

1 EXPEDITE
2 No hearing set
3 Hearing is set
4 Date: August 17, 2018
Time: 9:00 am
Judge: Hon. James Dixon

5 STATE OF WASHINGTON
6 THURSTON COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT

7 In re:

8 INITIATIVE NO. 1639

No. 18-2-03747-34

9 ROBIN BALL, a resident of the state of
10 Washington; and the National Rifle
Association,

PETITIONERS' OPENING BRIEF
IN SUPPORT OF
APPLICATION FOR CITATION AND
INJUNCTION

11 Petitioners,

12 v.

13 KIM WYMAN, Washington State
Secretary of State, in her official capacity,

14 Respondent.

15 ALAN GOTTLIEB and
16 JULIANNE HOY VERSNEL

17 Petitioners,

18 v.

19 KIM WYMAN, Washington State
Secretary of State, in her official capacity,

20 Respondent.
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I. INTRODUCTION

“The first power reserved by the people is the initiative.” Wash. Const. Art. II § 1(a). The people thereby reserved the power to draft and adopt legislation directly, by popular vote, without action by the legislature. The Constitution establishes clear guidance for how the people exercise this reserved power, and the legislature has enacted legislation “especially to facilitate . . . operation” of the initiative power. The constitutional structure requires that legislation proposed by initiative be presented to voters at both phases of the initiative process: first, on the petition when sponsors solicit voter’s signatures to qualify the initiative for the ballot or for presentation to the legislature, *see* Art. II § 1(a); and second, in the voter information pamphlet that the Secretary of State sends to voters “to reasonably assure that each voter will have the opportunity to study the measures prior to the election.” Art. II § 1(d) . The Constitution thus requires that sponsors of initiatives, and the Secretary of State, ensure that each voter considering whether to support an initiative, at both steps in the process of direct democracy, has the opportunity to fully inform herself of the proposed change to the state’s law.

Here, the sponsors of Initiative No. 1639 failed to comply with the Constitution and enabling legislation in soliciting voter support for putting I-1639 on the November ballot. I-1639 proposes to make significant additions and deletions from existing Washington state firearms law. The petitions circulated for signature and filed with the Secretary of State, however, do not contain the text of the initiative as filed with the Secretary and that she intends to print in the voter information pamphlet. Instead, it omits and indication of what existing state law is, and how the initiative proposes to change it. By omitting any strikethrough or underlining, the text on the petitions gives the false and misleading impression that the entire text will be added to the statute, or at least gives no indication to voters what portions are old and what portions are proposed additions. It also does not identify the deletions from existing

1 **B. The Signature Petitions**

2 The petition sponsors then sought voter support for putting I-1639 on the November
3 ballot. To solicit that support, the sponsors “print[ed] blank petitions upon single sheets of
4 paper . . .” RCW 29A.72.100. The front side of each sheet conformed to the statutory
5 requirements: they were a minimum of 11” x 14”, had lines for not more than 20 signatures,
6 and contained the prescribed warning and title in the form required by RCW 29A.72.120, for
7 petitions to the people. The front of each sheet, above the signature lines, included the required
8 text:

9 We, the undersigned citizens and legal voters of the State of Washington, respectfully
10 direct that the proposed measure known as Initiative Measure No. 1639, entitled
11 “Initiative Measure No. 1639 concerns firearms. This measure would increase
12 background checks, training, age limitations, and waiting periods for sales or deliveries
13 of semiautomatic assault rifles; criminalize noncompliant storage upon unauthorized
14 use; allow fees; and enact other provisions. Should this measure be enacted into law?
15 Yes [] No []”, a full, true and correct copy of which is printed on the reverse side of
16 this petition, be submitted to the legal voters of the State of Washington for their
17 approval or rejection at the general election to be held on the 6th day of November,
18 2018; and each of us for himself or herself says: I have personally signed this petition;
19 I am a legal voter of the State of Washington, in the city (or town) and county written
20 after my name, my residence address is correctly stated, and I have knowingly signed
21 this petition only once.

22 However, the sponsors did not print on the reverse side of the petition the required “readable,
23 full, true, and correct copy of the proposed measure . . .” RCW 29A.72.100. Instead, the
24 reverse side of each sheet contains a litany of text with no strikethroughs or underlines,
25 presenting the entire existing contents of the text filed with the Secretary of State as though it
26 were all proposed new enactments. As such, the petitions do not comply with Art. II § 1(a),
which requires of initiatives that “[e]very such petition shall include the full text of the measure
so proposed.”

23 **C. The Secretary’s Filing And Certification**

24 The petition sponsors secured hundreds of thousands of signatures on tens of thousands
25 of petitions, all containing this improper text on the reverse side. When they were submitted
26 to the Secretary of State, she recognized that she was required to accept them for filing,

1 pursuant to RCW 29A.72.170. That statute gives the Secretary discretion to refuse to accept
2 petitions for filing only if they are late, plainly lack sufficient signatures, or lack the warning
3 required by RCW 29A.72.140 or oaths required by RCW 29A.72.120. Otherwise, “the
4 secretary of state *must* accept and file the petition.” RCW 29A.72.170 (emphasis added). And
5 so she did.

6 Upon accepting the petition sheets for filing, the Secretary of State scanned them into
7 digital files, and also “arrange[d] and assemble[d] the sheets containing the signatures into
8 such volumes as will be most convenient for verification and canvassing and . . . consecutively
9 number[ed] the volumes and stamp[ed] the date of filing on each volume.” RCW 29A.72.210.
10 Having done so, “the secretary of state . . . proceed[ed] to verify and canvass the names of the
11 legal voters on the petition. . . us[ing] any statistical sampling techniques for this verification
12 and canvass which have been adopted by rule as provided by chapter 34.05 RCW.” RCW
13 29A.72.230. Once this process was completed, the Secretary determined that the sheets
14 submitted by the proponents of I-1639 contain more than the required number of signatures of
15 registered voters to qualify for the ballot. The Secretary has certified the petition and intends
16 to present it to the voters in November.

17 At the same time, the Secretary did not determine that the petitions satisfied the legal
18 requirements contained in the constitution and statutory procedures for the initiative process.²
19 In fact, despite her “concerns” regarding the deficiencies in the petitions, she incorrectly
20 concluded that her legal authority with respect to the certification decision did not extend to
21 considering defects in the form of the petition.

24 ² “Secretary Wyman said concerns remain about whether the format of the I-1639 petition signature sheets complies
25 with constitutional and statutory requirements, and whether it sets a precedent for future petitions. However, the
26 initiative complied with the requirements of [RCW 29A.72.170](#), which limits the Secretary’s authority over
initiatives to specific criteria.” <https://www.sos.wa.gov/office/news-releases.aspx#/news/1305> (last accessed
August 1, 2018).

1 **D. The November Ballot And Voter Pamphlet**

2 In order to present to Washington voters the option to enact I-1639 into law, the
3 Secretary will include the ballot title on the ballot:

4 Initiative Measure No. 1639 concerns firearms. This measure would increase
5 background checks, training, age limitations, and waiting periods for sales or deliveries
6 of semiautomatic assault rifles; criminalize noncompliant storage upon unauthorized
use; allow fees; and enact other provisions. Should this measure be enacted into law?
Yes [] No []

7 She will also include in the voters' pamphlet the full text of the measure, as required by
8 RCW 29A.32.070(10). The full text of the measure that will appear in the pamphlet is the text
9 filed with the Secretary of State, complete with strikethroughs and underlines demonstrating
10 the proposed amendments to existing law that voters will be asked to decide on. This text will
11 therefore satisfy the statutory requirement that:

12 Statewide ballot measures that amend existing law must be printed in the voters'
13 pamphlet so that language proposed for deletion is enclosed by double parentheses and
14 has a line through it. Proposed new language must be underlined. A statement
15 explaining the deletion and addition of language must appear as follows: "Any
16 language in double parentheses with a line through it is existing state law and will be
taken out of the law if this measure is approved by voters. Any underlined language
does not appear in current state law but will be added to the law if this measure is
approved by voters."

17 RCW 29A.32.080. This also ensures that the initiative – both the text filed with the Secretary
18 of State and the text presented to voters as a proposed amendment – complies with Art. II § 37
19 of the state constitution.

20 **II. ARGUMENT**

21 The Secretary has certified that a petition in support of I-1639 had more than the
22 required number of signatures of Washington voters. As a result, absent relief from this court,
23 she will include in the November general election ballot the question of whether voters approve
24 of I-1639. In doing so, she will print the text of the initiative, as filed with her office, in the
25 voter information pamphlet. But despite both constitutional and statutory mandate, not a single
26 signature among those she certified actually appears on a petition with the required text of the

1 proposed law on it. Although each signature appears below an oath that the petition contained
2 a full, true, and correct copy of I-1639, none did. Those petitions containing the signatures
3 which the Secretary has certified are actually *not* valid petitions in support of I-1639.

4 **A. The Standard Of Review Is De Novo**

5 Before addressing how the Secretary of State erred in certifying I-1639, the Court must
6 determine the standard by which it reviews her decision. If the Secretary’s decision fell within
7 her expertise, or evaluated whether the petitions, despite errors, nonetheless “substantially
8 complied” with the constitutional and statutory requirements, then this Court would apply a
9 deferential standard of review, and her decision could be overturned only if it was shown to be
10 “arbitrary and capricious.” *Community Care Coalition of Washington v. Reed*, 165 Wash. 2d
11 606, 200 P.3d 701 (2009). In this case, by contrast, the Secretary of State has made a legal
12 determination that she is unable to reject a petition because of the “limited authority” that she
13 exercises in determining whether to certify a petition.³ Consequently, the review of the
14 Secretary’s decision to certify I-1639 is de novo—first, to determine whether the Secretary of
15 State *has* the authority to examine the petitions for compliance with constitutional and statutory
16 requirements, and second, to determine what remedy is warranted as a result of the petitions’
17 non-compliance with constitutional and statutory mandates.

18 **B. Issue 1: Does the Secretary of State Have Authority to Examine Petitions for
19 Compliance with Constitutional and Statutory Requirements?**

20 “Every [initiative] petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed.” Art.
21 II § 1(a). This simple requirement for initiative petitions is inherent to Washington’s
22 constitutional process of direct democracy, ensuring that each and every signature in support
23 of placing an initiative on the ballot comes from a voter who had the opportunity to fully inform
24 herself of the proposed changes that the initiative will make to existing law. Fulfilling its
25 obligation to enact legislation to “facilitate [the] operation” of the initiative power, Art. II

26 ³ See Press Release cited in footnote 2, *supra*.

1 § 1(d), the legislature enacted an essentially verbatim requirement into law, requiring petition
2 sponsors to include on each petition “a readable, full, true, and correct copy of the proposed
3 measure printed on the reverse side of the petition.” RCW 29A.72.100. Similarly, the
4 Secretary’s statutory obligation to send a copy of the voters’ pamphlet containing the full text
5 of the initiative proposal to each household, RCW 29A.32.080, implements the constitutional
6 requirement of Art. II § 1(e) , which requires “publicity of all laws or parts of laws . . . referred
7 to the people” in order to “assure that each voter will have an opportunity to study the measures
8 prior to election.”

9 **1. Filing and Accepting the Petitions**

10 The Secretary of State has the obligation to police these requirements. However, as she
11 correctly concluded, that obligation does not arise at the moment the petitions are presented
12 for filing. At that moment, she may only reject petitions for lateness, for obviously lacking
13 sufficient signatures, or for omitting the warnings and signature oaths for the signers and
14 gatherers. RCW 29A.72.170. The Supreme Court has concurred that this initial and cursory
15 review, of which only denied petition sponsors may seek judicial review, passes constitutional
16 muster. RCW 29A.72.180; *Schrempp v. Munro*, 116 Wash. 2d 929, 809 P.2d 1381 (1991).
17 This stands to reason, because the Secretary’s decision is only whether to accept and preserve
18 the physical petitions or destroy them as required by RCW 29A.72.200. At this stage, she
19 makes no other determination about the petitions.

20 **2. Review of the Petitions Prior to Certification**

21 The Secretary’s review, however, continues beyond the moment of accepting and filing
22 the petitions. As noted above, “filing” the petitions consists of taking the physical paper,
23 making copies of the pages, and organizing them in binders for review. After the petitions are
24 filed, the Secretary must count the signatures and certify whether or not the petitions contain
25 sufficient signatures in support of the measure. Any citizen dissatisfied with her determination
26 – yea or nay – may seek review in this Court. And the Secretary’s determination must, of

1 necessity, include a review of not merely the signatures, but the other contents of the petitions,
2 as well – a step the Secretary omitted to undertake in this case.

3 As an illustrative example, consider that the sponsor of mythical initiative I-9999
4 presents a stack of 20,000 sheets to the Secretary at 4:59 pm on the very day that is four months
5 prior to the general election. The Secretary barely has time for even a cursory review – the
6 very kind of cursory review called for by RCW 29A.72.170. Upon that review, she identifies
7 that the petition forms include space for 20 signatures, and many of the sheets have all the
8 signature blanks filled out. She certainly cannot look at all 20,000 pages before the deadline,
9 so she concludes that the petition does not “clearly bear[] insufficient signatures.” *Id.* A glance
10 at the clock informs her that the deadline for filing has not quite expired, and the first few
11 among the petitions do have “the information required by RCW 29A.72.110, 29A.72.120, or
12 29A.72.130.” *Id.* She therefore accepts them. Later, after they are scanned and put in binders,
13 suppose it becomes apparent that half the sheets submitted have no signatures, or obviously
14 false signatures. The Secretary has full authority to refuse to certify such an initiative.

15 But the Secretary might also discover during review that half the petitions are not in
16 support of I-9999 at all, but instead are petitions containing valid signatures of voters, but with
17 text in support of a completely different initiative, say I-4444. Even if every petition contains
18 all of the information required by the constitution and by statute, and the number of signatures
19 exceeds the minimum, the Secretary should not disclaim her responsibility to look beyond the
20 number of signatures and thereby certify that I-9999 for the November election. She should
21 reach the conclusion that the petitions filed with her office contain only 200,000 signatures in
22 support of I-9999 and 200,000 who signed in support of I-4444.

23 In other words, the authority entrusted to the Secretary by RCW 29A.72.230 necessarily
24 includes the authority to engage in a substantive review of whether the contents of the
25 documents filed with her office *substantially comply* with the constitutional and statutory
26 requirements. But in this case, the Secretary has not done so. Instead, her public statements

1 reflect her mistaken belief that she once she accepts a stack of petitions for filing, she lacks the
2 authority to do anything more than count the number of signatures submitted. As such, this
3 court must engage in the analysis she mistakenly avoided, namely, whether there was
4 “substantial compliance” with the constitutional and statutory directions regarding the form of
5 an initiative petition.

6 In concluding that she lacked the authority to review the contents of the petitions, the
7 Secretary disregarded the Supreme Court’s express recognition of her authority. “An
8 examination of the petition filed with respondent to ascertain if it is in proper form for filing,
9 complying with the formalities of the law as to its form and contents, and to ascertain if it has
10 a sufficient number of signatures on the face of the petition to entitle it to be filed, involve
11 administrative acts and matters of discretion.” *People v. Hinkle*, 130 Wash. 419, 429, 227 P.
12 861, 865 (1924). Here, the petition absolutely failed to “comply[] with the formalities of the
13 law as to its form and contents,” yet the Secretary consider herself compelled to disregard that
14 failure. In fact, as the Supreme Court held, her review of the petitions after they are filed
15 includes the discretionary authority to reject those petitions which do not comply with the law.
16 The Secretary undoubtedly has the authority – and indeed, the non-discretionary obligation –
17 to reject signatures on papers ostensibly filed in support of one measure but, on review,
18 obviously in support of a different one. She also has the authority and obligation to reject
19 signatures on a document that fails to comply with the constitutional and statutory mandates
20 to present singers with the text of the initiative.

21 Concluding that the legislature assigned this authority and responsibility to the
22 Secretary as part of her canvass under 29A.72.230 is the only way to enforce the right of
23 initiative as found in the constitution. “In interpreting the provisions of the constitution which
24 preserve the right of initiative to the people, this court has consistently applied the rule that
25 such provisions will be liberally construed to the end that the right of initiative be facilitated.”
26 *Matter of Estate of Thompson*, 103 Wash. 2d 292, 294–95, 692 P.2d 807, 808 (1984). That

1 liberal construction must preserve the right of initiative as it is written in the constitution,
2 including the obligations imposed on petition sponsors that require them fully to inform voters
3 of the contents of initiatives when soliciting signatures. That constitutional mandate,
4 legislatively restated in RCW 29A.72.100, must be enforced by the Secretary as part of the
5 canvass under RCW 29A.72.230. Otherwise, as the Secretary’s statements and certification in
6 this case show, initiative sponsors can, at their own option, write that clause out of the
7 constitution and evade RCW 29A.72.100. Allowing interested private parties to make a dead
8 letter of a vital protection found in the constitution cannot be a “liberal construction” of the
9 statute that facilitates the right of initiative as constitutionally prescribed.

10 **C. Issue 2: The Certified Signatures Are Not In Support Of I-1639**

11 In the hypothetical case suggested in the previous section, half of the petitions
12 submitted by the initiative sponsors were actually in support of a different initiative. They
13 clearly should not be counted in determining whether to certify the initiative. Yet the facts in
14 this case are not significantly different. The constitution is explicit: “Every such petition [in
15 support of an initiative] shall include the full text of the measure so proposed.” Art. II § 1(a).
16 So are the statutory provisions describing the procedure for an initiative: Petitions in support
17 of an initiative must have, on the reverse side, a “readable, full, true, and correct copy of the
18 proposed measure . . .” RCW 29A.72.100. The “proposed measure” that must appear is the
19 text filed with the Secretary of State, the same text that the Secretary will print in the voters’
20 information pamphlet. It is a text that sets out in full the statutes to be amended, according to
21 the required amendatory style of RCW 29A.32.080. In this way, the Legislature has facilitated
22 the constitutional mandates of the initiative process to ensure that at all stages, the statutory
23 requirements fully and faithfully implement the constitutional requirements, allowing every
24 voter, at the petition and election phases, to fully inform himself of the exact contents of the
25 proposed changes to the law.

26 In order to comply with the constitution and statutes, a petition in support of I-1639

1 must contain on its reverse side the full text of I-1639. It must be substantially the same as the
2 text on file with the Secretary, the same text the Secretary will print in the voters' pamphlet. If
3 it contains some other text—whether it is the text of another initiative or a recipe for apple
4 pie—it does not satisfy the constitutional and statutory requirements. A document with some
5 other text, even if it contains signatures of registered voters in the state of Washington, is not
6 a petition in support of I-1639, and the Secretary should not count those signatures as
7 supporting I-1639 when she makes her review under RCW 29A.72.230.

8 Here, none of the documents which the I-1639 sponsors filed with the Secretary contain
9 the text of the initiative. No person reading the reverse side of the petitions could understand
10 the current state of Washington's relevant laws, nor know which portions of the text propose
11 additions to or subtractions from the statutes. Indeed, a person might readily conclude that no
12 portion of the text on the reverse side is currently law in Washington, and support the document
13 in the mistaken belief that Washington law does not contain what appear to be important
14 restrictions on firearms, when in fact they are already part of the existing law that the actual
15 initiative, as filed with the Secretary of State, would amend. Moreover, a reader might believe
16 that, however undesirable some features of the initiative might be, they are outweighed by
17 what appear to be necessary restrictions—which the reader is not told are already the law.

18 **D. No Reasonable Secretary of State Would Find Substantial Compliance**

19 As noted earlier, the Secretary of State made no determination as to whether, despite
20 the lack of conformity of the petitions to the constitutional and statutory requirements, there
21 was nonetheless “substantial compliance” such that the initiative should be certified. If there
22 were sufficient time, the proper remedy would be in effect to “remand” this case to the
23 Secretary for her to make such a determination. However, there is barely time for this case to
24 be resolved on the merits and reviewed by the Supreme Court before the ballots must be
25 printed. Therefore this court is put in the position of making that determination.

26 Washington law defines “substantial compliance” as actual compliance in respect to
the substance essential to every reasonable objective of a statute. The key to substantial

1 compliance is the satisfaction of the substance essential to the purpose of the statute.
2 The purpose for which the legislature adopts election notice statutes is to impart actual
3 knowledge of the election to the voter.

4 *In re Special Election on Moses Lake School District #161 Proposition 1, 2* Wash. App. 2d
5 689, 702, 413 P.3d 577, 583 (Div. 3 2018) (citations omitted).

6 When the I-1639 petitions submitted to the Secretary of State are examined with an eye
7 to whether they satisfied the “substance essential to the purpose of the statute,” the answer
8 would plainly be “No.” As a contrasting example, in *State v. Superior Court of Thurston*
9 *County*, 81 Wash. 623, 143 P. 461 (1914), the Secretary of State refused to count the signatures
10 that were submitted in support of an initiative because the certifying officer initialed the names
11 “in common lead pencil instead of ink, as the statute in terms provides they shall be.” *Id.* at
12 647. The Supreme Court understandably overruled the Secretary’s decision and ordered that
13 the signatures so certified should be counted. Similarly, some petitions contained more than
14 twenty signatures, and did not appear on the numbered lines. For similar reasons the Supreme
15 Court overruled the refusal to count those signatures.

16 Here, by contrast, the purpose of both the constitutional and the statutory requirements
17 is to insure that those who sign the petition are adequately informed of the change(s) that the
18 initiative would effect in existing law. Not only did the text on the reverse of the petitions not
19 provide such information, but it actually provided misleading information concerning how
20 Washington law would change if the initiative were adopted.

21 Consequently, the Secretary’s determination that her office received a sufficient
22 number of signatures on petitions in support of I-1639 is erroneous. Not one of the signatures
23 appears on a petition which validly, and in accordance with constitutional and statutory
24 mandates, requests the submission of I-1639 to the voters.

25 **E. The Secretary’s Certification Should Be Vacated and an Injunction Should Issue**
26 **Preventing I-1639’s Appearance on The Ballot**

Washington courts, like those of most states which allow for initiatives, generally

1 refrain from pre-election challenges. “Preelection challenges to statewide initiatives and
2 referenda fit into three categories: “(1) the measure, if passed, would be substantively invalid
3 because it conflicts with a federal or state constitutional . . . provision; (2) the procedural
4 requirements for placing the measure on the ballot have not been met; and (3) the subject
5 matter is not proper for direct legislation.” *Coppernoll v. Reed*, 155 Wash. 2d 290, 297, 119
6 P.3d 318, 321 (2005). While the courts do not entertain the first type of challenge prior to an
7 election, “[o]ur courts have entertained preelection review of the second type of challenge, a
8 ballot measure’s noncompliance with procedural requirements, including challenges to the
9 requisite number of signatures, timing of filing, and ballot titles. . . . Procedural preelection
10 challenges generally do not raise concerns regarding justiciability because the sole inquiry is
11 whether the proper procedures have been followed in order to invoke the initiative process in
12 the first instance.” *Id.* at 298-99.

13 The California Supreme Court, enforcing similar requirements of the initiative process,
14 has agreed that a preelection challenge is the appropriate vehicle for resolving questions about
15 the scope and effect of errors in the presentation of the text of the initiative on signature
16 petitions. *See, e.g., Costa v. Superior Court*, 37 Cal. 4th 986, 128 P.3d 675 (2006) (holding
17 that courts could consider preelection challenge on question of compliance with constitutional
18 requirement to include text of proposed initiative on signature petitions).

19 Here, not only is the challenge ripe for adjudication, but the utter failure of the I-1639
20 petitions to comply with constitutional and statutory requirements compels the court first to
21 vacate the previous certification and second to enjoin the presentation of I-1639 to Washington
22 voters.

23 ///

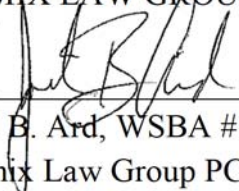
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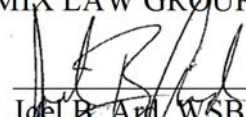
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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I CERTIFY UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY under the laws of the United States that on August 1, 2018, I served the foregoing Opening Brief together with Petitioners’ Proposed Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law and Proposed Order, via email per agreement between the parties, on the following:

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