THE STATE OF ARIZONA

Phoenix, Arizona
August 25, 2022

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Reported By:
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|  | PUBLIC MEETING BEFORE THE CITIZENS CLEAN ELECTIONS |  | 3 |
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| 1 | PUBLIC MEETING, BEFORE THE CITIZENS CLEAN ELECTIONS COMMISSION, convened at 9:30 a.m. on August 25, 2022, at | 1 |  |
| 3 | 1400 West Washington Street, Conference Rooms 1-1102A and B, | 2 |  |
| 4 | in the presence of the following Board members: | 3 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: Good morning. I'm Damien Meyer, |
| 5 | Mr. Damien Meyer, Chairman (virtual) Mr. Mark S. Kimble | 4 | Chair of the Citizens Clean Elections Commission for this |
| 6 | Mr. Steve Titla (virtual) | 5 |  |
| 7 | Ms. Amy Chan | 6 | Agenda Item Number I is call to order. It is |
| 8 | OTHERS PRESENT: | 7 | 9:30 a.m. on August 25th, 2022, and I call this meeting of |
|  | Thomas M. Collins, Executive Director | 8 | the Citizens Clean Elections Commission to order. |
| 9 | Paula Thomas, Executive Officer | 9 | I'd like the -- I'd like to ask the audience |
|  | Mike Becker, Policy Director | 10 | members to please keep their microphones on mute. |
| 10 | Gina Roberts, Voter Education Director Avery Xola, Voter Education Specialist (virtual) | 11 | And with that, we will take attendance. |
| 11 | Alec Shaffer, Web Content Manager (virtual) | 12 | Commissioners, please identify yourselves for the record. |
|  | Kara Karlson, Assistant Attorney General (virtual) | 13 | COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Commissioner Mark Kimble; I'm |
| 12 | Natalya Ter-Grigoryan, Richards and Moskowitz (virtual) | $14$ | present. |
| 13 | Bill Richards, Richards and Moskowitz (virtual) Charles Spies, Dickinson-Wright (virtual) | 15 | COMMISSIONER CHAN: Commissioner Amy Chan; here. |
| 14 | Jessica Brouckaert Bartlett, Dickinson-Wright | 16 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: And then Commissioner -- |
|  | (virtual) | 17 | Commissioners Paton and Titla are not -- not attending |
| 15 | Cathy Herring, KCA | 18 | today, correct, Tom? |
| 16 |  | 19 | MR. COLLINS: That -- |
| 17 |  | 20 | COMMISSIONER TITLA: I'm on the line. |
| 18 |  | 21 | MR. COLLINS: Oh. |
| 20 |  | 22 | COMMISSIONER CHAN: Oh. |
| 21 |  | 23 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: Sorry. |
| 23 |  | 24 | COMMISSIONER TITLA: This is Steve Titla. I'm on |
| 24 |  | 25 | the line. |
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|  | 4 |  | 5 |
| 1 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: Excellent. Okay. Commissioner | 1 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Chan. |
| 2 | Titla is here. | 2 | COMMISSIONER CHAN: Aye. |
| 3 | Is Commissioner Paton on the phone? | 3 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Kimble. |
| 4 | MS. THOMAS: No. | 4 | COMMISSIONER KIMbLE: Aye. |
| 5 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. So just to clean up that | 5 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: And Commissioner Meyer, and I vote |
| 6 | record, we have four of us are present: Commissioners Chan, | 6 | aye as well. |
| 7 | Kimble, Titla, and then me, Damien Meyer. | 7 | So the minutes have been approved unanimously. |
| 8 | Second item on the agenda is discussion and | 8 | Next we'll move right along to Item Number III on |
| 9 | possible action on minutes for the July 28,2022 , meeting. | 9 | the agenda, discussion and possible action on Executive |
| 10 | Does anyone have any comments or correction to the | 10 | Director's report, enforcement and regulatory updates, and |
| 11 | minutes? | 11 | legislative updates. |
| 12 | COMMISSIONER CHAN: Mr. Chairman? | 12 | Tom, please -- the floor is yours, please let us |
| 13 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: Yes, Commissioner Chan. | 13 | know what's happening. |
| 14 | COMMISSIONER CHAN: I move that we approve the | 14 | MR. COLLINS: Okay. Thank you. |
| 15 | minutes as written. | 15 | Mr. Chairman, Commissioners, thanks for being here, |
| 16 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: We have a motion to approve. Is | 16 | all of you. We have obviously Commissioner Chan and |
| 17 | there a second? | 17 | Commissioner Kimble here in our -- in this hearing room, |
| 18 | COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: This is a Commissioner | 18 | which is great. First time we've all been here for this |
| 19 | Kimble, I second. | 19 | since I think 2020, February, something like that. So |
| 20 | CHAIRMAN MEYER: We have a motion to approve the | 20 | that's pretty cool. |
| 21 | minutes. I'm going to -- we'll vote on that. I'm going to | 21 | The -- so just to go through the Executive |
| 22 | call the roll. | 22 | Director's report then. We have -- the primary election was |
| 23 | I'll start with Commissioner Titla, how do you | 23 | canvassed on the 22nd; the turnout was 34.92 percent, which |
| 24 | vote? | 24 | is pretty high for a primary I think. Right? |
| 25 | COMMISSIONER TITLA: Aye. | 25 | Yeah. |
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Is that record high? That is a record high for a midterm primary, so that was exciting.

And we'll be coming in in the next, you know, few weeks on the voter registration deadline on early voting for the general election.

Our legislative debates kick off this week and our statewide debates will begin in September. We have a schedule posted online.

You know, a couple of things we're working on there. Friday we have a deadline for some candidates to RSVP to us for the debate. So we will be hoping to hear from them. That will give us some sense of where we are on the statewide debates.

One issue we do want to -- we do want to kind of note briefly is, you know, we're working on -- been looking at the issue of scheduling, and in working through the schedule we did end up, our gubernatorial debate is currently scheduled to be on Yom Kippur. Now, we have had a discussion internally with our -- the folks we've been working with at PBS, the broadcast association, newspapers association. We -- the debate itself is going to begin right around sundown and then there's a lot more rebroadcasting and streaming opportunities and online opportunities than there have been in the past. So as -- as of this point we have not -- we're not going to -- we're Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
visit, they're the -- in what we used to think of as the DEQ, I think they now call the Natural Resources Building. It's 1110 West Washington.

And I've been in there pretty much, I don't know,
three -- three days a week for the last few weeks and it's been -- it's been great. It's a -- it's a nice facility; it really is.

You can see the candidates -- Clean candidates who have moved on to the general election there and as well as the participating candidate numbers, and we've begun the auditing.

Couple of quick other notes, so -- and -- and I don't mean to go on so long, but we are still waiting as of this -- so as noted there, this Legacy Foundation Action Fund case which is an enforcement matter that has been around since 2014, is now at the State Supreme Court. They had a conference on the 23 rd , the results of that conference have not entirely been published as of an hour ago, and I haven't gotten a chance to go back.

So we don't know if -- that -- that is Legacy Foundation's petition for review and we filed a response back in May; and so, you know, this week happens to be the State Supreme Court's very long agenda, they come back from the summer break, they do rules, they do a ton of motions; the petitions calendar is very long, so taking a couple days
not -- at this point we're not moving -- we have not moved the date.

However, you know, obviously there's some considerations there and I want to make sure that you all are aware of where we are on that today.

And we can return to that as well if anybody wants to talk about it, you know, as part of this report.

You know, we have -- as you can see, Avery and Gina have been continuing to do a lot of outreach activities, you know, and I think that -- you know, I just want to say that, you know, with -- with the debates, the voter education guide, I should have noted was -- we are finalizing, you know, Avery and Gina and Alec, and -- and Mike and Paula have all been really -- been very busy and -- and -- but continuing to be accessible to people around the state when they have questions and when they are -- need information on voting and the like.

So, you know, but it -- this is -- you know, basically June and August are kind of crunch time for -- for our work, which is a little bit different than maybe the rest of the election community, but certainly it's a busy time of year.

We are -- Mike Hollar (phonetic) is continuing to work on our -- getting us installed in our new offices which are down the street from here. If anybody ever wants to Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
to get that out is not that -- it's not extremely
extraordinary. But if we find out in the course of this meeting, I -- we'll -- we'll let you know.

We did have a story in the Republic recently I think many of you ended up quoted on -- I think all of you ended up quoted on regarding the appointment process for the Commission.

We are -- the ballot initiatives we know now -- now know that it appears that the Voters Rights of No Initiative will be on the ballot; the Predatory Debt Collection Protection Act I believe will be on the ballot; I think there's still not clear -- there's still court action remaining on the Arizonans For Free and Fair Elections. Then I think that's kind of it.

And the regulatory agenda -305 and -306 are on this agenda for public -- for potentially initiate public comment.

So I think that kind of covers it.
Gina, Mike, Paula, is there anything else we want to make sure we...

MS. THOMAS: I think we're good.
MR. COLLINS: Kara, anything else we need to...
MS. KARLSON: Not for me, Tom.
MR. COLLINS: Okay.
Well, Commissioner Chairman, I would -- if you all
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have any questions, that sort of completes our report.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Thank you.
Tom, I had a question on the primary turnout. I
know that was a record high, it's still sort of
disappointing to see only, you know, essentially a third of registered voters vote in that primary.

Do we know, do Clean candidates tend to do well in their elections? Have we ever looked at that, like, what their percent -- record percentage is?

MR. COLLINS: Sure. Mr. Chairman, Commissioners, you know, in this particular election we had Clean candidates for, you know, one of the -- I mean, one of the first times I think in recent past beat either incumbents or sort of what you might call -- or officeholders moving from the House to the Senate and the Senate to the House in a primary. That is something that I think relates to in part the tactical decisions that those candidates are making. Really -- really that's the main driver of this, right?

So the candidates who are running successful campaigns in the public financing program in a primary, they're tending to use tactics that are focused I think -- I say this anecdotally -- that are more focused on grassroots canvassing perhaps than, you know, sort of the mailer-driven campaigns that might be more -- more popular with some incumbents or -- essentially incumbent legislators.

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that that may promote more people to run. So I think that could be useful information.

Then the other question I had on the primary turnout was, we do a ton of education, voter education work, and one of the things that we did this year that I observed and tried to Retweet and promote was, you know, letting those Independent voters know that they can vote in a primary if they request the ballot.

Do we know of the, you know, approximately 1.5 million voters, do we know how many of them were Independents and what our percentage of Independent registered voters were?

And this might be more available on the Recorder's Office, I was just curious to see if that's something we've looked at to see how effective our education piece on that is.

MR. COLLINS: Sure. Mr. Chairman, I think I would kind of refer to Gina, if...

MS. THOMAS: One moment.
MS. ROBERTS: Where?
MS. THOMAS: To the right of Commissioner Chan.
MS. ROBERTS: Oh, okay.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: If we don't have this, I mean it's fine to sort of put this on next month's meeting agenda. I just think it's interesting for us to know internally some Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

So we don't -- I don't think we have a precise number. I could do -- we could do a -- I think we could do a run through on -- on that; but I will say that it is -- it is -- the -- the conventional wisdom about the public financing program is that it does not provide sufficient funding to allow a person who is an outsider essentially to take on an incumbent who has that fundraising advantage and that -- and in so doing, you know, diminishes the -obviously the anticorruption impact of the -- of the program.

This session -- this election, this primary season, especially on the Democratic side, that proved to be not a rule and I -- and so I think that that may allow for some review there.

So we have a little bit of data I guess -- so to directly answer your question, we have a little bit of data from this election. That data looks different than what we've seen in the past, but we could do I think a -- you know, a more -- a broader look at that over time.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: 'Cause I think that can be useful data as a way to -- I mean, as an education piece for candidates; and maybe, you know, people who may want to run for office that think I can't, you know, raise the money to do it and I can't win if I run Clean. If they see, you know, that Clean candidates are doing well and fair well, Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
of this stuff.
MS. ROBERTS: Sure. Mr. Chairman, Commissioners, I
don't know the numbers for the full state, but I can tell you for Maricopa County Independent voter turnout was about 14 percent, which is about average. So that --

CHAIRMAN MEYER: It is average. Okay.
MS. ROBERTS: Yes. It is on -- on par.
And, again, Independent voters, you know, they are right up there as part of one of our main voting blocs in terms of numbers of registered voters. But, again, I don't have that total statewide, we do have to take a look at each county and look at the number of partisan ballots that were requested by Independents; but for Maricopa County, it was about 14 percent.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Thank you.
Any of the other Commissioners have questions?
COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Mr. Chairman?
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Kimble.
COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: To that last point, I -- I was going to bring that up, too.

I worked as a poll worker in the election, and from my experience there and from numerous letters to the editor I've read in -- in various publications, there's still so much confusion about Independents.

At the poll I was working I had, I don't know, more Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Chan, you had... Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
that. Because the context, of course, was the point of the article which is that we're all serving expired terms, and I think all of us would not be here if -- if we didn't believe in the service that we are, you know, participating in and believe in the mission of this Commission.

And I -- I just wanted to make sure that you all know, because I care what you think, I don't want anybody here to think that I simply view this as a burden.

I think we all recognize that, you know, having a meeting once a month isn't a huge burden, but -- it is. I mean, it's -- it's a time commitment. And, frankly, in that context, I -- I appreciate seeing you all here today, but I think in the future I would -- with all due respect to Commissioner Kimble, I really appreciate being able to participate virtually. I think it helps, particularly considering the fact that we all have expired terms and -and have lives to conduct outside of this office.

So I just wanted to make it clear that the Clean Elections Commission's work and mission is still of upmost importance to me on a personal and a professional level, and I just didn't want any confusion about what my quote might have meant for anyone here. And if anybody has questions about that, please feel free to ask me.

So, thank you.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Thank you, Commissioner Chan. Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

COMMISSIONER CHAN: Oh. Yes.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: I think you were --
COMMISSIONER CHAN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I was waiting to see if you were going to say something --

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay.
COMMISSIONER CHAN: -- and I didn't realize I was
up.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: I -- I appreciate
Commissioner Kimble's comments. I think it makes sense, of course.

COMMISSIONER CHAN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
I -- I agree. I think probably if possible it
would be wise to try to reschedule that if at all possible.
And as Commissioner Kimble alluded to, I'm not certain what the complexities might be, but maybe Tom can work on that with -- I know he's got a lot with all of the debates.

MR. COLLINS: No, I...
COMMISSIONER CHAN: Okay. I -- I wanted to just make a couple of comments -- well, maybe just one.

The Republic article featuring quotes from all of us. I just wanted to clarify because my quote was -- it was -- I -- what I stated in the article which was reflected was -- that this was a burden. And I -- I just wanted to make clear to the Commissioners and the staff and the public that there was context to that and there's some nuance to Miller Certified Reporting, LLC want to -- Commissioner Chan, I -- I understand why you wanted to make those comments. I know -- I certainly don't doubt your commitment to this Commission. So -- so I appreciate you saying that --

COMMISSIONER CHAN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. CHAIRMAN MEYER: -- and thank you.

Okay. Tom, do you have any follow-up information after any of the questions or comments from the Commissioners or are you ready to move on to the next agenda item?

## MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, thanks. I mean I

 suppose I should just say, we -- you know, we don't have the debate set up as an action item, but I -- we can take -- you know, we take the comments of the Commissioners, you know, with seriousness and we'll -- you know, we'll be looking at that. We will -- as I mentioned, we'll have the RSVP for some of these on Friday, so that will give a little better sense of where we are and we'll try -- we'll try to mitigate Miller Certified Reporting, LLCthat the best we can.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Great.
Okay. So we'll move on to Agenda Item Number IV, which is discussion and possible action on MUR 2022-01, Freedom's Future Fund.

COMMISSIONER CHAN: Mr. Chair?
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Yes, Commissioner Chan.
COMMISSIONER CHAN: If I could just ask a quick question about this item.

My understanding is that this involves the Governor's race, and in my other job for items that involve the Governor's race because of the fact that the person that I ultimately work for is running for Governor, our office over there has not been -- has been referring these matters out. And so I just wanted to bring that up because I think -- even though I know I could be impartial, I just would like to, out of abundance of caution, avoid any appearance of impropriety or potential conflict of interest.

And so I wanted to throw that out there, I was thinking I should recuse myself from considering this matter.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Sure. Thank you, Commissioner Chan. And I -- and I think that was already my understanding going in, 'cause we have talked about those issues and I certainly understand why you're taking that Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

And, you know, by -- by way of introduction I want to -- you know, this concerns some advertisements that were run in the -- throughout the spring -- well, the winter, spring, and summer.

I want to first make a quick record of, as you can see in the recommendation there are two parts, there is a part one which deals with the expressed advocacy question and a part two that deals with reporting. Part two deals with two different kinds of reports, it deals with reports under 16-941(B) and 16-958, and reports under 16-926.

For purposes of, you know, today based on, you know, representations that Ms. Bartlett has made to me about other expenditures -- or I shouldn't say "expenditures," other spending that Freedom's Future Fund has made, I'm not going to ask at this time -- or to move forward on reason to believe on the -926 primary purpose part of this recommendation.

So I just wanted to say that up front because it's something that I think is important and I wanted to make sure you all know that, you know, if -- if that, you know, changes or what have you, we'll come back to it. But at this point, you know, we have some representations from -from Freedom's Future Fund regarding their purpose and their spending that make me -- that I want to make clear I am not asking for -- for there to be any determination on reason to Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
position.
So thank you for those comments, but -- so moving forward with that, Tom, we have a reason to believe recommendation from you in your capacity as our Executive Director on this matter; Commissioner Chan is not going to be participating, but we do have three other Commission members here so we still have a quorum; and I'd like, Tom, for you to introduce the item, give us an overview, and then, you know, of course if we have questions, we'll let you know.

And then I also see Mr. Spirs -- or, I'm sorry, is it Spies -- Spees (phonetic)?

MR. SPIES: Spees (phonetic), but close enough.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Thank you. I apologize,
Mr. Spies. And Ms. -- Ms. -- is Ms. Bartlett on the line?
MR. SPIES: She is in the office with me, but I'll be speaking.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay, and they are the attorneys for the Freedom's Future Fund; some of Mr. Spies' correspondence is in our packet.

So that was sort of kind of the order we take these items in.

So we're going to start with Tom. So, Tom, the floor is yours. Please go ahead.

MR. COLLINS: Thank you, Mr. Chair. Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
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believe about the primary purpose of Freedom's Future Fund today.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: And, Tom, just so make sure we're on the same page. When you say "primary purpose," you're talking about the organization, Freedom's Future Fund, in and of itself, and we are not talking about the primary purpose of the ad.

MR. COLLINS: Correct.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: We're talking about the organization, correct?

MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, that is correct. CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. Thank you.
MR. COLLINS: So this would be -- so on this would be part two of part two of the memo essentially, 16-926 and the primary purpose analysis, we're not asking to make a determination on reason to believe today.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: 'Kay.
MR. COLLINS: And Mr. Spies may have further record
he wants to make on that, I'm not purporting to foreclose that. It's just -- it's just my agreement with -- with them, I think.

So, if you all have had the opportunity to review the memo, you know, our -- the issue here is, you know, principally focused on advertisements that identify Kari Lake -- although not per se as a candidate for Governor, Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
before you today.
Before I go into why we disagree with that, I want to let you know how much -- how professional your staff has been to deal with. So they've done a good job and have been professional and responsive throughout this; and if you make a decision that I will disagree with and find reason to believe, we nonetheless will continue to work with them in a conciliation process. So please don't take the strenuous nature of the argument I'm about to make as anything disrespectful to the Commission or your staff because they have been, you know, very good to deal with.

That said, we strongly disagree with the recommendation regarding express advocacy.

A little bit of background here is that Freedom's Future Fund is a non-stock, non-for-profit corporation, domestic in Delaware. Our focus is on -- the group's focus is on public policy advocacy on a variety of conservative policies focused on the West. It has primarily focused on border security and on Second Amendment rights. And I would note that this calendar year alone, they've spent over $\$ 600,000$ on policy -- pure policy advocacy that did not mention candidates at all. So could not -- you know, it isn't even open for contention for express advocacy; it's just pure policy work and no candidates mentioned.

So we believe it clearly has a primary purpose of Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
although we think that it's established, you know, by the case law and -- and as it works out, that Kari Lake was a clearly identified candidate for Governor in the advertisements; that the advertisements are express advocacy
because when objectively evaluated as a whole, the
advertisements we -- the advertisement we reviewed, which is
in the materials at the YouTube link, and the evidence of other advertisements that we were able to glean from the FCC
filings, together creates -- allows us to determine that there is reason to believe a violation may have occurred here.

The violation is that if you have an express advocacy piece of literature/advertising, and you -- under 16-941(B) and 16-958, once that spending reaches a threshold with regard to a particular candidate, a filing is due, and those filings have not been made.

You know, we've looked, reviewed the case law here.
Primarily the Committee for Fairness and Justice, which is a 2014 Arizona Court of Appeals case concerning similar facts; and then a case called Furgatch v. Federal Election Commission, which is a 1987 -- or ' 86 -- Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals case that concerned the constitutional application of a -- of the federal election campaign -campaign act.

And the language, the test that Furgatch Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
articulates, at least in our -- our view, is -- is the test that's in Arizona statute and the test that's applied in Committee for Fairness and Justice. And essentially that means you have a -- does that advertisement have meaning such that no reasonable person could differ that its -- that its purpose was to advocate for or against -- for the defeat of or in favor of the election of a candidate, a clearly identified candidate.

That's sort of the summary of -- of our position.
Obviously, you know, because Mr. Spies is here, we -- you know, I -- and then we -- you know, I -- I think that would -- that's all I have at this point unless the Commission has questions of me.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Any Commissioners have any questions at this point?
'Kay. Let's go ahead and I'll turn this over to Mr. Spies.

MR. SPIES: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to the Commission for the opportunity to speak today.

As noted, I'm Charlie Spies. My colleague Jessica Bartlett is here in the office with me; and I also appreciate the assistance of my colleagues from our Phoenix office on the Arizona statutory interpretation points.

We represent Freedom's Future Fund and vigorously disagree with the reason to believe recommendation that's Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
social welfare, and that the advertisements run in Arizona and being contested here are consistent with that purpose of educating people in the West especially, about the importance of border security policies.

I would note that the ads in question here highlighted Kari Lake's position on a variety of issues including amnesty, border security, and gun control. Each one of the advertisements run by the organization had a call to action in it, which directed the viewer to contact Kari Lake directly regarding her position on these issues; and the purpose was to persuade her to take a stronger position, especially on border security issues where she in the past was very supportive of -- of then-President Obama and Vice President Biden's policies on amnesty and what President Trump described as open borders. And we have been trying to push Candidate Lake and broad -- and Public Figure Lake to adopt stronger positions towards the border.

Some of these ads may have won her support among the supporters. You know when we educate the public on her positions on border security, that may help her in terms of some moderate voters who like the Biden-Obama policies, and when they learn that she was supportive of them, that might actually help her; and it might hurt her with some of the more harder line Trump supporters when they realized that she was not aligned with their policies.

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distinguished in terms of the content of the ads.
In CJF what you had was a call to action that said:
"Tell Superintendent Horne to protect children, not people who harm them." And the ad claimed that when Horne was in the state legislature, he voted against tougher penalties for statutory rape; and when he was on the Board of Education, he voted to allow back into the classroom a teacher who was caught by students looking at child pornography on a school computer.

That case was a clear mudslinging attack on a candidate, which illuminated the uncontroversial issue, which I hope and believe that the general public all agrees, protecting children from sexual predators is important. There weren't two sides to the issue and it wasn't really a policy issue, it was just a character attack on the candidate.

Unlike that ad in CJF, our client's ad educates the public on the hot-button issues of gun control and border security and whose public policy solutions are better, and urges people to urge Kari Lake to support a more strict position on border security.

Some people may agree, some people may disagree, but that was the focus and it's very different than the CJF example.

Then CJF in the Arizona cases are -- are both
Miller Certified Reporting, LLC candidate."
educated by and constrained by the Ninth second -- Ninth Circuit's Furgatch opinion. And as a reminder, under the Furgatch -- the Furgatch standard "speech, quote, when read as a whole and with limited references to external events must be susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but an as exhortation to vote for or against a specific

That's what Furgatch says and that's at page 864.
And the Court writes the component to that standard into three different parts. It talks about, first of all, even if it is not presented in the clearest, most explicit language, speech is expressed for present purposes if its message is unmistakable and unambiguous, suggestive of only one plausible reading.

Second they say: "Speech must only be termed advocacy if it presents a clear plea for action, and thus speech that is merely informative is not covered."

And the third factor is "it must be clear what action is advocated. Speech cannot be express advocacy of the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate when reasonable minds could differ as to whether it encourages a vote for or against a candidate or encourages the voter to take some other kind of action."

And that -- I'm reading that language from 864 of

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Ninth Circuit, all of which extends beyond Arizona. So I would respectfully say no.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Well, would you agree with me that someone who lives in Arizona and watches -- for example, watches this YouTube ad -- that I would like to play if we could at the Commission meeting. I -- I can play it on my screen if -- I don't know if we can play it there.

But would you agree with me that someone who lives in Arizona may view this ad and have a different interpretation of it than you who lives in Washington, D.C.?

It may impact them much differently as a resident of Arizona than it does someone who lives in D.C.?

MR. SPIES: Mr. Chairman, I -- absolutely; but I would also respectfully say that that proves my point, which is that different viewers -- when you're talking about policy advocacy ads, they may be good to some people, bad to other people and they may see them through different lenses, and that can't be the constitutional standard for express advocacy.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. And I guess, you know, I -I read in one of your letters -- and maybe this is on the -a different issue of public figure/public official. And are we going to get into that later or we going to get into that -- is that on the table presently?

MR. SPIES: On the table presently.
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much appreciated, your compliments to our staff, your, you know, ability to see that reasonable minds can disagree on something, I appreciate that.

I do have a couple of questions for you and then I'll turn it over to my fellow Commissioners as well.

And can I ask, Mr. Spies, are you lead counsel on this matter for the -- for the Freedom's Future Fund? You're the principal?

MR. SPIES: Yes, sir.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. And then is there any counsel in Arizona that's helping you with this at the Dickinson-Wright office?

MR. SPIES: Yes.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. So where -- where do you live, sir?

MR. SPIES: Washington, D.C.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: And -- and do you think the fact you live in Washington, D.C., does that impact your ability to determine whether or not an ad like this in Arizona may or may not be, you know, express advocacy?

MR. SPIES: I would respectfully say no because this is dealing with cons- -- U.S. constitutional principles; and, you know, in my time working at the Federal Election Commission, we were dealing with these nationally and you've got Buckley $v$. Valeo federal standards and the Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. So I think in one of the letters it states that you're viewing Ms. Lake as a TV journalist and -- and not as a -- as a candidate. I guess to me that strains credibility. She hasn't been on the news for several years, two or three years to my knowledge, and she has been running for Governor here in the state of Arizona -- and every native Arizonan knows that -- for at least two years.

So I guess what is -- I guess, what is the basis to argue that this ad is to try to influence a TV journalist and not a candidate?

MR. SPIES: Mr. Chairman, I think your comment is fair. That's probably right that people now view her as a candidate, but in terms of the legal analyst -- and this is why I didn't focus on that argument -- it's not really relevant. The point is that she's an influential public future who at least in the past has been wrong on border security issues, and my client would like to push her to take a stronger position.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Well, when you say she's been wrong on border security issues, I think you mean she's taken a position that your organization, Freedom's Future Fund, disagrees with.

MR. SPIES: Absolutely.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay.
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COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Mr. Chairman? Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

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Commission has in front of you today and determining whether the advertisement is express advocacy, that does not depend on the status of the person that is mentioned in the advertisement, it depends on the communication in the advertisement. And, again, the question you have in front of you is respectfully to determine: Is there any reasonable alternative reason that Freedom's Future Fund might have been running advertisements than to promote or oppose a candidate?

And even if you watch the ad and you want to -- you have a different takeaway from it, I would urge you to look at the -- in your packet is the exact script and language of the advertisement that just ran and the closing line of the advertisement, which is "Contact Kari Lake and tell her its time to secure our border"; and that is with contact information on the screen.

So if that is a plausible or reasonable interpretation, than this cannot be considered to be express advocacy under the constitutional construction -restrictions thrown out in Furgatch.

COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: I -- I understand that and I don't know that I -- I'm straining to see if there's another plausible explanation other than the fact she's running for Governor or another reasonable explanation other than the fact she's running for Governor, and -- and at this point Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Mr. Kimble.
COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Mr. Spies, Chairman Meyers
(verbatim) hit on a point that -- that I was -- that I was going to make. It seems like your main point that you're making is that she's not a candidate -- or she is a candidate, but that's not what you're -- you're involved with, you're -- you're delivering this information because she's a widely known public figure who has the ability to influence policy outcomes and who just happens to be a candidate.

And I'm wondering if you can tell me, first of all, am I accurate in my understanding of your position; and, second of all, how many other campaigns -- television campaigns have you undertaken nationwide against former television journalists who have not been on the air as television journalists for several years, just to say these people are giving you bad information as television journalists several years ago?

MR. SPIES: So thank you for the question because I think it's important to clarify that one component of the arguments we made in our rather lengthy responses was that we are trying to influence her positions on issues and even before she ran for office she was an influential public figure, and so that's where that fits into the argument.

However, in terms of the legal decision the Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

I'm not sure I see one. Journalist Lake." than to vote for or vote against her? not express advocacy. on the line.
say "vote against Kari Lake," it seems clear from the context of the entire ad, not just the tag line about contact her at this website, that -- that the intent is -is directed at as you once -- as you called her during your presentation "Candidate Lake," not "Former Television

MR. SPIES: May I respectfully just note that the question before the Commission is not what the intent of the advertisement was, because that would force you to then look into the minds of different people engaging in free speech in the state. So intent is not the issue. The issue is: Can the content of the advertisement be reasonably interpreted to have any plausible reas- -- meaning other

And, you know, that if plausibly this could be considered to try to persuade her to take a harder line on border issues -- which, in fact, is what it's doing -- then even if you think there's a better explanation, it's still

COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Okay. Thank you, Mr. Spies.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Chan and then also I don't want to forget about Commissioner Titla who is on --

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\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & 38 & & 39 \\
\hline 1 & But, Commissioner Chan, do you have any questions & 1 & expressed advocacy for Kari Lake? \\
\hline 2 & for Mr. Spies? & 2 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: That's correct -- or, actually, I \\
\hline 3 & COMMISSIONER CHAN: Mr. Chairman, I'm not & 3 & think it would be expressed advocacy against Kari Lake I \\
\hline 4 & participating. & 4 & think is -- is \\
\hline 5 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Oh. I'm sorry. Forgive me. & 5 & But go ahead. \\
\hline 6 & COMMISSIONER CHAN: That's all right. & 6 & COMMISSIONER TITLA: What they're saying? \\
\hline 7 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Titla -- & 7 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: I'll let Mr. Spies state their \\
\hline 8 & COMMISSIONER CHAN: Thank you for your & 8 & position. \\
\hline 9 & consideration. & 9 & My understanding is that Mr. Spies is arguing, \\
\hline 10 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Yes. & 10 & quite well in my opinion, that this ad does not constitute \\
\hline 11 & Commissioner Titla, do you have any questions for & 11 & express advocacy regarding Ms. Lake. \\
\hline 12 & Mr. Spies? & 12 & But Mr. Spies, I'll let you answer \\
\hline 13 & COMMISSIONER TITLA: Yeah. I -- I just got on -- I & 13 & Commissioner Titla's question. \\
\hline 14 & was on the phone and I just got on the Zoom now, and is it & 14 & MR. SPIES: Yes. Commissioner, thank you for \\
\hline 15 & possible to replay this -- this ad so I can see it? & 15 & taking the time to view it mult--- you know, and look at \\
\hline 16 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: I think we can manage that. & 16 & it, but to be clear, yes, Freedom's Future Fund believed \\
\hline 17 & COMMISSIONER TITLA: Okay. Thank you. & 17 & that this is an advertisement our position is to push Kari \\
\hline 18 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Can we please replay the ad? & 18 & Lake to take a stronger position on border security issues. \\
\hline 19 & MS. THOMAS: Yes. One moment. & 19 & And I should also note, I don't think I've \\
\hline 20 & (Whereupon the ad was played.) & 20 & mentioned, that Freedom's Future Fund has spent six figures \\
\hline 21 & & 21 & on advertisements on border security that do not mention any \\
\hline 22 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Titla? & 22 & candidates at all. So -- that was in July of this year. So \\
\hline 23 & COMMISSIONER TITLA: Yeah, thank you. Yeah, I saw & 23 & this is consistent with the policy advocacy purpose of the \\
\hline 24 & the ad. & 24 & organization to encourage strong border security policies. \\
\hline 25 & So Freedom's Future is saying that this is not Miller Certified Reporting, LLC & 25 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: But Mr. Spies, doesn't that -Miller Certified Reporting, LLC \\
\hline & 40 & & 41 \\
\hline & doesn't that fact almost work against you here? Because, & 1 & of all, if I said 6 million then I apologize, I meant to say \\
\hline 2 & you know, it sounds to me -- is \$6 million the majority of & 2 & \(x\) figures, so. \\
\hline 3 & the spending on border issues? & 3 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Oh. You did say six figures. I \\
\hline 4 & You know, you just say you spent \$6 million on & 4 & think I -- that's my fault. \\
\hline 5 & ads -- & 5 & MR. SPIES: Sadly we don't, the group doesn't have \\
\hline 6 & MR. SPIES: I -- I -- & 6 & 6 million to spend, but... \\
\hline 7 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: -- that don't mention candidates, & 7 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Nor do I, Mr. Spies, so. So go \\
\hline 8 & which obviously would not be expressed advocacy against a & 8 & ahead. \\
\hline 9 & candidate or pro or -- pro or against a candidate because & 9 & MR. SPIES: But to -- to ask your -- to answer your \\
\hline & there's no candidates mentioned, but the ad we're looking at & 10 & question about why that's relevant or does that cut against \\
\hline 11 & is obviously distinguished because it's -- it does mention a & 11 & us, I think it goes to the policy advocacy purpose of the \\
\hline 12 & candidate. And not only does it mention that candidate, & 12 & organization. \\
\hline & it -- it provides facts that are -- have nothing to do with & 13 & And, remember, the standard you as Commissioners \\
\hline 14 & border security. & 14 & are voting on today is, is it rea- -- is there a reasonable \\
\hline 15 & For example, how does pointing out that Ms. Lake & 15 & interpretation of the advertisement that it is meant to \\
\hline 16 & donated money to Obama and did not donate to former & 16 & advocate for stronger border security policies and to push \\
\hline 17 & President Trump, how does that fact attempt to influence & 17 & Kari Lake to take stronger border security policies. \\
\hline 18 & someone on border measures? & 18 & So, again, that doesn't have to be the best \\
\hline 19 & To me I look at that and that's just a play -- & 19 & interpretation, you may not even agree with that \\
\hline 20 & that's just an advertisement to try to portray her in a & 20 & interpretation, your only question is: Is that a reasonable \\
\hline 21 & negative light and -- for the Republican party and to impact & 21 & interpretation? And if it is, then under Furgatch this \\
\hline 22 & her candidacy, and I don't see another way -- another & 22 & cannot be considered to be express advocacy. \\
\hline 23 & reasonable way to view that. But that's how I see it right & 23 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. Do any other Commissioners \\
\hline 24 & now. & 24 & have any further questions for Mr. Spies? \\
\hline 25 & MR. SPIES: A couple points, Mr. Chairman. First Miller Certified Reporting, LLC & 25 & Okay. Hearing none, Tom, do you have any Miller Certified Reporting, LLC \\
\hline
\end{tabular} child pornography back in; and then the advertisement urged Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
not be effective in the general. I think that the timing matters in that respect here and, again, confirms that, you know, taken together with the statute, the case law, the advertising language, this analysis that, you know, that -you know, reasonable had to include the circumstances, it is limited, and it's looking at outside events.

I would note and, you know, Mr. Spies brought up, that this -- rather than directing you to contact Kari Lake directly as the -- as the CJF did with then-Superintendent Horne, this one actually urges you to go to KariLakefacts.com, which is not affiliated with Kari Lake but is, in fact, another website, a website that belongs to Freedom's Future Fund, where you receive information that reiterates essentially the message of the advertisement.

So the call to action rather than in the case of CJF where it was "call Mr. Horne" who was then in office where there was a plausible argument, at least plausible -there was a plausible argument which is not up to the court, but a plausible argument that that urged him to take action he presently might take, this calls action in contract, specifically calls on you to go to a website belonging to Freedom's Futures -- Freedom's Future Fund for the purpose of receiving more information about Kari Lake.

So I think taken together, the test is one of reasonableness. I -- I don't think that -- I think

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people to tell the superintendent to protect children, not people who harmed them, displayed photographs of the candidate, and then provided his office number, telephone number as superintendent of public instruction.

I think that that advertisement here is -- is -is -- the advertisement that we've looked at here today is -- is all but identical. I think -- and I do think that, you know, and that there is therefore under the case law and -- and our analysis, there's no reasonable alternative meaning.

It's not -- you know, occasionally we've heard go back and forth between "plausible" and "reasonable." The test is really "reasonable." And so you take the language, the images together, I think that specific language that I think that are -- that I think that is indicative and, in fact, confirms that this is not subject to any reasonable alternative is the languages -- is the language "How can we trust Kari Lake?"

The context here is instructive and limited. But trust Kari Lake to do what? And the answer has to be to be a nominee for Governor. It tips -- the entire language does, but I think that's an example of something that just confirms that that's the correct analysis.

Additionally the timing. This had to be done in the primary because this kind of advertisement would simply Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

1 therefore that when, you know, credulity is a strained to the point of unreasonableness, that we know that this is express advocacy. I think case law, CJF and Furgatch, both confirm that.

For those reasons we would ask with respect to the 16-941(B) and 16-958, that the Commission find that there's reason to believe a violation may have occurred for failure to file those independent expenditure reports.

That's all I have unless Commissioners have questions.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Thank you, Tom.
I guess I just have a comment to let kind of folks know where I'm at, and that is, you know, I look at this ad, and Mr. Spies has done an excellent job of setting forth the case law and argument, but I -- I look at this ad and I see this as an ad that is -- is express advocacy; and then this last comment, you know, in the last three seconds of the ad is sort of an effort -- you know, "contact Kari Lake." I think that's an effort to try to end run around this express advocacy, you know, requirement that we have, threshold that we have; and that -- it just -- that's -- that's an effort to end run that statute and it just -- it doesn't work. This is -- my initial impressions and we'll look at more of this 'cause this is just a reason to believe, that this is an express advocacy ad.

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\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & 46 & & 47 \\
\hline 1 & So that's -- that's where I sit and I'll be voting & 1 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: I'm sorry, I was on mute. \\
\hline 2 & to -- voting to find there's a reason to believe when this & 2 & Commissioner Kimble, do you have any comments or... \\
\hline 3 & comes to a vote. & 3 & COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Mr. Chairman, your comments \\
\hline 4 & So if any other Commissioner wants to comment on & 4 & reflect my views exactly. I do not think there's a -- a \\
\hline 5 & this, I welcome them. & 5 & reasonable alternative explanation for -- for this \\
\hline 6 & And Commissioner Titla, you are -- your camera is & 6 & advertising. I think it -- it -- you would really have to \\
\hline 7 & now working. Looks like your -- yeah, all right. All & 7 & strain to find something to support that this is anything \\
\hline 8 & right. & 8 & but an ad to urge voters to vote against Kari Lake. \\
\hline 9 & COMMISSIONER TITLA: Yeah, this is -- this is & 9 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. So Tom, you need a motion \\
\hline 10 & Commissioner Titla. Thank you. & 10 & for us, correct, to -- to find a reason to believe? \\
\hline 11 & You know, what I'm going to say is not for either & 11 & MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, the procedures which \\
\hline 12 & party, it doesn't support either party in the election. & 12 & are outlined in the memo, you know, are that, you know, if \\
\hline 13 & It -- I don't support Kari Lake. & 13 & the Commission were to find -- if there were three votes of \\
\hline 14 & But with regard to what the attorney said and & 14 & the Commission to find reason to believe, then there would \\
\hline 15 & watching the -- watching the ad here, I think it's & 15 & be a reason to believe determination. If there -- if there \\
\hline 16 & reasonable to interrupt that it is not express advocacy & 16 & were not, then we would not have that determination, so. \\
\hline 17 & right now. That's my initial impression right now. And, & 17 & But we would, yes, need a motion to proceed. \\
\hline & but once we go to a vote and I hear your opinions, then -- & 18 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. So we have a quorum of \\
\hline 19 & then of course I could be persuaded otherwise. & 19 & three members. Do we need a majority of the quorum or do we \\
\hline 20 & But my initial impression is that, you know, is -- & 20 & need a majority of the Commission? \\
\hline 21 & is what I said. That there's reasonable -- reasonable & 21 & MR. COLLINS: The rule is three votes for reason to \\
\hline 22 & explanation that it is not. & 22 & believe. \\
\hline 23 & So that's my inclination right now. Thank you. & 23 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: 'Kay. \\
\hline 24 & COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: I think Chairman Meyer is on & 24 & Okay. Well, does anyone have -- does anyone want \\
\hline 25 & mute. & 25 & to make a motion on this issue of whether there is or is not \\
\hline & Miller Certified Reporting, LLC & & Miller Certified Reporting, LLC \\
\hline & 48 & & 49 \\
\hline & a reason to believe a violation may have occurred? & 1 & COMMISSIONER TITLA: Chairman, this is Steve Titla, \\
\hline 2 & COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Mr. Chairman, I'll try. I & 2 & Commissioner Titla, and I second that motion because I think \\
\hline 3 & don't know if I have the wording right. & 3 & that this should be looked into further. \\
\hline 4 & But I would move that the Commission determine & 4 & My inclination is -- is not to agree with the \\
\hline 5 & there is a reason to believe a violation of 16-941(B) and & 5 & underlying principle, but I think that we should look into \\
\hline 6 & 16-948 has occurred, and that we authorize our Executive & 6 & this further and this investigation will do that I think. \\
\hline 7 & Director to conduct an investigation. & 7 & So I second the motion. \\
\hline 8 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: 'Kay. & 8 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. So we have a -- we have a \\
\hline 9 & And Tom, before we take a vote, did -- did -- I & 9 & motion, it's been seconded. So now we will vote. \\
\hline 10 & just want to make sure Commissioner Kimble correctly & 10 & I will call the roll. \\
\hline & identified the authorities that you're -- you're asking us & 11 & Commissioner Kimble, how do you vote? \\
\hline 12 & to -- to move under here. & 12 & COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: I vote aye. \\
\hline 13 & MR. COLLINS: Yeah, it's 16-941 and 16-958. & 13 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Titla. \\
\hline 14 & COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: I'm sorry, I misspoke. I & 14 & COMMISSIONER TITLA: Aye. \\
\hline 15 & said 16-948. & 15 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: 'Kay, Commissioner Chan is \\
\hline 16 & MR. COLLINS: Yeah. & 16 & abstaining. \\
\hline 17 & COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: So it's 16-941 and 16-958 I & 17 & Commissioner Meyer, and I vote aye as well. \\
\hline & believe. I would move the Commission determines that a & 18 & Commissioner Paton is not present. \\
\hline & reason to believe that a violation of those two statutes & 19 & So the motion carries 3 to 0 . \\
\hline 20 & over which the Commission has jurisdiction may have & 20 & And I just want to for the record state that, you \\
\hline 21 & occurred, and that we direct the Executive Director to & 21 & know, my comments today are based upon where we are at in \\
\hline 22 & conduct an investigation. & 22 & the -- in the investigation. There's just a reason to \\
\hline 23 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: 'Kay. All right. We have a & 23 & believe finding right now, there's no final decisions; and \\
\hline 24 & motion pending from Commissioner Kimble. & 24 & pending further investigation, I -- you know, I will \\
\hline 25 & Is there a second to that motion? & 25 & continue to review this and -- and be open minded on what \\
\hline & Miller Certified Reporting, LLC & & Miller Certified Reporting, LLC \\
\hline
\end{tabular} Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
limitations as to what a Commission can do to a Commissioner that are statutory, but we tried to, you know, come up with something that would have -- would create a public process, be transparent, and allow the Commission to weigh in.

The -- the issue that we identified through this process was that really our rules did not really deal -- it had a process laid out for how to deal with an employee issue, but really didn't have a kind of a regulatory place for -- for the Commission to talk amongst itself about Commissioners, so we wanted to create that.

And so we're asking for approval of this to circulate it for public comment and then we will return it with whatever comments we get and within the next couple -several months, probably next two or three months.

I don't know if -- and -- and obviously,
Mr. Chairman, with your permission I just want to make sure, I don't know if Natalya has anything she wants to make sure we tell ya.

MS. TER-GRIGORYAN: Natalya Ter-Grigoryan and I have Bill Richard here with me as well, and we believe that Mr. Collins summarized the proposed amendments pretty thoroughly. So essentially changes the current rules from being exclusively to employees to being more generalized and provides a process for addressing complaints.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Thank you. Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
capture that discussion, so today we are reviewing
amendments to the rules to ensure more transparency. Staff is asking for a vote to forward these amendments for public comments.

Tom, you have a summary of the proposed amendments?
MR. COLLINS: Yes.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: It's within our packet.
MR. COLLINS: Yes, Mr. Chairman. And Natalya
Ter-Grigoryan with Richards and Moskowitz is here, she has been working with me on developing this -- along with Bill, on developing this -- yeah, this amendment if you have any questions for her.

We -- essentially what we did is we took the issues we talked about last month and kind of put some -- put them into a, you know, a rule format. What essentially these amendments will do is say, you know, if there's particular information about a Commission ethical issue of some kind or conflict issue principally, you know, it would allow our -the Chairman and the Executive Director to process that, and then allow the Commission to come together to discuss it and -- and have a, you know, a kind of -- a collective decision that would be enforceable under our rules to the extent that, you know, we have -- to the extent that you -you can.

In other words, obviously there are certain Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

I -- I had two comments on R2-20-305, and that is -- I guess the first one is a question and the second one is a comment.

The first question is that Subsection (B) of this rule gives the Chair of the Commission authority to decline to require a response and then -- and statewide, this is meritless; there should not be an issue. And I just -- and I just want to confirm, does the Chair -- that's more author- -- you're kind of giving the Chair unilateral authority to make a decision there.

Is that -- is there a source that -- I just want to make sure that that's something that's allowed under the -the statutory scheme/administrative code that we have. So that was my first question.

MR. COLLINS: I mean, I'm happy to take a stab at that or Natalya or Bill you want to go, you know, whichever. However you want to -- I don't have a preference really.

MR. RICHARDS: Well, Tom, I'd be happy to address it just briefly and then obviously you can add your comments and elaborate on that.

I believe that the structure here is intended to allow the Chairman to exercise what is essentially kind of a not jurisdictional function to ensure that where you have a clearly unmerited allegation. I mean, for example, someone came in and said that: I saw, you know, Commissioner X in Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & 54 & & 55 \\
\hline & the grocery store and they looked at me funny and, & 1 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Can I respond to that quickly? \\
\hline 2 & therefore, I believe that, you know, they are -- they have a & 2 & k, you know, we can write rules 'til we're \\
\hline 3 & conflict of interest here. That you could simply say: & 3 & all old and gray if we try to anticipate every thing that's \\
\hline 4 & Well, we're not going to hear that; we're not going to put & 4 & going to come up. \\
\hline 5 & that on the agenda. & 5 & I think in that instance, you know, it's going to \\
\hline 6 & It's almost really an agenda-setting exercise. It & 6 & be on the Executive Director's shoulders, and I would not \\
\hline 7 & isn't intended to allow you to kind of make these final up & 7 & try to write that into the rule. That's just how I would \\
\hline 8 & or down nuance decisions where there's a, you know, at least & 8 & see it. And I don't -- I welcome our counsel and Tom's \\
\hline 9 & a facially arguably allegation of a conflict. It may be & 9 & thoughts on that, but that's just my initial reaction I \\
\hline 10 & that, you know, more precise language is needed to make that & 10 & wanted to share. \\
\hline 11 & absolutely clear, but that is the intention behind them I & 11 & MR. COLLINS: I mean, Mr. Chairman, I mean, I think \\
\hline 12 & believe. & 12 & that -- I mean I think that the idea is that, you know, \\
\hline 13 & COMMISSIONER CHAN: Mr. Chairman, I have a question & 13 & that, yeah, if -- that it would sort of devolve to the \\
\hline 4 & about that, too. Could I ask real quick? & 14 & Executive Director from the Chair. There's a little bit \\
\hline 15 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Sure. Go ahead. & 15 & of -- I think both -- both the questions Commissioner Chan \\
\hline 16 & COMMISSIONER CHAN: The Chair or Executive & 16 & and Chairman, your earlier question, I mean they get at an \\
\hline 17 & Director. If it's the Chair, who has -- who is the subject & 17 & issue that is a real concern. And I think that the issue is \\
\hline 18 & of the claim, do we need to have an alternative listed in & 18 & st that we live -- I mean, just to harken back to some of \\
\hline 19 & there, like the next most senior member of the Commission? & 19 & ur comments earlier today, Mr. Chairman. \\
\hline 20 & e don't have a vice chair. & 20 & I mean, not to put too fine a point on it, but the \\
\hline 21 & I just -- I don't know I'm seeing an issue where & 21 & reality is is that we are all living in a universe in which \\
\hline 22 & there is none, I just wondered if we needed an alternative & 22 & any authorization is -- it can be assumed to be taken to its \\
\hline 23 & in case the Chairman is the person who's the subject of the & 23 & maximum place beyond what the intent of anyone was when they \\
\hline 24 & complaint. & 24 & imposed it. That is the world that we live in today; we've \\
\hline 25 & MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chair, I guess -- & 25 & seen that again and again and again, especially in \\
\hline & Miller Certified Reporting, LLC & & Miller Certified Reporting, LLC \\
\hline & 56 & & 57 \\
\hline & elections. & 1 & you need to tighten this up or it's going to potentially \\
\hline 2 & d so -- but as the Chairman noted, that is & 2 & atchet up things with the -- you know, with the Chair or \\
\hline 3 & hard to account for because when we're -- because we now & 3 & he Executive Director, you know, that's a -- that's a -- \\
\hline 4 & live in the real world, right, where political decisions, & 4 & that's certainly a consideration. \\
\hline 5 & government decisions were -- where the policy is clear, ar & 5 & But I do think that both of your comments and \\
\hline 6 & now subject to a political influence that is just beyond I & 6 & questions are -- are important things to be aware of in the \\
\hline 7 & think what any of us really believed was true sometime ago. & 7 & context we are all now working in. \\
\hline 8 & And so, you know, we want to be conscious of that & 8 & OMMISSIONER CHAN: May I ask -- \\
\hline 9 & but -- but also, you know, this body has had a -- you know, & 9 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: And -- oh. Go ahead, Commissioner \\
\hline 10 & all of you in your long service -- your endless service -- & 10 & Chan. \\
\hline 11 & to the Commission, you know, have recognized the values that & 11 & COMMISSIONER CHAN: The only other item that I \\
\hline 12 & we have and -- and have created a culture that we hope will & 12 & noticed was the response shall be due five days. And on one \\
\hline 13 & ensure that those folks who come after us all will -- will & 13 & hand five days is -- is not a tiny amount of time, but I \\
\hline 14 & follow these as they're -- in the spirit they're intended. & 14 & just wondered if -- if we should consider making it ten \\
\hline 15 & So, you know, those are hard, nuanced decisions. & 15 & days. I don't know where we came up with the five days, if \\
\hline 16 & Bill, I think, identified correctly, I think clearly we & 16 & there was -- I just was curious about that. \\
\hline 17 & tried to say -- we tried to take we want this to not -- not & 17 & Again, I'm not sure that it's an insufficient \\
\hline 18 & be the marginal case but the extraordinary case where it is & 18 & amount of time, it just seems like depending on how \\
\hline 19 & something that's just off the wall. & 19 & voluminous something might be. I tend to think of things \\
\hline 20 & And -- and, you know, I mean I think that we can & 20 & and think the worst-case scenario, so I just wanted to throw \\
\hline 21 & see if folks will make -- I mean, I'm comfor- -- I guess & 21 & that out there regarding the five days. \\
\hline 22 & what I'm trying to say, if you ask me, obviously we're & 22 & MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, I do have an answer for \\
\hline 23 & comfortable for these draft -- this draft for purposes of & 23 & that, why the five days. \\
\hline 24 & public comment. & 24 & CHAIRMAN MEYER: Sure. \\
\hline 25 & As we go along if we get comments that say, look, Miller Certified Reporting, LLC & 25 & MR. COLLINS: It's not a good -- it's not a -- it's Miller Certified Reporting, LLC \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
not a particularly thoughtful answer, it's just that's what we require for response to complaints when they come in against candidates and -- and IEs and stuff.

COMMISSIONER CHAN: Well then that seems fair. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: I was going to make the same comment that I thought five days seemed tight and suggest we make it ten days. Just, I mean, that's my suggestion.

This is a -- you know, many of us have full-time other jobs we're working and it can be not a good situation to have to do that in five days; could be challenging. If there's -- if there's a reason, a compelling reason to have it be five days, and I'm not sure I heard one there with the candidates having to respond in five days 'cause it's just a different issue, but I would suggest we make that ten days.

COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Mr. Chairman?
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Yes, Commissioner Kimble.
COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Speaking as someone who is
already old and gray, I'll not try to take offense at your comment on that.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Well, I won't even have that opportunity to go gray, so just relish that.

COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: I -- I think your initial point was should the Chair be involved in this process at all. And it just -- I just don't understand why the Chair. Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
putting this language that we have out for public comment and then we could --

MR. COLLINS: Sure --
CHAIRMAN MEYER: And -- and I think -- I'm sorry to interrupt. But I think this is almost, you know, when we start looking at the next rule, you know, and the Chair and Executive Director are kind of running with the
investigation as I read this, you know, that's -- that same issue gets brought in to Rule -306 as well.

So I -- I'm saying we should have this discussion as to both rules and not have it twice regarding this issue of the Chair and the Executive Director, so.

But go ahead.
MR. RICHARDS: Mr. Chairman, if I could add one point, and that that is also to Commissioner Chan's point earlier, I think that the language here anticipates that the Chair, if the Chair was the subject of the allegation, the Chair would probably recuse themselves from making any decision at that point in time just as a matter of form, but also 'cause that's what the rest of the rule suggests that they should do probably. And so this just makes its clear that, you know, in that sort of circumstances, the Executive Director can also make that sort of decision and gives that flexibility.

COMMISSIONER CHAN: Thank you. Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

It seems like it ought to be just the Executive Director, and I don't understand "the Chair or Executive Director," how we would decide who's going to do it. Why not just make it the Executive Director?

CHAIRMAN MEYER: 'Kay. I don't feel strongly one way or the other, frankly.

Tom, was there a reason why the Chair was included?
The way -- this -- the way I see this playing out, if it's just the Executive Director is you get one of these complaints, you're going to probably call the Chair and say, "Hey, this came in, let's talk about this," and then you'd make a decision.

But I don't feel strongly about it, so I'm open to be convinced why I should or should not.

MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, Commissioner Kimble, I
mean -- I mean, I don't -- it doesn't -- I think the -- the only thing -- I mean I think that Chairman Meyer's right, at least how we -- and all of you have been Chair, when we do things that how we would do it is call you and say, "Hey, you know, what do you want to do about this?"

Beyond that, I don't -- I don't think there's a lot. I don't have any -- I'm not married to this language in any serious way.

Bill, Natalya, I don't think we have any strong...
COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Well, I'm not opposed to Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. Does anyone have any further comments on the rule -- rules suggestions here to put out to comment?

I'll note on -306 paragraph (D) there's a typo.
The second sentence, the first word needs to be capitalized after; but that's simple.

But any other comments on these rules?
And then if not, I -- I assume you need a vote from us, Tom, to put these out for public comment?

MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, yes. So what I would recommend by way of the record here would be, you know, motion to approve the draft rules or the -- I'm sorry, the amendment for public comment; and then I think to make the record clear, to the extent that you want to, you know, if there's any specific changes that you want to make, you know, it might be helpful to try to articulate them, you know, in -- in that motion if that's something people want to do.

The advantage of doing that now is that -- is just -- you know, at some -- you got to get into the language at some point, and -- and if we think that's going to be a thing, you know, I think that -- I -- again, I don't want to press -- whatever we do is fine, I just think that, you know, it's easier to -- it's easier to -- from a pure paperwork perspective in terms of the Arizona administrative Miller Certified Reporting, LLC Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
know, later on or a party to a proceeding were to sue and ask that the Court enforce the conflict rules, it would be strong evidence certainly in favor of that -- that sort of legal complaint.

The second option is a disqualification vote, which is going to be case by case. It's going to be proceeding by proceeding, and I guess suppose ultimately the result of the Commission on saying I want every single action before the Commission that you're disqualified to be a Commissioner, but it is not a wholesale vote to, you know, remove them from office.

Which I -- which I think would be a problem for the Commission. I'm not sure that the Commission's authority would extend to that. I certainly do believe it would extend to disqualifying a Commissioner from individual votes.

CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. Well, thank you for your explanations. That answers my questions.

Does any other Commissioner have any other questions? If not, I am -- does anyone want to make a motion?

COMMISSIONER CHAN: Mr. Chairman?
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Yes, Commissioner Chan.
COMMISSIONER CHAN: Just a final comment before we make a motion. I think if I understood our conversation, Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
appropriate thing for them to do; and I think that most likely would take the form of, you know, "we believe you should recuse yourself from \(\mathrm{X}, \mathrm{Y}\), or Z decisions."

But I suppose in a case where if the conflict created a problem for issues across the board, then the rest of the Commission could legitimately reasonably say "we think you should resign from one position or the other to end the conflict."

CHAIRMAN MEYER: And what would weight would that decision have by the majority of the Commission?
'Cause, I mean, like Tom said, taking this authority to the ultimate extreme, you know, we got five Commissioners, we got three Commissioners that don't like someone, they could find something and then vote that guy out or -- or woman out, you know. So that's just sort of the stuff we need to be thinking about.

MR. RICHARDS: Mr. Chairman, the way I would read this particular provision is, is that option number one is simply in the public expression of opinion by the majority of Commissioners that this particular charge or allegation of conflict, you know, appears to be legitimate and that we believe that Commissioner X should take the following actions.

That actually does not require or mandate usually
that that Commissioner take those actions. However, if, you Miller Certified Reporting, LLC
that that the main thing that we might be changing before we put this out for public comment is just in -305(B) changing the five days to ten days. I don't know that I heard a consensus about removing the Chair from the process of declining in either one of the sections.

I just want to clarify.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: I heard -- I heard Commissioner
Kimble say that he's putting it out for public comment in
the --
COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: As is, yes.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: -- the way it is.
Okay.
COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Yes.
COMMISSIONER CHAN: Oh. Did you?
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Titla, did you have any comments on this before we hopefully get a motion to vote on this?

COMMISSIONER TITLA: (No audible response.) CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. Anyone want to make a motion?

COMMISSIONER CHAN: Mr. Chairman, I would move that we approve the amendments for public comment as written.

Do I need to move them in separately?
COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: The ten days.
CHAIRMAN MEYER: Do you want to --
Miller Certified Reporting, LLC

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline 70 & 71 \\
\hline 1 Action taken as a result of public comment will be & 1 MS. KNOX: I am Rivko Knox. I'm a long-time \\
\hline 2 limited to directing staff to study the matter or & 2 resident of the state of Arizona, a long-time voter, and \\
\hline 3 rescheduling the matter for further consideration and & 3 I've been following the actions of the Citizens Clean \\
\hline 4 decision at a later date or responding to criticism. & 4 Elections Commission for, I don't know, about 10 or \\
\hline 5 Does any member of the public wish to make comments & 512 years. \\
\hline 6 at this time? & 6 And I just appreciate very much the commitment of \\
\hline 7 MR. COLLINS: We do have a -- & 7 all the Commissioners and of the staff. I was very -- this \\
\hline 8 CHAIRMAN MEYER: Is any -- & 8 is the first obviously public meeting I've attended in quite \\
\hline 9 MR. COLLINS: We do have one -- we have one member & 9 a while, so it's -- I had a hard time finding the building \\
\hline 10 of public but I don't think she needs -- she wants to & 10 which is why I came in late. That's beside the point, \\
\hline 11 comment. I don't know. & 11 that's not a policy issue. \\
\hline 12 That's fine. So I think we're good. & 12 I just did want to say, like I say, I think the \\
\hline 13 CHAIRMAN MEYER: No comment. & 13 professionalism of staff are just overwhelming. I continue \\
\hline 14 And then anyone... & 14 to be massively impressed. I continue to mention Clean \\
\hline 15 MR. COLLINS: You're like -- you know, it's like a & 15 Elections as a source of infor- -- invaluable source of \\
\hline 16 standing offer. & 16 objective information that you have wherever I possibly can. \\
\hline 17 COMMISSIONER CHAN: Mr. Chairman, just to make -- & 17 And finally I was very pleased actually to see the \\
\hline 18 MS. KNOX: My name -- my name is Rivko Knox. Where & 18 Mary Jo Pitzl article. I actually sent her an e-mail and \\
\hline 19 do I have to go? & 19 thanked her for highlighting the issue of the ongoing terms \\
\hline 20 COMMISSIONER CHAN: Oh. I'm sorry. & 20 of all of the Commissioners, and I thank you all for \\
\hline 21 CHAIRMAN MEYER: I had a sneaking suspicion that & 21 unbelievable commitment and service to an organization -- or \\
\hline 22 that was Ms. Knox. & 22 a state agency, which technically you are, that is really \\
\hline 23 MS. KNOX: Where do I go? & 23 a -- it's such a critical component of our democratic \\
\hline 24 MS. THOMAS: To the right of Commissioner Kimble. & 24 system. \\
\hline CHAIRMAN MEYER: Good morning, Ms. Knox. Miller Certified Reporting, LLC & 25 And I appreciate the opportunity to speak and to Miller Certified Reporting, LLC \\
\hline 72 & 73 \\
\hline 1 continue to participate in meetings, whether it's through & 1 And with that, I -- I would move that we adjourn \\
\hline 2 Zoom or in person. & 2 this meeting. \\
\hline 3 So thank you very much. & 3 COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: I would second that. \\
\hline 4 CHAIRMAN MEYER: Thank you, Ms. Knox. & 4 CHAIRMAN MEYER: Okay. And I -- you know, I want \\
\hline 5 Is there any -- any -- there's no other comment in & 5 to say Commissioner Chan I agree. Thank you, Commissioner \\
\hline 6 -- in the room there, correct? & 6 Titla. It's always great to -- it's great to have you. And \\
\hline 7 COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Correct. & 7 you have me by one year, yeah, on the Commission, so. \\
\hline 8 CHAIRMAN MEYER: And then anyone online? I'm not & 8 Okay. So we have the motion to adjourn. I'll call \\
\hline 9 sure if there's anyone there. & 9 the roll. \\
\hline 10 You may also send comments to the Commission by & 10 Commissioner Chan. \\
\hline 11 mail or e-mail to CCEC@azcleanelections.gov. & 11 COMMISSIONER CHAN: I vote aye. \\
\hline 12 That brings us to Agenda IX -- excuse me, Agenda & 12 CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Kimble. \\
\hline 13 Item Number VIII, which is adjournment. & 13 COMMISSIONER KIMBLE: Aye. \\
\hline 14 Do we have a motion to adjourn? & 14 CHAIRMAN MEYER: Commissioner Titla. \\
\hline 15 COMMISSIONER CHAN: Mr. Chairman, before I make the & 15 COMMISSIONER TITLA: Aye. And thank you for your \\
\hline 16 motion to adjourn, I just want to acknowledge that I think & 16 comments, appreciate it. \\
\hline 17 Commissioner Titla, if this was an employee position or an & 17 CHAIRMAN MEYER: You're welcome. \\
\hline 18 elected official position, I think he almost would have & 18 And Commissioner Meyer, I vote aye. \\
\hline 19 vested in the state retirement system by now he's been & 19 We are adjourned. Our next meeting is \\
\hline 20 serving so long. So I just thought -- I wanted to recognize & 20 September 29th. \\
\hline 21 him for that that is -- you know, of all of us, he's & 21 Thank you. \\
\hline 22 definitely had the most perseverance. & 22 (Whereupon the meeting concludes at 11:11 a.m.). \\
\hline 23 So I just wanted to thank him for still being with & 23 \\
\hline 24 us, 'cause as time marches on I'm sure -- I'm sure we all & 24 \\
\hline 25 feel that a little bit. & 25 \\
\hline Miller Certified Reporting, LLC & Miller Certified Reporting, LLC \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \$ & 5 & & agenda-setting [1] - & anticorruption [1] \\
\hline \$600,000 [1] - 24:21 & 52 [1]-26:24 & , & ago [3]-8:18, 35:18, & anyone.. [1]-70:1 \\
\hline & 6 & adjourn [4] - 72:14, & agree [8] - 15:12, & [ \(21-22 \cdot 19\) \\
\hline '86 [1] & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& 6[4]-40: 2,40: 4,41: 1, \\
& 41: 6
\end{aligned}
\]} & \multirow[t]{3}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 72:16, 73:1, 73:8 } \\
& \text { adjourned }[1]-73: 19 \\
& \text { adjournment }[1]- \\
& 72: 13 \\
& \text { administrative }[2] \text { - }
\end{aligned}
\]} & \[
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& 27: 22,28: 22,32: 3, \\
& 32: 8,41: 19,49: 4, \\
& 73: 5
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
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& \text { Appeals [2] - 22:19, } \\
& \text { 22:22 } \\
& \text { appearance }[1] \text { - }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline 0 & & & 20 & \\
\hline & 8 & & , & \\
\hline \(0_{[1]}-49: 19\) & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{864 [2]-29:8, 29:24} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
42:16, 61:25 \\
Administrative [1] -
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50: 17
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\end{tabular}} & \multirow[t]{3}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ahead [9]-19:24, } \\
& \text { 23:16, 26:10, 39:5, } \\
& 41: 8,54: 15,57: 9, \\
& 60: 13,62: 10
\end{aligned}
\]} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
application [1]-22:23 \\
applied [1]-23:2 \\
appointment \([1]-9: 6\)
\end{tabular}} \\
\hline & & & & \\
\hline 1.5 & 9 & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { adopt }[2]-25: 17,26: 2 \\
& \text { ads }[9]-25: 5,25: 18,
\end{aligned}
\] & & \[
\begin{gathered}
\text { appreciate }[12]-15: 8, \\
16: 12,16: 14,17: 1,
\end{gathered}
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\begin{aligned}
& 10[1]-71: 4 \\
& \text { 1110 [1] - 8:3 } \\
& \text { 11:11 [1] }-73: 22
\end{aligned}
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& 926_{[1]}-20: 16 \\
& 9: 30[1]-3: 7
\end{aligned}
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& 27: 13,28: 1,30: 1, \\
& 30: 11,30: 16,32: 16, \\
& 40: 5
\end{aligned}
\] & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
Alec [1]-7:13 \\
aligned [1]-25:25 \\
allegation [4]-53:24,
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54: 9,60: 17,63: 20
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\end{tabular}} & \[
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& 17: 11,23: 22,30: 21, \\
& 31: 3,68: 20,71: 6, \\
& 71: 25,73: 16
\end{aligned}
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& 12[1]-71: 5 \\
& 14[2]-13: 5,13: 14
\end{aligned}
\] & A & advantage [2] - 11:7,
61:19 & & \begin{tabular}{l}
appreciated [1] - 31:1 \\
appropriate \([1]\) - \(63: 1\)
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \[
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16-926[2]-20: 10, \\
21: 14 \\
16-941[2]-48: 13,
\end{gathered}
\] & \multirow[t]{9}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { a.m }[1]-3: 7 \\
& \text { a.m.) }[1]-73: 22 \\
& \text { ability }[4]-31: 2, \\
& 31: 18,34: 9,35: 8 \\
& \text { able }[2]-16: 14,22: 8 \\
& \text { absolutely }[3]-32: 13, \\
& 33: 24,54: 11 \\
& \text { abstaining }[1]-49: 16 \\
& \text { abundance }[1]-18: 17 \\
& \text { accessible }[1]-7: 15 \\
& \text { account }[1]-56: 3 \\
& \text { accurate }[2]-27: 15, \\
& 35: 12 \\
& \text { acknowledge }[1]-
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61:19 \\
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& 51: 20,52: 4,53: 22, \\
& 54: 7
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approval \({ }_{[1]}\) - 52:11 \\
approve [11]-4:14,
\end{tabular} \\
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48: 17
\] & & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
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& 36: 2,36: 4,36: 5 \\
& 36: 13,36: 14,37: 11
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& 4: 16,4: 20,61: 12, \\
& 65: 22,66: 17,67: 17,
\end{aligned}
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\begin{gathered}
\text { 16-941(B [4]-20:10, } \\
22: 14,45: 6,48: 5
\end{gathered}
\] & & & allows [1] - 22:9 & 69:5, 69:7, 69:10 \\
\hline 16-948 [2] - 48:6, & & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 37: 14,39: 17,40: 20, \\
& 41: 15,42: 17,42: 25,
\end{aligned}
\] & alluded [1] - 15:14 & approved [1] - 5:7 arguably [1] - 54:9 \\
\hline 48:15 & & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
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& 43: 5,43: 6,43: 25 \text {, } \\
& 44: 14
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& \text { almost }[4]-40: 1, \\
& 54: 6,60: 5,72: 18
\end{aligned}
\] & arguably [1] - 54:9 argue [1] - 33:10 \\
\hline 16-958 [5] - 20:10, & & & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
alone [1] - 24:20 \\
alternative \([9]-26: 15\),
\end{tabular}} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{arguing [1] - 39:9 argument [10]-24:9,} \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& 22: 14,45: 6,48: 13, \\
& 48: 17
\end{aligned}
\] & & advertisements [12] -
20:2, 21:24, 22:4, & & \\
\hline \[
1987 \text { [2] - 22:21, 26:12 }
\] & & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{20:2, 21:24, 22:4,
\[
\begin{aligned}
& 22: 6,22: 8,25: 1, \\
& 25: 8,27: 11,36: 8, \\
& 39: 21,42: 14
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& 43: 17,47: 5,54: 18 \\
& 54: 22
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& 27: 2,30: 16,33: 15 \\
& 35: 24,44: 17,44: 18 \\
& 44: 19,45: 15
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& \text { amendment }[5] \text { - } \\
& 50: 25,51: 11,61: 13,
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& \text { arguments [2]-30:18, } \\
& 35: 21
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\hline \(2[1]-50: 1\)
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[1] & \[
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& \text { Act }[2]-9: 11,26: 21 \\
& \text { act }[1]-22: 24
\end{aligned}
\] & 47:6 & \[
66: 18,67: 17
\] & arise [1] - 50:24 \\
\hline \(20[1]-50: 18\)
\(2014[2]-8: 16,22: 19\) & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Action [1] - 8:14
action [19]-4:9, 5:9,} & \[
\begin{gathered}
\text { advocacy [31] - 20:7, } \\
22: 4,22: 13,24: 13,
\end{gathered}
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& \text { Amendment }[1] \text { - } \\
& 24: 19
\end{aligned}
\] & Arizona [22]-22:19,
23:2, 23:23, 25:1, \\
\hline 2020 [1] - 5:19 & & 24:17, 24:21, 24:23, & amendments [7] - & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{23:2, 23:23, 25:1,
26:5, 26:6, 26:13,} \\
\hline 2022 [3]-3:7, 4:9, & 9:12, 17:20, 18:4, & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& 26: 17,26: 25,27: 10, \\
& 29: 16,29: 19,30: 20,
\end{aligned}
\]} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& 50: 17,51: 2,51: 3, \\
& 51: 5,51: 16,52: 21,
\end{aligned}
\]} & \\
\hline :2 & 25:9, 28:2, 29:16, & & & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& 31: 19,32: 1,32: 4, \\
& 32: 9,32: 12,33: 7,
\end{aligned}
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\hline 2022-01 [1] - 18:4 & 29:19, 29:23, 30:3, & \[
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& 29: 16,29: 19,30: 20, \\
& 31: 20,32: 16,32: 19
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\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 51: 5,51: 16,52: 21, \\
& 65: 22
\end{aligned}
\] & \\
\hline 22nd [1] - 5:23 & 44:15, 44:19, 44:20, & 36:2, 36:19, 37:21, & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { amnesty }[2]-25: 7, \\
& 25: 14
\end{aligned}
\]} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{34:4, 34:5, 42:16, 50:17, 61:25, 71:2} \\
\hline 23rd [1] - 8:17 & 50:16, 62:16, 64:8, & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{39:23, 40:8, 41:11,} & & \\
\hline 25th [1] - 3:7 & 68:22, 70:1 & & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { amount }[2]-57: 13, \\
& 57: 18
\end{aligned}
\]} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Arizona's [1]-26:21} \\
\hline 28 [1] - 4:9 & actions [4]-50:21, & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& 41: 22,45: 3,45: 16 \\
& 45: 20,45: 25,46: 16
\end{aligned}
\]} & & \\
\hline 29th [1] - 73:20 & 63:23, 63:25, 71:3 & & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\begin{tabular}{l}
Amy [1]-3:15 \\
analysis [6]-21:15,
\end{tabular}} & \begin{tabular}{l}
Arizonan [1] - 33:7 \\
Arizonans [1] - 9:13
\end{tabular} \\
\hline 3 & ad [26] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { advocate [4] - } 23: 6 \\
& 27: 7,30: 12,41: 1
\end{aligned}
\] & & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\[
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& \text { article [4]-15:20, } \\
& 15: 22,16: 2,71: 18
\end{aligned}
\]} \\
\hline & 0:4, 31:19, & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{advocated [1] - 29:19} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 26: 3,43: 9,43: 23, \\
& 44: 4,62: 4
\end{aligned}
\] & \\
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\]} \\
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\]} \\
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