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MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES

I. INTRODUTION

The state of California might as well have a law that states: "Independent candidates for president shall not be allowed on the November 2020 ballot." That is the effect of the current state of the law, which would require such candidates to gather and submit nearly 200,000 physical signatures between April 24, 2020 and August 7, 2020, in the midst of the deadly coronavirus pandemic.

On July 1, 2020, Plaintiffs Joseph Kishore and Norissa Santa Cruz ("Plaintiffs"), who are the candidates of the Socialist Equality Party ("SEP") for President and Vice President of the United States, applied for preliminary injunctive relief against Defendants Gavin Newsom, the governor of California, and Alex Padilla, the California Secretary of State (collectively, "Defendants") (Doc. No. 11). This application constituted a renewal of the application that had been made the previous day but which was denied without prejudice (Doc. No. 9). The same day, Defendants submitted a 6-page opposition requesting additional time (Doc. No. 10). Since that time, Defendants have submitted no further or substantive opposition on the merits. For the reasons below, in addition to the grounds stated in the original application, Plaintiffs' application should be granted.

II. DISCUSSION

A. The Defendants have made little substantive response.

It is significant that Defendants have made little substantive response to the request. Indeed, it is unclear how Defendants could possibly justify the existing ballot access regime. The state of California cannot require voters and candidates to risk serious illness and even death to exercise their most fundamental democratic rights. No interest asserted by the state is worth the sacrifice of human life.

In their opposition, Defendants suggest that service may not be effective. Defendants state that it is not "entirely clear whether or when service has been effected," filing an opposition "out of an abundance of caution." *See* Opp'n, at 1, n.

1. Later that same day, Plaintiffs filed a declaration that should put the issue of service to rest as to each defendant: Defendant Padilla (Seabaugh Decl., ¶ 2; Exhibit "A"), Defendant Newsom (Seabaugh Decl., ¶ 3; Exhibit "B"), and the California Attorney General's office (Seabaugh Decl., ¶ 4; Exhibit "C"). The Federal Rules state that preliminary injunctive relief is effective as to the parties "who receive actual notice of it," Fed. R. Civ. P. 65(d)(2), and here all of the parties have actual notice.

Defendants' opposition does little to address the merits of the Plaintiffs' application. Defendants' central theme is that "Plaintiffs have not been diligent in seeking relief." Opp'n, at 1. Plaintiffs allegedly "waited to file their complaint and application for a TRO—which, along with supporting declarations and exhibits, total more than 100 pages of pleadings, declarations, and exhibits—until June 30, 2020. . . . "Opp'n, at 4. Defendants point to the "striking delay and lack diligence [sic]" on the part of Plaintiffs.

B. It is not Plaintiffs but Defendants who failed to exercise adequate diligence.

It is not the Plaintiffs who have failed to exercise adequate diligence, but Defendants. It is Defendants who have failed over a protracted period to take effective action to ensure that the elections remain free, open, and fair, despite the pandemic. Specifically, the conduct of the elections is Defendant Padilla's affirmative responsibility. *See* Cal. Gov't Code § 12172.5 ("The Secretary of State is the chief elections officer of the state, and shall administer the provisions of the Elections Code. The Secretary of State shall see that elections are efficiently conducted and that state election laws are enforced.").

Defendants point to, and request judicial notice of, a statewide emergency proclamation dated March 4, 2020. *See* Opp'n, at 3, n. 3. But Defendants fail to explain how, with all of the resources of the state at their disposal, they failed to take action for months after their own acts, in combination with the pandemic, rendered

the gathering of hundreds of thousands of signatures for all practical purposes impossible. Indeed, Defendants took no action even after it became clear that the large signature-gathering requirement had become a public health risk on its face, as any efforts to gather the required signatures would necessarily spread the deadly infection that has already claimed hundreds of thousands of lives worldwide.

Defendants claim that Plaintiffs should have made "reasonably diligent efforts" to comply with state law, citing *Angle v. Miller*, 673 F.3d 1122, 1134 (9th Cir. 2012). But no "reasonably diligent" candidates would have placed the health and lives of their supporters in danger to comply with the state's burdensome signature requirement. The Plaintiffs "should not be denigrated for making the conscientious choice." *SawariMedia*, *LLC v. Whitmer*, 2020 WL 3097266 at *25 (E.D. Mich. June 11, 2020) (rejecting the same argument, which was made by Michigan authorities).

It is not Plaintiffs that require the signatures, but Defendants. Plaintiffs are simply asking to be on the ballot. It is Defendants who "waited . . . until June" to take action—and it does not appear that Defendants intended to take any action at all until November.

C. Plaintiffs are irreparably harmed by every day of uncertainty as to their ballot access status.

Defendants raise the "irreparable harm" standard but fail to address the substantive points made by Plaintiffs in their application, claiming instead that there is a "lack of emergency." *See* Opp'n, at 1. On the contrary, the infringement of the First Amendment freedoms of candidates and voters in an election year is an emergency requiring immediate Court intervention.

"The loss of First Amendment freedoms, for even minimal periods of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury." *See Elrod v. Burns*, 427 U.S. 347, 373-74 (1976); *citing New York Times Co. v. United States*, 403 U.S. 713 (1971).

Restrictions on access to the ballot impinge on the fundamental right to associate for the advancement of political beliefs and the fundamental right to vote. *See Illinois State Board of Elections v. Socialist Workers Party*, 440 U.S. 173, 184; *Williams v. Rhodes*, 393 U.S. 23, 30, 89 (1968).

The harm is particularly irreparable where, as here, a plaintiff seeks to engage in First Amendment political activity, as "timing is of the essence in politics." *See Long Beach Area Peace Network v. City of Long Beach*, 522 F.3d 1010, 1020 (9th Cir. 2008) (quoting *NAACP v. City of Richmond*, 743 F.2d 1346, 1356 (9th Cir. 1984)); *see also Klein v. City of San Clemente*, 584 F.3d 1196, 1208 (9th Cir. 2009). With each day that passes towards the election, Plaintiffs are irreparably harmed by California's unconstitutional ballot access regime, and by the shadow of uncertainty it casts over their campaign.

D. California effectively has no way for independent candidates to access the ballot; injunctive relief is necessary to remedy this unconstitutional state of affairs.

At this point, the state of California effectively has <u>zero</u> methods for independent presidential candidates to access the ballot. The only method existing on paper—gathering 200,000 physical signatures in the midst of a deadly global pandemic—is effectively impossible to satisfy. This state of affairs is functionally equivalent to a state law providing that independent candidates are not allowed on the ballot at all.

An important point of reference is the decision in *Hall v. Austin*, 495 F. Supp. 782, 784 (E.D. Mich. 1980). In that case, it was undisputed that Michigan had no statutory method by which independent candidates for president and vice-president could gain access to the Michigan general election ballot. The plaintiffs were Gus Hall and Angela Davis, the Communist Party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates, who sought ballot access as independent candidates. The district court found that, notwithstanding the interests asserted by the state with respect to

promoting efficiency and avoiding ballot clutter, Michigan's ballot access regime was unconstitutional:

The Court is certain that placing Hall and Davis on the Michigan ballot will not impair these legitimate public interests. The Michigan ballot lists only five presidential candidates. Hall and Davis can hardly be compared to the defendants' examples of frivolous candidates who have attempted to qualify as independent candidates. They are earnest and experienced politicians who are recognized, interviewed and written about by the news media and invited to speak and participate by many organizations. They espouse a serious political program and address important issues pertaining to race, economics, and government. In short, there is no indication that the addition of Hall and Davis will in any way impair the ability of the electorate to make rational decisions at the polling booth. On the contrary, their participation as candidates may well assure that the electorate is better informed as to crucial issues and alternative positions which the voter may accept, reject or utilize for comparison. After all, this is the meaning and strength of democracy and the formula for its perpetuation and growth.

See Hall, 495 F. Supp at 792.

Likewise in this case, as demonstrated by the declarations submitted together with this application, Plaintiffs Kishore and Santa Cruz are far from frivolous candidates. They are experienced politicians who are recognized throughout the country and who have each written extensively on a broad range of political issues. The political newspaper of their organization, the *World Socialist Web Site* (wsws.org) is read by millions of people around the world. The declarations that were filed together with the application point to the political ideas that have won them support among teachers, health care workers, students, and other sections of the state's population. As in the *Hall* case, the fact that Plaintiffs Kishore and Santa

Accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kIo0PLWFIxY.

On the day this brief is being filed, the *World Socialist Web Site* celebrated the 244th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence with an online meeting that was attended by thousands of people from dozens of countries around the world. The online event, *The Place of the Two American Revolutions in the Past, Present and Future*, featured five of the most eminent historians on these subjects: Victoria Bynum, Clayborne Carson, Richard Carwardine, James Oakes and Gordon Wood.

Cruz espouse a serious political program militates strongly in their favor. Just as in *Hall*, including their names on the ballot will not in any way impair the ability of the electorate to make rational decisions at the polling booth. Indeed, placing these socialist candidates with their distinct program on the ballot will inform rather than confuse voters as to important issues, including those who otherwise might not vote.

Concluding that it was "necessary to emphasize again that the rights at stake here . . . are crucial to our democracy," *Hall*, 495 F. Supp. at 792, the court in *Hall* ultimately awarded injunctive relief, ordering Michigan to place Hall and Davis on the ballot. The Court should do likewise here.

III. CONCLUSION

Plaintiffs should be able to exercise their most fundamental democratic rights without exposing themselves and their supporters to the danger of infection and death in fulfilling the administrative requirements established and enforced by Defendants. Given the unprecedented if not unique circumstances presented by the ongoing pandemic, the usual considerations a state may give for limiting ballot access have little weight. Nor will California be burdened by adding Plaintiffs to the ballot. Since California has failed to provide any practical way for independent presidential candidates to access the ballot in light of the pandemic, the Court should directly order that Plaintiffs' names be printed on the November ballot.

In the alternative, Plaintiffs request that their application for a preliminary injunction be heard on shortened notice as provided by Local Rule 65-1.

Respectfully Submitted,

Dated: July 4, 2020 LAW OFFICE OF THOMAS C. SEABAUGH DONALD G. NORRIS, A LAW CORPORATION

By: <u>s/Thomas C. Seabaugh</u> Thomas C. Seabaugh Attorneys for Plaintiffs