

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28



UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

LOG CABIN REPUBLICANS, a )  
non-profit corporation, )  
 )  
Plaintiff, )  
 )  
v. )  
 )  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA )  
and ROBERT M. GATES )  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, in )  
his official capacity, )  
 )  
Defendants. )  
\_\_\_\_\_ )

Case No. CV 04-08425-VAP (Ex)

**FINDINGS OF FACT &  
CONCLUSIONS OF LAW AFTER  
COURT TRIAL [Fed. R. Civ. P. 52]**

This case was tried to the Court on July 13 through 16 and July 20 through 23, 2010. After conclusion of the evidence and closing arguments on July 23, 2010, both sides timely submitted supplemental post-trial briefing on the admissibility of a pretrial declaration submitted by Log Cabin Republicans member John Doe,<sup>1</sup> and the matter stood submitted.

\_\_\_\_\_ <sup>1</sup> The Court overruled Defendants' objections to Exhibit 38, the April 27, 2006. Declaration of John Doe, and considers the statements contained therein regarding Doe's then-present state of mind for the limited purpose for (continued...)

1 Having considered all the evidence presented by the parties, as well as the  
2 argument and briefing by counsel, the Court makes the following Findings of  
3 Fact and Conclusions of Law pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 52.

4  
5 **FINDINGS OF FACT<sup>2</sup>**

- 6 1. Plaintiff Log Cabin Republicans ("Log Cabin," "LCR," or "Plaintiff") is a  
7 non-profit corporation founded in 1977 and organized under the laws of  
8 the District of Columbia. (Trial Exs. 109 [Bylaws], 110 [Articles of  
9 Incorporation].)
- 10 2. Plaintiff's mission includes "assist[ing] in the development and  
11 enactment of policies affecting the gay and lesbian community . . . by  
12 [the] federal government[. . . and advocat[ing] and support[ing] . . .  
13 activities or initiatives which (i) provide equal rights under law to  
14 persons who are gay or lesbian, [and] (ii) promote nondiscrimination  
15 against or harassment of persons who are gay or lesbian . . . ." (Trial  
16 Ex. 109 [Mission Statement, attached as Ex. A to Bylaws].) The relief  
17 sought here, i.e., the ability of homosexual servicemembers to serve  
18 openly in the United States Armed Forces through repeal of the Don't  
19 Ask, Don't Tell Act, relates to both aspects of Log Cabin's mission.
- 20 3. Plaintiff filed its Complaint on October 12, 2004. (Doc. No. 1.) It filed a  
21 First Amended Complaint ("FAC") on April 28, 2006. (Doc. No. 25.)

22  
23  
24 \_\_\_\_\_  
25 <sup>1</sup>(...continued)  
26 which they were offered, i.e., Doe's state of mind with respect to whether the  
27 Act chilled his speech and ability to petition the government for a redress of  
28 grievances. See Fed. R. Evid. 803(3).

<sup>2</sup> To the extent any of the Findings of Fact should more properly be  
considered Conclusions of Law, they shall be deemed as such.

1 4. Plaintiff seeks only declaratory and injunctive relief in its First Amended  
2 Complaint; neither its claims nor the relief sought require individualized  
3 proof on the part of its members.  
4

5 **John Doe's Standing**

6 5. John Doe serves as a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army  
7 Reserve. He joined Log Cabin Republicans in early September 2004  
8 by completing an application form (using a pseudonym) and paying  
9 annual dues through Martin Meekins, then a member of Plaintiff's  
10 national board of directors. Meekins accepted the application form and  
11 dues payment from Doe and forwarded them to LCR's national  
12 headquarters. (Trial Ex. 38.)

13 6. Doe arranged to pay his membership dues in this manner because he  
14 feared he would be discharged from the Army Reserve pursuant to the  
15 Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act if he joined the organization openly, using his  
16 true name. Id.

17 7. Thus, at the time the Complaint was filed on October 12, 2004, John  
18 Doe was a member in good standing of Plaintiff Log Cabin  
19 Republicans.

20 8. To comply with the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act, Doe must keep his sexual  
21 orientation a secret from his coworkers, his unit, and his military  
22 superiors, and he may not communicate the core of his emotions and  
23 identity to others in the same manner as heterosexual members of the  
24 military, on pain of discharge from the Army. (Doc. No. 212 ["July 6,  
25 2010, Order"] at 16; Trial Ex. 38.)

26 9. Doe paid annual membership dues shortly before this action was filed  
27 in October 2004, but LCR did not introduce evidence showing Doe paid  
28

1 dues, or otherwise made a financial contribution, to the organization  
2 after 2004.

- 3 10. The evidence was conflicting regarding the effect of a member's  
4 nonpayment of dues. James Ensley testified that when a member  
5 failed to renew his or her annual dues payment, Log Cabin Republicans  
6 viewed the member as a "former" or "inactive" member, but the name  
7 would not be stricken from LCR's membership rolls or electronic  
8 database simply because of tardiness in paying annual dues. (Trial Tr.  
9 74:12-75, July 13, 2010.) Terry Hamilton, another member of the  
10 national board of directors, testified that a member who failed to renew  
11 his or her membership timely no longer would be considered a member,  
12 but his testimony did not contradict Ensley's testimony regarding the  
13 mailing list or membership rolls. (Trial Tr. 57:5-8, July 13, 2010.)
- 14 11. Despite the lack of evidence that Doe had paid annual membership  
15 dues to LCR after 2004, he still served in the Army Reserve and still  
16 was subject to discharge under the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act. Thus, he  
17 still had a personal stake in the outcome of the case, and his injury –  
18 his susceptibility to discharge under the Act – continued to be  
19 redressable by favorable resolution of the lawsuit.

20  
21 **John Nicholson's Standing**

- 22 12. John Alexander Nicholson, III, enlisted in the United States Army in  
23 May 2001. (Trial Tr. 1135:6-12, July 20, 2010.) As detailed below, he  
24 received an honorable discharge from the Army on March 22, 2002,  
25 pursuant to the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act. (Trial Tr. 1183:25-1184:3,  
26 1185:22-1187:9, July 20, 2010.)

- 1 13. In August 2005, Nicholson and others embarked on a nationwide  
2 speaking tour sponsored by LCR to raise awareness of the movement  
3 to repeal the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act. (Trial Tr. 1206:15-1207:11, July  
4 21, 2010.)
- 5 14. LCR's national and Georgia state chapter leaders asked Nicholson to  
6 join the organization formally after he gave a speech at LCR's national  
7 convention on April 28, 2006; he did not pay dues or make a cash  
8 contribution at that time, but was told his membership was granted in  
9 exchange for his services to the organization. (Trial Tr. 1207:22-  
10 1208:25, 1211:25-1212:15, July 21, 2010.) Later he was told his was  
11 an honorary membership. (Trial Tr. 1211:10-12, 1214:13-15, July 21,  
12 2010.)
- 13 15. Nicholson testified credibly that he did not complete a paper  
14 membership application form on April 28, 2006, because he gave the  
15 necessary information to an LCR administrative assistant who entered it  
16 directly into a computer. (Trial Tr. 1211:15-1212:15, July 21, 2010.)  
17 Plaintiff maintains an electronic database of its membership which lists  
18 Nicholson as a member of Log Cabin Republicans as of April 28, 2006.  
19 (Trial Tr. 1209:20-22, 1212:16-1213:16, July 21, 2010.) Nicholson  
20 testified that he remembered the precise date Log Cabin's Georgia  
21 chapter granted him honorary membership because it was the same  
22 day he addressed LCR's national convention. (Trial Tr. 1208:11-15,  
23 1210:11-1212:15, July 21, 2010.)
- 24 16. The testimony of James Ensley, President of LCR's Georgia chapter  
25 since 2006 and a member of its national board of directors since 2008,  
26 corroborated Nicholson's testimony regarding the date he became a  
27 member of LCR. (Trial Tr. 68:21-70:21, July 13, 2010.) The Georgia  
28

1 chapter conferred honorary membership on Nicholson at the 2006 Log  
2 Cabin Republicans national convention, in recognition of his  
3 "remarkable" efforts on the nationwide speaking tour and on college  
4 campuses toward repeal of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act. (Trial Tr. 70:2-  
5 16, July 13, 2010.)

6 17. Ensley specifically recalled the date the Georgia chapter conferred  
7 honorary membership on Nicholson because Ensley's congressman  
8 had arranged a private tour of the White House for Ensley on the  
9 morning of April 28, 2006, which was the same day Nicholson  
10 addressed the convention. (Trial Tr. 70:17-71:6, July 13, 2010.) The  
11 Court found Ensley to be a candid and credible witness.

12 18. Terry Hamilton is a 25-year member of Log Cabin Republicans and now  
13 serves as chairman of its national board of directors. (Trial Tr. 33:11-  
14 35:22, July 13, 2010.) He verified that the organization's membership  
15 records reflected Nicholson's membership status since April 28, 2006,  
16 and also that Nicholson regularly attended and spoke at the  
17 organization's annual conventions. (Trial Tr. 43:14-45:1, July 13, 2010.)  
18 Based on these indicia, Hamilton understood Nicholson to be a member  
19 of the organization since that date. (Trial Tr. 38:8-39:3, July 13, 2010.)  
20 The Court found Hamilton a credible and reliable witness.

21 19. Thus, Nicholson officially joined Log Cabin Republicans on April 28,  
22 2006, and has been a member continuously since then. (Trial Tr.  
23 1208:11-15, 1214:24-1215:17, July 21, 2010.)

24 20. At the time Nicholson was conferred honorary membership, he satisfied  
25 the requirements for membership under section 2.02 of the Log Cabin  
26 Republican Bylaws, which states:

27 Honorary and Special Members: The Board of Directors may  
28 establish other criteria for granting an Honorary Membership to Log

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28

Cabin Republicans for individuals who have exhibited a unique or noteworthy contribution to the Mission of the Corporation or a Special Membership to Log Cabin Republicans for individuals or entities that have provided assistance to the Corporation.<sup>3</sup> (Trial Ex. 109.)

21. Nicholson's membership in Log Cabin Republicans has been uninterrupted and continuous since April 28, 2006, the date Plaintiff's Georgia chapter conferred honorary membership upon him and also the date Plaintiff filed its First Amended Complaint. In light of the Court's May 27, 2010, Order, this is sufficient.

22. Martin Meekins testified credibly that the initiative for filing this lawsuit came from the rank and file of the organization; Meekins then interviewed members regarding the viability of a lawsuit and to determine if the members met the requirements to confer standing on the organization and wished to bring the lawsuit. (Trial Tr. 704:8-19, 705:11-707:12, July 16, 2010.)

**Testimony from Former Servicemembers**

**Michael Almy**

23. Michael Almy served for thirteen years as a commissioned officer in the United States Air Force, finishing his service as a major. (Trial Tr. 726:21-727:11, 728:11-12, July 16, 2010.) His family has a heritage of

---

<sup>3</sup> Defendants argue Nicholson's honorary membership, pursuant to section 2.02 of the Bylaws, did not confer membership on him because LCR's Articles of Incorporation refer only to one class of membership. (See Doc. No. 186 [Defs.' Mem. Cont. Fact & Law] at 3-4.) The Court rejected this argument in its May 27, 2010, Order, noting "Defendants' argument that Mr. Nicholson's honorary membership is insufficient to confer standing on Plaintiff fails for two reasons . . . . Defendants have not shown that the bylaw cited actually conflicts with Plaintiff's articles of incorporation . . . . [, and] [t]he District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act (the 'Corporation Act') provides that a nonprofit corporation shall designate its membership class or classes and accompanying qualifications 'in the articles of incorporation or the bylaws.' D.C. Code § 29-301.12 (emphasis added)." (May 27, 2010, Order at 24-25.)

1 military service; his father retired as a colonel in the Air Force, and two  
2 uncles served as career military officers as well. (Trial Tr. 728:13-22,  
3 July 16, 2010.)

4 24. Almy entered active duty in 1993, after obtaining an undergraduate  
5 degree in Information Technology while serving in the Army ROTC  
6 program. He did not self-identify as a gay man until a few years later.  
7 (Trial Tr. 726:23-727:2, 819:3-12, July 16, 2010.) After that, he  
8 testified, the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act created a natural barrier between  
9 himself and his colleagues, as he could not reveal or discuss his  
10 personal life with others. (Trial Tr. 820:6-821:4, 821:19-822:9, July 16,  
11 2010.) While it was common for the officers to socialize when off duty,  
12 he could not join them. (Trial Tr. 821:19-822:9, July 16, 2010.) All of  
13 this may have contributed to creating an aura of suspicion about him,  
14 and a sense of distrust. (Trial Tr. 820:19-821:4, July 16, 2010.)

15 25. The Court found Almy a forthright and credible witness whose modest  
16 demeanor and matter-of-fact recitation of his service record did not  
17 disguise his impressive career in the Air Force. Almy was deployed to  
18 Saudi Arabia three times and helped enforce the southern "no fly" zone  
19 over Iraq. Almy set up new communications bases throughout military  
20 theaters in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq, and was deployed in Saudi  
21 Arabia, serving in the Communications Directorate, during the 2003  
22 invasion of Iraq. (Trial Tr. 742:16-743:11, 746:4-747:20, July 16, 2010.)

23 26. In 2003, after returning from his third deployment to Saudi Arabia, Almy  
24 was promoted to the rank of major and accepted a position as the Chief  
25 of Maintenance for the 606th Air Control Squadron in Spangdahlem,  
26 Germany. (Trial Tr. 751:1-20, July 16, 2010.) In that role, Almy  
27 commanded approximately 180 men in the Maintenance Directorate.  
28



1 (Trial Tr. 751:21-22, 753:7-11, July 16, 2010.) The three flights<sup>4</sup> in the  
2 Maintenance Directorate under his command in the 606th Air Control  
3 Squadron deployed to Iraq in September 2004. His squadron was  
4 responsible for maintaining and controlling the airspace during the  
5 invasion of Fallujah, Iraq, and he was responsible for maintaining  
6 control over the vast majority of Iraqi airspace, including Kirkuk, as well  
7 as maintaining all satellite links and voice and data communications.  
8 (Trial Tr. 753:7-755:24, July 16, 2010.) While stationed at Balad Air  
9 Base, his flight experienced frequent mortar attacks "usually several  
10 times a week, if not daily." (Trial Tr. 756:1-2, July 16, 2010.)

11 27. After Almy completed his third deployment to Iraq in January 2005,  
12 someone began using the same computer Almy had used while  
13 deployed; that person searched Major Almy's private electronic mail  
14 message ("e-mail") files without his knowledge or permission. The  
15 search included a folder of Major Almy's personal e-mail messages,<sup>5</sup>  
16 sent to his friends and family members, and read messages, including  
17 at least one message to a man discussing homosexual conduct. (Trial  
18 Tr. 764:23-766:6-767:2, July 16, 2010.)

19 28. Almy thought the privacy of his messages was protected; he was very  
20 knowledgeable about the military's policy regarding the privacy of e-  
21 mail accounts because of his responsibility for information systems.  
22 (Trial Tr. 772:20-773:4, 794:6-15, 796:6-798:4, July 16, 2010.) He  
23

---

24 <sup>4</sup> A "flight" is the Air Force term for a group of airmen, comparable to a  
"unit" in the Army. (Trial Tr. 1335:10-12, July 21, 2010.)

25 <sup>5</sup> According to Major Almy's uncontradicted testimony on this point, the  
26 Air Force, "for morale purposes," allows servicemembers deployed in combat  
27 zones to use their government e-mail account for personal e-mail. (Trial Tr.  
28 767:3-18, 794:6-15, 796:6-798:4, July 16, 2010.) Almy separated the  
personal e-mail he received in his government e-mail account into a folder  
titled "Friends." (Trial Tr. 769:20-770:15, July 16, 2010.)

1 knew, for example, that according to Air Force policy, e-mail accounts  
2 could not be searched unless authorized by proper legal authority or a  
3 squadron commander or higher in the military chain of command. (Trial  
4 Tr. 772:20-773:4, July 16, 2010.)

5 29. Almy only learned his private e-mail had been searched when he  
6 returned to Germany and his commanding officer confronted Almy with  
7 the messages, read him the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act, and pressured  
8 him to admit he was homosexual. (Trial Tr. 764:23-766:6, 773:13-20,  
9 July 16, 2010.) At the end of the meeting, Almy was relieved of his  
10 duties, and his commanding officer informed the other officers in the  
11 squadron of this. (Trial Tr. 774:7-15, July 16, 2010.)

12 30. Almy had attained one of the highest level security clearances available  
13 for military personnel, "top secret SCI<sup>6</sup> clearance;" approximately three  
14 months after Almy was relieved of his duties, his security clearance was  
15 suspended. (Trial Tr. 775:8-15, July 16, 2010.)

16 31. Initially, Almy contested his discharge, as he felt he had not violated the  
17 terms of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act: he had never told anyone in the  
18 military he was gay. (Trial Tr. 775:19-776:9, July 16, 2010.) Rather,  
19 Almy's understanding was that his discharge was based solely on the  
20 e-mail discovered on the computer in Iraq. (Trial Tr. 793:6-9, July 16,  
21 2010.)

22 32. Accordingly, Almy invoked his right to an administrative hearing and  
23 solicited letters of support from those who had worked with him in the  
24 Air Force. (Trial Tr. 775:19-776:9, 777:2-8, July 16, 2010.) Everyone  
25 he asked to write such a letter agreed to do so. (Trial Tr. 777:17-25,  
26 July 16, 2010.)

---

27  
28 <sup>6</sup> "SCI" stands for "Sensitive Compartmented Information."

- 1 33. Colonel Paul Trahan, U.S. Army (Ret.), wrote: "My view is that Major  
2 Almy has been, and will continue to be an excellent officer. As a former  
3 Commander and Inspector General I am well aware of the specifics of  
4 the Homosexual Conduct Policy. To my knowledge, Major Almy is not  
5 in violation of any of the provisions of the policy. To the contrary, it  
6 appears that in prosecuting the case against Major Almy, the USAF  
7 may have violated the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell Policy,' the Electronic  
8 Privacy Act and Presidential directives regarding the suspension of  
9 security clearances." (Trial Ex. 113 [Character Reference Letter from  
10 Col. Paul Trahan, U.S. Army (Ret.)].)
- 11 34. Captain Timothy Higgins wrote: "Of the four maintenance directorate  
12 chiefs I have worked with at the 606th, Major Almy is by far the finest.  
13 During his tenure as the [director of logistics], he had maintenance  
14 training at the highest levels seen to date . . . . His troops respected him  
15 because they believed he had their best interests at heart." (Trial Ex.  
16 117 [Character Reference Letter from Timothy J. Higgins, Capt.  
17 USAF].)
- 18 35. Those who served under Almy wrote equally strong praise: "I can say  
19 without reservation that Maj. Almy was the best supervisor I have ever  
20 had." (Trial Ex. 120 [Character Reference Letter from Rahsul J.  
21 Freeman, 1st Lt., USAF].) "I was deployed with him during the NATO  
22 Exercise CLEAN HUNTER 2004. His leadership was key to our  
23 successful completion of the mission. He was well liked and respected  
24 by the enlisted personnel in the unit." (Trial Ex. 122 [Character  
25 Reference Letter from Leslie D. McElya, SMSgt. USAF (Ret.)].)  
26  
27  
28

- 1 36. Almy's commanding officer while his discharge proceedings were  
2 pending, Lt. Col. Jeffrey B. Kromer, wrote that he was convinced "the  
3 Air Force, its personnel, mission and tradition remains unchanged and  
4 unharmed despite [Almy's] alleged [violations of the Don't Ask, Don't  
5 Tell Act]." (Trial Ex. 114.)
- 6 37. During the course of Almy's discharge proceedings, he was relieved of  
7 his command, but remained at Spangdahlem Air Base performing "ad  
8 hoc" duties. (Trial Tr. 810:18-811:1, 816:5-16 July 16, 2010.) Almy  
9 testified he observed the effect his abrupt removal from his duties had  
10 on his former unit: the maintenance, availability, and readiness of the  
11 equipment to meet the mission declined. (Trial Tr. 813:19-24, 815:2-  
12 18, July 16, 2010.)
- 13 38. One officer in the 606th Air Control Squadron observed that the  
14 squadron "fell apart" after Major Almy was relieved of his duties,  
15 illustrating "how important Maj. Almy was[,] not only to the mission but  
16 to his troops." (Trial Ex. 121 [Character Reference Letter from Bryan  
17 M. Zollinger, 1st Lt. USAF, 606th Air Control Squadron].)
- 18 39. After sixteen months, Almy agreed to drop his request for an  
19 administrative hearing and to accept an honorable discharge. He  
20 testified he did so because of his own exhausted emotional state and  
21 the risk that a less-than-honorable discharge would affect his ability to  
22 obtain a civilian job or receive his retirement benefits. (Trial Tr. 798:8-  
23 799:13, July 16, 2010.) Almy refused to sign his official discharge  
24 papers, however, because they listed the reason for discharge as  
25 admitted homosexuality. (See Trial Ex. 112; Trial Tr. 800:1-801:20,  
26 July 16, 2010.)
- 27  
28

1 40. Major Almy received many awards and honors during his service in the  
2 Air Force. For example, while serving at Tinker Air Force Base in the  
3 late 1990s with the Third Combat Communications Group, he was  
4 selected as "Officer of the Year," chosen as the top performer among  
5 his peers for "exemplary leadership, dedication to the mission, and  
6 going above and beyond the call of duty." (Trial Tr. 741:1-11, July 16,  
7 2010.) In 2001, he was one of six Air Force officers chosen to attend  
8 the residential training program for officers at the Marine Corps  
9 Quantico headquarters. (Trial Tr. 744:7-745:20.) In 2005, he was  
10 awarded the Lt. General Leo Marquez Award, given to the top Air Force  
11 communications officer serving in Europe. (Trial Tr. 760:8-761:1, July  
12 16, 2010.) Although Almy had been relieved of command during the  
13 pendency of the discharge proceedings, Almy's wing commander,  
14 Colonel Goldfein, recommended that Almy be promoted to lieutenant  
15 colonel. (Trial Tr. 816:19-818:1, July 16, 2010.)

16 41. Almy testified that if the Act were no longer in effect, he "wouldn't  
17 hesitate" to rejoin the Air Force. (Trial Tr. 827:3-5, July 16, 2010.)  
18

19 **Joseph Rocha**

20 42. Joseph Rocha enlisted in the United States Navy on April 27, 2004, his  
21 eighteenth birthday. (Trial Tr. 473:19-23, July 15, 2010.) His family,  
22 like Major Almy's, had a tradition of military service, and the September  
23 11, 2001, attacks also motivated him to enlist. (Trial Tr. 474:5-24, July  
24 15, 2010.) He wanted to be an officer in the United States Marine  
25 Corps, but was not admitted to the Naval Academy directly out of high  
26 school; so he hoped to enter Officer Training School through diligence  
27 as an enlisted man. (Trial Tr. 473:24-474:24, July 15, 2010.)  
28

- 1 43. After successfully completing basic training, Rocha was promoted to  
2 seaman apprentice and received further training in counter-terrorism  
3 and force protection. (Trial Tr. 475:7-476:5, July 15, 2010.) He then  
4 volunteered for deployment on a military mission to Bahrain. (Trial Tr.  
5 476:6-12, July 15, 2010.)
- 6 44. Once he arrived at the Naval Support base in Bahrain, Rocha sought  
7 out the base's canine handler position because he wanted to specialize  
8 in becoming an explosive-device handler. (Trial Tr. 477:12-22, July 15,  
9 2010.)
- 10 45. The canine group is an elite and competitive unit, for which qualification  
11 is very difficult. (Trial Tr. 478:11-16, July 15, 2010.) Rocha volunteered  
12 his off-duty time to earn the qualifications to interview and be tested for  
13 a kennel-support assignment; during this time, his interactions with  
14 members of the canine unit were limited to one or two handlers on the  
15 night shift when he volunteered. (Trial Tr. 478:20-479:13, July 15,  
16 2010.)
- 17 46. Eventually, Rocha took and passed oral and written examinations with  
18 Chief Petty Officer Toussaint, the canine group's commanding officer;  
19 Rocha met the other qualifications and received an assignment in  
20 kennel support. (Trial Tr. 480:11-19, 481:4-9, July 15, 2010.) His  
21 duties were to ensure the dogs – that were trained to sniff and detect  
22 explosives and explosive devices – were clean, fed, medicated, and  
23 exercised. (Trial Tr. 481:10-17, July 15, 2010.)
- 24 47. At the same time, Rocha voluntarily participated in additional physical  
25 training exercises with members of the Marine Corps, such as martial  
26 arts and combat operations training, in the belief this eventually would  
27  
28

- 1 improve his chances for admission to the Naval Academy. (Trial Tr.  
2 482:16-483:6, July 15, 2010.)
- 3 48. As Rocha aspired to become a Marine officer, after receiving  
4 permission through the Marine chain of command, he began "more  
5 formal training," eventually earning martial arts, combat, and swimming  
6 qualifications. (Trial Tr. 482:21-483:12, July 15, 2010.)
- 7 49. Once assigned as kennel support to the canine unit and under Chief  
8 Petty Officer Toussaint's command, Rocha was hazed and harassed  
9 constantly, to an unconscionable degree and in shocking fashion.  
10 When the eighteen-year-old Rocha declined to participate in the unit's  
11 practice of visiting prostitutes, he was taunted, asked if he was a  
12 "faggot," and told he needed to prove his heterosexuality by consorting  
13 with prostitutes. (Trial Tr. 486:18-487:2, 488:3-7, July 15, 2010.)  
14 Toussaint freely referred to him as "gay" to the others in the unit, who  
15 then began to use derogatory language towards Rocha. (Trial Tr.  
16 486:11-17, July 15, 2010.)
- 17 50. When Rocha refused to answer questions about his sexual orientation  
18 from Toussaint and others in the unit, "it became a frenzy," in Rocha's  
19 words, and his superiors in the canine unit would gather around him,  
20 simulate sexual positions, and ask if U.S. Marine Corps soldiers  
21 performed various sexual acts on him. (Trial Tr. 487:20-488:7, 488:8-  
22 19, July 15, 2010.) Toussaint ordered all of the other men in the unit to  
23 beat Rocha on the his nineteenth birthday. (Trial Tr. 485:16-486:3, July  
24 15, 2010.)
- 25 51. On one occasion that Rocha testified was especially dehumanizing,  
26 Toussaint brought a dozen dogs to the Department of Defense  
27 Dependents School for a bomb threat training exercise. For the  
28

1 "training exercise" he instructed Rocha to simulate performing oral sex  
2 on another enlisted man, Martinez, while Toussaint called out  
3 commands about how Rocha should make the scenario appear more  
4 "queer." (Trial Tr. 490:13-492:19, July 15, 2010.)

5 52. On another occasion, Toussaint had Rocha leashed like a dog,  
6 paraded around the grounds in front of other soldiers, tied to a chair,  
7 force-fed dog food, and left in a dog kennel covered with feces. (Trial  
8 Tr. 521:11-522:1, July 15, 2010.)

9 53. Rocha testified that during this deployment in Bahrain, he never told  
10 anyone he was gay because he wanted to comply with the Don't Ask,  
11 Don't Tell Act. (Trial Tr. 487:20-488:2, July 15, 2010.) He did not  
12 report any of the mistreatment he suffered, although he believed it  
13 violated Navy regulations. (Trial Tr. 488:20-489:14, July 15, 2010.)  
14 Toussaint was his commanding officer to whom he normally would  
15 direct such a report yet was either responsible for the mistreatment or  
16 present when others engaged in it. (Id.)

17 54. Rocha's only other choice was to report the misconduct to the Inspector  
18 General, which he did not believe was feasible. (Trial Tr. 499:6-16,  
19 533:2-19, July 15, 2010.) He was eighteen to nineteen years old at the  
20 time, far from home, and all of the perpetrators were senior to him in  
21 rank and led in the misconduct by his commanding officer. (Trial Tr.  
22 488:20-489:14, July 15, 2010.)

23 55. Eventually Rocha received the assignment he had hoped for, returning  
24 to the United States and reporting to Lackland Air Force Base for  
25 Military Working Dog Training School. (Trial Tr. 499:20-500:1, July 15,  
26 2010.)

27  
28



- 1 56. Once he completed the training at Lackland successfully, he returned to  
2 Bahrain, where he found that although he was now a military dog  
3 handler himself, the same atmosphere prevailed. (Trial Tr. 500:2-6, 16-  
4 18, July 15, 2010.)
- 5 57. A new petty officer had joined the unit, Petty Officer Wilburn, who  
6 declared openly that Rocha was "everything he hated: liberal, [Roman]  
7 Catholic, and gay." (Trial Tr. 501:19-502:11, July 15, 2010.) Wilburn  
8 trailed Rocha regularly as Rocha tried to carry out his duties, taunting  
9 and harassing him. Rocha wrote Wilburn a letter complaining about his  
10 conduct; in response, Wilburn left an image of two men engaging in  
11 homosexual activity on Rocha's computer with the message that if  
12 Rocha complained, "no one will care." (Trial Tr. 502:12-504:5, July 15,  
13 2010.)
- 14 58. When the Navy undertook an investigation of Toussaint's command  
15 (apparently unmotivated by anything Rocha said or did), Rocha was  
16 questioned by a captain but at first refused to answer any questions  
17 about the mistreatment he was subjected to because he was afraid the  
18 investigation might lead to questions about his sexual orientation and  
19 an investigation on that subject. (Trial Tr. 519:16-520:10, July 15,  
20 2010.)
- 21 59. So great was Rocha's fear of retaliation that he responded to an  
22 investigating officer's questions regarding Toussaint only after he was  
23 threatened with a court martial if he continued to refuse to respond.  
24 (Trial Tr. 520:11-15, July 15, 2010.)
- 25 60. The Navy recognized Rocha with several awards during his service,  
26 including the Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal for  
27 professional achievement that exceeds expectations; the Global War  
28

1 on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal; the National Defense Service  
2 Medal; and the Navy Expert Rifleman Medal. (Trial Tr. 517:23-24,  
3 518:7-8, 14-16, 519:4-7, July 15, 2010.)

4 61. Rocha received consistently excellent performance evaluations and  
5 reviews while he served in the Navy. (See Trial Exs. 144, 145.) In  
6 Rocha's review covering February 18, 2005, through July 15, 2005, his  
7 supervisors – including Toussaint – described Rocha as "highly  
8 motivated" and a "dedicated, extremely reliable performer who  
9 approaches every task with enthusiasm." (Trial Ex. 145; Trial Tr.  
10 494:23-497:13, July 15, 2010.) Rocha's review also stated that he was  
11 a "proven performer" who was "highly recommended for advancement."  
12 (Trial Tr. 496:16-497:3, July 15, 2010.) Rocha's review recommended  
13 him for early promotion, which he received shortly thereafter. (Trial Tr.  
14 497:7-22, July 15, 2010.) Toussaint signed the review as Rocha's  
15 senior reviewing military officer. (Trial Tr. 495:19-23, 498:4-6, July 15,  
16 2010.)

17 62. Despite the ongoing harassment, Rocha continued to receive  
18 exemplary reviews from his supervisors in the canine handling unit,  
19 including Toussaint. In a review covering July 16, 2005, through June  
20 16, 2006, then-Petty Officer Rocha is described as an "exceptionally  
21 outstanding young sailor whose performance, initiative, and  
22 immeasurable energy make[ ] him a model Master-At-Arms." (Trial Ex.  
23 144; Trial Tr. 504:23-506,19, July 15, 2010.) The review also noted  
24 that as a military working dog handler, Rocha "flawlessly inspected  
25 [over 300 items of military equipment,] increasing the force protection of  
26 NSA Bahrain." (Trial Ex. 144; Trial Tr. 506:10-13, July 15, 2010.)

- 1 63. As a result of his performance as a military working dog handler, Rocha  
2 received the Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal, which is  
3 given when an enlisted member exceeds expectations. (Trial Tr.  
4 517:15-518:6 July 15, 2010.)
- 5 64. In 2006, Rocha was chosen to receive the sole nomination from his  
6 congressman for entrance into the U.S. Naval Academy, and Rocha  
7 chose to apply to the Naval Academy's preparatory school in the event  
8 he was not accepted directly into the Naval Academy.<sup>7</sup> (Trial Tr. 506:1-  
9 4; 507:4-23, July 15, 2010.)
- 10 65. Rocha received the required nomination of everyone in his chain of  
11 command for his entry into the Naval Academy and was accepted into  
12 its preparatory school. (Trial Tr. 508:13-509:6, July 15, 2010.) Hearing  
13 of acceptance to the Academy was "the most significant moment of  
14 [his] life . . . , [because acceptance into the Naval Academy] was the  
15 biggest dream [he'd] ever had." (Trial Tr. 519:8-15, July 15, 2010.)
- 16 66. Once he enrolled at the preparatory academy, Rocha had the  
17 opportunity to reflect on his experiences in Bahrain. (Trial Tr. 522:12-  
18 24, July 15, 2010.) His instructors at the preparatory school stressed  
19 the nature of the fifteen- to twenty-year commitment expected of the  
20 officer candidates. (Id.) Rocha understood he was gay when he  
21 enlisted in the Navy at age eighteen, and had complied fully with the  
22 Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act during his service, which he had thought would  
23 protect him. (Id.)
- 24
- 25

---

26 <sup>7</sup> According to Rocha's uncontradicted testimony on this point, the  
27 preparatory school is designed to give extra academic support before entry  
28 into the Naval Academy at Annapolis. (Trial Tr. 507:24-508:4, July 15, 2010.)  
Once admitted into the Naval Academy's preparatory school, acceptance into  
Annapolis is guaranteed. (Trial Tr. 508:5-12, July 15, 2010.)

- 1 67. After reflecting on his experiences in the military working dog unit in  
2 Bahrain, however, he decided it would be impossible for him to serve  
3 under the restraints of the Act and fulfill the commitment expected of  
4 him. He then decided to inform the Navy of his sexual orientation.  
5 (Trial Tr. 522:12-523:15, July 15, 2010.)
- 6 68. He first sought permission from his immediate supervisor, Ensign  
7 Reingelstein, to speak to the division commander; Ensign Reingelstein  
8 unsuccessfully tried to persuade Rocha to change his mind. (Trial Tr.  
9 523:14-524:14, July 15, 2010.) Rocha then was allowed to meet with  
10 his commanding officer, Lt. Bonnieuto, who listened and told him to  
11 return to his unit. (Trial Tr. 525:2-19, July 15, 2010.)
- 12 69. Eventually, he received an honorable discharge (see Trial Ex. 144),  
13 although before accepting Rocha's statement, Lt. Bonnieuto tried to  
14 dissuade him, telling him he was being considered for various honors  
15 and leadership positions at the preparatory school, including "battalion  
16 leadership." (Trial Tr. 525:21-526:6, 527:13-528:22, 530:4-25, July 15,  
17 2010.)
- 18 70. After his discharge, Rocha was diagnosed with service-related  
19 disorders including "post-traumatic stress disorder with major  
20 depression." (Trial Tr. 532:11-19, July 15, 2010.)
- 21 71. Rocha testified he would rejoin the Navy if the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act  
22 was repealed. (Trial Tr. 533:24-534:2, July 15, 2010.)
- 23 72. Even when recounting the mistreatment endured under Toussaint's  
24 command, Rocha testified in an understated and sincere manner. The  
25 Court found him a forthright and credible witness.
- 26  
27  
28

1 **Jenny Kopfstein**

- 2 73. Jenny Kopfstein joined the United States Navy in 1995 when she  
3 entered the United States Naval Academy; after graduation and further  
4 training, she began serving on the combatant ship USS Shiloh on  
5 March 15, 2000. (Trial Tr. 919:12-14, 926:11-927:3, 927:12-19, July  
6 16, 2010.)
- 7 74. Kopfstein was assigned as the ship's ordnance officer, which means  
8 she "was in charge of two weapon systems and a division of [fifteen]  
9 sailors." (Trial Tr. 928:22-929:6, July 16, 2010.) When assigned as  
10 "officer of the deck," Kopfstein was "in charge of whatever the ship  
11 happened to be doing at that time," and coordinating the ship's training  
12 exercises of as many as twenty to thirty sailors. (Trial Tr. 929:7-930:4,  
13 July 16, 2010.)
- 14 75. Once assigned to the USS Shiloh, Kopfstein discovered the Act made it  
15 impossible for her to answer candidly her shipmates' everyday  
16 questions about such matters as how she spent weekends or leave  
17 time; to do so would place her in violation of the Act as she would  
18 necessarily be revealing the existence of her lesbian partner. (Trial Tr.  
19 931:22-932:11, July 16, 2010.) Having to conceal information that  
20 typically was shared made her feel as though other officers might  
21 distrust her, and that trust is critical, especially in emergencies or  
22 crises. (Trial Tr. 957:6-22, July 20, 2010.)
- 23 76. The Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act's prohibition on gay and lesbian  
24 servicemembers revealing their sexual orientation affects trust among  
25 shipmates, as Kopfstein testified, because it causes people to "hide  
26 significant parts of themselves," making it harder to establish the  
27 necessary sense of teamwork. (Trial Tr. 978:16-979:18 July 20, 2010.)  
28

1 When she overheard homophobic comments and name-calling by her  
2 shipmates, she felt she could neither report them nor confront the  
3 offenders, because to do either might call unwanted suspicion upon  
4 her. (Trial Tr. 932:18-933:6, July 16, 2010.)

5 77. After serving for four months on the USS Shiloh, Kopfstein wrote a  
6 letter to Captain Liggett, her commanding officer, stating she was a  
7 lesbian; she wanted Captain Liggett to learn this from her rather than  
8 hear it from another source. (Trial Tr. 933:7-13, 935:8-23, July 16,  
9 2010; Trial Ex. 140 ["Memorandum of Record" from Kopfstein to  
10 Liggett, July 17, 2000].)

11 78. Captain Liggett did not begin any discharge proceedings after Kopfstein  
12 wrote this letter; he told her this was because he did not know her well  
13 and thought she might have written the letter not because she was a  
14 lesbian, but rather as an attempt to avoid deployment to the Arabian  
15 Gulf. (Trial Tr. 935:20-937:11, July 16, 2010; 985:5-14, July 20, 2010.)

16 79. Kopfstein continued to serve and perform her duties in the same  
17 manner she had before writing, but no longer lying or evading her  
18 shipmates' questions about her personal life when asked. (Trial Tr.  
19 950:25-951:11, July 20, 2010.)

20 80. When leaving the USS Shiloh, to be replaced by Captain Dewes,  
21 Captain Liggett not only invited Kopfstein to the farewell party at his  
22 house for the officers and their spouses, but made a point of telling her  
23 she was welcome to bring "any guest she chose" with her. (Trial Tr.  
24 955:12-956:8, July 20, 2010.) Kopfstein and her partner attended the  
25 party, and Kopfstein testified that Captain Liggett and his wife  
26 welcomed them both warmly, as did everyone else present. (Trial Tr.  
27 956:12-25, July 20, 2010.)

28

- 1 81. During the abbreviated course of her service, the Navy awarded  
2 Kopfstein many honors. For example, she was chosen to steer the  
3 USS Shiloh in a ship steering competition; after the USS Shiloh won the  
4 competition, she received a personal commendation from the Admiral  
5 who also ceremonially "gave her his coin," a rare and prized tribute.  
6 (Trial Tr. 952:14-953:20, July 20, 2010.) When she returned from  
7 overseas deployment after the bombing of the USS Cole off the coast  
8 of Yemen in February 2001, the Navy awarded her the Sea Service  
9 Deployment Ribbon, another commendation not routinely awarded.  
10 (Trial Tr. 949:11-22, 954:5-22, July 20, 2010.) She also was awarded  
11 the Naval Expeditionary Medal after the Yemen deployment. (Trial Tr.  
12 955:5-11.)
- 13 82. On September 11, 2001, Kopfstein was the ordnance officer on the  
14 USS Shiloh, in charge of all the weapons on the ship; the captain chose  
15 her to be officer of the deck as the ship was assigned to defend the  
16 West Coast against possible attack in the wake of the attacks on New  
17 York and the Pentagon. (Trial Tr. 958:17-962:19, 963:22-25, July 20,  
18 2010.) In October 2001, the Navy awarded her the Surface Warfare  
19 Officer pin, during a ceremony where her captain took off his pin and  
20 pinned it on her chest. (Trial Tr. 968:8-970:1, July 20, 2010.)
- 21 83. In evaluations completed before and after Kopfstein revealed her  
22 sexual orientation, her commanding officers praised her as the USS  
23 Shiloh's "best [o]fficer of [the d]eck," a "[t]op [n]otch performer," "a gifted  
24 ship handler," and the manager of "one of the best ship's led and  
25 organized divisions," and a "[s]uperb [t]rainer" with a "great talent for  
26 teaching other junior officers." (Trial Exs. 138, 139.)

27  
28

- 1 84. Two captains under whom she served came to the Board of Inquiry to  
2 testify on her behalf during her discharge proceedings. (Trial Tr. 974:2-  
3 977:11, July 20, 2010.) Captain W.E. Dewes, Kopfstein's commanding  
4 officer at the time of her discharge, reported that "[h]er sexual  
5 orientation has not disrupted good order and discipline onboard USS  
6 SHILOH;" rather, Kopfstein was "an asset to the ship and the Navy"  
7 and "played an important role in enhancing the ship[']s strong  
8 reputation . . . . She is a trusted [o]fficer of the [d]eck and best ship  
9 handler among her peers. Possesses an instinctive sense of relative  
10 motion – a natural Seaman." (Trial Ex. 139.)
- 11 85. Captain Liggett also attended her discharge proceedings, where he  
12 testified that "it would be a shame for the service to lose her." (Trial Ex.  
13 138.)
- 14 86. Kopfstein served in the Navy without concealing her sexual orientation  
15 for two years and four months before her discharge. During that time,  
16 to her knowledge, no one complained about the quality of her work or  
17 about being assigned to serve with her. (Trial Tr. 984:8-12, 987:6-8,  
18 989:9-17, July 20, 2010.)
- 19 87. Kopfstein did not want to leave the Navy; she enjoyed the company of  
20 her shipmates and found her work rewarding. (Trial Tr. 973:16-24, July  
21 20, 2010.)
- 22 88. Nevertheless, Kopfstein was discharged under the Don't Ask, Don't Tell  
23 Act. (Id.) Although she appealed the decision to separate her from the  
24 Navy, she did not prevail, and on October 31, 2002, she received an  
25 honorable discharge. (Trial Tr. 977:9-20, July 20, 2010.)
- 26 89. Kopfstein testified she "absolutely" would rejoin the Navy if the Act were  
27 repealed. (Trial Tr. 980:16-22, July 20, 2010.)
- 28



1 90. The Court found Kopfstein an honest, candid, and believable witness;  
2 she testified with modest understatement about her talent and  
3 achievements as a naval officer and with obvious sincerity about her  
4 desire to rejoin to fulfill her original commitment.  
5

6 **John Nicholson**

7 91. John Nicholson enlisted in the United States Army in May 2001. (Trial  
8 Tr. 1135:6-12, July 20, 2010.) At the time he enlisted, he was fluent in  
9 Spanish and "fairly proficient" in Italian and Portuguese. (Trial Tr.  
10 1129:3-1130:23, 1134:10-23, 1135:13-18, July 20, 2010.) He  
11 underwent testing in the military for foreign language aptitude and  
12 qualified for the most difficult level of language training, Category 4.  
13 (Trial Tr. 1151:25-1152:3, 1154:4-9, July 20, 2010.)

14 92. While Nicholson served, especially while in basic training at Fort  
15 Benning, Georgia, he sometimes heard other soldiers make sexist or  
16 homophobic slurs but was afraid to report these violations of military  
17 conduct lest suspicion fall on him or he be retaliated against in a  
18 manner that would lead to his discharge under the Act. (Trial Tr.  
19 1138:1-1142:14, 1143:2-24, July 20, 2010.)

20 93. The Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act prevented Nicholson from being open and  
21 candid with others in his unit; it kept him under a "cloud of fear," and  
22 caused him to lie about and alter who he was. (Trial Tr. 1194:17-  
23 1196:20, July 20, 2010.)

24 94. After completing his basic training, Nicholson was assigned to Fort  
25 Huachuca, Arizona, to train as a human intelligence collector. (Trial Tr.  
26 1143:25-1144:3, July 20, 2010.) While completing his intelligence  
27 training at Fort Huachuca, Nicholson requested and received a  
28

- 1 reassignment to counterintelligence, but remained at Fort Huachuca to  
2 complete the requisite counterintelligence training. (Trial Tr. 1148:5-14,  
3 July 20, 2010.)
- 4 95. Nicholson was waiting to start the next cycle of the counterintelligence  
5 course when another servicemember started spreading a rumor that  
6 Nicholson was gay. (Trial Tr. 1154:12-18, July 20, 2010.)
- 7 96. The rumor originated because, while off duty in January 2002,  
8 Nicholson wrote a letter to a man with whom he had a relationship  
9 before joining the Army. Nicholson wrote the letter in Portuguese to  
10 prevent other servicemembers from reading it, because it contained  
11 references that could reveal Nicholson's sexual orientation. (Trial Tr.  
12 1134:10-23, 1161:10-1163:7, July 20, 2010.)
- 13 97. Despite Nicholson's precautions, another servicemember caught sight  
14 of the letter while chatting with Nicholson. (Id.) After the two had been  
15 talking for a few minutes, Nicholson realized she was one of the few  
16 persons he knew in the Army who also could also read Portuguese; he  
17 gathered up the pages of his letter after he noticed she appeared to be  
18 interested in it and reading it. (Id.; Trial Tr. 1163:8-18, July 20, 2010.)
- 19 98. After this incident, members of Nicholson's unit approached him and  
20 told him to "be more careful" with regard to disclosing his sexual  
21 orientation. (Trial Tr. 1164:3-1165:10, July 20, 2010.) Nicholson  
22 sought his platoon sergeant's assistance to stop the spread of the  
23 rumor, but the sergeant instead informed the chain of command. (Trial  
24 Tr.1166:9-1167:19, 1170:9-15, July 20, 2010.)
- 25 99. Nicholson's company commander summoned Nicholson to his office  
26 and informed Nicholson that he was initiating discharge proceedings.  
27 (Trial Tr. 1180:21-1182:9, July 20, 2010.) Upon leaving the meeting,  
28

1 the platoon sergeant, who also had been present at the meeting,  
2 ordered Nicholson not to disclose why he was being discharged from  
3 the Army. (Trial Tr. 1182:11-1183:15, July 20, 2010.)

4 100. After meeting with his company commander, Nicholson was separated  
5 from his platoon and placed in a wing of the barracks containing other  
6 servicemembers who were being discharged for reasons such as drug  
7 use and failing to disclose criminal convictions before enlistment. (Trial  
8 Tr. 1184:11-1185:11, July 20, 2010.)

9 101. Two months later, Nicholson was honorably discharged under the Don't  
10 Ask, Don't Tell Act. (Trial Tr. 1183:25-1184:10, 1187:10-13, July 20,  
11 2010.)

12 102. Nicholson testified he "absolutely" would return to the Army if the Don't  
13 Ask, Don't Tell Act were invalidated. (Trial Tr. 1209:4-5, July 21, 2010.)

14 103. As noted above with respect to his testimony on the standing issue, the  
15 Court observed Nicholson to be credible and forthright.

16

17 **Anthony Loverde**

18 104. Anthony Loverde joined the United States Air Force on February 13,  
19 2001, making a six-year commitment and hoping to use his G.I. Bill  
20 benefits to obtain a post-graduate degree eventually. (Trial Tr.  
21 1326:19-24, 1327:16-1328:22, July 21, 2010.)

22 105. After completing basic training, he received specialized training in  
23 electronics and further training in calibrations, after which he qualified at  
24 the journeyman level as a Precision Measurement Equipment  
25 Laboratory ("PMEL") technician. (Trial Tr. 1329:5-24, July 21, 2010.) A  
26 PMEL technician calibrates the accuracy, reliability, and traceability of

27

28

- 1 all types of equipment, including precision warfare equipment. (Trial Tr.  
2 1335:13-1336:5, July 21, 2010.)
- 3 106. After completing training in December 2001, Loverde was stationed at  
4 Ramstein Air Base in Germany. (Trial Tr. 1334:18-21, July 21, 2010.)  
5 While at Ramstein, Loverde's flight was responsible for calibrating and  
6 ensuring the accuracy and reliability of "various equipment used  
7 throughout the Air Force." (Trial Tr. 1335:13-1336:20, July 21, 2010.)  
8 Loverde was stationed at Ramstein for approximately three years.  
9 (Trial Tr. 1337:5-11, July 21, 2010.)
- 10 107. After completing his tour at Ramstein Air Base, Loverde was stationed  
11 at Edwards Air Force Base in California for approximately two years.  
12 (Trial Tr. 1341:17-1342:2, July 21, 2010.) While stationed at Edwards,  
13 Loverde was deployed to Al Udeid Air Base in Qatar for four months,  
14 where he supported Operations Iraqi Freedom and Enduring Freedom,  
15 as well as missions in the Horn of Africa. (Trial Tr. 1344:8-22,  
16 1345:17-21, July 21, 2010.)
- 17 108. During his stint in the Air Force, Loverde received frequent promotions.  
18 Three and one-half years after enlistment, for example, he was  
19 promoted to staff sergeant, although the usual length of time to reach  
20 that rank is six years. (Trial Tr. 1337:12-1338:5, 1338:21-1339:12, July  
21 21, 2010.)
- 22 109. After serving his initial enlistment commitment, he reenlisted and  
23 received further training to qualify as a loadmaster. (Trial Tr. 1352:25-  
24 1353:15, July 21, 2010.) In that capacity, he flew sixty-one combat  
25 missions in Iraq, where he received two Air Medals. (Trial Tr. 1357:12-  
26 17, 1359:17-25, July 21, 2010.)

27  
28

1 110. Loverde testified he was raised in a religious family and his church  
2 taught that homosexuality was a sin; he had not realized he was gay at  
3 the time he joined the military at age twenty-one. (Trial Tr. 1327:16-17,  
4 1330:13-25, July 21, 2010.) After he became aware of his sexual  
5 orientation, he researched the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act and found the  
6 Servicemembers' Legal Defense Network website. (Trial Tr. 1332:13-  
7 1333:4, July 21, 2010.) He understood that there were three grounds  
8 for discharge under the Act – marriage, conduct, and statements. (Trial  
9 Tr. 1332:17-1333:4, July 21, 2010.) He resolved to comply with the Act  
10 and remain in the Air Force.

11 111. The Air Force's core values are "Integrity First, Service Before Self, and  
12 Excellence in All We Do." (Trial Tr. 1333:5-24, July 21, 2010; 367:20-  
13 25, July 14, 2010.) Loverde testified that the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act  
14 effectively made it impossible to honor the "Integrity First" value of the  
15 credo, because on occasion, he felt forced to lie rather than violate the  
16 Act. Once, when with other servicemembers in a bar off base in  
17 Germany, he refused the sexual advances of a German civilian woman,  
18 and his colleagues asked him if he was gay; on another occasion, a  
19 subordinate airman asked Loverde about his sexual orientation. (Trial  
20 Tr. 1333:5-1334:16, 1349:24-1350:24, July 21, 2010.)

21 112. During the time he served as a loadmaster at Ramstein Air Base in  
22 Germany, Loverde's flight chief often used offensive epithets to refer to  
23 homosexuals, as well as racist and sexist slurs. (Trial Tr. 1364:16-  
24 1365:25, July 21, 2010.) Although Loverde was disturbed by this, he  
25 felt he had no recourse and could not report it lest he draw attention to  
26 his sexual orientation. Therefore, during the year he served under this  
27  
28

- 1 officer, he never made any formal or informal complaint about it. (Id.;  
2 Trial Tr. 1366:13-15, July 21, 2010.)
- 3 113. Loverde also testified that during his combat deployments and during  
4 his assignments to bases in Germany and California, he faced the  
5 difficulty of having to hide his personal life from his colleagues and  
6 avoiding conversations with them about everyday life over meals, for  
7 example. (Trial Tr. 1360:1-1361:17, July 21, 2010.) He became so  
8 skilled at avoiding his fellow airmen that they nicknamed him "Vapor" in  
9 recognition of his ability to vanish when off duty. (Id.)
- 10 114. In April 2008, Loverde decided he was no longer willing to conceal his  
11 sexual orientation. (Trial Tr. 1366:16-20, July 21, 2010.) At that time,  
12 he was deployed at Ali Al Saleem Air Base in Kuwait, and he delayed  
13 formally telling his commanding officer of his decision until his return to  
14 Germany, lest his entire flight's mission be disrupted and their return  
15 from deployment delayed. (Trial Tr. 1355:18-21, 1366:16-1367:25, July  
16 21, 2010.)
- 17 115. When Loverde returned to Germany from his deployment, he wrote to  
18 his first sergeant, requesting to speak to his commanding officer about  
19 continuing to serve under the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act, and stating that  
20 while he wanted to continue serving in the Air Force, he could not do so  
21 under that law. (Id.; Trial Tr. 1368:20-1369:3, July 21, 2010.)
- 22 116. Loverde's superiors recommended the Air Force retain him and  
23 commended him for being "nothing less than an outstanding [non-  
24 commissioned officer]" and "a strong asset" to the Air Force. (Trial Exs.  
25 136, 137.) They praised him for demonstrating an "exceptional work  
26 ethic" and "the highest level of military bearing, honest, and  
27 trustworthiness." (Id.) One wrote: "If I ever had the opportunity to build  
28

1 my 'dream team' for work, I would take an entire crew of SSgt. Loverde  
2 over most other workers. . . ." (Trial Ex. 137.)  
3 117. Nevertheless, in July 2008 the Air Force gave Loverde an honorable  
4 discharge, citing the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act. (See Trial Exs. 129, 134,  
5 136, 137; Trial Tr. 1372:20-1377:20, July 21, 2010.)  
6 118. Loverde testified he would join the Air Force again "without a doubt" if  
7 the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act were repealed. (Trial Tr. 1389:12-18, July  
8 21, 2010.) The Court found Loverde a candid and credible witness.

9

10 **Steven Vossler**

11 119. Steven Vossler's family has a tradition of service in the Army extending  
12 back to the Spanish-American War, and he enlisted in the United  
13 States Army in November 2000, before graduating high school. (Trial  
14 Tr. 302:19-303:5, July 14, 2010.) After basic training, the Army sent  
15 him to the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California, because  
16 of his exceptional aptitude for foreign languages. (Trial Tr. 305:5-306:6,  
17 July 14, 2010.)

18 120. Vossler developed close friendships with other students at the  
19 Language Institute, and testified that in general it is important to have  
20 "good, open relationships" and to discuss one's personal experiences  
21 and life with one's colleagues in the military, and if one does not, it is  
22 perceived as an attempt to distance one's self. (Trial Tr. 316:7-317:17,  
23 July 14, 2010.)

24 121. Vossler met Jerrod Chaplowski, another soldier and Korean language  
25 student at the Monterey Language Institute, and became friends with  
26 him. (Trial Tr. 317:14-20, 318:16-17, July 14, 2010.) Eventually  
27 Vossler heard a rumor that Chaplowski was gay. (Trial Tr. 318:22-  
28

1 320:24, July 14, 2010.) Vossler was initially surprised at this, because  
2 "up until that point, [he] still held some very stereotyping beliefs about  
3 gays and lesbians," but as a heterosexual, he had no difficulty sharing  
4 living quarters with Chaplowski at any of the several Army bases where  
5 they were quartered together; in fact, Chaplowski was a considerate  
6 roommate and it was always a "great living situation." (Trial Tr. 319:16-  
7 17, 321:2-10, 327:1-11, 329:20-25, July 14, 2010.)

8 122. The difficulty Vossler encountered was that when he and Chaplowski  
9 were with other servicemembers and the conversation turned to  
10 general subjects, Vossler had to be excessively cautious lest he  
11 inadvertently cast suspicion on Chaplowski and trigger an investigation  
12 under the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act. (See Trial Tr. 327:12-328:20, July  
13 14, 2010.) For example, if a group of soldiers was discussing their  
14 respective social activities over the previous weekend, Vossler had to  
15 refer to Chaplowski's dinner companion as "Stephanie" rather than  
16 "Steven;" even this small deception pained Vossler as it violated the  
17 Army's code of honor. (Id.)

18 123. Vossler also observed that the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act infringed  
19 Chaplowski's ability or willingness to enforce the Army's policy banning  
20 offensive and discriminatory language. (Trial Tr. 328:22-329:4, July 14,  
21 2010.) Homophobic slurs, epithets, and "humor" were commonplace  
22 and made Vossler uncomfortable; he noticed that Chaplowski did not  
23 confront those who employed them, although Vossler eventually did at  
24 times. (Trial Tr. 329:5-19, July 14, 2010.)

25 124. Vossler chose not to reenlist in the active-duty Army after his tour of  
26 service expired, instead enlisting in the Army National Guard, which he  
27 left in June 2009. (Trial Tr. 332:21-333:25, July 14, 2010.)  
28



1 125. After leaving the military, Vossler became a vocal advocate for the  
2 repeal of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act because he believes the Act  
3 "doesn't seem in line with American values" and he "do[es]n't  
4 understand how it's a law in [this] country" because he perceives the  
5 Act to be discriminatory. (Trial Tr. 337:14-338:20, July 14, 2010.)

6 126. The Court found Vossler, in common with the other former military men  
7 and women who testified at trial, a credible, candid, and compelling  
8 witness.

### 9 10 **The Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act**

11 127. After taking office in 1992, President Clinton directed Secretary of  
12 Defense Les Aspin to review his department's policy regarding  
13 homosexuals serving in the military.

14 128. Congress undertook its own review and, in 1993, enacted the Don't  
15 Ask, Don't Tell Act, which regulated the service of homosexual  
16 personnel in the United States military. See National Defense  
17 Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1994, Pub. L. No. 103-160, 107 Stat.  
18 1547 § 571, 10 U.S.C. § 654.

19 129. The Act contains a series of findings that mirror the concerns of then-  
20 chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell's testimony before  
21 Congress: "military life is fundamentally different from civilian life;"  
22 "[s]uccess in combat requires military units that are characterized by  
23 high morale, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion;" and "the  
24 presence in the [A]rmed [F]orces of persons who demonstrate a  
25 propensity of intent to engage in homosexual acts would create an  
26 unacceptable risk to the high standards of morale, good order and  
27  
28

1 discipline and unit cohesion that are the essence of military capability."  
2 See 10 U.S.C. § 654(a); cf. S. Rep. No. 103-112 at 283 (1993).

3 130. The Act is codified at 10 U.S.C. § 654; under § 654(b), the Secretary of  
4 Defense is authorized to formulate the implementing regulations, which  
5 are comprised of Department of Defense Directives 1332.14 (1993),  
6 1332.30 (1997), and 1304.26 (1993). The Secretary of Defense  
7 recently changed the implementing regulations. See Department of  
8 Defense Instruction ("DoDI") 1332.14 (2008) (incorporating March 29,  
9 2010, changes); DoDI 1332.30 (2008) (incorporating March 29, 2010,  
10 changes).

11 131. The statute provides that a member of the Armed Forces "shall be  
12 separated" from military service under one or more of the following  
13 circumstances.

- 14 a. First, a servicemember shall be discharged if he or she "has  
15 engaged in, attempted to engage in, or solicited another to  
16 engage in a homosexual act or acts." 10 U.S.C. § 654(b)(1).
- 17 b. Second, a servicemember shall be discharged if he or she "has  
18 stated that he or she is a homosexual<sup>8</sup> or bisexual,<sup>9</sup> or words to  
19 that effect . . . ." 10 U.S.C. § 654 (b)(2).
- 20 c. Third, a servicemember shall be discharged if he or she has  
21 married or attempted to marry a person "known to be of the same  
22 biological sex." 10 U.S.C. § 654 (b)(3).

---

24 <sup>8</sup> "The term 'homosexual' means a person, regardless of sex, who  
25 engages in, attempts to engage in, has a propensity to engage in, or intends  
26 to engage in homosexual acts, and includes the terms 'gay' and 'lesbian'." 10  
27 U.S.C. § 654 (f)(1).

28 <sup>9</sup> "The term 'bisexual' means a person who engages in, attempts to  
engage in, has a propensity to engage, or intends to engages in homosexual  
and heterosexual acts." 10 U.S.C. § 654 (f)(2).

- 1 132. The first two routes to discharge have escape clauses; that is,  
2 discharges via either subsection (b)(1) or (b)(2) create a rebuttable  
3 presumption which the servicemember may attempt to overcome.  
4 Through this exception, a servicemember may rebut the presumption  
5 by demonstrating the homosexual conduct which otherwise forms the  
6 basis for the discharge under the Act meets five criteria, including inter  
7 alia, that it is a "departure" from the servicemember's "usual and  
8 customary behavior," is unlikely to recur, and was not accomplished by  
9 use of force, coercion or intimidation. 10 U.S.C. § 654 (b)(1)(A)-(E).
- 10 133. An escape route also applies to the second basis for discharge under  
11 the Act, the making of a statement that one is a homosexual. It allows  
12 the servicemember to rebut the presumption thus created by  
13 demonstrating that "he or she is not a person who engages in, attempts  
14 to engage, or has a propensity to engage in, or intends to engage in  
15 homosexual acts." 10 U.S.C. § 654 (2).

16

### 17 **Defendants' Evidence**

- 18 134. Defendants specifically identified only the following items of legislative  
19 history as those upon which they rely in support of their contentions that  
20 the Act significantly furthers governmental interests in military readiness  
21 or troop cohesion, or that discharge is necessary to those interests: (1)  
22 the Crittenden Report; (2) the PERSEREC Report; (3) the Rand Report;  
23 and the testimony of the following witnesses during hearings on the  
24 proposed Policy: (4) Dr. Lawrence Korb; (5) Dr. David Marlowe; (6) Dr.  
25 William Henderson; and (7) General Colin Powell. Defendants did not  
26 include precise citations to any portion of the above-referenced  
27 materials to support the constitutionality of the Policy.

28

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28

**a. The Crittenden Report (Trial Ex. 4)**

The Crittenden Report, formally titled Report of the Board Appointed to Prepare and Submit Recommendations to the Secretary of the Navy for the Revision of Policies, Procedures, and Directives Dealing with Homosexuals, was prepared by that Board in 1957. U.S. Navy Captain S.H. Crittenden chaired the Board, which made detailed recommendations regarding the manner in which discipline against homosexual servicemembers should be imposed, including circumstances in which discharge would be appropriate, and whether discharge should be honorable or otherwise. The Report does not, however, discuss the impact of the presence of homosexuals serving in the Armed Forces on either military readiness or unit cohesion. Instead, the Board assumed, without investigation, that the presence of homosexuals had a negative effect and their exclusion was desirable, without elaborating on the basis for those assumptions; the Report never made any findings concerning the impact of homosexual servicemembers on military operations.

Accordingly, the Crittenden Report is not evidence that discharge of homosexual servicemembers significantly furthers government interests in military readiness or troop cohesion, or that discharge is necessary to those interests. The Report, in fact, is silent on those interests.

It did conclude, however, that assumptions that homosexuals present security risks and are unfit for military service are not well-supported by evidence. The Report also generally found homosexuals to be no more or less likely to be qualified to serve in the Armed Forces than heterosexuals according to a number of measures.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28

**b. The PERSEREC Report (Trial Ex. 5)**

The PERSEREC Report, formally titled "Nonconforming Sexual Orientation in the Military and Society," was published in 1988 by the Defense Personnel Security Research and Education Center and authored by Theodore R. Sabin and Kenneth E. Karois. The Report is a broad survey of then-prevailing legal trends regarding treatment of homosexuals, scientific views on homosexuality, and the history of social constructions of "nonconforming" sexual behavior. The Report notes a legal trend toward increasingly recognizing rights of homosexuals, a scientific trend toward recognizing homosexuality both as biologically determined and as a normal condition not necessarily indicating physical or mental disease, and a societal trend towards increasing acceptance of homosexual behavior.

The PERSEREC Report generally dismisses traditional objections to service by homosexuals in the military as abstract, intangible, and tradition-bound. The Report cites no evidence that homosexual servicemembers adversely affect military readiness or unit cohesion. The Report discusses unit cohesion, but only to state that empirical research on the effect of homosexual servicemembers on unit cohesion is important and necessary in the future; it points to no existing empirical data. In general, the Report suggests the military begin a transition towards acceptance of homosexual servicemembers.

**c. The Rand Report (Trial Ex. 8)**

The Rand Report was prepared by the Rand Corporation's National Defense Research Institute in 1993 at the request of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Les Aspin. The submitted summary of the

1 Rand Report discusses only "Section 10," entitled "What Is Known  
2 about Unit Cohesion and Military Performance," as that is the sole  
3 section that bears on the issues presented here.

4 Foremost among the Rand Report's conclusions is that no  
5 empirical evidence exists demonstrating the impact of an openly  
6 homosexual servicemember on the cohesion of any military unit. In its  
7 discussion of unit cohesion, the Report distinguished between social  
8 cohesion – "the emotional bonds of liking and friendship of the  
9 members of a unit" (Trial Tr. 872:3-4, July 16, 2010) and task cohesion  
10 – "a shared commitment to the group's mission or task goals" (Trial Tr.  
11 872:4-6, July 16, 2010); concluded that according to public literature,  
12 only task cohesion has an even moderately positive correlation with unit  
13 performance; and found after controlling for task cohesion, social  
14 cohesion has almost no correlation to unit performance. The Report  
15 further opines that an openly homosexual servicemember is more likely  
16 to affect only social cohesion, rather than task cohesion, thus having  
17 little to no impact on a unit's military performance.

18 The Report also concluded that merely assigning openly  
19 homosexual servicemembers to a unit can decrease negative feelings  
20 towards homosexuals, as fellow unit members tend to hold positive  
21 views of other individuals simply because they have been arbitrarily  
22 assigned to the same group. Moreover, contact with a group towards  
23 which negative feelings are held tends to decrease negative feelings  
24 towards that group; Professor Belkin described this phenomenon as  
25 "familiarity breeds tolerance." (Trial Tr. 297:9-19, July 14, 2010.) The  
26 Report opined that the relationship between negative feelings toward a  
27 group would not necessarily translate into disruptive behavior, and that  
28

1 to the extent it did so translate, such behavior could be influenced and  
2 controlled by appropriate institutional attitudes and attitudes of unit  
3 leaders.

4  
5 **d. Testimony of Dr. Lawrence Korb (Trial Ex. 344 at 255)**

6 Dr. Korb testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee  
7 on March 31, 1993, concerning the likely impact on unit cohesion if  
8 homosexuals were permitted to serve openly. According to Dr. Korb,  
9 there was no empirical research to support the view that homosexual  
10 servicemembers would disrupt unit cohesion, and that such evidence  
11 could not be obtained without integrating homosexuals into the military.  
12 Dr. Korb did concede, however, that in the short run immediately  
13 following integration of homosexual servicemembers, some negative  
14 effect on unit cohesion was likely, but did not point to any evidence in  
15 support of this view. Dr. Korb testified concerning the experiences of  
16 foreign militaries and domestic law enforcement agencies that had  
17 integrated homosexual servicemembers, and stated that their  
18 integration had not adversely affected unit cohesion or performance in  
19 those entities.

20  
21 **e. Testimony of Dr. William Henderson (Trial Ex. 344 at 248)**

22 Dr. Henderson testified before the Senate Armed Services  
23 Committee on March 31, 1993, concerning the significance of unit  
24 cohesion. Dr. Henderson testified that the "human element" is the most  
25 important factor in warfare and the only force that motivates a unit to  
26 fight rather than flee or take cover. Dr. Henderson testified that  
27 creation of a cohesive unit is "significantly influenced by broad cultural  
28

1 values, norms, and characteristics that are the result of a common  
2 socialization process and basic agreement among unit members about  
3 cultural values." Dr. Henderson testified that two types of unit cohesion  
4 exist: horizontal cohesion whereby troops identify with each other, and  
5 vertical cohesion whereby troops identify with their leaders. A member  
6 of the unit who refuses to conform to the unit's expectations will be  
7 isolated, and will undermine the unit's cohesiveness. Based on the  
8 views of servicemembers surveyed at that time, approximately 80% of  
9 whom opposed integration of homosexuals, homosexual  
10 servicemembers were so far outside the acceptable range of shared  
11 cultural values that they would not be accepted within military units, and  
12 would undermine unit cohesion. Dr. Henderson pointed to no specific  
13 empirical study supporting this assertion, however, and measured his  
14 testimony by suggesting that a homosexual servicemember who did not  
15 disclose his orientation would not disrupt unit cohesion.

16  
17 **f. Testimony of Dr. David Marlowe (Trial Ex. 344 at 261)**

18 Dr. Marlowe testified before the Senate Armed Services  
19 Committee on March 31, 1993, concerning the significance of unit  
20 cohesion. He testified similarly to Dr. Henderson in his description of  
21 the importance of unit cohesion and of the two types of cohesion, *i.e.*,  
22 horizontal and vertical cohesion. While openly acknowledging that in  
23 his scientific opinion, there was no empirical data conclusively deciding  
24 the question, he opined that openly serving homosexuals could  
25 undermine unit cohesion because homosexuality would not be an  
26 accepted cultural value among the other members of the unit. Dr.  
27 Marlowe qualified his opinion more than Dr. Henderson, however, as  
28



1 Dr. Marlowe also opined that a homosexual servicemember who did not  
2 "flaunt" his or her homosexuality, acted as a soldier first and foremost,  
3 and did not openly discuss his or her homosexuality would not  
4 undermine unit cohesion. Dr. Marlowe foresaw no problem with such a  
5 person serving in the Armed Forces.  
6

7 **g. Testimony of General Colin Powell (Trial Ex. 344 at 707)**

8 General Colin Powell testified before the Senate Armed Services  
9 Committee on July 20, 1993. General Powell expressed his general  
10 support for the Policy as then proposed by President Clinton. General  
11 Powell testified that in his opinion open homosexuality was  
12 incompatible with military service and would undermine unit cohesion.  
13 General Powell opined that "behavior too far away from the norm  
14 undercuts the cohesion of the group." He testified to his belief that  
15 military training on tolerance could not overcome the innate prejudices  
16 of heterosexual servicemembers. He also testified that the Policy  
17 would improve military readiness, but only in that it settled the question  
18 of whether or not homosexuals could serve in the military, as the public  
19 debate had been a recent distraction to the military. His testimony  
20 implied that any final resolution of the issue, regardless of substance,  
21 would improve military readiness.

22 General Powell testified that despite the official position of  
23 nondiscrimination towards homosexuals in the militaries of countries  
24 such as Canada, Germany, Israel, and Sweden, practice does not  
25 always match policy, and homosexuals often are subjected to  
26 discrimination in those militaries. General Powell also rejected  
27 attempts to draw parallels between exclusion of homosexuals and  
28

1 historical exclusion of African-Americans, because "skin color is a  
2 benign nonbehavioral characteristic, while sexual orientation is perhaps  
3 the most profound of human behavioral characteristics."  
4

5 **Plaintiff's Evidence: Reports, Exhibits and Expert and Lay Testimony**

6 135. Plaintiff introduced evidence demonstrating the Act does not  
7 significantly advance the Government's interests in military readiness or  
8 unit cohesion. The testimony of former servicemembers provides  
9 ample evidence of the Act's effect on the fundamental rights of  
10 homosexual members of the United States military. Their testimony  
11 also demonstrates that the Act adversely affects the Government's  
12 interests in military readiness and unit cohesion. In addition to the  
13 testimony from the lay witnesses, Plaintiff introduced other evidence,  
14 from witnesses in such specialties as national security policy, military  
15 sociology, military history, and social psychology, on whether the Act  
16 furthered the Government's interests in military readiness or unit  
17 cohesion.  
18

19 **Discharge of Qualified Servicemembers Despite Troop Shortages**

20 136. From 1993 through 2009, Defendants discharged, pursuant to the Act,  
21 over 13,000 men and women serving in the United States Armed  
22 Forces. During the years between 1994 through 2001, Defendants  
23 discharged at least 7,856 servicemembers under the Act, according to  
24 a General Accounting Office Report entitled "Financial Costs and Loss  
25 of Critical Skills." (Trial Ex. 9 [2005 Government Accountability Office  
26 ("GAO") Report on the "Financial Costs and Loss of Critical Skills Due  
27 to [the] DOD's Homosexual Conduct Policy"].)  
28

1 137. The combined branches of the Armed Forces discharged the following  
2 numbers of servicemembers from 1994, the first full year after adoption  
3 of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act, through the calendar year 2001:  
4

Year	Number of Servicemembers Discharged
1994	616 <sup>10</sup>
1995	757 <sup>11</sup>
1996	858 <sup>12</sup>
1997	997 <sup>13</sup>
1998	1,145 <sup>14</sup>
1999	1,043 <sup>15</sup>
2000	1,213 <sup>16</sup>
2001	1,227 <sup>17</sup>
<b>Total discharged 1994 2001</b>	<b>7,856</b>

15  
16  
17  
18 \_\_\_\_\_  
19 <sup>10</sup> (Trial Ex. 9, at 8; but see id. at 42 (showing 616 servicemembers  
20 discharged).)

21 <sup>11</sup> (Trial Ex. 9, at 8.)

22 <sup>12</sup> (Id.)

23 <sup>13</sup> (Trial Ex. 85, Defs.' Objections and Resp. to Pl's. First Set of Req. for  
24 Admis. ("RFA Resp.") No. 33; Trial Ex. 9, at 8.)

25 <sup>14</sup> (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 34; Trial Ex. 9, at 8.)

26 <sup>15</sup> (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 35; Trial Ex. 9, at 8; but see id. at 42  
27 (showing 1,034 servicemembers discharged).)

28 <sup>16</sup> (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 36; Trial Ex. 9, at 8; but see id. at 42  
(showing 1,213 servicemembers discharged).)

<sup>17</sup> (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 37; Trial Ex. 9, at 8; but see id. at 42  
(showing 1,227 servicemembers discharged).)

1 138. Starting in 2002, after the United States began fighting in Afghanistan,  
 2 the number of servicemembers discharged under the Act fell sharply,  
 3 despite the greater raw number of military personnel. As but one  
 4 example, in 2001, Defendants discharged at least 1,217  
 5 servicemembers pursuant to the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act. In 2002, the  
 6 number discharged under the Act fell to 885.

Year	Number of Servicemembers Discharged
2002	885 <sup>18</sup>
2003	770 <sup>19</sup>
2004	653 <sup>20</sup>
2005	726 <sup>21</sup>
2006	612 <sup>22</sup>
2007	627 <sup>23</sup>
2008	619 <sup>24</sup>
2009	275 <sup>25</sup>
<b>Total discharged 2002-2009</b>	<b>5,167</b>

18 (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 38; but see Trial Ex. 9, at 8 (showing 884 servicemembers discharged).)

19  
 20  
 21  
 22 19 (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 39; but see Trial Ex. 9, at 8 (showing 769 servicemembers discharged).)

23 20 (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 40.)

24 21 (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 41.)

25 22 (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 42.)

26 23 (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 43.)

27 24 (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 44.)

28 25 (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 45.)

1 139. The decline in discharges after 2001, according to Dr. Nathaniel Frank,  
2 illustrates that during wartime the military retains servicemembers  
3 known to be homosexual, despite the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act requiring  
4 discharge, because of the heightened need for troops. (Trial Tr. 196:5-  
5 198:6, 257:21-258:6, July 13, 2010.)  
6

7 **Discharge of Servicemembers with Critically Needed Skills and Training**

8 140. Among those discharged pursuant to the Act were many  
9 servicemembers with critically needed skills. According to the  
10 Government's own data, many of those discharged pursuant to the Act  
11 had education, training, or specialization in so-called "critical skills,"  
12 including Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, or Korean language fluency; military  
13 intelligence; counterterrorism; weapons development; and medicine.  
14 (Trial Tr. 199:24-200:5, 204:23-24, July 13, 2010; Trial Ex. 9.) Far from  
15 furthering the military's readiness, the discharge of these service men  
16 and women had a direct and deleterious effect on this governmental  
17 interest.

18 141. For example, relying on the 2005 GAO Report on the "Financial Costs  
19 and Loss of Critical Skills Due to [the] DOD's Homosexual Conduct  
20 Policy" (Trial Ex. 9), Professor Frank pointed out that through fiscal year  
21 2003, several hundred medical professionals had been discharged  
22 pursuant to the Act, yet a 2003 Senate report described a lack of  
23 medical care for wounded troops returning from the Arabian Gulf and  
24 the resulting negative impact on physical health and troop morale.  
25 (Trial Tr. 258:10-259:2, July 15, 2010.) At the same time that more  
26 than one-hundred thousand U.S. troops were deployed to serve in  
27 combat in Iraq and Afghanistan, several hundred servicemembers with  
28

1 "critical" language skills, including many qualified as Farsi and Arabic  
2 speakers and interpreters, were discharged under the Act. (Trial Ex. 9;  
3 Trial Tr. 199:24-200:5, 204:23-24, July 13, 2010.)  
4

### 5 **The Act's Impact on Military Recruiting**

6 142. Dr. Lawrence Korb, currently a senior fellow at the Center for American  
7 Progress, with an extraordinary background in military preparedness  
8 and national security issues,<sup>26</sup> including an appointment under  
9 President Ronald Reagan as an Assistant Secretary in the Department  
10 of Defense, testified before Congress in 2007 about the difficulty the  
11 military was experiencing in finding and retaining enough qualified  
12 recruits. The crisis in recruiting qualified candidates became  
13 particularly severe after combat began in 2001, he testified. (Trial Tr.  
14 1027:24-25, 1028:1-2, July 20, 2010.)

15 143. In general, successful military recruiting efforts come with a very high  
16 price tag; Dr. Korb pointed to advertisements various branches of the  
17 Armed Forces run during the televised Super Bowl football games as  
18 an example of an effective but very costly recruiting tool. Successful  
19 recruiting includes not only the costs for sending out military recruiters  
20 all around the country, but also the costs of conducting medical and  
21 educational testing on recruits as well as the expense of their basic  
22 training. The size of the financial investment needed to prepare a  
23

---

24 <sup>26</sup> In addition to the appointments described above, Dr. Korb is on the  
25 faculty at Georgetown University. He also has served as dean of the  
26 Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of  
27 Pittsburgh, on the Council for Foreign Relations, as Director of the Center for  
28 Public Policy Education at the Brookings Institution, and as Director for  
Defense Policy Studies for the American Enterprise Institute. This is only a  
partial list of his appointments and service. (Trial Ex. 350.) The Court found  
Dr. Korb an extraordinarily well-credentialed and powerfully credible witness.

1 servicemember for an operational unit can reach millions of dollars. Dr.  
2 Korb testified. (Trial Tr. 1028:18-1029:13, July 20, 2010.) Citing a  
3 Pentagon study, Dr. Korb opined that for every person discharged after  
4 ten years of service, six new servicemembers would need to be  
5 recruited to recover the level of experience lost by that discharge. (Trial  
6 Tr. 1029:6-23, July 20, 2010.)

7 144. With that background, Dr. Korb opined the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act  
8 negatively affects military recruiting in two ways: its existence  
9 discourages those who would otherwise enlist from doing so, and many  
10 colleges and universities will not permit military recruiting or Army  
11 ROTC programs on campus because the Act's requirements violate  
12 their nondiscrimination policies. (Trial Tr. 1030:12-21, July 20, 2010.)

13 145. Dr. Korb estimated that the military loses 5,000 men and women  
14 annually due to the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act, if one includes both those  
15 who are discharged under it and those who decide not to re-enlist  
16 because of it. He conceded, however, that it is very difficult to quantify  
17 the number of those who decide not to enlist because of the Policy.  
18 (Trial Tr. 1030:1-10, July 20, 2010.) Professor Frank also testified on  
19 this subject, and based on data from the U.S. Census, the UCLA  
20 School of Law Williams Institute, and other sources, opined that if the  
21 Act were repealed, the military would gain approximately 40,000 new  
22 recruits and approximately 4,000 members would re-enlist every year  
23 rather than leave voluntarily. (Trial Tr. 205:6-17, July 13, 2010.)

24 146. The 2005 GAO Report estimated that over the ten-year period after  
25 enactment of the Act, "it could have cost the [Department of Defense]  
26 about \$95 million in constant fiscal year 2004 dollars to recruit  
27 replacements for service members separated under the policy. Also  
28

1 the Navy, Air Force, and Army estimated that the cost to train  
2 replacements for separated service members by occupation was  
3 approximately \$48.8 million, \$16.6 million, and \$29.7 million,  
4 respectively." (Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. No. 21.)  
5

### 6 **Admission of Lesser Qualified Enlistees**

7 147. Defendants discharged over 13,000 members of the Armed Forces  
8 under the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act since 1993. (Trial Tr. 195:5-8,  
9 203:21-204:5.) Plaintiff introduced evidence that while Defendants  
10 continued to enforce the Act by discharging servicemembers under it –  
11 albeit in dramatically reduced numbers – after 2001, they also began to  
12 admit more convicted felons and misdemeanants into the Armed  
13 Forces, by granting so-called "moral waivers"<sup>27</sup> to the policy against  
14 such admissions. (Trial Tr. 199:1-17, July 13, 2010; see supra notes  
15 10-25 and accompanying text.)

16 148. In addition to the increased numbers of convicted felons and  
17 misdemeanants allowed to join the ranks of the military forces,  
18 Professor Frank testified that increased numbers of recruits lacking the  
19 required level of education and physical fitness were allowed to enlist  
20 because of troop shortages during the years following 2001. (Trial Tr.  
21 199:1-11, July 13, 2010.) Log Cabin's evidence went uncontradicted  
22 that those who are allowed to enlist under a "moral waiver" are more  
23 likely to leave the service because of misconduct and more likely to  
24

---

25  
26 <sup>27</sup> "Moral waivers" are used to admit recruits who otherwise would not  
27 have been eligible for admission because of their criminal records, i.e.,  
28 convictions for felonies and serious misdemeanors, or admitted past  
controlled substance abuse. (Trial Tr. 207:7-208:24, July 13, 2010.)



1 leave without fulfilling their service commitment than others who joined  
2 the Armed Forces. (Trial Tr. 209:2-13, July 13, 2010.)

3 149. Dr. Korb testified that eventually the troop shortages after 2001 caused  
4 the U.S. Armed Forces to lower educational and physical fitness entry  
5 standards as well as increase the number of "moral waivers" to such an  
6 extent that, in his opinion, it became difficult for the military to carry out  
7 its mission. (Trial Tr. 1020:22-1021:11, July 20, 2010.) At the same  
8 time, discharging qualified servicemembers under the Don't Ask, Don't  
9 Tell Act simply "does not make sense" in terms of military preparedness  
10 because, in his words, the military is "getting rid of those who are  
11 qualified to serve and admitting those who aren't." (Trial Tr. 1025:15-  
12 20, July 20, 2010.)

13  
14 **Other Effects of the Policy**

15 150. Dr. Korb testified about other effects the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act has  
16 on military preparedness. He opined that in order for the military to  
17 perform its mission successfully, it must mold persons from vastly  
18 different backgrounds who join it into a united and task-oriented  
19 organization. He described the military as a meritocracy, but testified  
20 that the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act detracts from the merit-based nature  
21 of the organization, because discharges under the Act are not based on  
22 the servicemember's failure to perform his or her duties properly, or on  
23 the effect of the soldier's presence on the unit's morale or cohesion.  
24 (Trial Tr. 1031:2-1033:10, July 20, 2010.)

25  
26  
27  
28

1 **Decreased and Delayed Discharge of Suspected Violators of the Act**

2 151. LCR also produced evidence demonstrating that Defendants routinely  
3 delayed the discharge of servicemembers suspected of violating the  
4 Act's provisions until after they had completed their overseas  
5 deployments. In other words, if Defendants began an investigation of a  
6 servicemember suspected of violating the Act, the investigation would  
7 be suspended if the subject received deployment orders; not until he or  
8 she returned from combat – assuming this occurred, of course – would  
9 the investigation be completed and the servicemember discharged if  
10 found to have violated the Act. Thus, Defendants deployed  
11 servicemembers under investigation for violating the Act to combat  
12 missions or, if they were already so deployed, delayed the completion  
13 of the investigation until the end of the deployment. (Trial Tr. 196:5-24,  
14 July 13, 2010; 573:7-17, July 15, 2010; Brady Dep. 184:13-185:11,  
15 188:13-190:9, Apr. 16, 2010.)

16 152. This evidence, in particular, directly undermines any contention that the  
17 Act furthers the Government's purpose of military readiness, as it  
18 shows Defendants continue to deploy gay and lesbian members of the  
19 military into combat, waiting until they have returned before resolving  
20 the charges arising out of the suspected homosexual conduct. If the  
21 warrior's suspected violation of the Act created a threat to military  
22 readiness, to unit cohesion, or to any of the other important  
23 Government objectives, it follows that Defendants would not deploy him  
24 or her to combat before resolving the investigation. It defies logic that  
25 the purposes of the Act could be served by suspending the  
26 investigation during overseas deployments, only to discharge a  
27 servicemember upon his or her return to a non-combat station.

28

- 1 153. Taken as a whole, the evidence introduced at trial shows that the effect  
2 of the Act has been, not to advance the Government's interests of  
3 military readiness and unit cohesion, much less to do so significantly,  
4 but to harm that interest. The testimony demonstrated that since its  
5 enactment in 1993, the Act has harmed efforts of the all-volunteer  
6 military to recruit during wartime.
- 7 154. The Act has caused the discharge of servicemembers in occupations  
8 identified as "critical" by the military, including medical professionals  
9 and Arabic, Korean, and Farsi linguists.
- 10 155. At the same time that the Act has caused the discharge of over 13,000  
11 members of the military, including hundreds in critical occupations, the  
12 shortage of troops has caused the military to permit enlistment of those  
13 who earlier would have been denied entry because of their criminal  
14 records, their lack of education, or their lack of physical fitness.

15

16 **The Act is Not Necessary to Advance the Government's Interests**

17 **Defendants' Admissions**

- 18 156. Defendants have admitted that, far from being necessary to further  
19 significantly the Government's interest in military readiness, the Don't  
20 Ask, Don't Tell Act actually undermines that interest. President Obama,  
21 the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, stated on June 29,  
22 2009:

23 "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" doesn't contribute to our national  
24 security . . . preventing patriotic Americans from serving their  
25 country weakens our national security . . . . [R]eversing this  
26 policy [is] the right thing to do [and] is essential for our national  
27 security.

28 (Trial Ex. 305; Trial Ex. 85, RFA Resp. Nos. 1, 2, 9.)

- 1 157. President Obama also stated regarding the Act on October 10, 2009,  
2 "We cannot afford to cut from our ranks people with the critical skills we  
3 need to fight any more than we can afford – for our military's integrity –  
4 to force those willing to do so into careers encumbered and  
5 compromised by having to live a lie." (Trial Ex. 306; Trial Ex. 85, RFA  
6 Resp. No. 12.)
- 7 158. Admiral Mike Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, echoed  
8 these sentiments through a verified Twitter account, posted to the Joint  
9 Chiefs of Staff website: "Stand by what I said [testifying in the U.S.  
10 Senate Armed Services Committee on February 2, 2010]: Allowing  
11 homosexuals to serve openly is the right thing to do. Comes down to  
12 integrity." (Trial Ex. 330.)

13

14 **Defendants' Contention that the Act is Necessary to Protect Unit**  
15 **Cohesion and Privacy**

- 16 159. Defendants point to the Act's legislative history and prefatory findings  
17 as evidence that the Policy is necessary to protect unit cohesion and  
18 heterosexual servicemembers' privacy. In particular, they quote and  
19 rely on General Colin Powell's statements in his testimony before  
20 Congress in 1993.
- 21 160. General Powell expressed his qualified support for the continued  
22 service of gays and lesbians in the Armed Forces and the narrow  
23 nature of his concerns. (Trial Ex. 344 [Policy Concerning  
24 Homosexuality in the Armed Forces: Hearings Before the S. Comm. on  
25 Armed Servs., 103rd Cong. (statement of General Colin Powell,  
26 Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff)] at 709). He emphasized his concern  
27 that "active military service is not an everyday job in an ordinary  
28

1 workplace . . . . There is often no escape from the military environment  
2 for days, weeks and often months on end. We place unique demands  
3 and constraints upon our young men and women not the least of which  
4 are bathing and sleeping in close quarters." (Id. at 762; 709 ("Our  
5 concern has not been about homosexuals seducing heterosexuals or  
6 heterosexuals attacking homosexuals . . . .").)

7 161. Plaintiff introduced uncontradicted testimony that General Powell has  
8 changed his views since 1993 on the necessity of the Policy and now  
9 agrees with the current Commander-in-Chief that it should be reviewed.  
10 (Trial Tr. 221:7-11, July 13, 2010.)

11 162. Plaintiff also produced powerful evidence demonstrating that the Act is  
12 not necessary in order to further the governmental interest that General  
13 Powell expressed, i.e., unit cohesion and particularly the concern that  
14 cohesion might be eroded if openly homosexual servicemembers  
15 shared close living quarters with heterosexuals.

16 163. Michael Almy, who during thirteen years of active service lived in  
17 dozens of different types of military housing on at least three  
18 continents, testified his quarters ranged from a villa in Eskan Village,  
19 Saudi Arabia, where he and the others quartered there each had  
20 private bedrooms and bathrooms, to a dormitory-type facility at the  
21 Prince Sultan Air Base in Saudi Arabia, where at first he had a private  
22 room and bath until the troop build-up before the invasion of Iraq led to  
23 several men sharing a room, with a private bathroom that was used by  
24 only one person at a time, to temporary quarters in a tent at Balad Air  
25 Base in Iraq shared by six to eight men who obtained limited privacy by  
26 hanging up sheets.

27  
28

1 164. In his deployments to Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Almy was never quartered  
2 in housing that had open bay showers, nor did he ever see such  
3 housing for enlisted members or officers. (Trial Tr. 748:3-750:25, July  
4 16, 2010.) The typical arrangement in Saudi Arabia was for enlisted  
5 servicemembers and officers to have the same type of facilities,  
6 including bathroom and shower facilities; officers typically did not have  
7 to share rooms, and enlisted personnel usually shared a bedroom and  
8 bathroom. (Trial Tr. 750:14-25, July 16, 2010.) Open bay showers are  
9 the exception in military quarters; most service members only use them  
10 during basic training. (Trial Tr. 759:12-19, July 16, 2010.)

11 165. Similarly, John Nicholson testified that while he was in basic training in  
12 Fort Benning, the recruits slept in a large open room with sixty bunk  
13 beds and shared a large communal bathroom with toilets in individual  
14 stalls and semi-private showers. (Trial Tr. 1154:25-1155:15, July 20,  
15 2010.) Anthony Loverde testified that only during basic training was he  
16 housed in barracks where open bay showers were the only option; he  
17 had access to single stall shower facilities even when stationed at  
18 Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan and at Balad Air Base in Iraq. (Trial  
19 Tr. 1378:3-15, 1385:18-1386:12, July 21, 2010.)

20 166. Other servicemembers confirmed this testimony. Stephen Vossler  
21 testified regarding his living quarters while he served as an enlisted  
22 man in the Army; he shared a "not spacious" bedroom and also a  
23 bathroom with a roommate. (Trial Tr. 330:4-11, July 14, 2010.)  
24 Although Vossler learned his roommate was gay, Vossler had no  
25 problems sharing quarters with him and thought he was a good  
26 roommate. (Trial Tr. 329:20-330:21, July 14, 2010.)

27  
28

1 167. Professor Aaron Belkin confirmed this evidence in his testimony; his  
2 research into military architecture revealed that apart from basic  
3 training sites and service academies where there are open showers,  
4 servicemembers usually have access to single stall showers. (Trial Tr.  
5 617:21-619:1, July 15, 2010.) According to Professor Belkin, "the army,  
6 in recent years, has implemented something called the one-plus-one  
7 barracks design standard. What that means is that servicemembers  
8 are housed in an arrangement where they each have their own  
9 bedroom and there is a bathroom between the two bedrooms that they  
10 share." (Trial Tr. 618:8-13, July 15, 2010.) Three-fourths of the troops  
11 quartered in combat zones in Afghanistan and Iraq had access to single  
12 stall showers, according to his research. (Trial Tr. 626:3-8, July 15,  
13 2010.)

14 168. Plaintiff's evidence regarding unit cohesion was equally plentiful and  
15 persuasive. The testimony of both its lay and expert witnesses  
16 revealed that the Act not only is unnecessary to further unit cohesion,  
17 but also harms the Government's interest.

18 169. After Michael Almy was relieved of his command abruptly under the  
19 Act, he witnessed firsthand what occurred when an unprepared junior  
20 officer was forced to take over. He testified that "[t]he maintenance of  
21 the equipment, the mission overall, the availability – the up time of the  
22 equipment, the availability of the equipment to meet the mission  
23 suffered" and there was "a huge detrimental effect to the morale" of the  
24 troops he commanded after he was relieved of his command. (Trial Tr.  
25 813:21-25, 814: 1-6, July 16, 2010.) Almy testified, "Virtually every day  
26 on my base on Spangdahlem, I would encounter one of my former  
27 troops who wanted me back on the job as their officer and leader."  
28

1 (Trial Tr. 814:2-6, July 16, 2010.) His assessment was confirmed by  
2 another officer in the squadron, who wrote that the squadron "fell apart"  
3 after Major Almy was relieved of his duties, illustrating "how important  
4 Maj. Almy was[,] not only to the mission but to his troops." (Trial Ex.  
5 121 [Character Reference Letter from Bryan M. Zollinger, 1st Lt.,  
6 USAF, 606th Air Control Squadron].)

7 170. Jenny Kopfstein's commanding officer wrote that she was a "hard  
8 working and dedicated junior officer who excelled as an [o]fficer of the  
9 [d]eck" who "played an important role in enhancing the ship's strong  
10 reputation." (Trial Ex. 139 [Jenny L. Kopfstein Fitness Report and  
11 Counseling Record]; Trial Tr. 966:14-17.) He specifically noted that  
12 "[h]er sexual orientation has not disrupted good order and discipline on  
13 board USS SHILOH." (Trial Ex. 139; Trial Tr. 966:23-24.) Kopfstein  
14 testified that after she stopped concealing her homosexuality while  
15 serving on the USS Shiloh, she had many positive responses, and the  
16 ability of her fellow crew members to trust her improved, thus aiding the  
17 establishment of teamwork. (Trial Tr. 951:10-11, 979:8-21, 25, 980:1,  
18 July 20, 2010.)

19 171. Anthony Loverde's superiors unquestionably felt that his discharge  
20 pursuant to the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act did not further the  
21 Government's interest in unit cohesion. In recommending the Air Force  
22 retain Loverde, they commended him for being "nothing less than an  
23 outstanding [non-commissioned officer]" and "a strong asset" with "an  
24 exceptional work ethic" and "the highest level of military bearing,  
25 honesty, and trustworthiness." (Trial Exs. 136 [Letter from Michael  
26 Yakowenko, CM Sgt.], 137 Letter from Richard Horn, SM Sgt.]) One  
27 wrote: "If I ever had the opportunity to build my 'dream team' for work, I  
28



1 would take an entire crew of SSgt. Loverde over most other workers . . .  
2 ." (Trial Ex. 137.)

3 172. Robert MacCoun, Professor of Law and Public Policy at the University  
4 of California, Berkeley, and one of the contributors to the 1993 Rand  
5 Report on the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act, testified regarding social and  
6 task cohesion. (Trial Tr. 864:11-866-17, 870:22-875:25, July 16, 2010.)  
7 Professor MacCoun holds a Ph.D. in psychology from Michigan State  
8 University, was a post-doctoral fellow in psychology and law at  
9 Northwestern University, spent seven years as a behavioral scientist at  
10 the RAND Corporation,<sup>28</sup> and has a distinguished research and  
11 publication record. (Trial Tr. 856:16-864:7, July 16, 2010.) The Court  
12 found his testimony cogent and persuasive.

13 173. According to Professor MacCoun, the RAND working group concluded  
14 that task cohesion was paramount; it was a more important predictor of  
15 military performance than social cohesion, and service in the Armed  
16 Forces by openly homosexual members was not seen as a serious  
17 threat to task cohesion. (Trial Tr. 871:23-872:6, 873:24-875:4, 875:21-  
18 25, 876:13-21, July 16, 2010.) Therefore, the recommendation to  
19 Secretary of Defense Les Aspin from the RAND Corporation in the 1993  
20 Report was that sexual orientation should not be viewed as germane to  
21 service in the military; the 1993 Report made various recommendations  
22 regarding the implementation of this change. (Trial Ex. 8 [Sexual  
23 Orientation and U.S. Military Personnel Policy: Options and  
24 Assessment] at 368-94; Trial Tr. 865:8-879:9, July 16, 2010.)  
25

---

26  
27 <sup>28</sup> The RAND Corporation is a nonpartisan, private, nonprofit research  
28 corporation, conducting public policy research. (Trial Tr. 858:2-3, July 16,  
2010.)

1 174. Thus, the evidence at trial demonstrated that the Act does not further  
2 significantly the Government's important interests in military readiness  
3 or unit cohesion, nor is it necessary to further those interests.  
4 Defendants' discharge of homosexual servicemembers pursuant to the  
5 Act not only has declined precipitously since the United States began  
6 combat in Afghanistan in 2001, but Defendants also delay individual  
7 enforcement of the Act while a servicemember is deployed in a combat  
8 zone. If the presence of a homosexual soldier in the Armed Forces  
9 were a threat to military readiness or unit cohesion, it surely follows that  
10 in times of war it would be more urgent, not less, to discharge him or  
11 her, and to do so with dispatch.

12 175. The abrupt and marked decline – 50% from 2001 to 2002 and steadily  
13 thereafter – in Defendants' enforcement of the Act following the onset of  
14 combat in Afghanistan and Iraq, and Defendants' practice of delaying  
15 investigation and discharge until after combat deployment, demonstrate  
16 that the Act is not necessary to further the Government's interest in  
17 military readiness.

18 176. In summary, Defendants have failed to show the Don't Ask, Don't Tell  
19 Policy "significantly furthers" the Government's interests or that it is  
20 "necessary" in order to achieve those goals. Plaintiff has relied not just  
21 on the admissions described above that the Act does not further military  
22 readiness, but also has shown the following:

- 23 • by impeding the efforts to recruit and retain an all-volunteer  
24 military force, the Act contributes to critical troop shortages and  
25 thus harms rather than furthers the Government's interest in  
26 military readiness;

27  
28

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28

- by causing the discharge of otherwise qualified servicemembers with critical skills such as Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, and Korean language fluency; military intelligence; counterterrorism; weapons development; and medical training, the Act harms rather than furthers the Government's interest in military readiness;
- by contributing to the necessity for the Armed Forces to permit enlistment through increased use of the "moral waiver" policy and lower educational and physical fitness standards, the Act harms rather than furthers the Government's interest in military readiness;
- Defendants' actions in delaying investigations regarding and enforcement of the Act until after a servicemember returns from combat deployment show that the Policy is not necessary to further the Government's interest in military readiness or unit cohesion;
- by causing the discharge of well-trained and competent servicemembers who are well-respected by their superiors and subordinates, the Act has harmed rather than furthered unit cohesion and morale;
- the Act is not necessary to protect the privacy of servicemembers because military housing quarters already provide sufficient protection for this interest.

177. The Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act infringes the fundamental rights of United States servicemembers in many ways, some described above. The Act denies homosexuals serving in the Armed Forces the right to enjoy "intimate conduct" in their personal relationships.

- 1 178. The Act denies them the right to speak about their loved ones while  
2 serving their country in uniform; it punishes them with discharge for  
3 writing a personal letter, in a foreign language, to a person of the same  
4 sex with whom they shared an intimate relationship before entering  
5 military service.
- 6 179. The Act discharges them for including information in a personal  
7 communication from which an unauthorized reader might discern their  
8 homosexuality.
- 9 180. Michael Almy, Anthony Loverde, and Jenny Kopfstein all testified that  
10 the Act prevented them from talking openly with their fellow  
11 servicemembers about everyday personal matters or from soliciting  
12 after hours with their colleagues. (Trial Tr. 821:19-822:9, July 16, 2010  
13 (Almy); Trial Tr. 1360:1-1361:17, July 21, 2010 (Loverde); Trial Tr.  
14 931:22-932:11, July 16, 2010; Trial Tr. 957:6-22, July 20, 2010  
15 (Kopfstein).) This testimony, as well as that from Steven Vossler (Trial  
16 Tr. 327:12-328:20, July 14, 2010), demonstrates that the Act's  
17 restrictions on speech not only are broader than reasonably necessary  
18 to protect the Government's substantial interests, but also actually  
19 impede military readiness and unit cohesion rather than further these  
20 goals.
- 21 181. Many of the lay witnesses also spoke of the chilling effect the Act had  
22 on their ability to bring violations of military policy or codes of conduct to  
23 the attention of the proper authorities. Joseph Rocha, eighteen- years-  
24 old and stationed in Bahrain, felt restrained from complaining about the  
25 extreme harassment and hazing he suffered because he feared that he  
26 would be targeted for investigation under the Act if he did so. (Trial Tr.  
27 488:20-489:14, July 15, 2010.) His fear was so great, if fact, that he  
28

- 1 initially refused to answer the questions of an investigating officer.  
2 (Trial Tr. 519:16-510:10-15, July 15, 2010.)
- 3 182. John Nicholson and Anthony Loverde also testified about a similar  
4 chilling effect on their speech when overhearing or being subjected to  
5 homophobic slurs or taunts. (Trial Tr. 1138:1-1142:14, 1143:2-24, July  
6 20, 2010 (Nicholson); Trial Tr. 1364:16-1365:25, July 21, 2010  
7 (Loverde).)
- 8 183. The Act prevents servicemembers from openly joining organizations,  
9 such as the plaintiff in this lawsuit, that seek to change the military's  
10 policy on gay and lesbian servicemembers; it also prevents them from  
11 petitioning the Government for redress of grievances. John Doe, for  
12 example, feared retaliation and dismissal if he joined the Log Cabin  
13 Republicans under his true name or testified during trial; thus, he was  
14 forced to use a pseudonym and to forgo testifying during trial. (Ex. 38  
15 [Doe Decl.] ¶¶ 6-8; see Trial Tr. 88:19-90:15, July 13, 2010; 708:21-  
16 709:4, July 16, 2010.)
- 17 184. Furthermore, as discussed above, the Act punishes servicemembers  
18 with discharge for writing a private letter, in a foreign language, to a  
19 person of the same sex with whom they shared an intimate relationship  
20 before volunteering for military service. It subjects them to discharge  
21 for writing private e-mail messages, in a manner otherwise approved, to  
22 friends or family members, if those communications might lead the  
23 (unauthorized) reader to discern the writer's sexual orientation.
- 24 185. These consequences demonstrate that the Act's restrictions on speech  
25 are broader than reasonably necessary to protect the Government's  
26 interest.

27  
28

1 186. The Act's restrictions on speech lead to the discharge of  
2 servicemembers with qualifications in critically-needed occupations,  
3 such as foreign language fluency and information technology.

4 187. The net effect of these discharges, as revealed not only in the  
5 testimony of the lay witnesses but also of the experts who testified and  
6 Defendants' own admissions regarding the numbers of servicemembers  
7 discharged and the costs of recruiting and maintaining an all-volunteer  
8 military force, compel the conclusion that the Act restricts speech more  
9 than reasonably necessary to protect the Government's interests.

## 11 CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

### 12 Jurisdiction

13 1. The Court has jurisdiction over this action pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §§  
14 1331, 1346 and 2201. Venue is properly laid in the Central District of  
15 California under 28 U.S.C. § 1391(e)(2) and (3).

### 17 Standing

18 2. Plaintiff Log Cabin Republicans, a non-profit corporation, has  
19 established standing to bring and maintain this suit on behalf of its  
20 members.

21 3. Plaintiff bears the burden of establishing its standing to invoke federal  
22 jurisdiction. Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife, 504 U.S. 555, 560-61  
23 (1992).

24 4. To bring suit on behalf of its members, an association must establish  
25 the following: "(a) [at least one of] its members would otherwise have  
26 standing to sue in [his or her] own right; (b) the interests it seeks to  
27 protect are germane to the organization's purpose; and (c) neither the  
28

- 1 claim asserted nor the relief requested requires the participation of  
2 individual members in the lawsuit." Hunt v. Wash. State Apple Adver.  
3 Comm'n, 432 U.S. 333, 343 (1977).
- 4 5. To satisfy the first element of associational standing, a organization  
5 must demonstrate constitutional standing as to at least one member of  
6 the organization, as follows: (1) injury in fact; (2) caused by the  
7 defendants; (3) which likely will be redressed by a favorable decision by  
8 the federal court. Lujan, 504 U.S. at 560-61; see also Elk Grove  
9 Unified Sch. Dist. v. Newdow, 542 U.S. 1, 12 (2004).
- 10 6. As to the associational standing requirements, Plaintiff established at  
11 trial that the interests it seeks to vindicate in this litigation are germane  
12 to LCR's purposes, satisfying the second requirement for associational  
13 standing.
- 14 7. Plaintiff satisfied the third requirement of associational standing, "that  
15 the suit not demand the participation of individual members."  
16 Associated Gen. Contractors of Cal. v. Coal. for Econ. Equity, 950 F.2d  
17 1401, 1408 (9th Cir. 1991) (citations omitted). Plaintiff seeks only  
18 declaratory and injunctive relief in its First Amended Complaint; when  
19 "the claims proffered and relief requested do not demand individualized  
20 proof on the part of its members," such as when only declaratory and  
21 prospective relief are sought, the individual members of an association  
22 need not participate directly in the litigation. Id.; see also Hunt, 432  
23 U.S. at 343 (citing Warth v. Seldin, 422 U.S. 490, 515 (1975)).
- 24 8. Plaintiff satisfied the first requirement of associational standing as well,  
25 i.e., whether there exists at least one member of the association who  
26 could maintain this suit in his or her own right. Defendants' contention  
27 that neither of the two members Plaintiff relies upon to confer  
28

- 1 associational standing on it meets the requirements for that role,  
2 because neither was a member of Log Cabin Republicans continuously  
3 from the date of the commencement of this action until the date of trial,  
4 lacks merit.
- 5 9. Standing in this case should be examined as of April 28, 2006, the date  
6 Plaintiff filed its First Amended Complaint. (See Doc. No. 170 at 15.)  
7 As of that date, at least one of Log Cabin's members, John Nicholson,  
8 had standing and could have pursued the action individually. See  
9 supra Findings of Fact Nos. 12-20. Nicholson's membership in Log  
10 Cabin Republicans has been uninterrupted and continuous since April  
11 28, 2006 to the present.
- 12 10. Nicholson satisfies all three of the requirements for constitutional  
13 standing, i.e., "injury in fact" caused by the defendants (his discharge  
14 by Defendants pursuant to the Policy), which is redressable by the relief  
15 sought in this lawsuit, as he testified he would rejoin the Army if the  
16 policy was no longer in effect. (Trial Tr. 1209:4-5, July 21, 2010.)
- 17 11. Even if the Court looks to the date the original Complaint was filed as  
18 the relevant one for standing purposes, however, Plaintiff still satisfies  
19 the associational standing requirements, as Plaintiff proved by a  
20 preponderance of the evidence at trial that John Doe was a member in  
21 good standing as of October 12, 2004. See supra Findings of Fact  
22 Nos. 12-22.
- 23 12. John Doe has established the three elements of constitutional standing:  
24 he faces a concrete injury caused by Defendants – discharge from the  
25 Army Reserve – which is likely, not speculative, in nature, given the  
26 mandatory language of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act, see 10 U.S.C. §  
27  
28



- 1 654(b)(2), and which would be redressed by a favorable by the Court in  
2 this action.
- 3 13. A plaintiff who has established standing must retain his or her "personal  
4 stake" in the litigation throughout the proceedings. See Lewis v. Cont'l  
5 Bank Corp., 494 U.S. 472, 477-78 (1990); Williams v. Boeing Co., 517  
6 F.3d 1120, 1128 (9th Cir. 2008). When a plaintiff loses that "personal  
7 stake" in the lawsuit, a court loses the ability to grant relief and must  
8 dismiss the action on the basis of mootness because the plaintiff no  
9 longer satisfies the redressability element of constitutional standing.  
10 See, e.g., Arizonans for Official English v. Arizona, 520 U.S. 43, 68-72  
11 (1997) (mootness); Williams, 517 F.3d at 1128 (redressability).
- 12 14. The cases cited above addressing loss of standing do not arise in an  
13 associational standing context, however. Whether one regards Plaintiff  
14 Log Cabin Republicans or John Doe as the party whose standing is at  
15 issue, neither lost a "personal stake" in the litigation when Doe's annual  
16 period of membership lapsed.
- 17 15. After the year covered by the initial payment of membership dues, Doe  
18 still served in the Army Reserve and still was subject to discharge  
19 under the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act. Thus, he still had a personal stake  
20 in the outcome of the case, and his injury – his susceptibility to  
21 discharge under the Act – continued to be redressable by favorable  
22 resolution of the lawsuit.
- 23 16. Nor has standing been lost in this case because of a change in  
24 circumstances rendering the subject matter of the action moot. The Act  
25 has not been repealed and the challenged policy is still in effect; Doe is  
26  
27  
28

1 still serving and subject to discharge under it;<sup>29</sup> Nicholson already has  
2 been discharged under it and cannot re-enlist as he wishes to do.  
3 Finally, the dispute over the constitutionality of the Act has not been  
4 resolved.

5 17. Likewise, the redressability aspect of constitutional standing remains  
6 alive despite the lapse in Doe's dues-paying membership status. Doe's  
7 imminent injury – the mandatory nature of his discharge under the  
8 policy – would be addressed through a favorable ruling in this action.

9 18. Even if Defendants were correct that Log Cabin Republicans failed to  
10 prove standing through Doe based on the lack of evidence he paid  
11 dues after 2005, it does not follow that Plaintiff could not maintain its  
12 claims. Plaintiff had standing to file suit based on the undisputed  
13 evidence of Doe's membership as of October 12, 2004, the date Log  
14 Cabin Republicans filed this action. (See supra Findings of Fact No. 7.)

15 19. Assuming Doe's membership lapsed a year later, in early September  
16 2005, Plaintiff lacked standing temporarily from that time until April 28,  
17 2006, when Nicholson became a member of Log Cabin Republicans.  
18 Courts have recognized that a plaintiff who possesses standing when it  
19 brings suit, later loses it, and then regains standing before entry of  
20 judgment, may still maintain its claims. See, e.g., Schreiber Foods, Inc.  
21 v. Beatrice Cheese, Inc., 402 F.3d 1198, 1203 (Fed. Cir. 2005) (finding  
22 plaintiff that owned patent at outset of litigation, assigned it to  
23 subsidiary, then reacquired it before judgment may maintain an  
24 infringement action); see also Caterpillar, Inc. v. Lewis, 519 U.S. 61, 64,  
25 70, 73 (2005).

---

26  
27 <sup>29</sup> In fact, Plaintiff agreed to Defendants' request for a stay of this case if  
28 Defendants would suspend discharges under the Policy, but Defendants  
refused to do so.

- 1 20. Thus, assuming that Log Cabin Republicans lacked standing at some  
2 point between early September 2005 and April 28, 2006, it still may  
3 maintain its claims now.
- 4 21. Defendants' suggestion that LCR "manufactured" its standing for  
5 purposes of this lawsuit lacks merit. (See Doc. No. 188 [Defs.'  
6 Proposed Findings of Fact & Conclusions of Law] at 3.) The only  
7 authority Defendants cite on this point is Washington Legal Foundation  
8 v. Leavitt, 477 F. Supp. 2d 202, 211 (D.D.C. 2007), holding the  
9 manufacture of standing "weakens" an association's ability to maintain  
10 a lawsuit on behalf of its members.
- 11 22. Washington Legal Foundation was based on facts not present in the  
12 record here, however. As that court explained, the Washington Legal  
13 Foundation's board of directors explicitly decided to bring suit, and then  
14 set about to find and recruit persons who would confer standing on it.  
15 By contrast, the initiative for filing the present action came from the rank  
16 and file of the LCR membership. See supra Findings of Fact No. 22.
- 17 23. Washington Legal Foundation is not binding authority on this Court, but  
18 to the extent it provides guidance, it only holds that "manufacture" of  
19 standing weakens but does not destroy an association's ability to  
20 maintain its suit. Furthermore, there is no evidence here that LCR  
21 manufactured standing, so Washington Legal Foundation is factually  
22 dissimilar as well.

### 23 **Evidence Considered by the Court**

#### 24 **Plaintiff's Burden on a Facial Challenge**

- 25 24. In United States v. Salerno, 481 U.S. 739 (1987), the Supreme Court  
26 held a plaintiff challenging the validity of a law on its face must establish  
27  
28

1 that "no set of circumstances exists under which the Act would be  
2 valid." Id. at 745. The defendants in Salerno were detained pending  
3 trial under the provisions of the Bail Reform Act; they challenged the  
4 Act, on its face, claiming it unconstitutionally violated the Fifth and  
5 Eighth Amendments.

6 25. More recently, in Washington State Grange v. Washington State  
7 Republican Party, 552 U.S. 442 (2008), the Supreme Court noted the  
8 criticisms leveled at the Salerno standard and recognized an alternative  
9 the test as follows: "a facial challenge must fail where the statute has a  
10 'plainly legitimate sweep.'" Id. at 449 (citing Washington v. Glucksberg,  
11 521 U.S. 702, 739-740 & n.7 (1997) (Stevens, J., concurring)); see also  
12 United States v. Stevens, 559 U.S. \_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_, 130 S. Ct. 1577, 1587  
13 (2010) (citing Glucksberg and noting the existence of two standards for  
14 facial challenges outside the First Amendment context).

15 26. The Court considers the evidence presented at trial in this facial  
16 challenge not for the purpose of considering any particular application  
17 of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act, but rather for the permissible purposes  
18 described in Conclusions of Law No.36-41, infra.

19 27. Plaintiff's evidence, as described above, amply illustrates that the Act  
20 does not have a "plainly legitimate sweep." Rather, Plaintiff has proven  
21 that the Act captures within its overreaching grasp such activities as  
22 private correspondence between servicemembers and their family  
23 members and friends, and conversations between servicemembers  
24 about their daily off-duty activities. (See supra Findings of Fact Nos.  
25 27, 28, 75, 93, 96-99, 113.)  
26  
27  
28

- 1 28. Plaintiff also has proven that the Act prevents servicemembers from  
2 reporting violations of military ethical and conduct codes, even in  
3 outrageous instances, for fear of retaliatory discharge. All of these  
4 examples, as well as others contained in the evidence described  
5 above, reveal that Plaintiff has met its burden of showing that the Act  
6 does not have a "plainly legitimate sweep." (See supra Findings of  
7 Fact Nos. 53, 76, 92, 112.)
- 8 29. Defendants rely on Salerno and its progeny, particularly Cook v. Gates,  
9 528 F.3d 42 (1st Cir. 2008), in urging the Court to reject Log Cabin's  
10 facial challenge. (Defs.' Mem. Cont. Fact & Law at 5; Trial Tr. 1670:14-  
11 21-1671:23, 1684:12-14, July 23, 2010.) This reliance is misplaced.
- 12 30. In Cook, the First Circuit reasoned a facial challenge the Don't Ask,  
13 Don't Tell Act failed because Lawrence "made abundantly clear that  
14 there are many types of sexual activity that are beyond the reach of that  
15 opinion," and "the Act includes such other types of sexual activity"  
16 because it "provides for the [discharge] of a service person who  
17 engages in a public homosexual act or who coerces another person to  
18 engage in a homosexual act." 528 F.3d at 56 (citing Lawrence, 539  
19 U.S. at 578).
- 20 31. The Court is not bound by this out-of-Circuit authority, and furthermore  
21 finds the logic of Cook unpersuasive. First, Cook employed the  
22 formulation from Salerno rather than the Supreme Court's more recent  
23 articulation of the test for facial challenges set forth in Washington State  
24 Grange. Moreover, the examples the Cook court cited as grounds for  
25 discharge "under the Act" actually are bases for discharge of any  
26 servicemember, whether the conduct in question is homosexual or  
27 heterosexual. In fact, the Cook decision provides no citation to any  
28

1 provision of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act specifically listing either of its  
2 examples as grounds for discharge under that legislation.

#### 3 4 **Evidence Properly Considered on a Facial Challenge**

5 32. The Court finds meritless Defendants' contention that because Plaintiff  
6 challenges the constitutionality of the statute on its face, rather than  
7 challenging its application, the only evidence the Court should – indeed  
8 may – consider, is the statute itself and the bare legislative history.

9 33. In United States v. O'Brien, 391 U.S. 367 (1968), the government  
10 charged and convicted the defendant for burning his draft card; the  
11 defendant contended the law under which he was prosecuted was  
12 unconstitutional because Congress enacted it for the unlawful purpose  
13 of suppressing speech. Id. at 383. The Supreme Court rejected this  
14 argument, holding "under settled principles the purpose of Congress,  
15 as O'Brien uses that term, is not a basis for declaring this legislation  
16 unconstitutional. It is a familiar principle of constitutional law that this  
17 Court will not strike down an otherwise constitutional statute on the  
18 basis of an alleged illicit legislative motive." Id.

19 34. In part, the O'Brien Court founded its reasoning on the difficulty of  
20 discerning a unified legislative "motive" underlying any given  
21 enactment: "What motivates one legislator to make a speech about a  
22 statute is not necessarily what motivates scores of others to enact it . . .  
23 ." Id. at 384. Thus, O'Brien instructs that when "a statute . . . is, under  
24 well-settled criteria, constitutional on its face," a court should not void  
25 the law based on statements by individual legislators. Id. Thus, while  
26 examining the legislative record, the Court must not pay heed to any  
27 illegitimate motivations on the part of the enacting lawmakers.

- 1 35. O'Brien does not stand for the proposition urged by Defendants,  
2 however, that when deciding whether a challenged law "is, under well-  
3 settled criteria, constitutional on its face," this Court should limit itself to  
4 examining only the statute's legislative history. In fact, in the O'Brien  
5 decision the Supreme Court specifically pointed to two cases, Grosjean  
6 v. American Press Co., 297 U.S. 233 (1936), and Gomillion v. Lightfoot,  
7 364 U.S. 339 (1960), noting that they "stand, not for the proposition that  
8 legislative motive is a proper basis for declaring a statute  
9 unconstitutional, but that the inevitable effect of a statute on its face  
10 may render it unconstitutional." O'Brien, 391 U.S. at 394 (emphasis  
11 added).
- 12 36. In both Grosjean and Gomillion, the Court noted, the purpose of the law  
13 was irrelevant "because [of] the inevitable effect – the necessary scope  
14 and operation." Id. at 385 (citations omitted).
- 15 37. Therefore, under O'Brien, Grosjean, and Gomillion, the court may admit  
16 and examine evidence to determine the "scope and operation" of a  
17 challenged statute; nothing in any of these authorities limits the Court's  
18 discretion to consider evidence beyond the legislative history.
- 19 38. Defendants rely in vain on City of Las Vegas v. Foley, 747 F.2d 1294  
20 (9th Cir. 1984), as support for their position regarding the inadmissibility  
21 of Plaintiff's evidence. Foley arose out of a discovery dispute in a facial  
22 constitutional challenge to a Las Vegas zoning ordinance restricting the  
23 location of "sexually oriented businesses." Id. at 1296. One of the  
24 affected businesses sought to depose city officials regarding their  
25 motives in enacting the ordinance; after the city failed in its efforts to  
26 obtain a protective order from the District Court, it sought mandamus  
27 relief from the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Id.
- 28

- 1 39. The Ninth Circuit reviewed the case law prohibiting inquiry into "alleged  
2 illicit legislative motive," and relying on O'Brien, granted the writ,  
3 directing the district court to issue a protective order. Id. at 1299. In  
4 rejecting the arguments of the party seeking to depose the legislators,  
5 the Foley court described the following types of evidence appropriately  
6 considered by a court asked to determine a First Amendment  
7 challenge: "objective indicators as taken from the face of the statute,  
8 the effect of the statute, comparison to prior law, facts surrounding  
9 enactment of the statute, the stated purpose, and the record of the  
10 proceedings." Foley, 747 F.2d at 1297 (citations omitted).
- 11 40. The Ninth Circuit also noted in Foley that "basic analysis under the First  
12 Amendment . . . has not turned on the motives of the legislators, but on  
13 the effect of the regulation." Id. at 1298 (emphasis added).
- 14 41. Defendants correctly point out that the authorities discussed above hold  
15 that isolated (and in this case, sometimes inflammatory) statements of  
16 Senators and House members during the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act  
17 legislative hearings should not be considered by the Court.
- 18 42. Nevertheless, this does not affect, much less eviscerate, the language  
19 in the authorities cited above that Defendants would have the Court  
20 ignore, holding that a court deciding a facial challenge can and should  
21 consider evidence beyond the legislative history, including evidence  
22 regarding the effect of the challenged statute.
- 23 43. As this case includes a facial challenge on substantive due process as  
24 well as First Amendment grounds, the Court notes that although the  
25 authorities discussed above dealt with evidence properly considered by  
26 courts in resolving First Amendment facial challenges, their holdings  
27 regarding the admissibility of broad categories of testimonial and  
28



1 documentary evidence are echoed in the authorities considering facial  
2 challenges on due process grounds. See, e.g., Lawrence v. Texas,  
3 539 U.S. 558 (2003); Reno v. Flores, 507 U.S. 292, 309 (1993); Tucson  
4 Woman's Clinic v. Eden, 379 F.3d 531, 556-57. (9th Cir. 2004); Los  
5 Angeles County Bar Ass'n v. Eu, 979 F.2d 697, 707 (9th Cir. 1992); see  
6 generally, Guggenheim v. City of Goleta, 582 F.3d 996 (9th Cir. 2009).

7 44. In Lawrence, petitioners pled nolo contendere to charges under a  
8 Texas statute forbidding certain sexual acts between persons of the  
9 same sex. They then raised a facial challenge to the statute's  
10 constitutionality under the Due Process and Equal Protection clauses of  
11 the Fourteenth Amendment. In reaching its decision that the Texas  
12 statute indeed was unconstitutional, the Supreme Court's majority  
13 reviewed at length the history of the common law prohibiting sodomy or  
14 regulating homosexuality, the effect of the statute ("The stigma this  
15 criminal statute imposes, moreover, is not trivial . . . . We are advised  
16 that if Texas convicted an adult for private consensual homosexual  
17 conduct under the statute here in question the convicted person would  
18 come within the registration laws of at least four States were he or she  
19 to be subject to their jurisdiction. . . ."), facts surrounding enactment of  
20 the statute, and comparison with other laws. Lawrence, 539 U.S. at  
21 567-79.

22 45. Accordingly, the Court's determination of Plaintiff's substantive due  
23 process and First Amendment challenges to the Act refers to evidence  
24 properly adduced by Log Cabin Republicans and admitted at trial. (As  
25 noted above, apart from the Act itself and its legislative history,  
26 Defendants admitted no evidence and produced no witnesses.)  
27  
28

1                   **Plaintiff's Challenge under the Due Process Clause**

2 46. Plaintiff claims the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act violates its members'  
3 substantive due process rights, identified in Lawrence as rights  
4 associated with the "autonomy of self that includes freedom of thought,  
5 belief, expression, and certain intimate conduct." Lawrence, 539 U.S.  
6 at 562. (FAC ¶¶ 4, 38-43; Doc. No. 190 [Pl.'s Mem. Cont. Fact & Law]  
7 at 32-33.)  
8

9                   **The Standard of Review**

10 47. As set out more fully in the July 6, 2010, Order, courts employ a  
11 heightened standard of review when considering challenges to state  
12 actions implicating fundamental rights. (July 6, 2010, Order at 6-9.)

13 48. After the United States Supreme Court's decision in Lawrence v. Texas,  
14 recognizing the fundamental right to "an autonomy of self that includes  
15 freedom of thought, belief, expression, and certain intimate conduct,"  
16 539 U.S. at 562, the Ninth Circuit in Witt v. Department of Air Force,  
17 527 F.3d 806 (9th Cir. 2008), held the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act  
18 constitutes an intrusion "upon the personal and private lives of  
19 homosexuals, in a manner that implicates the rights identified in  
20 Lawrence, and is subject to heightened scrutiny." 527 F.3d at 819.

21 49. Thus, in order for the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act to survive Plaintiff's  
22 constitutional challenge, it must "[1] advance an important  
23 governmental interest, [2] the intrusion must significantly further that  
24 interest, and [3] the intrusion must be necessary to further that interest."  
25 Id.

26 50. Noting the Act "concerns the management of the military, and judicial  
27 deference to . . . congressional exercise of authority is at its apogee" in  
28

1 this context, Witt went on to decide the Act advances an "important  
2 governmental interest." 527 F.3d at 821 (citations omitted).  
3 Accordingly, the Court addresses the second and third prongs of the  
4 Witt test.

5  
6 **The Act Does Not Significantly Further the Government's Interests in**  
7 **Military Readiness or Unit Cohesion**

8 51. Defendants relied solely on the legislative history of the Act and the Act  
9 itself in support of their position that the Act passes constitutional  
10 muster. (See Findings of Fact Nos. 127-34; Defs.' Mem. Cont. Fact &  
11 Law at 9-10.) Careful review and consideration of the Act itself and its  
12 legislative history reveals that this evidence fails to satisfy Defendants'  
13 burden of proving that the Act, with its attendant infringements on the  
14 fundamental rights of Plaintiff's members, significantly furthers the  
15 Government's interest in military readiness or unit cohesion.

16 52. Plaintiff's evidence at trial demonstrated the Act does not significantly  
17 advance the Government's interests in military readiness or unit  
18 cohesion. The testimony of former servicemembers provides ample  
19 evidence of the Act's adverse effect on the fundamental rights of  
20 homosexual members of the United States military. Their testimony  
21 also demonstrated that the Act has a deleterious effect on the  
22 Government's interests in maintaining military readiness and unit  
23 cohesion. In addition to the testimony from the lay witnesses, Plaintiff's  
24 other evidence, including documentary evidence and testimony from  
25 witnesses in such specialties as national security policy, military  
26 sociology, military history, and social psychology, provided additional  
27  
28

1 support for this conclusion that the Act harms, rather than furthers, the  
2 Government's important interests.

3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28

**The Act Is Not Necessary to Further the Government's Interests in  
Military Readiness and Unit Cohesion**

53. The Witt court held that to justify the infringement on the fundamental rights identified in Lawrence, a defendant must satisfy both the requirement that the Act "significantly furthers" the Government's interests and the requirement that it is "necessary" to achieve them. To the extent that Defendants have made a distinct argument here that the Act is necessary to achieve the Government's significant interests, they have not met their burden as to this prong of the Witt test, either.

54. In order to justify the encroachment on the fundamental rights described above, Defendants faced the burden at trial of showing the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act was necessary to significantly further the Government's important interests in military readiness and unit cohesion. Defendants failed to meet that burden.

55. Thus, Plaintiff is entitled to judgment in its favor on the first claim in its First Amended Complaint for violation of the substantive due process rights guaranteed under the Fifth Amendment.

**Plaintiff's First Amendment Challenge to the Act**

56. "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, . . . or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." (U.S. Const. amend. I.)

1 57. Plaintiff claims that the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act violates its members'  
2 First Amendment rights to these freedoms. (FAC ¶¶ 1, 6, 45-49; Pl.'s  
3 Mem. Cont. Fact & Law at 32-33.)  
4

5 **The Standard of Review in First Amendment Challenges**

6 58. Plaintiff challenges the Act as overbroad and as an unconstitutional  
7 restriction on speech based on its content. (FAC ¶ 47; Pl.'s Mem. Cont.  
8 Fact & Law at 35, 40.) Laws regulating speech based on its content  
9 generally must withstand intense scrutiny when facing a First  
10 Amendment challenge:

11 At the heart of the First Amendment lies the principle that  
12 each person should decide for himself or herself the ideas and  
13 beliefs deserving of expression, consideration, and  
14 adherence. Our political system and cultural life rest upon this  
15 ideal. Government action that stifles speech on account of its  
16 message, or that requires the utterance of a particular  
17 message favored by the Government, contravenes this  
18 essential right. Laws of this sort pose the inherent risk that  
19 the Government seeks not to advance a legitimate regulatory  
20 goal, but to suppress unpopular ideas or information or  
21 manipulate the public debate through coercion rather than  
22 persuasion. These restrictions rais[e] the specter that the  
23 Government may effectively drive certain ideas or viewpoints  
24 from the marketplace. For these reasons, the First  
25 Amendment, subject only to narrow and well-understood  
26 exceptions, does not countenance governmental control over  
27 the content of messages expressed by private individuals.  
28 Our precedents thus apply the most exacting scrutiny to  
regulations that suppress, disadvantage, or impose differential  
burdens upon speech because of its content.

Turner Broad. Sys. v. FCC, 512 U.S. 622, 641-42 (1994) (emphasis  
added) (citations omitted).

23 59. In Simon & Schuster, Inc. v. Members of New York State Crime Victims  
24 Board, 502 U.S. 105 (1991), the Supreme Court considered whether  
25 New York's "Son of Sam" law purporting to strip authors of profits  
26 gained from books or other publications depicting their own criminal  
27 activities constituted content-based regulation. Holding the law was not  
28

1 content neutral, the Court ruled that "[i]n order to justify such differential  
2 treatment, 'the State must show that its regulation is necessary to serve  
3 a compelling state interest and is narrowly drawn to achieve that end.'" Id.  
4 at 118 (citing Arkansas Writers' Project, Inc. v. Ragland, 481 U.S.  
5 221, 231 (1987)).

6 60. "Deciding whether a particular regulation is content-based or content-  
7 neutral is not always a simple task. We have said that the principal  
8 inquiry in determining content-neutrality . . . is whether the government  
9 has adopted a regulation of speech because of [agreement or]  
10 disagreement with the message it conveys." Turner, 512 U.S. at 642  
11 (citations omitted).

12 61. The Supreme Court in Turner distilled the rule as follows: a law that by  
13 its terms "distinguish[es] favored speech from disfavored speech on the  
14 basis of the ideas or views expressed [is] content-based." Id. at 643  
15 (citing Burson v. Freeman, 504 U.S. 191, 197 (1992); Boos v. Barry,  
16 485 U.S. 312, 318-19 (1988)).

17 62. Defendants did not address directly the question of content neutrality,  
18 but relied instead on authorities that, for various reasons, fail to counter  
19 the clear weight of the case law discussed above. Defendants  
20 repeatedly cited the Ninth Circuit's decisions in Witt v. Department of  
21 Air Force, 527 F.3d 806 (9th Cir. 2008), Philips v. Perry, 106 F.3d 1420  
22 (9th Cir. 1997), and Holmes v. California National Guard, 124 F.3d  
23 1126 (9th Cir. 1997), although the plaintiff in Witt brought no First  
24 Amendment claim and the Court in Philips expressly declined to reach  
25 the First Amendment issue, noting the district court also had stopped  
26 short of resolving it.

- 1 63. In Holmes, the Ninth Circuit disposed of the plaintiffs' free speech  
2 claims in summary manner, holding because the plaintiffs "were  
3 discharged for their conduct and not for speech, the First Amendment is  
4 not implicated." 124 F.3d at 1136 (citations omitted).
- 5 64. Holmes relied on the Fourth Circuit's decision in Thomasson v. Perry,  
6 80 F.3d 915 (4th Cir. 1996), which rejected a First Amendment  
7 challenge to the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act on the basis that it  
8 "permissibly uses the speech as evidence," and "[t]he use of speech as  
9 evidence in this manner does not raise a constitutional issue – the First  
10 Amendment does not prohibit the evidentiary use of speech to establish  
11 the elements of a crime, or, as is the case here, to prove motive or  
12 intent." Id. at 931 (citations omitted).
- 13 65. Holmes also relied on Pruitt v. Cheney, 963 F.2d 1160 (9th Cir. 1991),  
14 although acknowledging that decision was based not on the Don't Ask,  
15 Don't Tell Act but a superseded policy. See Holmes, 124 F.3d at 1136  
16 (citing Pruitt, 963 F.2d at 1164). In other words, Holmes and the cases  
17 from other circuits have found the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act does not  
18 raise a First Amendment issue to be analyzed under a content-neutral  
19 versus content-based framework.
- 20 66. None of these authorities, however, considered whether there might be  
21 any speech, other than admissions of homosexuality subject to being  
22 used as evidence in discharge proceedings, affected by the Act.  
23 Furthermore, Holmes was decided before Lawrence and was  
24 "necessarily rooted" in Bowers v. Hardwick, 478 U.S. 186 (1986), which  
25 Lawrence overruled. See Holmes, 124 F.3d at 1137 (Reinhardt, J.,  
26 dissenting).
- 27  
28

- 1 67. Lawrence struck down a Texas statute making felonious certain sexual  
2 acts between two persons of the same sex; the Supreme Court held in  
3 part that the Constitution recognized certain substantive due process  
4 rights, associated with the "autonomy of self that includes freedom of  
5 thought, belief, expression, and certain intimate conduct." Lawrence,  
6 539 U.S. at 562 (emphasis added).
- 7 68. The Holmes decision, finding the Act did not implicate the First  
8 Amendment, and the Act's provisions, appear at odds with the Supreme  
9 Court's decision in Lawrence. As Holmes explains:  
10 "Homosexual conduct is grounds for separation from the Military  
11 Services under the terms set forth [in the DOD Directives.]  
12 Homosexual conduct includes homosexual acts, a statement by a  
13 member that demonstrates a propensity or intent to engage in  
14 homosexual acts, or a homosexual marriage or attempted marriage. A  
15 statement by a member that demonstrates a propensity or intent to  
16 engage in homosexual acts is grounds for separation not because it  
17 reflects the member's sexual orientation, but because the statement  
18 indicates a likelihood that the member engages in or will engage in  
19 homosexual acts." 124 F.3d at 1129 (quoting DOD Directive 1332.30  
20 at 2-1(c) (emphasis added)).
- 21 69. The Holmes court found the Act does not punish status, despite the  
22 presumption embodied within it that declared homosexual  
23 servicemembers will engage in proscribed homosexual conduct, finding  
24 the assumption was "imperfect" but "sufficiently rational to survive  
25 scrutiny . . . ." 124 F.3d at 1135.
- 26  
27  
28



- 1 70. Thus, Holmes's foundations – rational basis scrutiny, acceptance of an  
2 assumption of sexual misconduct based on admitted homosexual  
3 orientation, and the Bowers decision – all have been undermined by  
4 Lawrence, particularly in light of its explicit protection of "expression."  
5 See Lawrence, 539 U.S. at 562.
- 6 71. Furthermore, if the proscription in subsection (b)(1) of the Act violates  
7 substantive due process as set forth above, then the limitation on  
8 speech in subsection (b)(2) necessarily fails as well. "Plainly, a  
9 limitation on speech in support of an unconstitutional objective cannot  
10 be sustained." Able v. United States, 88 F.3d 1280, 1300 (2d Cir.  
11 1996). Holmes, decided before Lawrence, therefore does not shield  
12 Defendants from Plaintiff's First Amendment claim.
- 13 72. The Act in subsection (b)(2) requires a servicemember's discharge if he  
14 or she "has stated that he or she is a homosexual or bisexual, or words  
15 to that effect . . . ." 10 U.S.C. § 654 (b)(2) (emphasis added). The Act  
16 does not prohibit servicemembers from discussing their sexuality in  
17 general, nor does it prohibit all servicemembers from disclosing their  
18 sexual orientation. Heterosexual members are free to state their sexual  
19 orientation, "or words to that effect," while gay and lesbian members of  
20 the military are not.
- 21 73. Thus, on its face, the Act discriminates based on the content of the  
22 speech being regulated. It distinguishes between speech regarding  
23 sexual orientation, and inevitably, family relationships and daily  
24 activities, by and about gay and lesbian servicemembers, which is  
25 banned, and speech on those subjects by and about heterosexual  
26 servicemembers, which is permitted.

- 1 74. The First Amendment's hostility to content-based regulation "extends  
2 not only to restrictions on particular viewpoints, but also to prohibition of  
3 public discussion of an entire topic. As a general matter, 'the First  
4 Amendment means that government has no power to restrict  
5 expression because of its message, its ideas, its subject matter, or its  
6 content.'" Consol. Edison Co. of N.Y. v. Pub. Serv. Comm'n of N.Y.,  
7 447 U.S. 530, 537 (1980) (quoting Police Dep't of Chicago v. Mosley,  
8 408 U.S. 92, 95 (1972)).
- 9 75. In evaluating the constitutionality of such regulations in a military  
10 context, however, courts traditionally do not apply the strict scrutiny  
11 described above. Rather, courts apply a more deferential level of  
12 review of military restrictions on speech. "Our review of military  
13 regulations challenged on First Amendment grounds is far more  
14 deferential than constitutional review of similar laws or regulations  
15 designed for civilian society. The military need not encourage debate  
16 or tolerate protest to the extent that such tolerance is required of the  
17 civilian state by the First Amendment; to accomplish its mission the  
18 military must foster instinctive obedience, unity, commitment, and esprit  
19 de corps." Goldman v. Weinberger, 475 U.S. 503, 507 (1986) (citations  
20 omitted).
- 21 76. Although careful to point out that the "subordination of the desires and  
22 interests of the individual to the needs of the service," which is "the  
23 essence of military life," does not entirely abrogate the guarantees of  
24 the First Amendment, the Supreme Court emphasized the "great  
25 deference [courts must afford] to the professional judgment of military  
26 authorities concerning the relative importance of a particular military  
27 interest." Id. (citations omitted).
- 28

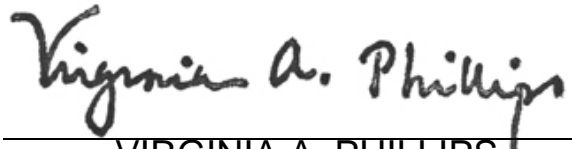
- 1 77. The Goldman decision relied in part on Rostker v. Goldberg, 453 U.S.  
2 57 (1981), oft-cited for the principle that "judicial deference . . . is at its  
3 apogee when legislative action under the congressional authority to  
4 raise and support armies and make rules and regulations for their  
5 governance is challenged." Id. at 70.
- 6 78. In keeping with this well-established rule of deference, regulations of  
7 speech in a military context will survive Constitutional scrutiny if they  
8 "restrict speech no more than is reasonably necessary to protect the  
9 substantial government interest." Brown v. Glines, 444 U.S. 348, 348,  
10 355 (1980) (citing Greer v. Spock, 424 U.S. 828 (1976); Procurier v.  
11 Martinez, 416 U.S. 396 (1974)).
- 12 79. The Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act fails this test of constitutional validity.  
13 Unlike the regulations on speech upheld in Brown and Spock, for  
14 example, the sweeping reach of the restrictions on speech in the Don't  
15 Ask, Don't Tell Act is far broader than is reasonably necessary to  
16 protect the substantial government interest at stake here.
- 17 80. In Brown, the Supreme Court upheld an Air Force regulation that  
18 required Air Force personnel first to obtain permission from the base  
19 commander before distributing or posting petitions on Air Force bases,  
20 444 U.S. at 348; in Greer, the Court upheld a similar regulation on Army  
21 bases, banning speeches, demonstrations, and distribution of literature,  
22 without prior approval from post headquarters. 424 U.S. at 828.
- 23 81. In both cases, the Court rejected facial challenges to the regulations,  
24 holding they protected substantial Governmental interests unrelated to  
25 the suppression of free expression, i.e., maintaining the respect for duty  
26 and discipline, and restricted speech no more than was reasonably  
27 necessary to protect that interest.
- 28

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28

82. By contrast to the relatively narrow regulations at issue in Brown and Greer, however, the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Act encompasses a vast range of speech, far greater than necessary to protect the Government's substantial interests. See supra Findings of Fact Nos. 27, 28, 53, 75, 76, 92, 93, 96-99, 112,113.)

83. For these reasons, Plaintiff is also entitled to judgment on its claim for violation of the First Amendment's guarantees of freedom of speech and petition.

Dated: October 12, 2010

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
VIRGINIA A. PHILLIPS  
United States District Judge