THE HONORABLE JIM ROGERS 1 GEGEÁÙÒÚÁFFÁEGÆÍ ÁÚT 2 SOÞ ÕÁÔU WÞVŸ ÙWÚÒÜŒJÜÁÔUWÜVÁÔŠÒÜS 3 ÒËZ(ŠÒÖ ÔŒÙÒÂKÆŒŒŒHFIŒÂÙÒŒ 4 5 IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON 6 IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF KING 7 IN RE THE MATTER OF RECALL No. 20-2-13314-1 SEA CHARGES AGAINST CITY OF SEATTLE 8 COUNCILMEMBER KSHAMA SAWANT **OPPOSITION TO PETITION TO** (SAWANT) **DETERMINE SUFFICIENCY OF** 9 RECALL CHARGES AND ADEQUACY OF BALLOT SYNOPSIS 10 (SAWANT) 11 12 13 INTRODUCTION AND RELIEF REQUESTED 14 Kshama Sawant (Sawant) was first elected to the Seattle City Council in 2013, backed by 15 a left-leaning political organization, Socialist Alternative, of which she is a member. When 16 Sawant was sworn into office on January 6, 2014, she became the first self-described socialist to 17 win a seat on the City Council since 1877 and the first to win a citywide election in Seattle since 18 1916. From the date that Sawant took office until the present, her tenure has been defined by an 19 aggressive defense of her pro-worker and pro-renter agenda, and by her vigorous, unvielding, 20 and unapologetic rebuke of what she and her supporters see as the outsized influence of Seattle's 21 largest corporations, its most indiscriminate developers, and its unaccountable police force. 22 Several signature issues and causes have made Sawant a lightning-rod in Seattle politics. 23 Immediately after assuming office, Sawant championed a successful effort to increase Seattle's 24 OPPOSITION TO PETITION TO DETERMINE SUFFICIENCY OF RECALL CHARGES – Page 1

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minimum wage to \$15 an hour. Sawant has also advocated for an income tax on wealthy residents of Seattle, rent control, and police reform. In 2017 and 2018, Sawant led the push to institute a big business tax which would have taxed Seattle's largest corporations on a peremployee basis in order to fund public affordable housing and homelessness services. Amazon, the largest private employer in Seattle, responded to the initial passage of the tax by the Council in 2018 by funding what became a successful campaign to obtain repeal of the tax ordinance shortly thereafter. This year, Sawant spearheaded the "Tax Amazon" campaign that led to passage of a big business tax four times larger than the one previously passed and repealed. Subsequently, Amazon and Seattle's other major business interests have become increasingly active in their attempts to remove Sawant from her position on the Council. Having failed to unseat her in two regularly-scheduled elections, most recently in 2019, her opponents have now turned to the recall process.

Sawant respectfully requests that this Court dismiss the recall petition filed by Petitioner Ernest Lou, on the grounds that it fails to meet the Petitioner's burden to establish factual and legal sufficiency.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

Recent Events Α.

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On May 25, 2020, Minneapolis police officers murdered George Floyd, an unarmed Black man accused of attempting to use a counterfeit \$20 bill, sparking a proliferation of protests across the country, and indeed the world, that has not yet abated. In many locations, already outraged communities of protestors were met with a heavy-handed crackdown by police when they participated in marches, rallies, and vigils.

Washington's law enforcement killings of John T. Williams (2010), Che Taylor (2016), Charleena Lyles and Tommy Le (2017), and Shaun Fuhr (2020), among others, helped set the 18 WEST MERCER ST., STE. 400 BARNARD OPPOSITION TO PETITION TO DETERMINE SUFFICIENCY OF RECALL CHARGES – Page 2 SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98119 | IGLITZIN &

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protests, at times, would be intensified by what demonstrators and others saw as excessively-violent police responses.¹ It is within this context that the majority of the alleged conduct described in the Petition took place.

stage for Seattleites to join the national protest movement by the tens of thousands. These

B. Seattle Protests

Between late May and early July, 2020, dozens of protests were organized as a part of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. Declaration of Kshama Sawant (Sawant Dec.), ¶ 5. The wide-spread demonstrations were diverse in their tactics and in the demographics of their participants. *Id.* The majority of Seattle City Councilmembers attended one or more such protests. Declaration of Dmitri Iglitzin (Iglitzin Dec.), Ex. E; *see also* Sawant Dec., ¶ 4. Even Seattle's Mayor Jenny Durkan appeared at one such demonstration on June 2 to address a crowd of hundreds as they pressed her on the city's disputed record of police accountability. Iglitzin Dec., at Exs. C, D.

On many occasions, Sawant attended BLM protests in Seattle. Sawant Dec., ¶¶ 4-6, 8. She attended some such events which took place on public property, others which took place in her district, Seattle City Council District 3, and one of several in Windermere—a neighborhood chosen both for being one of the wealthiest and least racially diverse parts of the city, and as well as for being the location where the Mayor is believed to reside. *Id.* Sawant, among many others, also addressed large crowds at the Seattle Police Department's East Precinct, in the Windermere neighborhood, and at Seattle City Hall. *Id.*

On June 9, 2020, Sawant and a group of other BLM marchers gathered at City Hall. Sawant Dec., ¶ 8. The vast majority of those gathered wore masks and participated in an

¹ A particularly powerful critique of this police overreaction was recently issued by Merrick Bobb, who just resigned after seven years as court-appointed monitor of Justice Department-mandated reform of the Seattle Police

Department because of these concerns, see Declaration of Dmitri Iglitzin (Iglitzin Dec.), at Ex. H.

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approximately hour-long rally, peacefully held inside of the City Hall building. Id. The many speeches offered at the rally, including one given by Sawant, were critical of city leaders' response to incidents of police use of force. City Hall was not closed to the public on the day of the rally and no rules prohibit members of the public from being admitted, as a Councilmember's guests, into the building even outside of City Hall's regular hours of operation. *Id.* ¶ 9.

C. The Petition

On August 18th, 2020, Petitioner filed a Petition for Recall of Elected Officers with the King County Department of Elections. Petition at 1 (found at Dkt 4, Ex A). On September 1, 2020, the King County Prosecuting Attorney's Office filed a Petition to Determine Sufficiency of Recall Charges and Adequacy of Ballot Synopsis with this Court. Dkt. 1.

ARGUMENT AND AUTHORITY

I. It is Petitioner's burden to establish both factual and legal sufficiency.

Under Washington law, public officials may only be recalled for cause. In re Recall of Wasson, 149 Wn.2d 787, 791, 72 P.3d 170 (2003). A recall petition must be factually and legally sufficient in order to satisfy this requirement. Id.; see In re Recall of Sandhaus, 134 Wn.2d 662, 668, 953 P.2d 82 (1998). Sufficiency must be determined from the face of a petition. See Matter of Recall of Inslee, 194 Wn.2d 563, 567, 451 P.3d 305 (2019); Wasson, 149 Wn.2d at 791.

A petition must define "substantial conduct clearly amounting to misfeasance, malfeasance, or a violation of the oath of office," for which the challenged official cannot provide legal justification. Id. at 791-92. To show misfeasance or malfeasance in office, the petitioner must describe "wrongful conduct that affects, interrupts, or interferes with the performance of an official duty." RCW 29A.56.110(1). "Misfeasance" is also defined as "the performance of a duty in an improper manner." RCW 29A.56.110(1)(a). Malfeasance is also defined as the "commission of an unlawful act." RCW 29A.56.110(1)(b). Moreover, where the

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commission of an unlawful act is alleged, "the petitioner must show facts indicating the official had knowledge of and intent to commit an unlawful act." *In re Recall of Lindquist*, 172 Wn.2d 120, 132, 258 P.3d 9 (2011); *Inslee*, 194 Wn.2d at 568 ("Where the charge alleges the official violated the law, the facts must show the official intended to do so.").

The burden is on the petitioner to establish the legal sufficiency of recall charges and to identify the "standard, law, or rule that would make the officer's conduct wrongful, improper, or unlawful." *In re Recall of Bolt*, 177 Wn.2d 168, 174, 298 P.3d 710 (2013) (internal quotes omitted). "When an official is charged with violating the law, the petitioners must have knowledge of facts indicating the official intended to commit an unlawful act." *Sandhaus*, 134 Wn.2d at 668. "Legal sufficiency" means "the charges must state with specificity substantial conduct clearly amounting to misfeasance, malfeasance or violation of the oath of office." *Id*. (internal quotes omitted).

In order to be factually sufficient, facts provided in a recall petition "must establish a prima facie case of misfeasance, malfeasance, or violation of the oath of office." *Wasson*, 149 Wn.2d at 791. Additionally, the facts must "be stated in concise language and provide a detailed description that includes the date, location and nature of each allegation...." *Id.* (citing *Chandler v. Otto*, 103 Wn.2d 268, 693 P.2d 71 (1984)); RCW 29A.56.010. The specificity requirements set forth in RCW 29A.56.110 ensure "that both the public electorate and the challenged elective official will make informed decisions in the recall process," and also that the official who is the subject of the petition can craft a "meaningful public response to the merits" of every charge brought against them. *Herron v. McClanahan*, 28 Wn. App. 552, 559, 625 P.2d 707 (1981).

Courts serve a gatekeeping function in evaluating recall petitions to prevent unsubstantiated, politically motivated and frivolous petitions from reaching voters. *In re Recall*

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recall petition to determine whether they satisfy the criteria for which a petition may be filed. RCW 29A.56.140.

of Kast, 144 Wn.2d 807, 813, 31 P.3d 677 (2001). As such, courts review charges listed in a

- II. Each of the charges fails to facially establish factual and legal sufficiency.
 - A. Charge A is insufficient because it fails to describe any specific hiring decision alleged to have been improper, and because such decisions are inherently discretionary acts that cannot serve as the basis for recall.

Charge A alleges that Sawant relinquished control of hiring and firing to a political organization. Pet. at 3. This charge fails, first, for its utter failure to articulate supporting facts. The Charge makes reference to unspecified "documents," but fails to attach or even identify said documents. "A general reference to sources containing relevant and irrelevant information is insufficient." Wasson, 149 Wn.2d at 792. See also In re Kelley, 185 Wn.2d 158, 170, 369 P.3d 494 (2016) (reference to unidentified news reports and a complete lack of reference to any specific actions by the auditor not sufficient). Moreover, the Petition does not reference any allegedly problematic termination or hiring decision, relying instead on a generalized assertion that Sawant has relinquished authority over staffing decisions. Pet. at 3. This is insufficient. See Sandhaus, 134 Wn.2d at 668 (petition deemed factually insufficient where it failed to identify any specific instances of conduct alleged to have occurred). In a recent decision rejecting a recall petition on the basis of a councilmember's alleged attempts to abscond with a mayor's hiring/firing decisions, the Washington Supreme Court held the petition to be factually deficient because "[n]one of the facts alleged constitute any actual attempt to fire anyone." Matter of Levine, 194 Wn.2d 99, 106, 448 P.3d 764 (2019).

Even if the Charge did identify specific staffing decisions, it would also be factually deficient for its failure to identify facts showing an intent to violate the law. *Bolt*, 177 Wn.2d at

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176 (petition involving allegedly improper termination of employee insufficient for failure to "identify facts that indicate an intent by [the Mayor] to violate the law.").

Moreover, the Charge fails because staffing is an inherently discretionary function, which can only meet the legal sufficiency prong where the charge indicates a clear abuse of discretion. *Inslee*, 194 Wn.2d at 572 (citing *Bolt*, 177 Wn.2d at 174 and *Cole*, 103 Wn.2d at 283). Decisions to terminate staff are legally insufficient as the basis for a recall because "[s]upervising an employee inherently involves a substantial amount of discretion...." *Bolt*, 177 Wn.2d at 175; *see also Matter of Recall of Estey*, 104 Wn.2d 597, 707 P.2d 1338 (1985) (recall charge legally insufficient on grounds that decision to renew an employment contract rested with discretion of officials charged).

In fact, based on exactly this reasoning, the City of Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission (SEEC) has previously concluded that a claim that Sawant misused her position by allegedly allowing Socialist Alternative to influence hiring and firing decisions in her office was meritless. Iglitzin Dec., at Ex. F. Legal sufficiency requires alleged substantial conduct which *clearly* amounts to misfeasance, malfeasance, or violation of the oath of office. *Wasson*, 149 Wn.2d at 791-92. But here, the exact conduct complained of in the petition has been adjudicated to be lawful and within Sawant's discretion as an elected official.

B. Charge B is factually deficient for failing to identify the ballot initiative or specific actions alleged to be unlawful and does not allege conduct that is "clearly" improper.

Charge B neither cites the particular ballot initiative Sawant is alleged to have improperly promoted, nor which of her actions in promoting the initiative Petitioner believes constituted malfeasance or misfeasance. Pet. at 3-4. Petitioner's failure to identify a particular ballot initiative in existence at the time Sawant is alleged to have improperly supported an initiative renders that charge factually insufficient. *Wasson*, 149 Wn.2d at 791.

Charge B is also legally insufficient for failure to identify any basis why Sawant's actions in supporting a yet-to-be created ballot proposition would "clearly" constitute misfeasance, malfeasance, or violation of the oath of office. Id., at 791-92. Sawant assumes that the proposition she stands accused of supporting is the so-called Tax Amazon Initiative No. 130, filed March 19, 2020. Iglitzin Dec., at Ex. I. Yet the Petition alleges that the unspecified acts of support took place in January and February 2020, prior to the date this potentially relevant ballot initiative existed. Pet. at 3-4. While RCW 42.17A.555 prohibits elected officials from using public office facilities "for the promotion of or opposition to any ballot proposition," the term "ballot proposition" is, in turn, defined as a measure, initiative, recall, or referendum "from and after the time when the proposition has been initially filed with the appropriate election officer of that constituency before its circulation for signatures." RCW 42.17A.005(4). Because the Tax Amazon ballot proposition had not yet been filed with the election officer or circulated for signatures as of February, 2020, it would have been impossible for Sawant to have improperly used city resources to support the initiative during the timeframe alleged in the Petition. Any conduct by Sawant in relation to that particular eventual proposition therefore was not conduct that "clearly" amounted to misfeasance, malfeasance, or violation of the oath of office. Chandler, 103 Wn.2d at 275.

Additionally, Petitioner asserts, without explanation, that Sawant should be recalled for violating SMC 4.16.070.B.2 because she used City resources "for other than City purpose." A recall petition must describe *substantial* conduct constituting misfeasance, malfeasance, or a violation of the oath of office. *In re Recall of Burnham*, 194 Wn.2d 68, 81, 448 P.2d 747 (2019); *Bolt*, 177 Wn.2d at 174 ("conduct that is insubstantial is legally insufficient."). Minimal or "de minimus" use of government resources by public officials is legally insufficient for recall. *See*

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Inslee, 194 Wn.2d at 575 (incidental use of public facilities while campaigning in support of a ballot measure found to be de minimus conduct insufficient for recall). Yet the Petition fails to identify *any* specific alleged conduct involving the use of City resources for other than City purposes. This claim, too, must fail.

Finally, while the Charge alleges conclusorily that Sawant violated RCW 42.17A.635, Petitioner has not made any factual allegations regarding any instance where Sawant allegedly engaged in lobbying, such as the dates of such lobbying, the content or nature of the alleged lobbying communications, the location of such alleged lobbying, or the identifies of the public officials she allegedly lobbied. Absent such details, this aspect of the Charge is also plainly deficient.

C. Charge C fails because Sawant did not clearly violate any standard, rule, or law by participating in a BLM rally inside City Hall.

While Petitioner alleges that Sawant violated various proclamations and rules, he does not make allegations with sufficient particularity to shed light on *what* laws or rules he believes Sawant violated, or *how* she violated them. *See* Pet. at 4-5. RCW 29A.56.110 requires that a petition "clearly identify the legal violations and the facts that support those violations" in order to be deemed legally and factually sufficient. *Wasson*, 149 Wn.2d at 792. Without specific reference to the laws, duties, rules, or standards which the Petitioner is alleging Sawant violated, she is unduly denied an ability to offer an informed response to the charges against her. *Herron*, 28 Wn. App. 552. On this basis, Charge C is factually insufficient. *Id*.

Sawant can only speculate that Petitioner's reasoning for the inclusion of Charge C is a belief that Sawant violated the Governor's and Secretary of Health's orders by hosting a large political rally at a time when other kinds of large gatherings had been prohibited. On April 27, the Governor's Proclamation 20-25.2 amended Proclamation 20-05 and prohibited "public and

private gatherings and multi-person activities for social, spiritual and recreational purposes." Iglitzin Dec., at Ex. G.

However, Governor Inslee did not identify political demonstrations as a type of public gathering which he intended to ban. Under the rule of expressio unius est exclusio alterius," "when a statute specifically designates the things or classes of things on which it operates, an inference arises in law that all things or classes of things omitted from it were intentionally omitted by the legislature." State v. Swanson, 116 Wn. App. 67, 75, 65 P.3d 343 (2003). Eliminating any doubt that political demonstrations were not within the scope of the proclamation, on May 30, 2020, just ten days prior to the demonstration at issue here, the Governor stated, with regard to just such a rally, "As people gather today to protest the unjust death of George Floyd, I hope they do so peacefully and safely. Everyone has the freedom - and the right - to demonstrate and speak their mind.... I fully support the right to free speech and peaceful assembly...." Iglitzin Dec., Ex. A. Two days later, the Governor stated that peaceful demonstration "is enshrined in our Constitution; the ability to petition one's government for redress of grievances is actually a constitutional right and we ought to respect that and understand it in that context." Iglitzin Dec., Ex. B. And the Governor's office has never cited the political demonstration at City Hall, nor indeed any of the many other BLM protests taking place across Washington State, as violating the proclamations. The Governor's silence in speaking out against the BLM demonstrations is fully consistent with the notion that the proclamations do not ban political protests.

Moreover, while the Petition suggests that Sawant acted improperly in allowing citizens into City Hall after hours, City councilmembers are free to invite guests to their place of work at any time they choose, with no restrictions on their discretionary decision-making imposed by law

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or otherwise. Sawant Dec., ¶ 9. A recall petition may not be predicated on an official's use of discretion unless it is manifestly unreasonable and an attack on an official's judgment in exercising discretion is not a proper basis for recall. *Bolt*, 177 Wn.2d at 174. Recall petitions are legally insufficient where the alleged conduct at issue involved a public official's exercise of discretion. *See Inslee*, 194 Wn.2d at 572; *Bolt*, 177 Wn.2d at 174; *Cole*, 103 Wn.2d at 283. With the Petitioner having failed to allege violation of any specific rule prohibiting her from doing so, Sawant's involvement in allowing citizens into City Hall after hours was a permissible discretionary decision.

Even if allowing citizens into City Hall *had* been in violation of a rule or law, the Petition would still be factually insufficient because Petitioner is required to demonstrate "not only that the official intended to commit the act, but also that the official intended to act unlawfully." *In re Recall of Pearsall-Stipek*, 141 Wn.2d 756, 765, 10 P.3d 1034 (2000). "Intent to violate the law may be inferred from the circumstances. The inference must not, however, be 'too conjectural." *In re Heiberg*, 171 Wn.2d 771, 778–79, 257 P.3d 565 (2011). Indeed, even an alleged admission of criminal activity does not amount to sufficient context from which to infer unlawful intent. *In re Ackerson*, 143 Wn.2d 366, 20 P.2d 930 (2001). Accordingly, challenges have been dismissed where the Petitioner alleged that an official committed an unlawful act, but failed to include any facts demonstrating the official's "knowledge and intent." *Levine*, 194 Wn.2d at 110 (allegation that official falsified a police report factually insufficient absent evidence of "intent to violate the law or engage in willful criminal conduct").

Here, Petitioner has alleged no facts to support the conclusion that Sawant intended to violate any rule or law, particularly in light of Sawant's knowledge of the regularity with which

guests and citizens were allowed into City Hall, even outside of normal hours. This is yet another reason why this claim is legally and factually insufficient.

D. Charge D has no basis in law and fails to allege underlying facts regarding Sawant's attendance and remarks at a BLM rally.

Charge D does not identify the particular standards, laws, or rules that Sawant ostensibly violated; rather, the Petitioner simply points vaguely at whole sections of the Code and the Municipal Charter, assuming that something will be applicable to the facts he alleges. *See* Pet. at 5-6. On this basis alone, the allegation is insufficient. Charge D is also factually insufficient because it does not describe any specific actions by Sawant. A charge is factually insufficient where it fails to provide sufficient facts to identify the acts which Petitioner is asserting to be a basis for recall, and is therefore facially insufficient. *Jewett v. Hawkins*, 123 Wn.2d 446, 447-48, 868 P.2d 146 (1994). Charge D's allegations that Sawant led a demonstration and encouraged people to do improper or unlawful things and did so "using her official position" is *also* legally insufficient because it contains no allegations from which one could infer that Sawant was acting on June 28 in any capacity other than that of a private citizen. *See* Pet. at 5-6. The allegation that Sawant "possibly" improperly allowed her staff to act in some improper way is equally vague and not supported by any specific factual allegations. *Id.* For these reasons, Charge D is legally insufficient under RCW 29A.56.110. *Wasson*, 149 Wn.2d at 792.

E. Charge E fails to establish prima facie case for misfeasance, malfeasance, or violation of the oath of office.

Charge E asserts that Sawant "[Used] Her Official Position" to lead a march and rally to Mayor Durkan's home, but does not describe how leading a demonstration implicates Sawant's position or any special responsibilities arising therefrom. *See* Pet. at 6-7. These vague assertions fail to meet the requirement to identify why the challenged conduct, if true, constitutes a

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violation of the oath of office, malfeasance, or misfeasance, as set forth in *Wade*, 115 Wn.2d at 548-549.

Malfeasance, as pled by the Petitioner, requires the "commission of an unlawful act." RCW 29A.56.110(1)(b). Under RCW 9A.46, a person is guilty of harassment if, without lawful authority, they threaten another. Taken as true, the facts alleged by Petitioner demonstrate that Sawant was acting with lawful authority—expressing her First-Amendment right to protest on public streets. *See* Pet. at 6-7. Similarly, RCW 9A.76.180 requires that the accused "threaten" the alleged victim. Charge E is devoid of any facts which would establish a prima facie case that Sawant engaged in any kind of threatening behavior. *Wasson*, 149 Wn.2d at 791.

Moreover, Charge E is factually insufficient in that it does not demonstrate that Sawant had intent to commit an unlawful act. *Lindquist*, 172 Wn.2d at 132; *Inslee*, 194 Wn.2d at 568. The Petitioner fails to include any facts to underlie his claim that Sawant *led* the march, as alleged, nor that she knew or revealed Mayor Durkan's address. *See* Pet. at 6-7. In fact, she did not know the Mayor's home address, *Id.*, making clear that Petitioner's allegations are based on nothing more than speculation. *Matter of Ritter*, 194 Wn.2d 85, 93, 448 P.3d 755 (2019) (affirming finding of factual insufficiency where only admissible evidence disproved allegation; "[t]his was not an impermissible weighing of evidence; it was a proper determination that the allegations were speculative.").

F. Charge F lacks any legal or factual basis whatsoever.

The final charge listed in the Petition, Charge F, alleging that Sawant created a "criminal toxic environment" in Capitol Hill, endangered residents and business, and devalued their properties is legally insufficient in that it fails to identify a standard, law, or rule that Sawant's alleged conduct would have violated. *Bolt*, 177 Wn.2d at 174; *Ackerson*, 143 Wn.2d at 377.

III. Even if the Court were to determine that some portion of the petition is legally and factually sufficient, the proposed ballot synopsis is inadequate.

In addition to considering the factual and legal sufficiency of the charges, the trial court reviews "the adequacy of the ballot synopsis" and "correct[s] any ballot synopsis it deems inadequate." RCW 29A.56.140. For the reasons discussed above, the Petition is insufficient and should be dismissed. However, were the Court to conclude that any aspect of the Petition is sufficient to continue with recall proceedings, Sawant respectfully requests 48 hours to submit a proposed alternative ballot for the Court's consideration.

CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons, Councilmember Sawant respectfully requests that this Court dismiss the Petition.

I certify that this memorandum contains 4,154 words, in compliance with the Local Civil Rules.

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED this 11th day of September, 2020.

s/Dmitri Iglitzin
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s/Danielle Franco-Malone
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DECLARATION OF SERVICE

I, Jennifer Woodward, declare under penalty of perjui	ry under the laws of the State of
Washington, that on the date set forth below I served the for	regoing document, in the manner
noted, on the following parties:	

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DATED this 11th day of September, 2020, at Shoreline, Washington.

By: <u>Jennifer Woodward</u>, Paralegal