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 16 PROTECTMARRIAGE.COM – YES ON 8, A  
 PROJECT OF CALIFORNIA RENEWAL

17 \* Admitted *pro hac vice*

18 **UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT**  
 19 **NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA**

20 KRISTIN M. PERRY, SANDRA B. STIER,  
 21 PAUL T. KATAMI, and JEFFREY J.  
 ZARRILLO,

22 Plaintiffs,

23 v.

24 ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER, in his official  
 25 capacity as Governor of California; EDMUND  
 26 G. BROWN, JR., in his official capacity as At-  
 27 torney General of California; MARK B. HOR-  
 TON, in his official capacity as Director of the  
 28 California Department of Public Health and State  
 Registrar of Vital Statistics; LINETTE SCOTT,

CASE NO. 09-CV-2292 VRW

**DEFENDANT-INTERVENORS DEN-  
 NIS HOLLINGSWORTH, GAIL  
 KNIGHT, MARTIN GUTIERREZ,  
 MARK JANSSON, AND PROTECT-  
 MARRIAGE.COM'S REPLY IN SUP-  
 PORT OF MOTION TO  
 STRIKE/RECONSIDER**

Judge: Chief Judge Vaughn R. Walker  
 Location: Courtroom 6, 17th Floor

1 in her official capacity as Deputy Director of  
2 Health Information & Strategic Planning for the  
3 California Department of Public Health; PAT-  
4 RICK O'CONNELL, in his official capacity as  
5 Clerk-Recorder for the County of Alameda; and  
6 DEAN C. LOGAN, in his official capacity as  
7 Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk for  
8 the County of Los Angeles,

9 Defendants,

10 and

11 PROPOSITION 8 OFFICIAL PROPONENTS  
12 DENNIS HOLLINGSWORTH, GAIL J.  
13 KNIGHT, MARTIN F. GUTIERREZ, HAK-  
14 SHING WILLIAM TAM, and MARK A. JANS-  
15 SON; and PROTECTMARRIAGE.COM – YES  
16 ON 8, A PROJECT OF CALIFORNIA RE-  
17 NEWAL,

18 Defendant-Intervenors.

19 Additional Counsel for Defendant-Intervenors

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1 Defendant-Intervenors Hollingsworth, Knight, Gutierrez, Jansson, and ProtectMarriage.com  
2 (“Proponents”) respectfully submit this Reply in support of their Motion to Strike/Reconsider, and in  
3 response to the Oppositions filed by Plaintiffs and Plaintiff-Intervenor (the “City”).

4  
5 1. Plaintiffs’ and the City’s main argument is that *Perry II* has *no* implications for *any* of this  
6 Court’s prior First Amendment rulings. *See, e.g.*, Doc # 659 at 11 (contending that “Proponents’  
7 argument that this Court’s discovery rulings were erroneous has no basis in ... law” and that prior  
8 orders were “fully consistent” with *Perry II*.); Doc # 660 at 11 (“Th[e] Court properly applied the  
9 Ninth Circuit’s holding defining the scope of the privilege exception throughout the trial.”). This is a  
10 peculiar argument that fails to come to grips with *Perry II*’s guidance with respect to this Court’s  
11 interpretation of the *Perry I* mandate. *Compare* Doc # 610 at 7 (“The privilege applies only to  
12 communications within a campaign organization—communications between or among independent  
13 campaign organizations are not covered by the First Amendment privilege.”), *and* Doc # 623 at 13  
14 (“The magistrate [judge] did not err *as a matter of law* in concluding that the First Amendment  
15 privilege does not cover communications between [or among] separate organizations.”) (emphasis  
16 added and brackets in original), *with Perry v. Schwarzenegger*, No. 10-15649, slip op. at 9 (9th Cir.  
17 Apr. 12, 2010) (“If the district court meant that the privilege cannot apply to persons who are part of a  
18 political association spanning more than one organization or entity, then this interpretation was  
19 questionable. ... We did not hold that the privilege cannot apply to a core group of associate persons  
20 spanning more than one entity.”). *See also* Doc # 640-2 at 7-8.

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22  
23 Plaintiffs’ and the City’s flippant dismissal of *Perry II* is nothing more than a reassertion of  
24 their “control group” theory, which obviously did not comport with *Perry I*, and which this Court  
25 rejected. *Compare* Hr’g of Dec. 16, 2009, Tr. 37:2-8 (Plaintiffs’ counsel arguing that privilege could  
26 only be applied to “control group” of ProtectMarriage.com), *and* Hr’g of Jan. 6, 2010, Tr. 23:23-24:2  
27 (Plaintiffs’ counsel arguing that privilege could only be applied to ProtectMarriage.com executive  
28

1 committee, campaign manager, and general counsel), *with* Doc # 610. Now, in the wake of *Perry II*,  
2 Plaintiffs and the City still stubbornly advance this groundless theory, repeatedly criticizing this Court  
3 for finding an “over-inclusive core group” in its January orders. Doc # 637 at 11. *See also* Doc # 659  
4 at 7, 11 (criticizing the Court for adopting an “extremely broad control group”).<sup>1</sup> It is little wonder,  
5 then, why Plaintiffs and the City resist the implications of *Perry II*: they do not believe that *Perry I*  
6 was rightly decided, rightly applied, or is rightly adhered to going forward. Because their rejected  
7 “control group” theory is the foundation for all of Plaintiffs’ and the City’s other arguments, the Court  
8 need go no further to conclude that no convincing argument in opposition to the motion to strike has  
9 been advanced.

11           2. Plaintiffs also claim that the Court’s prior rulings were fully consistent with *Perry II* be-  
12 cause those orders included the ProtectMarriage.com executive committee in the “core group” and  
13 that committee “included representatives of different churches and entities.” Doc # 659 at 11.<sup>2</sup> But  
14 that is just the point: The Court specifically held that members of the ProtectMarriage.com executive  
15 committee could claim privilege *only* with respect to communications with other members of  
16 ProtectMarriage.com who also qualified for “core group” status. Such persons were flatly prohibited  
17 from claiming privilege with respect to any communication back to or within other associations to  
18 which they belonged. *See, e.g.*, Trial Tr. 1614-33.

21           3. Plaintiffs and the City also contend that *Perry II* recognized that evidentiary deficits might

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22           <sup>1</sup> The City alternatively phrases the discredited “control group” test in terms of “meaning-  
23 ful political association.” Doc # 660 at 12. The City does not offer any guideposts for determin-  
24 ing what is “meaningful” and what is not, but presumably the City, rather than the speaker, is to  
25 be the judge. But the First Amendment does not allow the government to be the arbiter of the  
26 worth of political speech and association; indeed, its very province is to keep government out of  
27 the business of approving or censoring the speech of its citizens. *See Citizens United v. FEC*, 130  
28 S. Ct. 876, 898 (2010) (“Premised on mistrust of governmental power, the First Amendment  
stands against attempts to disfavor certain subjects or viewpoints.”); *First National Bank of  
Boston v. Bellotti*, 435 U.S. 765, 785-86 (1978) (“Especially where, as here, the legislature’s  
suppression of speech suggests an attempt to give one side of a debatable public question an  
advantage in expressing its views to the people, the First Amendment is plainly offended.”).

<sup>2</sup> We leave to one side the factually inaccurate statement that members of the ProtectMar-  
(Continued)

1 undermine a privilege claim and that Proponents face just such a deficit. *See* Doc # 659 at 12-13; Doc  
2 # 660 at 11. We have already explained at length why this argument is untenable, *see* Doc # 640-2 at  
3 17-22, and Plaintiffs and the City have made no effort to answer that explanation. Accordingly, we  
4 need not belabor the point here. In any event, Plaintiffs and the City confine their arguments to the  
5 Court’s discovery rulings, which led to production under attorneys-eyes-only limitations. Proponents  
6 have not moved for reconsideration of those orders (although we do preserve our objections to them),  
7 but rather have asked the Court to reconsider its rulings at trial admitting these documents into the  
8 public record—a First Amendment harm additional to, but separate and apart from, the discovery  
9 orders. *Cf. Perry v. Schwarzenegger*, 591 F.3d 1147, 1160 n.6, 1164 (9th Cir. 2010) (discussing  
10 different levels of harm from limited and full public disclosure). And with respect to those rulings,  
11 the Court had before it all the evidence necessary to make a First Amendment privilege determina-  
12 tion—namely, the documents themselves and accompanying testimony about them.

15 Tellingly, while Plaintiffs and the City make much over supposed evidentiary defects, they  
16 never deign to specify the evidentiary hurdle they would contend parties must clear in claiming the  
17 privilege. *See* Doc # 640-2.<sup>3</sup> The City does approvingly cite the declarations submitted by the No-  
18 on-8 Groups (which included privilege claims on the City Attorney’s behalf, Doc # 609 at 3), Doc #  
19 660 at 11, so we can assume that showings similar to those are sufficient in the City’s view. But those  
20 declarations often consisted of little more than a list of names with conclusory statements to the effect  
21 that the listed persons “worked to defeat Proposition 8 ... by participating in the Equality for All  
22 campaign, and by working on ACLU-specific activities toward defeating the initiative.” Doc # 597 at

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24 riage.com executive committee served on that committee as representatives of other groups.  
25 <sup>3</sup> They certainly do not, and cannot, cite to any ruling of this Court specifying the metes  
26 and bounds of that burden in the wake of *Perry I* (or *Perry II*, for that matter). Indeed, the Court  
27 rejected Proponents’ specific suggestion that, in the wake of *Perry I*, it would be “much more  
28 reasonable to lay out the Court’s ruling conceptually” before ruling on a particular list of names  
for the “core group.” Hr’g of Jan. 6, 2010, Tr. 46. Proponents thus cannot possibly be penalized  
for failing to meet an evidentiary burden that seemingly has never existed and certainly did not  
(Continued)

¶ 5. See also Doc # 610 at 3 (crediting this representation as sufficient to claim the First Amendment privilege). If such a showing is sufficient to claim the privilege—and, again, the City agrees that it is—then when an actual document on its face shows the correspondents’ names and that it is confidential communication between political associates about the “exchange [of] ideas [or] formulat[ion] [of] strategy,” *Perry I*, 591 F. 3d at 1162, surely there is sufficient evidence before the Court to make a privilege determination. Every one of the documents at issue in this motion satisfies that standard.

The City also suggests that parties claiming First Amendment privilege must “set out evidence that the email communications were actually maintained as confidential by the recipients” and that the recipients “were required to do so.” Doc # 660 at 20. See also *id.* at 21. To support this breathtaking proposition, the City cites, well, nothing. No case dealing with the First Amendment privilege states that a party claiming privilege must affirmatively trace the chain of custody for every document and also prove that, before engaging in communications, correspondents took a blood oath to maintain absolute confidentiality.<sup>4</sup> It was certainly possible in *DeGregory*, *NAACP*, *McIntyre*, *Buckley II*, etc., that the political associates of those who claimed the privilege would violate the confidentiality of the association. If that possibility is enough to undermine the First Amendment privilege, then there simply is no First Amendment privilege. That is the outcome the City and Plaintiffs favor, but it is not the law.

4. The City (and to a lesser extent Plaintiffs) offer a belabored argument about Proponents’ representations and evidence at trial showing that some of the correspondents on the documents at issue in this motion did not control the messaging and strategy for ProtectMarriage.com and thus

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exist at the time the January discovery orders were issued.

<sup>4</sup> Plaintiffs and the City certainly do not present any evidence that the confidentiality of the documents at issue was ever, in any way, compromised. The City alleges, without citation or specific discussion of individual documents, that Proponents are “attempt[ing] to shield from disclosure even broadly disseminated communications,” Doc # 660 at 10, but a simple review of

(Continued)

1 could not be said to be in the “core group” of that organization as this Court then understood and  
2 applied that term. *See* Doc # 660 at 12-18; Doc # 659 at 19-21. As explicitly noted in our motion, it  
3 is true that some of these communications involved persons that played “no significant role in the  
4 strategic decisionmaking or operations of ProtectMarriage.com and its official campaign.” Doc #  
5 640-2 at 15-16.<sup>5</sup> But Proponents have always represented, and continue to represent, that members of  
6 ProtectMarriage.com associated and communicated confidentially with many individuals outside of  
7 ProtectMarriage.com for shared political purposes during this major referendum campaign. *See* Decl.  
8 of R. Prentice dated Sept. 15, 2009, Doc # 187-2 at 4 (“Volunteers of Protect Marriage corresponded  
9 with ... third parties about political beliefs, campaign strategy, personal beliefs, and much else  
10 relating to Proposition 8.”); R. Prentice Sealed Decl. dated Nov. 5, 2009 at ¶ 9.<sup>6</sup> To believe otherwise

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12  
13 the documents at issue shows that this statement is patently false.

14 <sup>5</sup> For example, the City and Plaintiffs point to a statement by Proponents’ counsel that Dr.  
15 Tam “‘had nothing to do with the campaign.’” Doc # 660 at 13 (quoting Trial Tr. 550:14-17);  
16 Doc # 659 at 19 (quoting Trial Tr. 550:14-17). Upon further review of the evidence and  
17 documents, however, Proponents have repeatedly clarified that while it is true Dr. Tam had no  
18 authority or control over ProtectMarriage.com’s strategy and messaging (and vice versa),  
19 members of ProtectMarriage.com did sporadically communicate with Dr. Tam on a confidential  
20 basis and in furtherance of a shared political goal. The City accepts these facts, *see* Doc #660 at  
21 13, 18, but contends that such a political association is not sufficient for First Amendment  
22 protection. But the City and Plaintiffs cannot point to a single case (and certainly not to language  
23 in *Perry I* or *Perry II*) that supports the contention that political associates must have complete  
24 and total (and presumably legally formalized) control over each others’ political speech and  
25 strategy to qualify for what the City and Plaintiffs view as the very narrow protections the First  
26 Amendment affords citizens who participate in a controversial referendum campaign.

27 <sup>6</sup> The City claims that Mr. Prentice’s deposition testimony forecloses Proponents’ claim of pri-  
28 vilege over communications with political associates whose messages and strategy Proponents  
ultimately did not control. But a full and fair reading of that deposition makes clear that Mr. Prentice  
was simply reacting to the “control group” theory that the City embraces and that the City’s counsel  
was insisting upon in the deposition. The City’s counsel attempted to equate any association with  
other groups as total agreement with and control over those groups’ speech and messaging. Mr.  
Prentice was thus simply rejecting the same faulty theory that the City advances in its Opposition.  
*See, e.g.*, Prentice 12/17/09 Dep. Tr. at 55-60, 73, 75-77, 114-115, 201-202, 222-223, 265-268  
(attached as Ex. A to Decl. of Nicole J. Moss (May 10, 2010)). The specific example cited by the  
City at page 10 of its Opposition—about Mr. Prentice’s alleged inconsistencies in how he described  
the Family Research Council—does not withstand scrutiny. Mr. Prentice was very clear that the FRC  
“participated in the promotion of the passage of Proposition 8.” Prentice 12/17/09 Dep. Tr. 265. But  
he was also clearly concerned that the City’s counsel was “inferring that [the ProtectMarriage.com  
coalition is] something monolithic and that the committee is authoritarian.” *Id.* at 266. The deposi-  
tion transcript makes clear that Mr. Prentice was reluctant to agree to counsel’s definition and  
implication about what it meant to be a part of the “ProtectMarriage.com coalition” and thus was

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1 is to defy common sense. The documents at issue reflect that members of ProtectMarriage.com  
2 would sometimes associate with members of other organizations and groups to advance their common  
3 political goal, and thus would engage in confidential conversations about political issues, including  
4 strategy and messaging. This does not mean that the associates controlled each others' messages or  
5 strategy—or even that the communications at issue ultimately led to a final, shared message or  
6 strategy—but it does mean that these “inter-organizational” communications were of the type that  
7 political associates engage in during a campaign “to advance ... shared political beliefs” and thus that  
8 they enjoyed the right “to do so in private.” *Perry I*, 591 F.3d at 1162.<sup>7</sup> As *Perry II* and the whole  
9 body of caselaw the Ninth Circuit has relied on in this case make clear, the First Amendment is  
10 capacious enough to allow for such political associations—these comprise, in the words of *Perry II*,  
11 “an association subject to First Amendment protection” “whether or not [the persons in the associa-  
12 tion] are members of a single organization or entity.” *Perry II*, slip op. at 9. See also *FEC v.*  
13 *Machinists Non-Partisan Political League*, 655 F.2d 380, 387-88 (D.C. Cir. 1981) (applying “extra-  
14 careful scrutiny” to FEC subpoenas for nonpublic communications “internal” to a single group and  
15 “communications among various groups whose alleged purpose was to defeat the President”);  
16 *Wymoing v. USDA*, 208 F.R.D. 449, 455 (D.D.C. 2002) (protecting against disclosure of communica-  
17 tions among environmental advocacy groups).

20 Plaintiffs and the City thus appear to contend that there are only two possibilities when it comes  
21 to the First Amendment: either individuals have to agree with (and exert control over) everything their  
22 political associates say and do or there is no First Amendment privilege to be claimed. There is no  
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24  
25 reluctant to agree that certain organizations that were working towards passage of Proposition 8 were  
26 part of a coalition. The City's Opposition fully vindicates Mr. Prentice's concerns about the City's  
27 tactics.

28 <sup>7</sup> Plaintiffs claim that Proponents are now contending that “a broad range of individuals  
and entities were in fact part of the ‘core group’ that controlled the strategy and messages of the  
campaign.” Doc # 659 at 21. This, of course, is not a reflection of what Proponents are arguing,  
but rather of Plaintiffs' discredited “control group” theory.

1 controlling jurisprudence in either the Ninth Circuit or the Supreme Court to support this extremely  
2 restrictive, peculiar, and unworkable view of the First Amendment. *See Citizens United*, 130 S. Ct. at  
3 896 (“First Amendment standards must eschew the open-ended rough-and-tumble of factors, which  
4 invit[es] complex argument in a trial court and a virtually inevitable appeal.”) (quotation marks  
5 omitted and alteration in original); *id.* at 898 (“Prohibited, too, are restrictions distinguishing among  
6 different speakers, allowing speech by some but not others.”); *id.* at 905 (“the First Amendment  
7 generally prohibits the suppression of political speech based on the speaker’s identity”); *id.* at 912  
8 (“[I]nformative voices should not have to circumvent onerous restrictions to exercise their First  
9 Amendment rights.... [I]ndividuals, do not have monolithic views.”). As *Perry I* explains,  
10 “[i]mplicit in the right to associate with others to advance one’s shared political beliefs is *the right to*  
11 *exchange ideas ... and to do so in private.*” 591 F.3d at 1162 (emphasis added). And as *Perry II*  
12 explains, “the operative inquiry” for determining whether this “right to exchange [political] ideas ...  
13 in private” obtains is whether there is an “association subject to First Amendment protection.” *Perry*  
14 *II*, slip op. at 9 (emphasis added). And the associations subject to First Amendment protection  
15 include “the myriad social, economic, religious and political organizations that publicly support or  
16 oppose ballot measures.” *Perry I*, 591 F.3d at 1158. *See also Citizens Against Rent Control/Coalition*  
17 *for Fair Housing v. City of Berkeley*, 454 U.S. 290, 294 (1981) (“The tradition of volunteer commit-  
18 tees for collective action has manifested itself in myriad community and public activities; in the  
19 political process it can focus on a candidate or on a ballot measure.”). It would *not* be a proper  
20 interpretation of *Perry I*, the Ninth Circuit said in *Perry II*, to conclude that “the privilege cannot  
21 apply to persons who are part of a political association spanning more than one organization or  
22 entity.” *Perry II*, slip op. at 9.

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26 5. With respect to specific arguments about the exhibits at issue:

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  - **PX 2350.** Oddly, Plaintiffs cite Mr. Prentice’s statement that the email forwards an

1 article he “thought the pastors might find ... useful in preparing sermons” for the proposi-  
2 tion that the communication was *not* about the formulation of messaging. Doc # 659 at 15.  
3 This argument refutes itself, and the face of the document reveals its privileged nature.

4 • **PX 2385; PX 2403; PX 2455.** Plaintiffs’ only basis for arguing against the privi-  
5 leged nature of these documents (and the City’s only argument with respect to PX 2385 and  
6 PX 2455) is their all-or-nothing “control group” theory of the First Amendment privilege.  
7 That theory has been repeatedly rejected by the Ninth Circuit, and *Perry II* makes clear that  
8 these inter-organizational communications are privileged.

9  
10 • **PX 2389.** This document is an email from the Executive Director of California  
11 Conference of Catholic Bishops to the leadership of that organization (i.e., the Bishops), but  
12 Plaintiffs incredibly claim that it is instead a general recruitment letter to supporters of  
13 Proposition 8. It requires only the bare minimum of common sense to understand that the  
14 Executive Director of the CCC would not send out a general recruitment letter to his bosses  
15 in that organization. Plaintiffs’ other argument about this document is equally absurd—  
16 namely, that an “update” about strategy cannot be a part of the process of formulating strat-  
17 egy. The communications that comprise the process of formulating strategy in an organiza-  
18 tion are not always stamped “formulation-of-strategy email,” but clearly the process of pro-  
19 viding the leaders of an organization with updates and reports about how plans are unfold-  
20 ing is part of the process that allows those leaders to intelligently formulate further strategy.  
21 Indeed, in determining that communications by members of the Equality California execu-  
22 tive committee (including those of the City Attorney) were privileged, this Court credited  
23 the simple representation that these persons “made decisions of great importance to the  
24 campaign.” Doc # 610 at 11. Is there any doubt that the Bishops of the CCC make deci-  
25 sions of great importance to that organization?  
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1           • **PX 2554.** Plaintiffs attempt to walk away from their own expert’s characterization  
2 of this communication between various volunteers of the LDS Church’s public affairs coun-  
3 cils. Doc # 640-2 at 12. They claim that because one of the correspondents was not a  
4 “spokesman or leader” for a Proposition 8 campaign organization, he cannot claim any First  
5 Amendment privilege over his confidential communications with political associates about  
6 political matters. This is simply the rejected “control group” theory rearing its head again.  
7 For its part, the City argues that PX 2554 cannot be privileged because it “was in the files  
8 and possession of ProtectMarrige.com.” Doc # 660 at 12. As explained in our motion, this  
9 is false. Doc # 640-2 at 12. The document was in Mr. Jansson’s files, and he *was a volun-*  
10 *teer* of the LDS group distributing the documents. If his concurrent (i) possession of a doc-  
11 ument from one group of which he is a member and (ii) membership in another group  
12 means that the document cannot be privileged, then that means individuals are allowed to be  
13 a member of only a single associational entity—a premise the Ninth Circuit has now re-  
14 jected.

15           • **PX 2555.** Plaintiffs admit that this document constitutes internal minutes of a joint  
16 meeting of LDS committees dealing with “public affairs.” Doc # 659 at 17. Controlling  
17 precedent clearly establishes such minutes as privileged, *see* Doc # 640-2 at 13, and *Perry II*  
18 undermines the only basis the Court had for rejecting the claim of privilege. Thus, all Plain-  
19 tiffs can do is repeat their mantra that the document is not privileged “because it is not a  
20 communication ‘among the core group.’ ” Doc # 659 at 17. A conclusory statement devoid  
21 of support does not a convincing argument make.

22           • **PX 2561.** Far from proving their argument, the sentence Plaintiffs pull from this  
23 communication affirmatively demonstrates that Mr. Prentice was writing to political associ-  
24 ates about strategy in the effort to pass Proposition 8 (whether a political ally should meet  
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1 with an influential pastor).

2 • **PX 2562.** Plaintiffs mischaracterize this exhibit. It is not a communication seeking  
3 support from any donors; it is not a fundraising letter; it is not directed at potential voters or  
4 potential donors. It is a communication between Mr. Prentice and an individual, David  
5 Lane, for the purpose of discussing fundraising strategy and discussing how funds raised  
6 should be spent. Two donors to the campaign are copied on the email but, as is clear from  
7 context, not for the purpose of solicitation, but rather because they were also part of the po-  
8 litical association working to pass Proposition 8. Nowhere in this communication is there a  
9 request for donations or an encouragement to vote.  
10

11 • **PX 2589; PX 2620; PX 2656; PX 2773.** Plaintiffs' and the City's only argument  
12 with respect to these documents is that they do not fit within their rejected "control-group"  
13 theory of the First Amendment privilege that would restrict protection solely to documents  
14 among the leadership of ProtectMarrige.com. For the reasons stated above and in *Perry II*,  
15 this argument fails.  
16

17 • **PX 2598.** As noted, this document is an example of a communication about strategy  
18 from ProtectMarriage.com to the assistant of a major donor. While the communication does  
19 request additional funds, that is not its only purpose, and, in any case, it was sent to some-  
20 one who was already a political ally. If one-on-one communications like this do not fall  
21 within the First Amendment's protection, very little does.  
22

23 • **PX 2599; PX 2630; PX 2631.** As noted in our motion, these documents are confi-  
24 dential meeting minutes of a political association, which *Perry I* recognized are the type of  
25 documents privileged from compelled disclosure. *See* Doc # 640-2 at 14-15. Although the  
26 political associates at these meetings were from separate organizations that did not control  
27 each other's strategy and messaging, *Perry II* makes clear that this is not a valid basis for re-  
28

1 jecting a privilege claim. Plaintiffs’ only argument against striking these documents is  
2 grounded in their discredited “control group” theory.

3 • **PX 2627; PX 2633; PX 2640; PX 2650; PX 2651.** Plaintiffs argue that because Dr.  
4 Tam was not a part of ProtectMarriage.com’s individual “core group,” communications  
5 among members of ProtectMarriage.com and him cannot be privileged under any circum-  
6 stances. We have already explained at length how, even though Dr. Tam does not fit within  
7 Plaintiffs’ discredited “control group” theory, such documents are privileged under *Perry I*  
8 and *Perry II*. See *supra* note 5; Doc # 640-2 at 15-17

10 6. Ignoring the Supreme Court’s warning that a “State’s broad power to regulate the time,  
11 place, and manner of elections does not extinguish the State’s responsibility to observe the limits  
12 established by the First Amendment rights of the State’s citizens,” *Eu v. San Francisco County*  
13 *Democratic Central Committee*, 489 U.S. 214, 222 (1989) (quotation marks omitted), the City waxes  
14 poetic about its alleged “strong” interest in compelling disclosure of all private communications that  
15 California citizens have in the course of engaging in political activity. Doc # 660 at 22-26. And  
16 make no mistake: the City believes that *all* communications are subject to disclosure at the whim of  
17 City officials and that there is simply *no* First Amendment right to engage in *any* anonymous or  
18 confidential political speech. See Doc # 191 (arguing against the existence of any First Amendment  
19 privilege).<sup>8</sup> Or, at least, that is the rule the City advances for speech and political activity with which  
20  
21

22  
23 <sup>8</sup> Indeed, the City even argues that all of Proponents’ private political speech and activity is  
24 subject to compelled disclosure because by proposing and supporting a ballot measure, “[t]hey  
25 assume[d] the mantle of the state, and their actions have operative effect.” Doc # 600 at 25.  
26 Presumably, then, the City would contend that there is no right to a secret ballot. After all, it is  
27 the voters who actually turn a ballot measure into law and whose votes have “operative effect.”  
28 Luckily for the citizens of California, the City’s regime finds no support in the caselaw. See  
*Buckley v. American Constitutional Law Foundation, Inc.*, 525 U.S. 182, 192 n.11 (1999)  
 (“Nothing in this opinion should be read to suggest that initiative-petition circulators are agents  
of the State.... [C]irculators act on behalf of themselves or the proponents of ballot initiatives.”);  
*McIntyre*, 514 U.S. 334, 343 (1995) (First Amendment “tradition of anonymity in the advocacy  
of political causes” is “best exemplified by the secret ballot, the hard-won right to vote one’s  
conscience without fear of retaliation”). And given that, as noted below, the City itself has used  
(Continued)

1 these government officials disagree. With respect to certain speech—that of City officials themselves  
2 and their political allies—the City Attorney has been quite content to cast aside the “strong public  
3 interest in ... know[ing] the history and circumstances underlying the passage of laws” and assert  
4 wide-ranging objections and claims of privilege. Doc # 660 at 23. For example, even though this  
5 Court has deemed relevant documents that contain arguments for or against Proposition 8 in the  
6 possession of those who campaigned against the measure, *see* Doc ## 610, 623, when Proponents  
7 requested such documents from the City and the City Attorney, they asserted a range of objections  
8 and privileges. *See, e.g.*, Ex. B to Decl. of Nicole J. Moss (May 10, 2010) at 7 (City refusing to  
9 produce relevant documents in possession of City officials on the ground officials were not “acting in  
10 their official capacity”); Doc # 609 at 3 (asserting that City Attorney’s communications with dozens  
11 of individuals in the No-on-8 campaign are privileged under the First Amendment). So much for the  
12 City as the champion of “the general requirement of transparency in government affairs.” Doc # 660  
13 at 9.<sup>9</sup>

14  
15  
16 In any event, the City supports its argument with citations to laws, and cases upholding those  
17 laws, that have nothing to do with the disclosures at issue here. As the Supreme Court has recently  
18 reaffirmed, regulations that compel disclosure of political activity are “subject[] ... to exacting  
19 scrutiny.” *Citizens United*, 130 S. Ct. at 914 (quotation marks omitted). While the “interest in  
20 provid[ing] the electorate with information about the sources of election-related spending” in  
21 candidate elections has sometimes been found to pass such exacting scrutiny, neither the Supreme  
22 Court nor any court of appeals has ever found such interest sufficient to justify the types of disclo-  
23 sures at issue here—namely, *post*-election disclosure of confidential communications among political  
24

25  
26 \_\_\_\_\_  
the shield of privilege, this “mantle-of-the-state” argument rings rather hollow.

27 <sup>9</sup> It is a wonder that the City does not describe its own efforts to claim privilege as efforts  
28 to “cloak” or “hide” anything. Doc # 660 at 6, 7, 8, 21. Such derogation of the assertion of First  
Amendment rights appears reserved only for assertions of those rights by the City’s political  
opponents.

1 associates regarding political ideas, political strategy, and political messaging. Instead, the precedent  
2 all goes the other way. *See DeGregory v. Attorney Gen. of New Hampshire*, 383 U.S. 825, 828-29  
3 (1966) (noting that “[t]he substantiality of appellant’s First Amendment claim can best be seen by  
4 considering what he was asked to do,” namely to “disclose information relating to his political  
5 associations of an earlier day, the meetings he attended, and the views expressed and ideas advocated  
6 at any such gatherings,” and holding that there was “no showing of [an] overriding and compelling  
7 state interest that would warrant intrusion into th[is] realm of political and associational privacy  
8 protected by the First Amendment”) (quotation marks omitted); *McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Commis-  
9 sion*, 514 U.S. 334, 348 (1995) (“Insofar as the interest in informing the electorate means nothing  
10 more than the provision of additional information that may either buttress or undermine the argument  
11 in a document, we think the identity of the speaker is no different from other components of the  
12 document’s content that the author *is free to include or exclude.*”) (emphasis added); *Dole v. Service  
13 Employees Union, AFL-CIO*, 950 F.2d 1456, 1459 (9th Cir. 1991) (prima facie case of First Amend-  
14 ment privilege made with respect to minutes of meetings at which “members discuss highly political  
15 issues”). *See also Perry I*, 591 F.3d at 1158, 1159-63. Moreover, the Ninth Circuit has squarely held  
16 that “[t]he disclosure requirements [in California law] are not designed to advise the public generally  
17 what groups may be in favor of, or opposed to, a particular ... ballot issue; they are designed to  
18 inform the public what groups have a demonstrated an interest in the passage or defeat of a ... ballot  
19 issue by their *contributions or expenditures* directed to that result.” *Canyon Ferry Road Baptist  
20 Church of East Helena v. Unsworth*, 556 F.3d 1021, 1032-33 (9th Cir. 2009).<sup>10</sup> That pre-election  
21 interest was fully satisfied by the required disclosures that various groups made during the Proposition  
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25

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26 <sup>10</sup> Moreover, the Supreme Court has held that the interests that justify certain restrictions on  
27 speech in candidate elections are not sufficient to justify those same restrictions in referendum  
28 elections like the one at issue here. *See First National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti*, 435 U.S. 765, 790-  
91 (1978).

1 8 election.<sup>11</sup> The City is thus trying to use a narrow exception to the First Amendment's protection to  
2 swallow that protection completely. Indeed, the City would eschew exacting scrutiny altogether and  
3 has maintained from the outset that the only test applicable to *all* discovery at issue in this case is that  
4 found in Fed. R. Civ. P. 26. *See* Doc # 191. This effort, so contrary to the First Amendment and the  
5 caselaw applying it, should be rejected outright.

7 **CONCLUSION**

8 For the foregoing reasons, Proponents respectfully request that the Court grant their motion to  
9 strike from the record exhibits and associated portions of the trial transcript.

10 Dated: May 10, 2010

Respectfully Submitted,

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TECTMARRIAGE.COM – YES ON 8, A PROJECT OF  
CALIFORNIA RENEWAL

17 By: /s/ Charles J. Cooper  
18 Charles J. Cooper

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26  
27 <sup>11</sup> If the City believes it has a compelling interest in disclosure of the types of documents at  
28 issue here, it can pass a disclosure law that applies to all citizens (and not just Proponents, with  
the City Attorney excepted) and allow that law to be tested in court.