overlooked works came to light that the publisher of the 1982 edition of *Prison Literature in America* decided to print the greatly expanded bibliography separately as an independent tool for further research. The present edition incorporates that separately bound work, together with revisions and addenda, including books published since 1981.

The bibliography does draw on some previous efforts. For the earlier literature, there was Augustus F. Kuhlman's groundbreaking *A Guide to Material on Crime and Criminal Justice* (1929), with corrections and author index by Dorothy Campbell Culver (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1969), which includes some listings of literature by convicts and criminals, mostly personal narratives. This does not attempt to distinguish between authentic autobiographies and sensationalized narratives palmed off as "confessions" by notorious criminals. Dorothy Campbell Culver's updates of Kuhlman, *Bibliography of Crime and Criminal Justice, 1927-1931* and *1932-1937* (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1969), add some newer works, but literature by convicts is not indexed in her successor volumes covering the 1938 to 1965 period. *Barred Visions: A Bibliography of Materials by Prisoners*, compiled by Rhea Joyce Rubin (Chicago Public Library, 1974, with mimeographed updates in 1975), lists quite a few English-language materials published since 1950, including British writings and foreign works translated into English. The *Fortune News*, a journal published by the Fortune Society, is an excellent source for current publications.

Rudolf Engelbarts's *Books in Stir: A Bibliographic Essay* . . . (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1972) lists and discusses a few dozen works. Herman K. Spector's *San Quentiniana: Books Published by Officials and Inmates of San Quentin* (San Quentin, 1953) gives some biographical and bibliographic facts on eleven San Quentin author-inmates. The June-July 1974 issue of *Margins: A Review of Little Mags and Small Press Books* contains a thirty-page section on prison writing, edited by Joseph Bruchac, with very helpful bibliographic information not available elsewhere. *Imprisoned in America; Prison Communications: 1776 to Attica*, edited by Cynthia Owen Philip (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), is a valuable source of information about letters by American prisoners, a form I have not included unless the letters were published as a book. In 1979 appeared Daniel Suvak's far-reaching *Memoirs of American Prisons: An Annotated Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press), which incorporates descriptions of prison life by officials, reporters, teachers, chaplains, etc., and includes a separate section on military prisoners (with a valuable list of narratives about World War II "relocation centers" as well as extensive records of works by prisoners of war), a category I do not cover. Suvak does not attempt to include literature by convicts that does not deal directly with their prison experience.

I have not tried to cover oral materials, such as songs, whether or not recorded and transcribed, so some of the main forms of prisoners' literary art are not represented in the bibliography. For help in this area, consult my notes to Chapters 3 and 6 of the current edition.

Another exclusion is the journals published within prisons. For an introduction to these materials, see Russell N. Baird's *The Penal Press* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1967) and Paul Dickson's "The Inmate Press," *Nation* (April 27, 1974, pp. 527-30).

After the original bibliography had gone to press, Dr. Robert Pierce, who teaches literature in the Texas Department of Corrections, very generously exchanged his current bibliographic efforts with mine. I have incorporated a few

items from his two unpublished bibliographies, "A Preliminary Check List of Criminal Justice Books in the Sam Houston University Library Published before 1900" and "A Humanities and Criminal Justice Bibliography"; these items are indicated parenthetically as "Pierce. Not examined." Some of the new entries in the current bibliography have been suggested by James Brown, Joseph Bruchac, Karen Franklin, Flora Higgins, Bill Keith, Max MacNamee, Edward Sagarin, and Jeff Youldeman. Jane Morgan Franklin has helped in more ways than I can possibly acknowledge.

An asterisk (*) preceding an entry indicates that this work is discussed in the present edition of *Prison Literature in America: The Victim as Criminal and Artist*. Most of these indicated works are also discussed in the first edition, *The Victim as Criminal and Artist: Literature from the American Prison*.

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