

strictures against prior restraints in the contexts of permit systems and judicial restraint of expression.¹⁴³³

It appears that government may not deny access to the public forum for demonstrators on the ground that the past meetings of these demonstrators resulted in violence,¹⁴³⁴ and may not vary a demonstration licensing fee based on an estimate of the amount of hostility likely to be engendered,¹⁴³⁵ but the Court's position with regard to the "heckler's veto," the governmental termination of a speech or demonstration because of hostile crowd reaction, remains unclear.¹⁴³⁶

irmingham, 394 U.S. 147, 150–53 (1969). Justice Stewart for the Court described these and other cases as "holding that a law subjecting the exercise of First Amendment freedoms to the prior restraint of a license without narrow, objective, and definite standards to guide the licensing authority is unconstitutional." *Id.* at 150–51. A person faced with an unconstitutional licensing law may ignore it, engage in the desired conduct, and challenge the constitutionality of the permit system upon a subsequent prosecution for violating it. *Id.* at 151; *Jones v. Opelika*, 316 U.S. 584, 602 (1942) (Chief Justice Stone dissenting), adopted per curiam on rehearing, 319 U.S. 103 (1943). *See also* *City of Lakewood v. Plain Dealer Publishing Co.*, 486 U.S. 750 (1988) (upholding facial challenge to ordinance vesting in the mayor unbridled discretion to grant or deny annual permit for location of newsracks on public property); *Riley v. National Fed'n of the Blind*, 487 U.S. 781 (1988) (invalidating as permitting "delay without limit" licensing requirement for professional fundraisers); *Forsyth County v. Nationalist Movement*, 505 U.S. 123 (1992). *But see* *Walker v. City of Birmingham*, 388 U.S. 307 (1967) (same rule not applicable to injunctions).

¹⁴³³ In *Shuttlesworth v. City of Birmingham*, 394 U.S. 147 (1969), the Court reaffirmed the holdings of the earlier cases, and, additionally, both Justice Stewart, for the Court, *id.* at 155 n.4, and Justice Harlan concurring, *id.* at 162–64, asserted that the principles of *Freedman v. Maryland*, 380 U.S. 51 (1965), governing systems of prior censorship of motion pictures, were relevant to permit systems for parades and demonstrations. The Court also voided an injunction against a protest meeting that was issued ex parte, without notice to the protestors and with, of course, no opportunity for them to rebut the representations of the seekers of the injunction. *Carroll v. President and Comm'rs of Princess Anne*, 393 U.S. 175 (1968).

¹⁴³⁴ The only precedent is *Kunz v. New York*, 340 U.S. 290 (1951). The holding was on a much narrower basis, but in dictum the Court said: "The court below has mistakenly derived support for its conclusions from the evidence produced at the trial that appellant's religious meetings had, in the past, caused some disorder. There are appropriate public remedies to protect the peace and order of the community if appellant's speeches should result in disorder and violence." *Id.* at 294. A different rule applies to labor picketing. *See Milk Wagon Drivers Local 753 v. Meadowmoor Dairies*, 312 U.S. 287 (1941) (background of violence supports prohibition of all peaceful picketing). The military may ban a civilian, previously convicted of destroying government property, from reentering a military base, and may apply the ban to prohibit the civilian from reentering the base for purposes of peaceful demonstration during an Armed Forces Day "open house." *United States v. Albertini*, 472 U.S. 675 (1985).

¹⁴³⁵ *Forsyth County v. Nationalist Movement*, 505 U.S. 123 (1992) (a fee based on anticipated crowd response necessarily involves examination of the content of the speech, and is invalid as a content regulation).

¹⁴³⁶ Dicta indicate that a hostile reaction will not justify suppression of speech, *Hague v. CIO*, 307 U.S. 496, 502 (1939); *Cox v. Louisiana*, 379 U.S. 536, 551 (1965); *Bachellar v. Maryland*, 397 U.S. 564, 567 (1970), and one holding appears to point this way. *Gregory v. City of Chicago*, 394 U.S. 111 (1969). Yet the Court upheld a