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**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
 CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA**

LOG CABIN REPUBLICANS, a non-profit corporation,

Plaintiff,

vs.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA and  
 ROBERT M. GATES, SECRETARY  
 OF DEFENSE, in his official capacity,

Defendants.

Case No. ED-CV04-8425 VAP (Ex)

**PLAINTIFF LOG CABIN  
 REPUBLICANS' MEMORANDUM  
 OF CONTENTIONS OF FACT AND  
 LAW**

Trial Date: July 13, 2010  
 Time: 9:00 a.m.  
 Place: Courtroom of Judge Phillips

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**I.**

**INTRODUCTION**

This case involves constitutional law issues of national importance concerning the rights of homosexuals to serve in the United States Armed Forces. Plaintiff Log Cabin Republicans (“Log Cabin”) asks the Court to declare unconstitutional the government’s “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy (“DADT” or the “Policy”), including both the statute codified at 10 U.S.C. section 654 and its implementing regulations, and to enjoin further enforcement of DADT. Doing so will put a halt to the irrational law that prevents open homosexuals from serving in any capacity in our Armed Forces, allows the investigation and discharge of patriotic servicemembers, and requires brave men and women fighting and dying for our country in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to conceal the core of their identity.

The government intends to present no evidence of any type to support its position that DADT is constitutional. The government intends to submit no testimony from any military or government official that DADT was or is necessary to achieve its ostensible purposes; no expert opinion testimony to that effect; and no reports or studies to that effect. All the evidence at this trial will be presented by Log Cabin, and that evidence will overwhelmingly demonstrate the unconstitutionality of DADT.

The government’s disdain for evidence also ignores admissions by the highest civilian and military officials in the government. Those admissions include President Obama’s recent statements that DADT “doesn’t contribute to our national security” and “weakens our national security,” and that reversing DADT “is essential for our national security”; and acknowledgements by Admiral Michael Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary of Defense Gates, that there is no evidence showing that DADT is necessary for unit cohesion and that assertions proffered to sustain DADT “have no basis in fact.”

1 A mountain of evidence shows that no rational basis existed for DADT at the  
2 time Congress enacted the statute, and certainly does not exist today. Since DADT  
3 was enacted, time has failed to show that DADT achieves, or can achieve, its stated  
4 purpose, in a manner consistent with the requirements of our Constitution. This  
5 Court should declare DADT unconstitutional, enjoin its further enforcement, and  
6 restore the liberties and human dignity that DADT daily denies to patriotic  
7 American servicemembers who defend those liberties the world over.

8 **II.**

9 **SUMMARY OF CLAIMS AND DEFENSES (L.R. 16-4.1)**

10 Plaintiff's First Amended Complaint asserts, and plaintiff plans to pursue,  
11 two grounds on which DADT should be declared unconstitutional: (1) Due Process;  
12 and (2) First Amendment. Each of those two claims is discussed below, with the  
13 additional matters required by L.R. 16-4. As a threshold matter, this section also  
14 discusses the issue and evidence relating to plaintiff's standing to bring this lawsuit.

15 **A. Plaintiff's Standing to Sue**

16 Plaintiff Log Cabin Republicans is a nonprofit corporation organized under  
17 the laws of the District of Columbia. It is the oldest and largest organization  
18 associated with the Republican Party advocating equal rights for all Americans,  
19 including homosexuals. Log Cabin has over sixty chapters across the United  
20 States, a full-time Washington, D.C. office, chapters in California, a federal  
21 political action committee, and membership in the thousands, including members  
22 who are residents of California.

23 Log Cabin's membership includes current, retired, and former homosexual  
24 members of the U.S. armed forces, including homosexual Americans who served in  
25 the United States Armed Forces but who were separated from the Armed Forces  
26 because of DADT and/or were otherwise injured by DADT due to, for example, the  
27 inability to reenlist, forced resignations, denial of promotions and/or separation  
28



1 proceedings. Log Cabin has identified two members whose situations confer  
2 associational standing on it: Lt. Col. John Doe, and John Alexander Nicholson.

3 Lieutenant Colonel “John Doe,” an officer in the United States Army  
4 Reserves who recently completed a tour of duty in Iraq, is a member of Log Cabin  
5 Republicans. Lt. Col. Doe joined Log Cabin prior to the filing of the original  
6 Complaint on October 12, 2004. The Court has granted Lt. Col. Doe permission to  
7 participate in this litigation using a pseudonym; he is unable to appear personally  
8 under his own identity at the trial due only to the Government’s refusal to agree that  
9 he will not be subject to consequences under DADT if he does so. Lt. Col. Doe is  
10 identified here by this pseudonym because he is homosexual and wishes to continue  
11 his service in the United States Army without fear of investigation, discharge,  
12 stigma, forfeiture of constitutional civil liberties, harassment, and other negative  
13 repercussions resulting from enforcement of DADT.

14 As a result of the mandatory language of DADT (see 10 U.S.C. § 654(b)(2)  
15 [“A member of the armed forces shall be separated from the armed forces...if...the  
16 member has stated that he or she is a homosexual...”]), Lt. Col. Doe may not  
17 communicate the core of his emotions and identity to others in the same manner as  
18 his heterosexual comrades, nor can he exercise his constitutionally protected right  
19 to engage in private, consensual homosexual conduct without intervention of the  
20 United States government. He is unable to identify himself publicly as a member  
21 of Log Cabin, because if he were to identify himself and his role in this case, he  
22 would be subject to investigation and discharge under DADT. He is also, therefore,  
23 unable to fully participate in this litigation and testify at trial for fear he will be  
24 discharged.

25 John Alexander Nicholson is also a member of Log Cabin Republicans. Mr.  
26 Nicholson joined the membership rolls of the Log Cabin Republicans in April 2006  
27 (prior to the filing of the First Amended Complaint). In 2006, Log Cabin’s Georgia  
28

1 chapter awarded Mr. Nicholson honorary membership. He has been a member of  
2 Log Cabin Republicans since April 2006 .

3 Mr. Nicholson enlisted in the United States Army just days after the  
4 September 11, 2001 attacks. In February 2002, Mr. Nicholson's sexual orientation  
5 became known to members of the Army when a fellow servicemember intercepted  
6 and read a personal letter from him to another man in Portuguese and revealed the  
7 contents of the letter to other servicemembers. After Mr. Nicholson's commanding  
8 officer confronted him and notified him of the allegations regarding his sexual  
9 orientation, to avoid a less-than-honorable discharge from the Army and an  
10 investigation of his personal life, Mr. Nicholson decided to admit his sexual  
11 orientation. He was separated on March 22, 2002 as a result of his statement. If  
12 DADT were repealed or invalidated, Mr. Nicholson would reenlist in the United  
13 States Armed Services.

14 An association has standing to sue on behalf of its members when "(a) its  
15 members would otherwise have standing to sue in their own right; (b) the interests  
16 it seeks to protect are germane to the organization's purpose; and (c) neither the  
17 claim asserted nor the relief requested requires the participation of individual  
18 members in the lawsuit." Hunt v. Wash. State Apple Adver. Comm'n, 432 U.S.  
19 333, 343, 97 S. Ct. 2434, 53 L. Ed. 2d 383 (1977). Plaintiff's standing is to be  
20 evaluated as of April 28, 2006, the date of filing of the First Amended Complaint.  
21 County of Riverside v. McLaughlin, 500 U.S. 44, 111 S.Ct. 1661, 114 L.Ed.2d 49  
22 (1991); Forum for Academic and Institutional Rights, Inc. v. Rumsfeld, 291 F.  
23 Supp. 2d 269, 289 (D.N.J. 2003), rev'd on other grounds, 390 F. 3d 219 (3rd Cir.  
24 2004), rev'd, 547 U.S. 47, 126 S. Ct. 1297, 164 L.Ed.2d 156 (2006); May 27, 2010  
25 Order Denying Summary Judgment (Dkt. 170), at pp. 13-15. Defendants cannot  
26 contest that plaintiff meets the requirements of the second and third prong of the  
27 Hunt test. Consequently, plaintiff need only demonstrate that its members would  
28 otherwise have standing to sue in their own right.

1 To show standing, a plaintiff must demonstrate: “(1) he suffered or will  
2 suffer an 'injury in fact' that is concrete, particularized, and actual or imminent; (2)  
3 the injury is fairly traceable to defendant's challenged action; and (3) the injury is  
4 likely, not merely speculative, and will be redressed by a favorable decision.”  
5 Biodiversity Legal Found. v. Badgley, 309 F.3d 1166, 1171 (9th Cir. 2002); see  
6 also Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife, 504 U.S. 555, 560-61, 112 S. Ct. 2130, 119 L.  
7 Ed. 2d 351 (1992). These elements will be established at trial through the  
8 testimony of Mr. Nicholson as to his personal situation, and through the Declaration  
9 of John Doe and the testimony of other individuals personally familiar with his  
10 situation.

11 **B. Claim 1: DADT Is Unconstitutional Because It Violates the Fifth**  
12 **Amendment Guarantee of Substantive Due Process**

13 **(a) Summary of Plaintiff's claims**

14 **1. Factual contentions**

15 The enactment of DADT in 1993 came against a backdrop of longstanding  
16 prejudice and animus against homosexuals; in enacting DADT, Congress ignored  
17 numerous reports and studies, prepared by or for the government itself, that  
18 concluded that there was no basis for excluding homosexuals from service in the  
19 military.

20 Before the 20th century, homosexual conduct was viewed as something all  
21 people were prone to engage in during moments of moral weakness; the concept  
22 that certain people have an enduring or innate homosexual identity, as in a  
23 characteristic behavior of one type of person called a homosexual, did not exist.  
24 During this period, military regulations did not speak of homosexual persons.  
25 Military policies expressly aimed at excluding homosexuals from service arose for  
26 the first time in the World War II era. By the end of World War II, homosexuals  
27 were deemed “unsuitable for military service” and were officially banned from all  
28 branches. Because it was difficult to pin down what it meant to have a proclivity to

1 engage in homosexual conduct, authorities came to rely heavily on stereotypes,  
2 especially the association of effeminacy with homosexuality.

3 In 1957 the Secretary of the Navy commissioned a report to investigate the  
4 Navy's homosexual exclusion policy. The report, referred to as the "Crittenden  
5 Report" (Ex. 4), concluded that no factual data exists to support the contention that  
6 homosexuals are a greater security risk than heterosexuals.

7 In 1981, a military-wide ban on homosexuals in uniform was implemented.  
8 The new policy modified the language that had called homosexual people  
9 unsuitable for military service, opting instead for language stating that  
10 "homosexuality is incompatible with military service," and removed any discretion  
11 previously enjoyed by different branches or individual commanders.

12 Two studies commissioned in 1988 by the military's Personnel Security  
13 Research and Education Center ("PERSEREC"), however, found that the ban on  
14 homosexual service was unnecessary and damaging and found that sexual  
15 orientation had no relationship to job performance or unit cohesion. The first  
16 PERSEREC report, Nonconforming Sexual Orientation in the Military and Society  
17 (Ex. 5), found that "having a same-gender or an opposite gender orientation is  
18 unrelated to job performance in the same way as being left- or right-handed"; it  
19 pointed to growing tolerance of homosexuality and concluded that "the military  
20 cannot indefinitely isolate itself from the changes occurring in the wider society, or  
21 which it is an integral part." The second PERSEREC report, Preservice Adjustment  
22 of Homosexual and Heterosexual Military Accessions: Implications for Security  
23 Clearance Suitability (Ex. 100), found that "the preponderance of the evidence  
24 presented indicates that homosexuals show pre-service suitability-related  
25 adjustment that is as good [as] or better than the average heterosexual," a result that  
26 appeared to "conflict with conceptions of homosexuals as unstable, maladjusted  
27 persons."

28 In 1992, the GAO conducted a study of the homosexual exclusion policy,

1 Defense Force Management: DOD's Policy on Homosexuality (Ex. 6). Its  
2 researchers looked at seventeen different countries and eight police and fire  
3 departments in four U.S. cities, reviewed military and nonmilitary polls, studies,  
4 legal decisions, and scholarly research on homosexual service, and recommended in  
5 an early draft that Congress “may wish to direct the Secretary of Defense to  
6 reconsider the basis” for homosexual exclusion. The GAO deleted this suggestion  
7 from its final report only because Congress had introduced legislation “to prohibit  
8 discrimination by the armed forces on the basis of sexual orientation.”

9       On January 29, 1993, President Clinton signed a memorandum directing the  
10 Secretary of Defense to develop a policy “ending discrimination on the basis of  
11 sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the Armed Forces of the United  
12 States” and requesting submission of a draft Executive Order that embodied a new,  
13 non-discriminatory policy. The Secretary then commissioned a study from the  
14 National Defense Research Institute of the RAND Corporation, asking it to provide  
15 “information and analysis that would be useful in helping formulate the required  
16 draft Executive Order.” The RAND study, Sexual Orientation and U.S. Military  
17 Personnel Policy: Options and Assessment (Ex. 8) was a large interdisciplinary  
18 effort prepared by over 70 social scientists including, among others, a sociologist,  
19 psychologist, anthropologist, two physicians, a statistician, and a lawyer, as well as  
20 invited representatives from each of the branches of the U.S. Military. The RAND  
21 researchers’ mission was to determine whether it was possible to end discrimination  
22 “in a manner that is practical, realistic, and consistent with the high standards of  
23 combat effectiveness and unit cohesion our armed forces must maintain.” Teams of  
24 researchers studied foreign militaries, unit cohesion literature, police and fire  
25 departments, public health related issues, and organizational issues. They based  
26 their conclusions on evidence from six countries and data analyses from hundreds  
27 of studies of cohesion.

28       The study ultimately concluded that sexual orientation alone was “not

1 germane” to determining whether an individual was fit for military service, that  
2 permitting openly homosexual servicemembers to serve would not impair how the  
3 U.S. military functioned, and that sexual orientation was irrelevant to determining  
4 whether an individual was fit for military service. It also reported that permitting  
5 openly homosexual servicemembers to serve did not impair or reduce the  
6 functioning or effectiveness of numerous foreign militaries; that most U.S. police  
7 and fire departments had integrated homosexuals, and doing so actually enhanced  
8 cohesion and improved the department’s community standing and organizational  
9 effectiveness; and that circumstances could exist under which the ban on  
10 homosexuals in the military could be lifted with little or no adverse consequences  
11 for recruitment or retention.

12 Also in 1993, the GAO reported in a separate study, Homosexuals in the  
13 Military: Policies and Practices of Foreign Countries (Ex. 7), that permitting  
14 openly homosexual servicemembers to serve did not impair the functioning of  
15 numerous foreign militaries. The GAO studied twenty-five foreign militaries, with  
16 special focus on Israel, Canada, Germany, and Sweden. In that same year another  
17 agency, the Army Research Institute (“ARI”), was assigned to conduct extensive  
18 research regarding President Clinton's proposal to lift the ban on homosexuals from  
19 serving openly in the Armed Forces. However, ARI was never given the 'green  
20 light' to fully pursue its assignment, and its research was hobbled by stringent  
21 restrictions on seeking attitudes and opinions from servicemembers.

22 Finally, in 1993, the Secretary of Defense also directed the formation of a  
23 working group (“the Military Working Group”) to address the same issue that he  
24 asked RAND to address and submit recommendations to Congress on the U.S.  
25 Armed Forces’ homosexuality policy. The Military Working Group’s report (Ex.  
26 205) ultimately found that DADT would be best for the U.S. military, but in doing  
27 so the Group did not review the final RAND report; never weighed research or  
28 empirical data about service of homosexual servicemembers in the military; and

1 ignored evidence regarding the relevance of sexual orientation to military service.  
2 In fact, members of the 1993 Military Working Group decided to retain the ban on  
3 openly homosexual servicemembers before ever convening.

4 While RAND and the Military Working Group prepared their reports,  
5 Congress held hearings regarding the ban. But those hearings ignored research,  
6 studies, and other evidence demonstrating that permitting openly homosexual  
7 individuals to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces would have no adverse effect on unit  
8 cohesion, morale, order, discipline, or military readiness. For example, the military  
9 suppressed the 1957 Crittenden report, and also suppressed the PERSEREC reports.  
10 The Pentagon attempted to disavow the PERSEREC reports on the basis that they  
11 were drafts. Congress also ignored evidence that comparable foreign militaries had  
12 already changed their policies to allow open service by homosexuals without any  
13 negative impact on unit cohesion. In enacting DADT, Congress relied primarily on  
14 three influential individuals, General Colin Powell, Senator Sam Nunn, and  
15 Professor Charles Moskos, each of whom argued against lifting the ban for what  
16 were actually personal, not military, reasons.

17 Congress's blindfolded, irrational determination to enact the DADT statute  
18 was also heavily influenced by a well-organized campaign by religious  
19 conservatives and others to stigmatize homosexuals and cast them as a threat to the  
20 military's effectiveness and core values. In testimony to Congress and public  
21 statements, this campaign made unfounded and unsupported assertions such as, for  
22 example, that homosexuality is a moral virus; that the homosexual lifestyle is  
23 unhealthy; that homosexuals are perverted and promiscuous; that homosexual  
24 servicemembers are rife with disease; that homosexuals would increase  
25 transmission of sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS; that homosexuals  
26 are abnormal and mentally unstable; that homosexuals are more prone to criminal  
27 activity; that homosexuals are sexual predators and pedophiles; that  
28 servicemembers could not respect and take orders from individuals who enjoy anal

1 sex; and that homosexuals are cowards and thieves. These assertions were echoed  
2 in the Military Working Group's report as well. Behind the scenes, members of the  
3 Pentagon acknowledged that the ban on homosexuality in the military was  
4 motivated primarily by moral concerns, not concerns for unit cohesion. In sum, the  
5 decision to exclude openly homosexual servicemembers under DADT was based on  
6 animus, prejudice, hostility, ignorance, and fear of homosexuals. The unit cohesion  
7 and other rationales stated in the DADT statute were mere pretext.

8 Although all sides were given the opportunity to be heard at the  
9 Congressional hearings on homosexuals serving in the armed forces, each side was  
10 not heard in equivalent proportions. There was essentially no consultation of  
11 empirical research, and the ban itself prevented active-duty homosexual service  
12 members from participating in the debate. Congress and the President also ignored  
13 the nation's experience integrating African-Americans in the U.S. Military. No  
14 research has ever shown that the presence of openly homosexual servicemembers  
15 would cause or has caused the deterioration of morale, good order and discipline, or  
16 unit cohesion in the military, any more than the presence of women or black men in  
17 previous decades caused such ill effects. The arguments and fears of those who  
18 have historically opposed openly homosexual service has precisely echoed the  
19 arguments and fears of those who opposed racial integration in the military  
20 following World War II.

21 Finally, during the Congressional deliberations regarding DADT, there was  
22 no discussion regarding the impact the law would have upon women  
23 servicemembers.

24 Since the enactment of DADT, hundreds of servicemembers a year – in some  
25 years more than 1,000 – have been separated from the United States Armed Forces  
26 pursuant to DADT. In all, over 13,000 individuals have been discharged under  
27 DADT. These separations have deprived the military of personnel with critical  
28 occupations and skills, with no congruence to the ostensible goals of the policy. All



1 available empirical evidence shows that DADT does not advance – in fact, bears no  
2 relation to – the stated purposes of the policy (military readiness, morale, good  
3 order and discipline, and unit cohesion). The military’s own actions demonstrate  
4 that as well: the evidence shows that DADT has been applied more frequently in  
5 peacetime than in times of war, when unit cohesion, as defendants posit the  
6 concept, is in theory most vital. Indeed, a military regulation, promulgated in 1999  
7 and still in force today, FORSCOM Regulation 500-3-3 (Ex. 92), allows active duty  
8 deployment of homosexual servicemembers awaiting resolution of the allegation of  
9 homosexual conduct or statements, and indeed instructs officers not to discharge  
10 reservists and National Guard troops based on homosexuality from units on or  
11 about to be placed on active duty status, but to postpone their discharge until their  
12 return to the United States. The year 2001, during most of which the United States  
13 was not in a state of war, yielded the highest number of discharges under DADT.

14 Since the commencement of hostilities in Afghanistan in October 2001 and in  
15 Iraq in March 2003, discharges of homosexual members of the United States  
16 Armed Forces have decreased dramatically. The Department of Defense separated  
17 49% fewer servicemembers under the Policy in fiscal year 2008 than it separated in  
18 fiscal year 2001.

19 Numerous studies and research since enactment of DADT have demonstrated  
20 that DADT does not advance its stated goals, and hence has no rational basis. For  
21 example, ARI studied the situation in Canada and concluded in a report for the  
22 Defense Department released in 1994 (Ex. 70) that anticipated damage to readiness  
23 never materialized after the ban was lifted there, and that the Canadian Forces  
24 (“CF”) experienced “virtually no consequences of lifting the ban on known  
25 homosexuals in the CF for all important dimensions.” Similarly, a 2001 Palm  
26 Center study of the San Diego Police Department (Ex. 278) echoed the finding of  
27 the RAND study that integration of open homosexuals into U.S. police and fire  
28 departments and the adoption of nondiscrimination policies did not impair

1 effectiveness, even though many departments were characterized as highly  
2 homophobic. A statistical analysis of United States military units in the Iraq and  
3 Afghanistan conflicts showed no correlation between the presence of openly  
4 homosexual servicemembers in the unit and the unit's cohesion, quality, or combat  
5 readiness. And an independent report in July 2008 by a bipartisan panel of retired  
6 flag officers (Ex. 264) found that lifting the ban is "unlikely to pose any significant  
7 risk to morale, good order, discipline, or cohesion."

8 The evidence also shows that in each year from 1994 through the present,  
9 Don't Ask, Don't Tell has disproportionately impacted women in the Armed  
10 Forces. Between 1994 and 2003, women constituted less than 20% of the United  
11 States Armed Forces yet accounted for over 40% of the servicemembers discharged  
12 under the Policy. And in 2008, women accounted for 14% of the Armed Forces but  
13 accounted for 36% of those discharged under the Policy.

14 Expert testimony will show that DADT uniquely impairs unit cohesion and  
15 military effectiveness among female servicemembers, since many female  
16 servicemembers, whether or not they are lesbian, must choose whether to perform  
17 their duties with full competence and risk being labeled a lesbian or to purposely  
18 act in a more stereotypically "feminine" but less competent manner. In addition,  
19 DADT discourages female servicemembers from reporting sexual harassment,  
20 impairing the unit cohesion and morale of all female servicemembers.

21 DADT applies to all members of the United States Armed Forces regardless  
22 of whether they serve in combat or non-combat positions. Military personnel in  
23 non-combat positions, for example instructors at the service academies, are also  
24 subject to DADT and some voluntarily leave military service because of the effects  
25 of the Policy.

26 Numerous servicemembers in occupations deemed "critical" by the Defense  
27 Department have been and continue to be separated from service under DADT.  
28 These include voice interceptors, interrogators, translators, explosive ordinance

1 disposal specialists, signal intelligence analysts, and missile and cryptologic  
2 technicians. Among the thousands of others discharged under DADT are  
3 servicemembers with skills in intelligence, combat engineering, medicine, JAG  
4 Corps members, military police and security, nuclear, biological, and chemical  
5 warfare, missile guidance and operation, medical personnel, dental care technicians,  
6 and ophthalmologists. DADT even applies equally to military judges. Discharges  
7 of servicemembers such as these continue to occur despite shortages in such  
8 personnel and despite force-wide recruitment and retention challenges, and, among  
9 other serious consequences, lead to inadequate medical attention for hundreds of  
10 injured National Guard and Army reserve soldiers, excessive delays in the delivery  
11 of care, and a negative impact on morale.

12         Such shortages harm troop morale by necessitating extended deployments, an  
13 over-reliance on the National Guard and reserves (who on average have less  
14 training, higher stress levels, and lower morale than full-time soldiers), stop-loss  
15 orders delaying discharges, forced recalls, and more frequent combat duty.

16         Numerous separated servicemembers have skills in important foreign  
17 languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, Korean, and Russian. Discharging  
18 individuals with these language skills has demonstrable negative effects on  
19 intelligence gathering, analysis, communications, force support, and hence national  
20 security.

21         Far from enhancing the quality, readiness, and cohesion of the military,  
22 DADT in fact impairs all those measures. Despite ongoing recruitment and  
23 retention shortfalls, DADT has deterred both heterosexual and homosexual  
24 Americans who are able, committed, and patriotic from enlisting to fight for their  
25 country during a time of two wars. In addition, because of those shortfalls, the U.S.  
26 military now recruits less qualified servicemembers – including thousands of  
27 servicemembers with low scores on military aptitude tests, felony and serious  
28 misdemeanor convictions, and substance abuse that would normally prohibit

1 service – rather than admitting openly homosexual individuals. These recruitments,  
2 which on their face (and confirmed by both independent research and government  
3 studies) harm rather than advance the objectives of a high-quality, capable military  
4 force, are completely unnecessary, and irrational, since the executive branch has the  
5 authority to suspend application of Don't Ask, Don't Tell if separation would not  
6 be in the best interest of the armed forces, to ensure the nation's combat  
7 effectiveness.

8 The irrationality of DADT is starkly illustrated by the military's use of  
9 "moral waivers" – invitations to enlist despite a prior record of criminal activity or  
10 substance abuse that would normally prohibit entry, authorized under 10 U.S.C. §  
11 504. The United States Army includes kidnapping, child abuse, making terrorist  
12 threats, hate crimes, rape, and murder among the offenses permissible under the  
13 "moral waiver" program for new recruits. The military has in fact issued moral  
14 waivers for servicemembers convicted of murder, kidnapping, assault, illegal drug  
15 use, and making terrorist threats, and currently counts 4,000 or more felons among  
16 its ranks. Tens of thousands of convicted felons, individuals convicted of serious  
17 misdemeanors, including assault, and illegal drug abusers have been allowed to  
18 enlist.

19 Members of the United States Armed Forces work closely with personnel  
20 from other agencies, such as the CIA, NSA, FBI, and the Department of Defense,  
21 all of which prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Even the  
22 Commander in Chief can be openly homosexual without repercussion. No  
23 analogous civilian agency, such as police or fire departments, that allows  
24 homosexuals to serve openly has reported any negative impact on cohesion,  
25 readiness, morale, or discipline.

26 While Log Cabin does not contend that the Court should base its  
27 determination of DADT's constitutionality on public opinion, it is noteworthy that  
28 part of the basis for Congress's stated justification of DADT in 1993 were opinion

1 polls that purportedly demonstrated anti-homosexual sentiment among the  
2 American public and the military. Polling since enactment of DADT, however,  
3 demonstrates that both public and military opinion has become more tolerant  
4 towards homosexuals than it was in 1993; polls show an erosion of support for  
5 DADT and little and diminishing concern that the presence of openly homosexual  
6 servicemembers will negatively impact issues of privacy, sexual tension, and the  
7 like.

8 The government has recently emphasized, as justification for the Policy, the  
9 privacy concerns of heterosexuals who would supposedly be made uncomfortable  
10 serving alongside homosexuals. This consideration is, again, pretextual, motivated  
11 by animus and prejudice. It is supported by no evidence or research. It invokes  
12 false stereotypes, such as that homosexuals lack modesty themselves, or will stare  
13 at their fellow servicemembers in the shower, or will otherwise misbehave in ways  
14 that heterosexuals would not. It ignores the fact that the military can, and does,  
15 punish sexual misbehavior regardless of the sexual orientation of the perpetrator or  
16 the victim, and it therefore irrationally singles out homosexuals for an additional,  
17 superfluous, layer of restrictions. The supposed “privacy rationale” deserves the  
18 same lack of regard as the concern expressed in 1942, in connection with the racial  
19 integration of the military, that “the minute the negro is introduced in to general  
20 service... the high type of man that we have been getting for the last twenty years  
21 will go elsewhere and we will get the type of man who will lie in bed with a negro.”

22 At least 23 countries allow homosexual individuals to serve openly in their  
23 respective armed forces; these countries include Australia, Austria, Belgium,  
24 Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Ireland, Israel,  
25 Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Slovenia,  
26 South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. American  
27 forces are stationed in many of those countries, often alongside members of those  
28 nations’ armed forces, and they study and train together with those nations’ forces,

1 frequently as seamlessly integrated units. None of these nations – including several  
2 which have specifically studied the issue – has reported any detriment to any metric  
3 of military effectiveness, including unit cohesion, readiness, morale, retention, good  
4 order, or discipline. Indeed, in our most closely allied nations such as Britain,  
5 Canada, and Israel, homosexuals serve openly in the highest positions. In both  
6 Afghanistan and Iraq, members of the United States Armed Forces have fought and  
7 continue to fight side by side with coalition forces from nations whose forces  
8 include openly homosexual servicemembers and commanding officers, with no  
9 adverse effects.

10         Independent studies and research confirm this. In 2000, for example, after  
11 Britain lifted its ban, the Palm Center at UCSB conducted exhaustive studies to  
12 assess the effects of openly homosexual service in Britain, Israel, Canada, and  
13 Australia, and found in detailed reports (Ex. 77-80) that not one person had  
14 observed any impact or any effect at all that “undermined military performance,  
15 readiness, or cohesion, led to increased difficulties in recruiting or retention, or  
16 increased the rate of HIV infection among the troops.” A follow-up study by the  
17 same institution in 2010 (Ex. 22), for those countries plus South Africa, found the  
18 same. And top military commanders, including the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of  
19 Staff and the Chairman of the NATO Military Committee, have confirmed publicly  
20 that open service by homosexuals has no impact on military effectiveness and does  
21 not undermine unit cohesion or combat readiness.

22         Notwithstanding its stated objectives of unit cohesion, morale, good order  
23 and discipline, and military readiness, DADT in fact undermines these objectives.  
24 Log Cabin’s experts will testify in detail as to the effects and consequences of  
25 DADT on these objectives, including rape and violence, mental health implications  
26 ranging from depression to suicide, and incursions into heterosexual  
27 servicemembers’ privacy during military investigations. Log Cabin will also  
28 present the testimony of several individuals who have been discharged under

1 DADT, or whose comrades have been, as well as expert witnesses' summaries of  
2 many other cases, to illustrate the irrational effects of the policy and how DADT  
3 does not advance, and indeed hinders, its objectives.

4 The President has admitted that DADT weakens America's national security  
5 by preventing patriotic Americans from serving their country, and both he and the  
6 Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have admitted that DADT forces members of  
7 the armed services to lie about who they are in order to defend their fellow citizens,  
8 and thereby encumbers and compromises their careers as they live a lie.

9 In addition to its costs in human dignity and military morale, DADT imposes  
10 significant financial burdens on the nation; the cost to U.S. taxpayers of separating  
11 thousands of capable, needed servicemembers and recruiting and training  
12 replacements is estimated in the hundreds of millions of dollars. (Exs. 9-10.)

13 Since DADT was enacted, numerous senior military commanders and  
14 civilian elected officials, among them some who supported the Policy at the time of  
15 its enactment, have criticized the Policy and/or called for its abandonment or repeal.  
16 Among many others, these individuals include former NATO Supreme Allied  
17 Commander Gen. Wesley Clark; two former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,  
18 Gen. John Shalikashvili and Gen. Colin Powell; former Republican Congressman  
19 Bob Barr; former Republican Senator Alan Simpson; and former Secretary of  
20 Defense William Cohen, on whose watch DADT was enacted. And as the Court is  
21 of course aware, the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the Chairman of the  
22 Joint Chiefs of Staff have stated that they believe the policy should be reviewed and  
23 repealed.

24 However, though Congress and the Defense Department are considering a  
25 repeal of DADT, that is neither certain to be enacted, nor would it be immediate  
26 and unconditional in effect. Meanwhile, there has been no stay in the application or  
27 enforcement of the Policy, and no stay of investigations pursuant to the Policy.  
28 Without a change in DADT, the Department of Defense will continue to authorize

1 the separation of servicemembers for homosexual acts, for statements that  
2 demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts, or for homosexual  
3 marriage or attempted homosexual marriage.

4 Against this overwhelming evidence that DADT was irrational in its  
5 enactment and has proven to be irrational in its implementation and enforcement,  
6 lacking congruence to its stated objectives, and therefore violative of the  
7 constitutional rights of servicemembers and plaintiff's members, defendants intend  
8 to produce no witnesses at trial to testify that, since its enactment, DADT has  
9 actually furthered its stated purposes or that DADT was not the result of animus  
10 and prejudice against homosexuals. They will produce no study, report, analysis, or  
11 other document which shows that, since its enactment, DADT has furthered its  
12 stated purposes or that the enactment and maintenance of DADT was not the result  
13 of animus and prejudice against homosexuals. Indeed, they have affirmed  
14 repeatedly that they intend to produce no evidence whatsoever beyond the  
15 legislative history of the DADT statute – which contains no evidence supporting the  
16 congruence of the statute to its stated objectives.

17 In sum, the assertion contained in 10 U.S.C. § 654 that DADT advances  
18 morale, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion in the Armed Forces was at  
19 the time of its enactment, and is today, without factual support. No research has  
20 ever shown that open homosexuality impairs military readiness; that homosexual  
21 servicemembers are more likely than heterosexual servicemembers to reveal  
22 classified or otherwise confidential information; that homosexual servicemembers  
23 are more likely to violate military codes of conduct, the UCMJ, or Department of  
24 Defense regulations; that homosexual servicemembers possess a physical or  
25 psychological defect that renders them unfit for service; or that the presence in the  
26 Armed Forces of persons who demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in  
27 homosexual acts creates an unacceptable risk to the standards of morale, good order  
28 and discipline, and unit cohesion that are the essence of military capability.



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**2. Legal Contentions**

While the power of Congress to pass legislation is of course broad, no legislation, even in the military context, is exempt from constitutional scrutiny. Under any form of rational basis review, the means adopted in a statute must reasonably relate to the purposes of the statute, and they must meet constitutional requirements. Accordingly, this Court may not abdicate its responsibilities and simply rubber-stamp Congress’s conclusions, as the government would have it do; it must review whether a rational basis exists for the conclusions.

**a. The Standard of Review Announced in Witt v. Air Force Applies**

Lawrence v. Texas, 539 U.S. 558, 562, 156 L. Ed. 2d 508, 123 S. Ct. 2472 (2003), held that “[l]iberty presumes an autonomy of self that includes freedom of thought, belief, expression, and certain intimate conduct.” . The Ninth Circuit, in Witt v. Dep’t of Air Force, 527 F.3d 806, 816 (9th Cir. 2008), made clear that Lawrence controls the scrutiny applied to DADT and concluded it could not “reconcile what the Supreme Court did in Lawrence with the minimal protections afforded by traditional rational basis review.” Rather than picking through Lawrence to find talismanic language of rational basis, intermediate or strict scrutiny, however, Witt simply realized that it and other courts must follow what the Lawrence court “actually did.” Id. (emphasis in original).

Witt recognized that the Supreme Court in Lawrence investigated the extent of the liberty interest at stake, grounded its decision in cases which applied heightened scrutiny, and sought more than merely a hypothetical state interest to justify the challenged law. Id. at 816-17.<sup>1</sup> In sum, Witt held, the Supreme Court

<sup>1</sup> Witt noted Lawrence’s reliance on Griswold v. Connecticut, Roe v. Wade, Carey v. Population Servs. Int’l, and Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pa. v. Casey. 527 F.3d at 817. Lawrence also reviewed Eisenstadt v. Baird, 405 U.S. 438, 31 L. Ed. 2d 349, 92 S. Ct. 1029 (1972), in which heightened scrutiny also applied. 539 U.S. at 565.

1 applied a heightened level of scrutiny – “something more than traditional rational  
2 basis review.” Id. at 817.

3 Faced with Major Witt’s as-applied challenge to DADT, the Ninth Circuit  
4 defined the level of heightened scrutiny Lawrence demands in such cases. Id. at  
5 818-19. But nothing in Witt bars applying the same standard to a facial challenge;  
6 Witt is simply silent on the issue.

7 It is also evident that Lawrence requires more than the most deferential form  
8 of constitutional review here because Lawrence itself was a facial challenge.  
9 Lawrence reviewed the Texas sodomy statute on its face, generally examining “the  
10 validity of ... making it a crime for two persons of the same sex to engage in certain  
11 intimate sexual conduct.” 539 U.S. at 562. The question was whether the statute  
12 was unconstitutional as to any two persons, not just the two specific men involved.  
13 See Lawrence v. State of Texas, 41 S.W.3d 349, 350 (Tex. App.-Houston [14th  
14 Dist.] 2001).

15 Because Lawrence mandates a heightened level of scrutiny here, the Court  
16 should apply the standard of review forth in Witt – that “when the government  
17 attempts to intrude upon the personal and private lives of homosexuals, in a manner  
18 that implicates the rights identified in Lawrence, the government must advance an  
19 important governmental interest, the intrusion must significantly further that  
20 interest, and the intrusion must be necessary to further that interest.” 527 F.3d at  
21 819. DADT intrudes upon the personal and private lives of homosexuals in a  
22 manner that implicates the rights identified in Lawrence.

23 It is appropriate to apply a heightened or intermediate scrutiny substantive  
24 due process test, such as that announced in Witt, even in the context of a facial  
25 challenge to a statute. See, e.g., Lawrence; Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pa.  
26 v. Casey, 505 U.S. 833, 112 S. Ct. 2791, 120 L. Ed.2d 674 (1992) (applying undue  
27 burden test to facial substantive due process abortion challenge). Heightened  
28 scrutiny is additionally required given that sexual intimacy is recognized as

1 important in U.S. society, is a protected liberty interest under Lawrence, and given  
2 that servicemembers are not expected to remain forever celibate. See Witt, 527  
3 F.3d at 818, n.6 (acknowledging that when a statute impairs a “significant” liberty  
4 interest like that recognized in Lawrence, some level of heightened scrutiny is  
5 applied).

6 Moreover, as with the active rational basis test described below, application  
7 of the Witt standard places the burden on the government to demonstrate that each  
8 element of the test is satisfied. The Witt Court recognized that the Supreme Court  
9 in Sell v. United States, 539 U.S. 166, 178, 123 S. Ct. 2174, 156 L. Ed. 2d 197  
10 (2003), and in Lawrence, 539 U.S. at 578, required the state to justify its intrusion  
11 into an individual’s recognized liberty interest. Witt, 527 F.3d at 818.

12 **b. Even if the Witt Standard Does Not Apply, the**  
13 **Court Must Apply Active Rational Basis**

14 If the Witt intermediate scrutiny standard does not apply, this Court must  
15 analyze DADT under what the Ninth Circuit has termed “active rational basis.”  
16 See Pruitt v. Cheney, 963 F.2d 1160, 1165-66 (9th Cir. 1992). Several cases  
17 illustrate the application of this standard.

18 First is City of Cleburne v. Cleburne Living Center, 473 U.S. 432, 87 L. Ed.  
19 2d 313, 105 S. Ct. 3249 (1985), from which the Ninth Circuit derived this  
20 heightened level of rational basis scrutiny. See Pruitt, 963 F.2d at 1165-66.  
21 Cleburne requires examination of the government’s actual – not hypothetical –  
22 bases for the challenged legislation. 473 U.S. at 448-50. This includes examining  
23 the record and delving behind the government’s stated justifications to determine  
24 whether the legislation is based upon and furthers any such actual purpose or  
25 whether its relationship to the “asserted goal is so attenuated as to render the  
26 distinction arbitrary or irrational.” Id. at 446.

27 Romer v. Evans, 514 U.S. 620, 629, 134 L. Ed. 2d 855, 116 S. Ct. 1620  
28 (1996), also employed a heightened rational basis review in examining the

1 constitutional of Colorado’s Amendment 2, which precluded the state from  
2 enacting legislation designed to protect homosexuals from discrimination. The  
3 Supreme Court found Amendment 2 unconstitutional because “its sheer breadth  
4 [was] so discontinuous with the reasons offered for it that the amendment seems  
5 inexplicable by anything but animus toward the class it affects.” 514 U.S. at 632.  
6 Romer requires that legislation must be “grounded in a sufficient factual context”  
7 for the Court to ascertain some relationship between the legislation and its asserted  
8 purposes. Id. at 632-33.

9 Colorado claimed it enacted Amendment 2 to preserve its citizens’ freedom  
10 of association and to preserve resources to fight discrimination against other  
11 groups. Id. at 635. The Court did not accept these rationales at face value. Rather,  
12 it examined the factual context of Amendment 2’s enactment and determined its  
13 actual purpose was to disadvantage a politically unpopular group. Id. at 634-35.  
14 Importantly, Romer, like Lawrence, applied this standard to a facial challenge. See  
15 id. at 643 (Scalia, J., dissenting) (identifying the challenge as facial).

16 These cases teach that, even in a facial challenge under rational basis review,  
17 the government may not enact legislation based merely upon animosity to those it  
18 would affect. Romer, 517 U.S. at 634-35; Cleburne, 473 U.S. at 448. “Private  
19 biases may be outside the reach of the law, but the law cannot, directly, or  
20 indirectly, give them effect.” Cleburne, 473 U.S. at 448. “The Constitution cannot  
21 control such prejudices but neither can it tolerate them. ... [T]he law cannot,  
22 directly or indirectly,” give effect to private biases. Palmore v. Sidoti, 466 U.S.  
23 429, 433, 80 L. Ed. 2d 421, 104 S. Ct. 1879 (1984). “A bare desire to harm a  
24 politically unpopular group cannot constitute a legitimate governmental interest.”  
25 Romer, 517 U.S. at 634 (emphasis in original) (citation and quotation omitted).

26 The Supreme Court in Lawrence employed the more searching review it  
27 employed in Cleburne and Romer. Indeed, Lawrence identified Romer as among  
28 the principal authorities that eroded the foundations of Bowers v. Hardwick, 478

1 U.S. 186, 92 L. Ed. 2d 140, 106 S. Ct. 2841 (1986). Lawrence, 539 U.S. at 574-76.

2 The Court rejected Texas' proffered legitimate governmental interest and  
3 held that restrictions on homosexuals' liberty interests cannot be justified merely on  
4 the basis of society's moral preferences. Id. at 571. Its investigation of the stated  
5 rationale and its factual context was searching, even including examination of  
6 foreign sources. Id. at 572, 576-77. Following Lawrence and Witt, this heightened  
7 level of scrutiny is the test the Court, at a minimum, must apply in evaluating the  
8 constitutionality of DADT.

9 c. **Judicial Deference to Military Affairs Does Not**  
10 **Rescue DADT**

11 Nor do considerations of deference to military judgment immunize DADT  
12 from this heightened constitutional scrutiny. Philips v. Perry, 106 F.3d 1420 (9th  
13 Cir. 1997), on which the government has relied for this proposition in earlier  
14 briefing, does not compel such a result, because the two core underpinnings of that  
15 case have been compromised.<sup>2</sup> Since that decision, the Supreme Court has upheld a  
16 constitutional challenge to the government's policy of denying procedural due  
17 process to an American citizen classified as an enemy combatant. Hamdi v.  
18 Rumsfeld, 542 U.S. 507, 533, 159 L. Ed. 2d 578, 124 S. Ct. 2633 (2004). It  
19 rejected the government's argument that federal courts should only review that  
20 policy under a "very deferential 'some evidence' standard" in light of the grave  
21 threat terrorism poses to the Nation and the "dire impact" due process would have  
22 on the central functions of war-making. Id. at 527, 534. In Hamdan v. Rumsfeld,  
23 548 U.S. 557, 588, 165 L. Ed. 2d 723, 126 S. Ct. 2749 (2006), the Supreme Court  
24 likewise held that "the duty rests on the courts, in time of war as well as in time of  
25 peace, to preserve unimpaired the constitutional safeguards of civil liberty."

26  
27 <sup>2</sup> In addition, as the Court has noted more than once, Philips v. Perry is an equal  
28 protection case, not a substantive due process case, so it does not control here. See  
June 9, 2009 Order (Dkt. 83), at p. 17 n.5; July 24, 2009 Order (Dkt. 91), at p. 2.

1 Military commanders are not shamans or high priests tasked with interpreting  
2 mysteries unfathomable to lesser mortals – they are professionals in an occupation  
3 subject to civilian control, a fundamental principle since the first days of the  
4 Republic. The Ninth Circuit has accordingly not hesitated to subject military-  
5 related legislation to a heightened “active” rational basis review. Pruitt, 963 F.2d at  
6 1165-66. Pruitt made clear that courts of this circuit must scrutinize military  
7 rationales in the same manner employed by the Supreme Court in Cleburne. Id.  
8 Indeed, “deference does not mean abdication” and Congress cannot subvert the  
9 guarantees of the Due Process Clause merely because it is legislating in the area of  
10 military affairs. Witt, 527 F.3d at 821. The Supreme Court has noted that “military  
11 interests do not always trump other considerations, and we have not held that they  
12 do,” Winter v. Natural Resources Defense Council, Inc., \_\_\_ U.S. \_\_\_, 129 S.Ct.  
13 365, 378, 172 L.Ed.2d 249 (2008). That caution is even more applicable where, as  
14 here, constitutional considerations are implicated.

15 Finally, the government’s appeal to deference to military judgment is  
16 particularly ironic in view of the fact that the Commander in Chief, the Secretary of  
17 Defense, and the current Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (as well as at least  
18 two former Chairmen and scores of retired general and flag officers), all agree that  
19 DADT is not working, does not accomplish its stated objectives, and should be  
20 ended.

21 **d. Post-Enactment Evidence is Relevant to the**  
22 **Constitutional Analysis**

23 Constitutional review of Congressional legislation is not limited to  
24 examination of evidence available at the time of enactment. The Court may  
25 scrutinize both post-enactment evidence and evidence of changed circumstances.

26 The government’s position is that a statute “must be reviewed at the time of  
27 enactment and is not subject to challenge on the ground of changed circumstances.”  
28 Once rational, always rational, the government contends. Even if such an extreme

1 position were necessary to avoid the supposed evil of “periodic judicial review [of  
2 legislation] on the basis of changed circumstances,” as the government puts it, that  
3 supposed evil is a straw man which should not prevent this Court from scrutinizing  
4 DADT. Furthermore, the government’s “once rational, always rational” contention  
5 is untrue: if legislation once considered to have been enacted with a rational basis  
6 were forever immunized from review, then no statute, once found constitutional  
7 under rational-basis review, would ever be subject to a second challenge, no matter  
8 how irrational or constitutionally odious it later is seen to be. If such an immunity  
9 were the law, the nation would still, for example, have laws in place for forced  
10 sterilization. “Three generations of imbeciles are enough.” That infamous phrase  
11 from Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes’ opinion in Buck v. Bell, 274 U.S. 200, 207,  
12 71 L. Ed. 1000, 47 S. Ct. 584 (1927) stands today as perhaps the foremost  
13 expression of a public policy once deemed rational but since overtaken by history, a  
14 monument to discredited theories of social engineering. “Don't Ask, Don't Tell”  
15 should join it in the dustbin of irrational public policies.

16 More importantly, it is not “changed circumstances” alone that demonstrate  
17 that DADT is unconstitutional. Changed circumstances are indeed relevant in  
18 evaluating the continuing interpretation of a legislative enactment. See Northwest  
19 Austin Mun. Util. Dist. No. 1 v. Holder, \_\_\_ U.S. \_\_\_, 174 L. Ed. 2d 140, 129 S.  
20 Ct. 2504, 2512 (2009). This is equally true in evaluating legislation under rational  
21 basis review:

22 Those who drew and ratified the Due Process Clauses ...  
23 knew times can blind us to certain truths and later  
24 generations can see that laws once thought necessary and  
25 proper in fact serve only to oppress. As the Constitution  
26 endures, persons in every generation can invoke its  
27 principles in their own search for greater freedom.  
28

1 Lawrence, 539 U.S. at 578-79.<sup>3</sup> That DADT lacks a rational basis can be shown by  
2 evidence of new or changed circumstances, such as polling data showing the lack of  
3 support for the policy both in the military and in the public at large.

4 But even if it were the case that the statute should be reviewed without  
5 consideration of changed circumstances, that does not preclude this Court from re-  
6 examining the rationality of the statute at the time based on evidence not previously  
7 presented or considered, such as the expert opinion testimony that Log Cabin  
8 proffers here. Log Cabin will show at trial the lack of a rational basis for DADT  
9 not simply by evidence of new or changed circumstances, such as polling data  
10 showing the lack of support for the policy both in the military and in the public at  
11 large, but also by extensive expert testimony explaining that there was no rational  
12 basis for Congress's original determination at the time of the enactment of DADT.  
13 That testimony shows that it is not simply the "wisdom" of DADT that is lacking,  
14 but the very rational basis for the policy.

15 Numerous courts adjudicating constitutional challenges to legislation, both  
16 facial and as-applied challenges, have recognized that it is appropriate to consider  
17 evidence outside the legislative history of the statutes, including evidence  
18 developed after enactment of the statute that sheds light on the existence of a  
19 rational basis for the statute, either at the time of enactment or as implemented  
20 following enactment. See, e.g., Western & Southern Life Ins. Co. v. State Board of  
21 Equalization, 451 U.S. 648, 652, 673-74, 101 S. Ct 2070, 68 L.Ed.2d 514 (1981)  
22 (apparently a facial challenge); City of Cleburne v. Cleburne Living Center, 473  
23 U.S. 432, 105 S.Ct. 3249, 87 L.Ed.2d 313 (1985) (as-applied challenge); Planned

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24  
25 <sup>3</sup> Lawrence itself recognized that "the deficiencies in Bowers became more  
26 apparent in the years following its announcement," and noted such factors as the  
27 diminishing number of states which outlawed sodomy, the relaxed pattern of  
28 enforcement of sodomy laws where they did exist, and substantial and continuing  
criticism of Bowers since its announcement. Lawrence, 539 U.S. at 573, 576. As  
Justice Kennedy wrote, "History and tradition are the starting point but not in all  
cases the ending point of the substantive due process inquiry." Id. at 572.



1 Parenthood of Southeastern Pa. v. Casey, 505 U.S. 833, 112 S. Ct. 2791, 120  
2 L.Ed.2d 674 (1992) (facial challenge); Lawrence v. Texas, 539 U.S. 558, 572, 576-  
3 77, 156 L. Ed. 2d 508, 123 S. Ct. 2472 (2003) (facial challenge); Annex Books, Inc.  
4 v. City of Indianapolis, 581 F.3d 460 (7th Cir. 2009).

5 Log Cabin’s experts’ testimony will show that the statute, when enacted,  
6 lacked a rational basis, or was motivated by unconstitutional animus, so that, even  
7 independent of later events, the DADT policy did not have a rational basis when  
8 adopted and is therefore unconstitutional. The experts’ opinions may be informed  
9 by post-enactment analysis, such as empirical studies of the actual effects of DADT  
10 and whether these effects are congruent with its stated purpose, but they do not  
11 arise only from new facts or changed circumstances since the enactment of DADT.  
12 Other events subsequent to the adoption of DADT – such as changed military and  
13 public opinion, and the changed views of those who formerly supported the policy  
14 like Gen. Powell – simply bolster the position that DADT is not rationally designed  
15 to accomplish its stated purposes, but do not vitiate Log Cabin’s independent  
16 showing that DADT had no rational basis for its enactment.

17 e. **Don’t Ask Don’t Tell Violates the Constitution’s**  
18 **Guarantee of Substantive Due Process**

19 Scrutiny of legislative enactments to ensure that their means are both  
20 congruent with their stated objectives, and constitutional in themselves, is not a new  
21 concept. It is a deeply-rooted principle of constitutional jurisprudence. As long  
22 ago as 1917 – when Plessy v. Ferguson was still the law of the land – the Supreme  
23 Court invalidated a municipal residential segregation ordinance because despite its  
24 supposedly laudable objectives, the means employed to reach those objectives were  
25 neither rationally related to them, nor constitutional. Though the factual setting of  
26 the Supreme Court’s decision is distasteful, its analysis is instructive here.

27 In Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60, 38 S.Ct. 16, 62 L.Ed. 149 (1917), a  
28 Louisville, Kentucky ordinance prohibited the occupancy by a colored person of

1 property on a block where the majority of lots were occupied by white persons, and  
2 vice versa. The stated objectives of the ordinance were to “prevent[] racial conflicts;  
3 ... maintain racial purity; ... [and] prevent[] the deterioration of property owned and  
4 occupied by white people.” 245 U.S. at 73-74. The Supreme Court first observed  
5 that local legislation under the police power “is not to be interfered with by the  
6 courts where it is within the scope of legislative authority and the means adopted  
7 reasonably tend to accomplish a lawful purpose,” *id.* at 74 (emphasis added); and it  
8 acknowledged “[t]hat there exists a serious and difficult problem arising from a  
9 feeling of race hostility,” but noted that “its solution cannot be promoted by  
10 depriving citizens of their constitutional rights and privileges.” *Id.* at 80-81. The  
11 Court held that the means chosen by the statute – a prohibition on the sale of  
12 property to an individual who would be a minority race on the block – was not  
13 rationally related to its stated purposes of maintaining “the purity of the races” and  
14 property values. As to the first purpose, the ordinance did not prohibit the  
15 employment of servants of one race in the household of another, nor did it prohibit  
16 “nearby residences” of families of opposite race, so long as they were on a different  
17 block; and as to the second, “property may be acquired by undesirable white  
18 neighbors or put to disagreeable though lawful uses with like results [depreciation of  
19 property values].” *Id.* at 81-82. Because the prohibitions of the ordinance were not  
20 what today would be called rationally related to its objectives, and because the effect  
21 of the ordinance was to interfere with a constitutionally protected right – the right to  
22 acquire, enjoy, and dispose of property – the Supreme Court invalidated the  
23 ordinance.

24 Making allowances for changing times and changing mores, the issues  
25 presented in this case echo those that confronted the Supreme Court in Buchanan.  
26 Though a racial prohibition like the Louisville ordinance is unthinkable today, the  
27 type of animus and prejudice that gave rise to it has only found a new target.  
28 Congress’s objectives in enacting DADT are laudable: enhancing military

1 capability, maintaining good order, discipline, and morale. But the means that it  
2 chose to achieve those objectives are not rationally related to them, and the resulting  
3 Policy is equally as odious to the Constitution as the Louisville ordinance was. This  
4 Court should have no hesitation in following well-established precedent and  
5 invalidating this irrational and constitutionally repugnant statute and regulations.

6 The evidence presented by plaintiff will establish that DADT, while  
7 purportedly addressed to the significant governmental interests of military “morale,  
8 good order and discipline, and unit cohesion that are the essence of military  
9 capability” (10 U.S.C. § 654(a)(15)), does not significantly further those interests,  
10 nor is it necessary to further those interests. It therefore violates the substantive due  
11 process guarantee of the Constitution (U.S. Const., Amdt. V). The enactment and  
12 implementation of DADT violates substantive due process because:

- 13 ➤ No objective studies, reports, or data, either pre- or post-enactment,  
14 support the rationality of DADT and its congruence to Congress’s  
15 stated objectives. In fact, at the time of the enactment of DADT, the  
16 only objective studies showed that DADT would not further unit  
17 cohesion and troop morale. Those studies were either ignored by or  
18 hidden from Congress;
- 19 ➤ The enactment of DADT was motivated by animus, prejudice,  
20 hostility, ignorance, or fear of homosexuals;
- 21 ➤ The enactment of DADT was based on the private biases of influential  
22 leaders about homosexuals rather than military judgment;
- 23 ➤ The military itself recognizes that sexual orientation is not germane to  
24 military service, inasmuch as DADT is applied more frequently in time  
25 of peace than in time of war, and the military has knowingly deployed  
26 openly homosexual members to foreign theaters of combat;
- 27 ➤ DADT has had a disproportionate impact on women, and purported  
28 rationales for the policy based on considerations of privacy and sexual

1 tension do not apply to female servicemembers;

- 2 ➤ When DADT was enacted, some comparable foreign militaries, e.g.,  
3 Canada, had already changed their policies to allow open service by  
4 homosexuals without any negative impact on unit cohesion, a factor  
5 ignored by Congress, and many comparable foreign countries'  
6 militaries have, both before and since the enactment of DADT,  
7 changed their policies to permit open service by homosexuals without  
8 any negative impact on unit cohesion. In addition, U.S. troops fight  
9 side-by-side with openly homosexual members of the armed forces of  
10 foreign militaries without any impact on unit cohesion and, in some  
11 instances, are commanded by openly homosexual officers from other  
12 countries;
- 13 ➤ Service members in non-combat but critical occupations such as  
14 doctors, nurses, teachers, ophthalmologists, dentists, lawyers, linguists,  
15 translators, and others have been discharged under DADT;
- 16 ➤ Open homosexuals are not allowed to serve in the armed forces but are  
17 allowed to work alongside our armed forces in the FBI, CIA, NSA,  
18 Department of Defense, private contracting firms performing military  
19 functions, and civilian paramilitary organizations such as police and  
20 fire departments. Indeed, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed  
21 Forces could be openly homosexual;
- 22 ➤ The available objective evidence establishes that DADT undermines  
23 military effectiveness, military readiness, and national security;  
24 undermines unit cohesion; undermines troop morale; and impairs  
25 recruitment and retention in the military;
- 26 ➤ DADT particularly undermines task cohesion, a goal more germane to  
27 military effectiveness than unit cohesion;
- 28 ➤ DADT violates First Amendment rights of speech and association.

1 Even if the constitutionality of DADT is not governed by the Witt standard,  
2 discussed above, it fails even the more deferential active rational basis and  
3 traditional rational basis tests for the same reasons. It additionally fails all  
4 constitutional scrutiny because Defendants offer no evidence whatsoever  
5 demonstrating DADT's rational relationship to its stated purposes, and because Log  
6 Cabin's un rebutted showing will be that DADT actually impairs those interests.

7 **(b) Elements of Plaintiff's claims**

8 1. Plaintiff's members who serve and served in the United States Armed  
9 Forces have constitutional liberties and a right to privacy under the Due Process  
10 Clause of the Constitution.

11 2. Homosexual servicemembers' constitutional liberties and right to  
12 privacy under the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment encompass and  
13 protect intimate, consensual physical acts and relationships with persons of the  
14 same gender. Lawrence, 539 U.S. at 578-79.

15 3. DADT violates homosexual current and former servicemembers'  
16 constitutional liberties and right to privacy under the Due Process Clause of the  
17 Fifth Amendment by authorizing the government to investigate their private,  
18 consensual intimate relationships.

19 4. DADT further violates homosexual current and former  
20 servicemembers' constitutional liberties and right to privacy under the Due Process  
21 Clause of the Fifth Amendment by authorizing the government to discharge  
22 homosexuals from the Armed Forces if it is determined that they have engaged in,  
23 attempted to engage in, or demonstrated a propensity or intent to engage in private,  
24 consensual physical acts with persons of the same gender.

25 5. As a result of Defendants' implementation and enforcement of DADT  
26 Plaintiff's members have suffered injury and will suffer further irreparable harm to  
27 their constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment if DADT is not declared  
28 unconstitutional and defendants are not enjoined from enforcing DADT.

1           6.     Plaintiff's members have no adequate remedy at law.

2                   (c)     **Key evidence supporting Plaintiff's claims**

3           The key evidence on which Plaintiff will rely for its substantive due process  
4 claim is: the testimony and expert reports of its expert witnesses Aaron Belkin,  
5 Ph.D.; Nathaniel Frank, Ph.D.; Elizabeth Hillman, Ph.D., J.D.; Lawrence Korb,  
6 former Assistant Secretary of Defense; Robert MacCoun, Ph.D.; Alan Okros,  
7 Ph.D.; and Melissa Sheridan Embser-Herbert, Ph.D., J.D.; the publications and  
8 scholarly works relied on by those expert witnesses; the testimony of lay witnesses  
9 Major Michael Almy, Jenny Kopfstein, SSgt. Anthony Loverde, J. Alexander  
10 Nicholson III, Joseph Rocha, and Stephen J. Vossler, all of whom will testify  
11 regarding their own discharges and/or those of their comrades, and that individuals'  
12 sexual orientation had no negative effect on unit cohesion or morale; the admissions  
13 and testimony of the government, including the testimony of Col. Scott Brady, Dr.  
14 Paul Gade, and Dennis Drogo, the government's designated witnesses under Fed.  
15 R. Civ. P. 30(b)(6); and documents and reports on the Joint Exhibit List filed  
16 concurrently herewith including particularly the following: the Crittenden Report  
17 (Ex. 4); the 1993 RAND report (Ex. 8); reports of the GAO issued 1992 (Ex. 6),  
18 1993 (Ex. 7), and 2005 (Ex. 9); the 1993 Military Working Group report (Ex. 205);  
19 the 1988 PERSEREC report (Ex. 5); the 1989 PERSEREC report (Ex. 100); the  
20 1991 PERSEREC report (Ex. 101); ARI Research Note 93-17 (Ex. 69); ARI  
21 Research Report 1657 (Ex. 70); 2000-01 Palm Center reports (Exs. 77-80); 2010  
22 Palm Center report (Ex. 22); FORSCOM regulation 500-3-3 (Ex. 92).

23           C.     **Claim 2: DADT Is Unconstitutional Because It Violates First**  
24                   **Amendment Guarantees of Freedom of Speech and Association**  
25                   **and the Right to Petition**

26                   (a)     **Summary of Plaintiff's claims**

27           Plaintiff's second claim is that DADT violates its members' First  
28 Amendment rights, including their rights to freedom of speech and freedom of

1 association, and to petition the government for redress of grievances. DADT  
2 directly targets, and unconstitutionally impairs, these rights.

### 3 **1. Factual Contentions**

4 DADT provides that “Sexual orientation is considered a personal and private  
5 matter.” Notwithstanding that, homosexual “conduct” is grounds for separation  
6 from the U.S. Military under DADT. Homosexual “conduct” includes a statement  
7 that one is a homosexual or bisexual, or words to that effect, or a statement by a  
8 person that demonstrates a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts unless  
9 the servicemember has “demonstrated that he or she is not a person who engages in,  
10 attempts to engage in, has a propensity to engage in, or intends to engage in  
11 homosexual acts.” 10 U.S.C. § 654(b). An estimated 80% to 85% of discharges  
12 under DADT since 1993 have been for “statements.”

13 Importantly, being gay or lesbian is not wrongful conduct under DADT, and  
14 the policy does not prohibit gays or lesbians from serving in the military.  
15 Nevertheless, pursuant to DADT, the statement “I am a homosexual” is grounds for  
16 separation. Accordingly, while a servicemember’s status is not a basis for  
17 discharge under DADT, a statement of that permissible status is grounds for  
18 separation. While a servicemember who is to be separated under DADT for  
19 homosexual conduct can in theory rebut the presumption that he or she has a  
20 propensity or intent to engage in such acts, the number of cases in which a  
21 servicemember has successfully done so has not been statistically significant.<sup>4</sup>  
22 Even a servicemember’s promise to remain celibate in the future is insufficient to  
23 rebut the presumption and thereby avoid discharge (Ex. 337).

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27 <sup>4</sup> Of the 3,227 servicemembers separated between 1994 and 1997, only 9  
28 servicemembers threatened with separation under DADT were able to rebut the  
presumption.

1 Congress recognized that, among both heterosexuals and homosexuals,  
2 “[s]exual behavior is one of the most intimate and powerful forces in society” (Ex.  
3 3). The Armed Forces do not presume that servicemembers will remain celibate.

4 Because homosexual “conduct” is defined so broadly, and the likelihood of  
5 rebutting the presumption is so low, DADT regulates, and in some cases punishes,  
6 people for their status and not for homosexual conduct. This is underscored by the  
7 nomenclature used to describe DADT discharges, which are categorized as  
8 “homosexual discharges,” not “homosexual conduct discharges.” This is the same  
9 nomenclature used before DADT, when the Defense Department’s directives stated  
10 “**homosexuality** is incompatible with military service.”

11 Not only does DADT broadly define conduct to include statements, but it  
12 prohibits such statements on a sweeping scale. DADT restricts all statements  
13 indentifying a servicemember as homosexual or bisexual “at all times that the  
14 member has a military status, whether the member is on base or off base, and  
15 whether the member is on duty or off duty.” Indeed, private statements to civilian  
16 family and friends have served, as in the case of Log Cabin member Nicholson, as  
17 the basis for discharge proceedings under DADT.

18 Further, DADT prohibits homosexual servicemembers from acknowledging  
19 their homosexuality in court, to an elected representative, to the media, or in the  
20 course of a political debate. In fact, the government’s training materials provide  
21 that a servicemember who advocates in a public, off-base forum for repeal of  
22 DADT is subject to investigation and potential discharge on that basis alone (Ex.  
23 175).

24 Other servicemembers, including at least two Log Cabin members, have been  
25 discharged under DADT for “statements” without their ever having indicated a  
26 supposed “propensity to engage in ‘homosexual acts’” to either their superior  
27 officers or other servicemembers, or indeed without ever admitting during  
28 separation proceedings they had committed such acts. In one of these cases, the



1 statement that launched the investigation was something akin to “I have a profile on  
2 Myspace.”

## 3 **2. Legal Contentions**

4 Pursuant to the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, “Congress shall  
5 make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech ... or the right ... to petition the  
6 Government for a redress of grievances.” U.S. Const., Amdt. I. Thus, laws that  
7 restrict, punish, or chill constitutionally protected speech are presumptively invalid  
8 and must withstand the strictest constitutional scrutiny. See Simon & Schuster, Inc.  
9 v. Members of New York State Crime Victims Bd., 502 U.S. 105, 116, 118, 123,  
10 116 L.Ed.2d 476, 112 S.Ct. 501 (1991).

### 11 **a. DADT Is an Unconstitutional Content-Based** 12 **Restriction on Speech**

13 “Laws that by their terms distinguish favored speech from disfavored speech  
14 on the basis of the ideas or views expressed” constitute content-based restrictions  
15 on speech. Turner Broad. Sys., Inc. v. F.C.C., 512 U.S. 622, 643, 129 L.Ed.2d 497,  
16 114 S.Ct. 2445 (1994); Simon & Schuster, Inc., 502 U.S. 105, 116. Restrictions  
17 which permit the government to discriminate on the basis of the content of the  
18 message cannot be tolerated under the First Amendment and are “presumptively  
19 invalid.” R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, 505 U.S. 377, 382, 120 L.E.2d 305, 223 S.Ct.  
20 2538 (1992); Simon & Schuster, 502 U.S. 105, 116.

21 In order to justify a content-based restriction on speech, the government  
22 “must show that its regulation is necessary to serve a compelling state interest and  
23 is narrowly drawn to achieve that end.” Simon & Schuster, Inc., 502 U.S. 105, 118,  
24 123. The government must choose the least restrictive means to achieve the  
25 compelling interest. Sable Comm. of Cal., Inc. v. FCC, 492 U.S. 115, 126, 106  
26 L.Ed.2d 93, 109 S.Ct. 2829 (1989).

27 DADT constitutes a content-based restriction on speech. By its express  
28 terms, DADT prohibits servicemembers from stating “I am a homosexual or

1 bisexual” or “words to that effect.” 10 U.S.C. § 654(b)(2). One of the bases for  
2 Log Cabin’s associational standing is the ongoing harm to its military members that  
3 is caused by DADT’s requiring those individuals to capitulate to the threat of  
4 discharge by concealing the expression of their identity. That implicates their First  
5 Amendment rights, because DADT’s inhibition of speech targets only speech and  
6 expression that states that a servicemember is homosexual. DADT does not  
7 constrain servicemembers from stating, or expressing nonverbally, their  
8 heterosexuality: a servicemember may without fear of consequence express  
9 affection to an opposite-sex partner, display a family photograph of his or her  
10 opposite-sex partner and their children, and so forth.

11 “Notwithstanding the great deference owed to the military, regulations  
12 restricting speech on military installations may not discriminate against speech  
13 based on its viewpoint.” Cornelius v. NAACP Legal Defense & Educ. Fund, 473  
14 U.S. 788, 806 (1985); Shopco Dist. Co. v. Commanding Gen. of Camp Lejeune,  
15 885 F.2d 167, 174 (4th Cir. 1989). Regulations that “selectively grant[] safe  
16 passage to speech of which [officials] approve while curbing speech of which they  
17 disapprove” are impermissible, Berner v. Delahanty, 129 F.3d 20, 28 (1st Cir.  
18 1997), even in the military, Bryant v. Gates, 532 F.3d 888, 897 (D.C. Cir. 2008);  
19 Shopco, 885 F.2d at 172.

20 Thus, regardless of any considerations of deference owed to military  
21 judgment, “regulations restricting speech on military installations may not  
22 discriminate against speech based upon its viewpoint...a regulation is viewpoint  
23 based if it suppresses the expression of one side of a particular debate.” Nieto v.  
24 Flatau, No. 7:08-CV-185, 2010 WL 2216199 (E.D.N.C. March 31, 2010) at \*5  
25 (citations omitted). The military may not restrict speech “in a manner that allows  
26 one message while prohibiting the messages of those who can reasonably be  
27 expected to respond.” Id. DADT does just that, and therefore causes First  
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1 Amendment harm to members of the military by unconstitutionally restricting the  
2 content of their speech and expression, not simply their conduct.

3 There is no compelling governmental interest in prohibiting gay and lesbian  
4 servicemembers from truthfully identifying themselves. As discussed above,  
5 DADT was enacted out of animus and hostility towards gays and lesbians and not  
6 based on a legitimate concern about the effect of homosexuals on unit cohesion.  
7 No evidence exists to suggest that gay and lesbian servicemembers pose a risk to  
8 unit cohesion or military efficiency.

9 That certain members of the government and military may find  
10 homosexuality immoral does not make DADT “necessary to achieve a compelling  
11 governmental interest.” Indeed, the “curtailing of expression” which the  
12 government may “find abhorrent or offensive cannot provide the important  
13 governmental interest upon which impairment of First Amendment freedoms must  
14 be predicated.” Gay Student Orgs. of Univ. of New Hampshire v. Thomson, 509 F.  
15 2d 652, 662 (1st Cir. 1974).

16 Because punishing, restricting, or chilling speech which tends to identify a  
17 servicemember as homosexual has no rational connection to a compelling  
18 governmental interest, DADT is an unconstitutional content-based restriction on  
19 servicemembers’ First Amendment rights. DADT, which provided grounds for Mr.  
20 Nicholson’s and other servicemembers’ discharge based solely on a statement that  
21 they were homosexual, violated their First Amendment right to freedom of speech.  
22 Likewise, DADT’s imposed restraint on Lt. Col. Doe’s and other current  
23 servicemembers’ speech infringes their First Amendment right to freedom of  
24 speech.

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**DADT Is Overbroad: It Punishes All Speech That Does No More Than Acknowledge a Permissible Status**

Even if DADT is necessary to achieve a compelling governmental interest, and it is not, it is not “narrowly tailored to achieve that end.” Indeed, DADT is grossly overbroad, punishing both public and private speech which does no more than identify a servicemember as homosexual – a permissible status in the military, even under DADT.

The showing that a law punishes a substantial amount of protected free speech, judged in relation to the statute’s plainly legitimate speech, suffices to invalidate all enforcement of that law, until or unless a limited construction or partial invalidation so narrows it as to remove the seeming threat or deterrence to constitutionally protected expression. Virginia v. Hicks, 539 U.S. 113, 118-19, 156 L.Ed.2d 148, 123 S.Ct. 2191 (2003); Broadrick v. Oklahoma, 413 U.S. 601, 614, 37 L.Ed.2d 830, 93 S.Ct. 2908 (1973). This remedy exists to address the concern that the threat of enforcement of an overbroad law may deter constitutionally protected speech. Virginia v. Hicks, 539 U.S. at 119; Broadrick, 413 U.S. 601, 613.

DADT is overbroad in violation of the First Amendment for two reasons: (1) it punishes protected speech by conflating “status” and “conduct”; and (2) it punishes both public and private speech.

First, being homosexual is not wrongful conduct under DADT – the policy does not prohibit homosexuals from serving in the military. Thus, under DADT, being a homosexual is allowed but saying one is a homosexual is not. A policy which does no more than punish a servicemember for acknowledging a permissible status is an unlawful restriction on speech.

The provision of DADT (10 U.S.C. § 654(b)(2)) that a servicemember who has stated he or she is homosexual may avoid separation if the member can

1 demonstrate that “he or she is not a person who engages in, attempts to engage in,  
2 has a propensity to engage in, or intends to engage in homosexual acts” does not  
3 avoid the constitutional violations. This is because DADT makes the statement “I  
4 am a homosexual” *prima facie* evidence that a servicemember engages in  
5 “homosexual acts”; as noted above, in the 17 years of the policy’s existence, less  
6 than one-third of one percent of servicemembers facing DADT separation  
7 proceedings have been able to rebut the presumption that a statement of identity  
8 indicates a propensity to engage in “homosexual acts.” The provision for rebuttal  
9 is, in practice, illusory.

10 Protected speech cannot be restricted on the grounds it implies wrongful  
11 conduct. “Mere ‘undifferentiated fear or apprehension’ of illegal conduct . . . is not  
12 enough to overcome First Amendment rights, and speculation that individuals  
13 might at some time engage in an illegal activity is insufficient to justify regulation.”  
14 Thomson, 509 F. 2d at 662, citing Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. Comm. Sch., 393  
15 U.S. 503, 509, 21 L.Ed.2d 731, 89 S.Ct. 733 (1969). “Any departure from absolute  
16 regimentation may cause trouble. Any variation from the majority’s opinion may  
17 inspire fear. . . . But our Constitution says we must take this risk, and our history  
18 says that it this sort of hazardous freedom – this kind of openness – that is the basis  
19 of our national strength and of the independence and vigor of Americans who grow  
20 up and live in this relatively permissive, often disputatious, society.” Tinker, 393  
21 U.S. at 508-08.

22 In Thomson, a university prohibited a gay and lesbian student organization  
23 from holding social events on campus, arguing, among other things, that the school  
24 had an interest in preventing “illegal activity,” including “deviate sex acts,  
25 “lascivious carriage,” and breach of the peace. 509 F. 2d at 662. The First Circuit  
26 held because there were no allegations of any such illegal activity, “fear or  
27 apprehension” of such conduct was not enough to overcome the students’ First  
28 Amendment rights. Id. Likewise, in Gay and Lesbian Students Assoc. v. Gohn,

1 850 F.2d 361, 368 (8th Cir. 1988), the Eighth Circuit held that a university’s refusal  
2 to provide funding to a student gay and lesbian association was unconstitutional.  
3 While sodomy was illegal in Arkansas, the court found that the student group did  
4 “not advocate sodomy, and even if it did, its speech about an illegal activity would  
5 still be protected by the First Amendment. People may extol the virtues of arson or  
6 even cannibalism. They simply may not commit the acts.” *Id.*

7 DADT does more than that. DADT not only punishes statements regarding  
8 “illegal” homosexual activity, it punishes statements regarding an individual’s self-  
9 identity – an identity that is permissible and not wrongful in the military.  
10 Moreover, as noted above, DADT even prohibits servicemembers – heterosexual or  
11 homosexual – from advocating for repeal of DADT: a servicemember who  
12 advocates in a public, off-base forum for repeal of DADT is subject to investigation  
13 and potential discharge on that basis alone. Because DADT punishes even pure  
14 protected speech, it is overbroad and violates the First Amendment.

15 Finally, DADT is overbroad because it restricts not only public but also  
16 private speech of gay and lesbian servicemembers, imposing categorical, content-  
17 based restrictions against a limited class of speakers that are applicable 24 hours a  
18 day, “at all times that the member has a military status, whether the member is on  
19 base or off base, and whether the member is on duty or off duty,” whether speaking  
20 to family members and friends, as well as military personnel. 10 U.S.C. §  
21 654(a)(10). Restricting the mere statement of gay or lesbian identity in civilian life  
22 has no rational connection to a compelling governmental interest.

23 **c. DADT is Vague and Not Narrowly Tailored**

24 The government may regulate areas of freedom of speech “only with narrow  
25 specificity.” *Hynes v. Mayor and Counsel of the Borough of Oradell*, 425 U.S.  
26 610, 620, 48 L.Ed.2d 243, 96 S.Ct. 1755 (1976). The general test of vagueness  
27 applies with particular force in review of laws dealing with speech. *Id.*; *NAACP v.*  
28 *Button*, 371 U.S. 415, 432, 9 L.Ed.2d 40, 83 S.Ct. 3285 (1963). A statute is

1 objectionably vague if it susceptible to “sweeping and improper application,” and if  
2 “men of common intelligence must necessarily guess at its meaning.” Hynes, 425  
3 U.S. at 620; Button, 371 U.S. at 433.

4 DADT is unconstitutionally vague because it is unclear what language is  
5 prohibited by the policy. The term “words to that effect” is vague and does not  
6 explain what statements made by a servicemember might subject him or her to  
7 separation under DADT. 10 U.S.C. § 654(b)(2).

8 Further, DADT is unconstitutionally vague because it does not sufficiently  
9 specify the type or amount of proof sufficient to demonstrate that a servicemember  
10 “is not a person who engages in, attempts to engage in, has a propensity to engage  
11 in, or intends to engage in homosexual acts.” 10 U.S.C. § 654(b). By failing to  
12 identify the type or amount of proof sufficient to rebut the “presumption” that a  
13 self-identified homosexual servicemember “engages in, attempts to engage in, has a  
14 propensity to engage in, or intends to engage in homosexual acts,” DADT  
15 effectively eliminates the distinction between speech and conduct. By permitting  
16 enforcers of the policy to regulate speech as if it were conduct, DADT improperly  
17 attempts to circumvent the First Amendment and allows the military to chill  
18 protected speech.

19 **d. DADT Violates Servicemembers’ Right to**  
20 **Express Themselves Through Public Debate and**  
21 **to Petition the Government**

22 The First Amendment right to petition the government for a redress of  
23 grievances “is an assurance of a particular freedom of expression.” McDonald v.  
24 Smith, 472 U.S. 479, 482, 86 L.Ed.2d 384, 105 S.Ct. 2787 (1985). This right is  
25 “implicit in the very idea of government, republican in form” and exists so that  
26 “people may communicate their will through direct petitions to the legislature and  
27 government officials.” Id. (internal citations omitted).

1 Further, a “major purpose” of the First Amendment is “to protect the free  
2 discussion of governmental affairs.” Ariz. Right to Life Political Action Comm. v.  
3 Bayless, 320 F. 3d 1002, 1008 (9th Cir. 2003) (citing Mills v. Alabama, 384 U.S.  
4 214, 218, 16 L.Ed.2d. 484, 86 S.Ct. 1434 (1966)). This includes “discussion of  
5 candidates, structures and forms of government, the manner in which government is  
6 operated or should be operated, and all such matters relating to the political  
7 process.” Mills, 384 U.S. at 218-19. “Any restriction on expressive activity  
8 because of its content would completely undercut the ‘profound national  
9 commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited,  
10 robust, and wide-open.’” Police Dep’t of the City of Chicago v. Mosley, 408 U.S.  
11 92, 96, 33 L.Ed.2d 212, 92 S.Ct. 2286 (1972) (internal citations omitted); Ariz.  
12 Right to Life Political Action Comm., 320 F. 3d at 1008. Selective exclusions from  
13 a public forum may not be based on content alone, and may not be justified by  
14 reference to content alone. Mosley, 408 U.S. at 97.

15 By prohibiting homosexual servicemembers from stating they are  
16 homosexual or words to that effect, DADT prevents them from describing their  
17 distinctive needs and interests to elected officials in order to advocate for changes  
18 in those legislative policies that affect them personally. Further, by forbidding  
19 them to publicly acknowledge their identity, DADT denies servicemembers,  
20 including Lt. Col. Doe, the opportunity to engage freely in discussions of the  
21 governmental affairs that most affect them, including debates concerning the very  
22 policy that restricts their speech as well as other same-sex related issues. Indeed, as  
23 discussed above, according to stated military guidelines, advocating for repeal of  
24 DADT is, alone, grounds for separation from the military. A law that chills  
25 protected speech in such a manner violates the First Amendment.

26 In addition, DADT denies servicemembers the opportunity to participate in  
27 litigation, such as this very action, to seek redress from injuries caused by the  
28 government. “[U]nder the conditions of modern government, litigation may well be



1 the sole practicable avenue open to a minority to petition for redress of grievances.”  
2 NAACP v. Button, 371 U.S. at 430. Indeed, here, Lt. Col. Doe is unable to fully  
3 participate in this litigation and testify at trial for fear he will be discharged.  
4 DADT’s imposed restraint on Lt. Col. Doe’s and other servicemembers’ ability to  
5 participate in this, or any other litigation, violates their First Amendment right to  
6 petition the government for redress of grievances.

7 e. **DADT Violates Servicemembers’ Right to**  
8 **Express Themselves Through Association**

9 The Supreme Court has long recognized that “effective advocacy of both  
10 public and private points of view, particularly controversial ones, is undeniably  
11 enhanced by group association” and that it is “beyond debate that freedom to  
12 engage in an association for the advancement of beliefs and ideas is an inseparable  
13 aspect of the ‘liberty’ assured by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth  
14 Amendment, which embraces freedom of speech.” NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S.  
15 449, 460, 2 L.Ed.2d 1488, 78 S.Ct. 1163 (1958). Government action “which may  
16 have the effect of curtailing the freedom to associate is subject to the closest  
17 scrutiny.” Id., 357 U.S. at 460-61.

18 Courts have long recognized the right of homosexuals to form associations.  
19 “[E]fforts to organize the homosexual minority, ‘educate’ the public as to its plight,  
20 and obtain for it better treatment from individuals and from the government thus  
21 represent but another example of the associational activity unequivocally singles  
22 out for protection in the very ‘core’ of association cases decided by the Supreme  
23 Court.” Thomson, 509 F. 2d at 660 (citing Button, 371 U.S. 415, 428-31); see also  
24 Gohn, 850 F. 2d at 367.

25 DADT, however, prohibits servicemembers from identifying themselves as  
26 members of a gay and lesbian interest group, and thereby making a statement that  
27 tends to identify them as homosexuals. By doing so, DADT impermissibly  
28 prohibits homosexual servicemembers from contributing to “effective public

1 advocacy . . . enhanced by group association.” Alabama, 357 U.S. 419, 460 (1958).  
2 For example, as a result of DADT, Lt. Col. Doe is unable to identify himself  
3 publicly as a member of Log Cabin. This restriction on Lt. Col. Doe and other gay  
4 and lesbian servicemembers constitutes an unconstitutional violation of First  
5 Amendment rights.

6 **(b) Elements of Plaintiff’s claims**

7 1. Plaintiff’s homosexual members who serve, and served, in the United  
8 States Armed Forces, including Mr. Nicholson and John Doe, have the  
9 constitutional right to free speech and expression and right to petition under the  
10 First Amendment of the United States Constitution.

11 2. DADT violates Plaintiff’s members’ rights to free speech and  
12 expression and right to petition under the First Amendment by impermissibly  
13 restricting, punishing and chilling all public and private speech that would tend to  
14 identify Plaintiff’s members and other members of the United States Armed Forces  
15 as homosexuals. DADT impermissibly burdens such speech on the basis of the  
16 content and viewpoint of such speech.

17 3. As a result of Defendants’ implementation and enforcement of DADT,  
18 Plaintiff’s members have suffered injury and will suffer further irreparable harm to  
19 their constitutional rights under the First Amendment if the DADT is not declared  
20 unconstitutional and defendants are not enjoined from enforcing DADT.

21 4. Plaintiff’s members have no adequate remedy at law.

22 **(c) Key evidence supporting Plaintiff’s claims**

23 The key evidence on which Plaintiff will rely for its First Amendment claim  
24 is that relied on for its substantive due process claim, identified above, and also:  
25 the testimony (by declaration) of Lt. Col. John Doe; and a Defense Manpower Data  
26 Center report (Ex. 61).

27  
28

1           **D.    Anticipated Evidentiary Issues**

2           Defendants assert that no evidence may be considered in the determination of  
3 this case other than the record that was before Congress when it enacted DADT in  
4 1993. Accordingly, the government seeks to exclude from the trial of this case – as  
5 it had repeatedly, and unsuccessfully, sought to exclude from discovery – all  
6 evidence other than that which was presented to Congress at the time of enactment  
7 of DADT, and has filed motions *in limine* seeking to exclude all plaintiff’s expert  
8 witness testimony, all plaintiffs’ lay witness testimony, and the vast majority of  
9 plaintiff’s exhibits. Those motions will be ripe for decision at the Pretrial  
10 Conference.

11           In addition, one of Log Cabin’s designated experts, Prof. Robert MacCoun, is  
12 now working with the RAND Corporation on the report that it has been tasked with  
13 preparing in connection with the current deliberations on potential repeal or  
14 modification of DADT. Because of that, he has informed us that, although he fully  
15 stands by his work in this case and his expert report, he cannot appear at trial to  
16 testify as an expert because RAND considers his engagement with it exclusive,  
17 precluding outside consulting work. Defendants took the deposition of Prof.  
18 MacCoun. Log Cabin has subpoenaed Prof. MacCoun to appear at trial; if he does  
19 not appear in response to the subpoena, Log Cabin intends to request that he be  
20 deemed “unavailable” within the meaning of Fed. R. Evid. 804(a) and that Log  
21 Cabin may present his testimony via his deposition and his expert report, pursuant  
22 to Fed. R. Evid. 804(b)(1).

23           **E.    Issues of Law Germane to the Case**

24           In ruling on plaintiff’s claim that DADT violates substantive due process  
25 guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution, the Court  
26 must determine the appropriate standard of review to be applied, including how  
27 much deference is due to military judgment; and must determine whether evidence  
28 other than that presented to Congress when it enacted the DADT statute may be

1 considered.

2 In its ruling on Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, the Court  
3 declared that it was "inclined [to] apply the standard of review set forth in Witt v.  
4 Dep't of the Air Force, 527 F.3d 806, 819 (9th Cir. 2008)." Order on Motion for  
5 Summary Judgment (Dkt. 170), p. 26. Plaintiff agrees with the Court's inclination  
6 and submits that the Witt standard applies to its due process challenge. In  
7 accordance with the Court's order, both sides are submitting supplemental briefing  
8 on this issue; however, that supplemental briefing will not be complete until June  
9 23, 2010. A summary of plaintiff's contentions regarding the applicable standard is  
10 set forth in Section II(B)(a)(2)(a) of this Memorandum, at pp. 19-21.

11 **III.**

12 **BIFURCATION (L.R. 16-4.3)**

13 Plaintiff does not seek bifurcation of any issues for trial.

14 **IV.**

15 **JURY TRIAL (L.R. 16-4.4)**

16 This matter seeks only declaratory and injunctive relief and therefore is to be  
17 tried to the Court. The Court has the authority to declare an act of Congress  
18 unconstitutional and enjoin its enforcement, or enforcement of any government  
19 policy, nationwide. See, e.g., Rothe Development Corp. v. Department of Defense,  
20 545 F.3d 1023 (Fed. Cir. 2008), on remand 606 F.Supp.2d 648 (W.D. Tex. 2009);  
21 cf. Ali v. Ashcroft, 213 F.R.D. 390 (W.D. Wash.), aff'd, 346 F.3d 873 (9th Cir.  
22 2003).

23 **V.**

24 **ATTORNEYS' FEES (L.R. 16-4.5)**

25 Plaintiff intends to seek an award of attorneys' fees under the Equal Access  
26 to Justice Act ("EAJA"), 28 U.S.C. § 2412. Previous challenges to DADT have  
27 resulted in awards of attorneys' fees and expenses to prevailing plaintiffs under  
28 EAJA. See, e.g., Meinhold v. Department of Defense, 123 F.3d 1275 (9th Cir.

1 1997). The prevailing party must be awarded fees and expenses “unless the court  
2 finds that the position of the United States was substantially justified.” The  
3 government’s position is substantially justified only when it “has a reasonable basis  
4 both in law and in fact,” and the burden of showing that reasonable basis is on the  
5 United States. United States v. Rubin, 97 F.3d 373, 375 (9th Cir. 1996). The  
6 “position” of the government includes the action on which the civil litigation is  
7 based, as well as the positions the government takes during the litigation. Oregon  
8 Natural Resources Council v. Madigan, 980 F.2d 1330, 1331 (9th Cir. 1992).

9 **VI.**

10 **ABANDONED ISSUES (L.R. 16-4.6)**

11 No issues presented in the pleadings have been abandoned.

12 **VII.**

13 **CONCLUSION**

14 DADT unconstitutionally denies to homosexual members of the Armed  
15 Forces rights and liberties guaranteed to them under the First and Fifth  
16 Amendments. Though times may have blinded the Congress that enacted DADT to  
17 this truth, all available evidence, both at the time of enactment and since, shows that  
18 DADT is a law that serves only to oppress. DADT lacked rational basis when  
19 enacted, it lacks rational basis today, and the time has come for it to be definitively  
20 repudiated as repugnant to our Constitution and our national values. The Court  
21 should find DADT unconstitutional and enjoin its continued enforcement.

22  
23 Dated: June 21, 2010

WHITE & CASE LLP

24  
25 By: 

26 Dan Woods  
27 Attorneys for Plaintiff  
28 Log Cabin Republicans