



**NOTICE OF PUBLIC MEETING
AND POSSIBLE EXECUTIVE SESSION OF THE
STATE OF ARIZONA
CITIZENS CLEAN ELECTIONS COMMISSION**

Location: Citizens Clean Elections Commission
1110 W. Washington, Suite 250
Phoenix, Arizona 85007

Date: Thursday, May 28, 2026

Time: 10:00 a. m.

Pursuant to A.R.S. § 38-431.02, notice is hereby given to the Commissioners of the Citizens Clean Elections Commission and the general public that the Citizens Clean Elections Commission will hold a regular meeting, which is open to the public on May 28, 2026. This meeting will be held at 10:00 a.m. **This meeting will be held in person and virtually. The meeting location will be open by 9:45 a.m. at the latest.** Instructions on how the public may participate in this meeting are below. For additional information, please call (602) 364-3477 or contact Commission staff at ccec@azcleelections.gov.

The meeting may be available for live streaming online at <https://www.youtube.com/c/AZCCEC>. You can also visit <https://www.azcleelections.gov/clean-elections-commission-meetings>. Members of the Citizens Clean Elections Commission may attend in person, by telephone, video, or internet conferencing.

Join Zoom Meeting

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/86328992962>

Meeting ID: 863 2899 2962

One tap mobile

+1-346-248-7799,,86328992962# US

Please note that members of the public that choose to use the Zoom video link must keep their microphone muted for the duration of the meeting. If a member of the public wishes to speak, they

may use the Zoom raise hand feature and once called on, unmute themselves on Zoom once the meeting is open for public comment.

Members of the public may participate via Zoom by computer, tablet or telephone. A dial-in option is also available but you will not be able to use the Zoom raise hand feature, so the meeting administrator will assist phone attendees. Please keep yourself muted unless you are prompted to speak.

The Commission may allow time for public comment on any item on the agenda. Commission members may not discuss items that are not specifically identified on the agenda. Therefore, pursuant to A.R.S. § 38-431.01(H), action taken as a result of public comment will be limited to directing Commission staff to study the matter, responding to any criticism, or scheduling the matter for further consideration and decision at a later date.

The Commission may vote to go into executive session, which will not be open to the public, for the purpose of obtaining legal advice on any item listed on the agenda, pursuant to A.R.S. § 38-431.03 (A)(3). The Commission reserves the right at its discretion to address the agenda matters in an order different than outlined below.

Any person with a disability may request a reasonable accommodation, such as a sign language interpreter, by contacting the Commission at (602) 364-3477. Requests should be made as early as possible to allow time to arrange accommodations.

The agenda for the meeting is as follows:

- I. Call to Order.
- II. Discussion and Possible Action on Meeting Minutes for April 23, 2026.
- III. Discussion and Possible Action on Executive Director’s Report, Enforcement and Regulatory Updates, and Legislative Update.

Note: The executive director’s report includes announcements and information about elections and campaign finance, a report on voter education activities, administrative information (including agreements with state budget units such as Arizona State University), information on candidates running clean, reports on legal proceedings involving Clean Elections and other Arizona election officials, a report on correspondence from other agencies, appointments, enforcement status, notice of closure of complaints, the regulatory agenda, reports of the Auditor General, and the Governor’s Regulatory Review Council. The legislative update includes bills that have or may be considered for action by the Arizona legislature or the Governor.

Materials are included in the Commission packet available on its website or by request at ceec@azcleanelections.gov.

- IV. Discussion and Possible Action on *Branch v. Collins*, No. CV2024-004136 (Ariz. Super. Ct. Maricopa Cnty.).

The Commission may vote to go into Executive Session, which is not open to the public, to receive legal advice or consult with its attorneys regarding this litigation. A.R.S. § 38431.03(A)(3), (4).

- V. Discussion and Possible Action on resolution of claim for attorneys' fees in *Arizona Citizens Clean Elections Comm'n v. Fontes*, No. CV2025-064149 (Consol.) (Ariz. Super. Ct. Maricopa Cnty.).

The Commission may vote to go into Executive Session, which is not open to the public, to receive legal advice or consult with its attorneys regarding this litigation. A.R.S. § 38431.03(A)(3), (4).

- VI. Discussion and Possible Action on Final Administrative Order, MUR 25-01 Hector Jaramillo, 2024 Legislative Candidate.

- VII. Discussion and Possible Action on Commission Procedures for Addressing Complaints under the Clean Elections Act and the Voters Right to Know Act.

- VIII. Public Comment.

This is the time for consideration of comments and suggestions from the public. Action taken as a result of public comment will be limited to directing staff to study the matter or rescheduling the matter for further consideration and decision at a later date or responding to criticism

- IX. Adjournment.

This agenda is subject to change up to 24 hours prior to the meeting. A copy of the agenda background material provided to the Commission (with the exception of material relating to possible executive sessions) is available for public inspection at the Commission's office, 1110 W Washington St, #250, Phoenix, AZ 85007.

Dated this 26th day of May, 2026
Citizens Clean Elections Commission
Thomas M. Collins, Executive Director

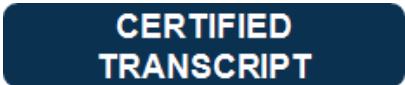
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

THE STATE OF ARIZONA
CITIZENS CLEAN ELECTIONS COMMISSION

REPORTER'S TRANSCRIPT OF PUBLIC MEETING

Phoenix, Arizona
April 23, 2026
10:00 a.m.

By: Kathryn A. Blackwelder, RPR
Certified Reporter
Certificate No. 50666



Page 2

1 PUBLIC MEETING BEFORE THE CITIZENS CLEAN
2 ELECTIONS COMMISSION convened at 10:00 a.m. on April
3 23, 2026, at the State of Arizona, Clean Elections
4 Commission, 1110 West Washington, Conference Room,
5 Phoenix, Arizona, in the presence of the following
6 Board Members:
7
8 Mr. Mark Kimble, Chairman
9 Ms. Christina Werther
10 Mr. Sam Crump
11 Mr. Steve Titla
12
13 OTHERS PRESENT:
14
15 Thomas M. Collins, Executive Director
16 Paula Thomas, Executive Officer
17 Mike Becker, Policy Director
18 Gina Roberts, Voter Education Director
19 Avery Xola, Voter Education Manager
20 Kristin Altman, Riester
21 Craig Morgan, Taft Law
22 Jessica Painter, KCA
23 Alex Logvin, Member of the Public
24 Paige Spencer, Member of the Public
25 Bill Gerros, Member of the Public
Kathryn Solon, Member of the Public
Jacob George, Member of the Public
John Travise, Member of the Public
Judy Robbins, Member of the Public

Page 3

1 P R O C E E D I N G
2 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Morning. I'm Mark Kimble,
3 and I'm going to call this meeting of the Citizens
4 Clean Elections Commission to order. It's 10:00 a.m.
5 on April 23rd, 2026.
6 With that, we will take attendance.
7 Commissioners, please identify yourselves for the
8 record.
9 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Christina Werther.
10 COMMISSIONER TITLA: Steve Titla. Good
11 morning.
12 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Good morning, Mr. Titla --
13 Mr. Titla.
14 Commissioner Crump, I see you, but I don't
15 hear you. I think you're muted, Commissioner Crump.
16 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Sorry about that. I'm
17 on my phone, which I'm usually not. Good morning.
18 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Good morning.
19 So we have four Commissioners, which
20 constitutes a quorum today.
21 Item II, discussion and possible action on
22 meeting minutes for March 26th, 2026. Commissioners,
23 you have the minutes from the March 26th, 2026 meeting
24 in your packets. Is there any discussion?
25 (No response.)

Page 4

1 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Hearing none, do I have a
2 motion to approve the minutes?
3 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Mr. Chairman, I move
4 to approve the minutes of March 26, 2026.
5 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you, Commissioner.
6 Is there a second?
7 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Second.
8 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Was that Commissioner
9 Crump?
10 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Yes.
11 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Okay. Thank you.
12 It's been moved and seconded that we approve
13 the minutes for March 26th. I will call the roll.
14 Commissioner Werther.
15 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Aye.
16 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Commissioner Crump.
17 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Aye.
18 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Commissioner Titla.
19 COMMISSIONER TITLA: Aye.
20 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Chair votes aye.
21 The minutes are approved 4-to-nothing.
22 Item III is the Executive Director's Report,
23 including enforcement, regulatory, and legislative
24 issues -- excuse me -- legislative updates.
25 Tom.

Page 5

1 MR. COLLINS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman,
2 Commissioners. I think the thing I wanted to highlight
3 is our latest -- as part of our voter education program
4 and debate program we will -- we filmed our second --
5 our third edition, rather, of our Inside the Issues
6 series, which has to do with water. That's going to be
7 released in May to our media partners.
8 We had a really strong panel for this that
9 included Sarah Porter from the Kyle Institute at ASU
10 and Sharon Megdal from the University of Arizona and
11 Vineetha Kartha, who's the Colorado River Programs
12 Manager for CAP. So it's an incredibly substantive
13 discussion that I think will provide the public with
14 accurate and important information that they -- that
15 they -- will allow them to, and, you know, candidates
16 to be informed in the context of our debates.
17 We do have a local election scheduled for
18 May 19th. Voting began yesterday in that. It includes
19 a runoff in Tempe, as well as -- as well as elections
20 in Flagstaff and Benson and Douglas.
21 And then the -- we're working on the Voter
22 Education Guide production, which will be hitting
23 mailboxes on June 12th. And we have 247 candidates
24 eligible for inclusion in the Guide itself, the printed
25 Guide, and the candidate profiles remain open for

Page 6	Page 8
<p>1 submission on the website.</p> <p>2 Obviously we continue to have a lot of</p> <p>3 outreach efforts by the -- by Avery and Gina with</p> <p>4 respect to voter education. And we're also working on</p> <p>5 finalizing our plans with respect to the Election</p> <p>6 Science Reform and Administration Conference at the</p> <p>7 beginning of next month.</p> <p>8 I wanted to highlight a couple of legal</p> <p>9 issues. The No Labels Party did -- Arizona Independent</p> <p>10 Party group did file a notice of appeal finally on</p> <p>11 April 13th, so we'll -- there's no effort under way to</p> <p>12 get a stay or to accelerate that, that I'm -- that I'm</p> <p>13 aware of.</p> <p>14 Then we're -- we are -- we also have the</p> <p>15 briefing under way in the appeal from the Superior</p> <p>16 Court's judgment on Prop 211. There, just to refresh,</p> <p>17 the Superior Court largely rejected the Legislative</p> <p>18 Leadership's claim that Prop 211 violates the sort of</p> <p>19 separation of powers and related principles.</p> <p>20 There was -- there is an aspect of it</p> <p>21 respecting the Commission's -- the part of the Act that</p> <p>22 seeks to protect the Commission's rulemaking and</p> <p>23 enforcement decisions from legislative interference and</p> <p>24 other administrative interference. We have an issue</p> <p>25 there on how that statute is properly understood and an</p>	<p>1 couple of bills, one on changing the primary date in</p> <p>2 particular. Right now, given the Governor's view that,</p> <p>3 you know, she's not going to sign any other bills,</p> <p>4 she'll veto bills that are sent to her, there's not a</p> <p>5 lot of legislative activity as far as that -- as far as</p> <p>6 the election-related bills that we've been monitoring,</p> <p>7 and not too much legislative activity at all pending,</p> <p>8 you know, the -- some movement on the budget.</p> <p>9 So with that, that sort of completes my</p> <p>10 summary of my report. I'm happy to take any questions.</p> <p>11 Thank you.</p> <p>12 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you, Tom.</p> <p>13 Do any Members of the Commission have any</p> <p>14 questions for Tom?</p> <p>15 (No response.)</p> <p>16 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Hearing none, we'll move on</p> <p>17 to Item IV, discussion and possible action on the 2026</p> <p>18 Primary Voter Education Survey. For the past several</p> <p>19 years the Commission has had a survey of voter</p> <p>20 issues -- voters' views on issues to develop our debate</p> <p>21 program. Survey results are made available to</p> <p>22 candidates, moderators, and voters via our website.</p> <p>23 Kristin Altman from Riester is here to walk us through</p> <p>24 the survey.</p> <p>25 Kristin.</p>
Page 7	Page 9
<p>1 issue about the breadth of the relief that the -- that</p> <p>2 the Superior Court granted on that narrow issue.</p> <p>3 I wanted to mention also we have -- you know,</p> <p>4 I mentioned in there, just because it's been in the</p> <p>5 news, the case that's between the Maricopa County</p> <p>6 Recorder and the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors</p> <p>7 respecting how they divide authority around some</p> <p>8 administrative activities related to elections. The</p> <p>9 Maricopa County Board voted yesterday to seek a stay</p> <p>10 there and then to appeal.</p> <p>11 And then also we have candidate qualifying</p> <p>12 challenges ongoing.</p> <p>13 With respect to complaints, I wanted to just</p> <p>14 note briefly that the -- David Marshall, who had been</p> <p>15 running for the Corporation Commission and was a clean</p> <p>16 -- running as -- proposed to be a clean candidate, he</p> <p>17 withdrew, and the complaint against him is mooted by</p> <p>18 that. It had to do with whether or not particular</p> <p>19 contributions from individuals that were made to his</p> <p>20 legislative campaign and were -- and remained with that</p> <p>21 committee could be transferred, so -- so that -- I</p> <p>22 closed that complaint upon his withdrawal from both</p> <p>23 candidacy and from the Clean Elections program.</p> <p>24 Finally, on the legislative front, we've</p> <p>25 mentioned -- a couple of months ago we mentioned a</p>	<p>1 MS. ALTMAN: Thank you, Chairman Kimble.</p> <p>2 Thank you, Commissioners.</p> <p>3 As stated, I'm Kristin Altman. I'm with</p> <p>4 Riester. We were happy to help with conducting this</p> <p>5 poll this year and are eager to share our top-line</p> <p>6 findings with you. This report will be shared with you</p> <p>7 for reading in full. There's quite a bit of</p> <p>8 information here. So in the interest of time, I'm</p> <p>9 going to try and complete this in about 25 minutes, so</p> <p>10 I may skip over some slides. Feel free to chime in if</p> <p>11 you need me to slow down. But as I said, we will also</p> <p>12 be providing it for you to read as well.</p> <p>13 So we can go ahead and dive in. I'm going to</p> <p>14 take you through the objective and methodology of the</p> <p>15 research, then I will take you through key findings and</p> <p>16 the regional analysis.</p> <p>17 And let me back up one moment just to give</p> <p>18 you a little bit more background on myself. I am the</p> <p>19 Associate Director of Strategy at research -- at</p> <p>20 Riester, so that -- that's my position. I've got many</p> <p>21 years of research and strategy under my belt. So a</p> <p>22 little bit of an intro.</p> <p>23 Okay. Objective and methodology. This was</p> <p>24 an online survey. We heard from 1,600 -- 1,632 Arizona</p> <p>25 registered voters statewide. It was an online survey,</p>

Page 10	Page 12
<p>1 like I said, and we fielded it in May -- I'm sorry -- 2 March, the 6th through the 20th. This study was last 3 conducted in March of 2024, and our plan is to conduct 4 it again most likely in August prior to the general 5 election.</p> <p>6 So as -- as was mentioned previously, really 7 the goal of doing this study is to have the most timely 8 data in terms of what voters care about in terms of 9 issues, so that when we go into the debates the 10 moderators have fresh information on what's top of mind 11 and can tailor their questions appropriately.</p> <p>12 So in terms of top-line findings, we've got 13 11 here. I'll take you through those issues. So the 14 top issues among Arizonans are affordable housing, 15 election security, and inflation and rising prices. 16 That's when people are given a whole host of issues, 17 which we'll take a look at in a moment, to choose from, 18 then we ask them to choose their single most important 19 issue. And that came out as inflation and rising 20 prices.</p> <p>21 We will talk a lot about the differences 22 between parties when we -- when we move forward in the 23 deck, but overall voters are saying that they're most 24 likely to side with their party, but they are really 25 wanting candidates to find common ground across the</p>	<p>1 further educating people on what's going on. 2 Half of Republicans are saying that Arizona 3 is heading in the right direction. 40 percent of 4 Democrats are saying that the state is headed in the 5 wrong direction under the current leadership.</p> <p>6 We'll take a look at the breakdown regarding 7 education and a variety of factors there. Republicans 8 are largely satisfied with the status quo.</p> <p>9 We did see significant alignment on the issue 10 of water and land, air, water protection across party 11 lines, which was interesting. Particularly water, 12 voters are considering this really an existential issue 13 for the future of the state.</p> <p>14 We talked a bit about this. Aligning with 15 your party's affiliation is something people want to 16 do, but agreeing on issues is what matters even -- even 17 more to the electorate. So on one of the final slides 18 in this deck you'll see that about 60 percent of 19 people, and this is across parties, independents, 20 Republicans, Democrats, and other, are saying that they 21 would vote -- vote across party lines if the candidate 22 agrees with them on the issues.</p> <p>23 And then finally, people want a fighter as a 24 candidate, someone who is standing up for their issues, 25 values, and beliefs. That's relevant to three quarters</p>
Page 11	Page 13
<p>1 issues, and we identify a few areas where we feel this 2 can be done.</p> <p>3 Perception in terms of sentiment -- voter 4 sentiment is another key issue that we wanted to get a 5 feel for. A substantial number of voters are saying 6 that the local, national, and community economy is 7 getting worse. Slightly fewer are saying that their 8 personal financial situation is getting worse. But for 9 the most part, it's a pretty bleak sentiment, which is 10 something we saw in 2024 as well, so that's not -- not 11 necessarily unique to this year. But people are 12 feeling the crunch, which goes with the inflation, 13 rising prices concern.</p> <p>14 ICE is one of the most polarizing issues. 15 Voters are saying, and we'll show you what the answer 16 choices were on this, but they support a more moderate 17 approach the solve the problem.</p> <p>18 Foreign policy matters, this was interesting, 19 they're -- they're somewhat polarizing, but quite a -- 20 quite a few voters really have no opinion. This was 21 one of the issues, when we went through all -- this 22 variety of issues, where we had quite a few people 23 saying, I just don't -- I just don't fall on either 24 side of that issue. So we feel that there's probably 25 an opportunity, which we'll talk about later, for</p>	<p>1 of the electorate. And attitude and temperament are 2 important to two thirds of the electorate, and that -- 3 that really underscores the importance of the debates.</p> <p>4 People in -- in other qualitative research 5 that has been done really talk about the debates as 6 being an opportunity -- a rare, I should say, 7 opportunity of something that's not produced and 8 heavily, you know, handled. It's actually a rare 9 moment where you can see a candidate responding how 10 they -- how they would in real life, which is valued 11 these days.</p> <p>12 Okay. So for key findings, I'm just going to 13 linger on these slides, there are about a dozen here, 14 before we get to the breakdown of the top three 15 parties. So let's -- let's go ahead, we'll -- I'll 16 kind of let you know when to move through.</p> <p>17 But this is a breakdown of the parties, the 18 ethnicity and race, the age breakdown -- we have a note 19 here that moving forward all of these are broken down 20 by party lines -- household income, and then education 21 level.</p> <p>22 Voting behavior. So we have -- we asked 23 people if they voted in the 2022 midterm election or 24 the 2024 presidential election, we asked them also if 25 they're planning on voting in the midterm, and we have</p>

Page 14

1 that broken down by party.
2 This is our question about whether Arizona is
3 heading in the right direction -- on the right track or
4 in the wrong direction.
5 And then we start to get into the issues in
6 more granular detail, so we ask which of the following
7 are most important to you to know a candidate's
8 position on when voting in an Arizona state office
9 election. And then we have a variety of economic
10 factors listed there, and inflation and rising prices
11 came out on top, followed by gas prices.
12 Which of the following are important for you.
13 Okay. So this is our government and housing. We've
14 got affordable housing as the top concern among
15 Democrats and independents. Government inefficiencies
16 and waste was Republicans' top concern in this set of
17 questions, second to government fraud.
18 This is our healthcare question. So
19 Democrats really showed concern about healthcare
20 affordability and access for low income and older
21 Arizonans. Behavioral health problems -- I'm sorry --
22 programs and substance use disorder programs were --
23 trailed among all. For Republicans these topics also
24 mattered, but they were not -- not as much as among the
25 Democrats.

Page 15

1 Environment and climate, this is where we
2 have our question about water and -- land, air, water.
3 And you can see that the preference for -- for
4 candidates who -- who are taking these issues seriously
5 are quite high.
6 Immigration, we've got a lot of polarization
7 here. So you can see Republicans are really tuned into
8 all aspects of immigration and respond very favorably
9 to what's being done. Democrats are more interested in
10 DACA, Dreamers, war refugees. You can see a spike
11 there under that answer choice for the blue bar.
12 All right. Education, again, blue bars are
13 spiking here across a variety of factors. Democrats
14 really are concerned -- very concerned about all
15 aspects of education and its support going forward.
16 Independents and other are kind of in between
17 Republicans and Democrats.
18 All right. So this is our issues slide where
19 I'm going to take a little bit more time. So this is
20 where we say, three most important issues, which I
21 touched on in our initial top-line findings, but now
22 we've got it broken down by Republican, Democrat,
23 independent, and other.
24 So you can see, when we look at the "all,"
25 that security issues, mail-in -- mail-in voting, voter

Page 16

1 IDs, paper ballots, the election security topic, really
2 that in the "all" sector is being driven up by
3 Republicans really caring strongly about that issue,
4 whereas we don't see it coming up among Democrats,
5 independents, and other quite as strong.
6 However, and we do have -- we do have some
7 verbatim answers where people were asked to explain why
8 they chose their top issue, and we really dug into
9 those. And among Democrats, independents, and others
10 there is, as you can see here, concern about government
11 fraud and corruption. That is -- that is top of mind
12 for them, but not so much election security.
13 So affordable housing, inflation and rising
14 prices, you see that coming up among Democrats and
15 independents, but I'll -- I'll just linger here for a
16 second and let you all take a look at this and let me
17 know if you have any questions.
18 And then this is where we drill down and say,
19 okay, give us your single most important issue. And
20 overall we had inflation. That gray -- gray box is the
21 entire sample, 1,600 people. The top answer was
22 inflation and rising prices, and then we've got it
23 broken down by party below that.
24 Okay. So voter sentiment. We've got -- this
25 is -- this is where we dig into the question of is --

Page 17

1 are things getting better, worse, or staying the same.
2 And we have it on four different factors, so national
3 economy, state economy, local economy, and personal
4 financial situation. Then we have all, and we have it
5 broken down by party.
6 So you can see that those getting worse
7 numbers are quite high. When we're looking at
8 national, we've got 62 percent saying the national
9 economy is getting worse. And then as you go down, the
10 numbers -- you know, down to your personal financial
11 situation, still not great, 47 percent are saying it's
12 getting worse, but it's not as -- seen as as dire, I
13 guess, as the national economy number at 62. Democrats
14 have that number at 83.
15 Okay. Again, I'm just going to let you take
16 a look at these so that I can get to some later slides.
17 This is our voter sentiment on immigration, where we
18 dig in a little bit more on what is your level of
19 support, how much do you support or oppose what's being
20 done in terms of immigration in the United States and
21 ICE.
22 And this is where we see that slightly more
23 support on focusing on specific -- specific cases, even
24 if it means the total number of deportations decrease.
25 But again, that's very polarized by party.

Page 18

1 This is asking if people want ICE facilities
2 in Surprise, if they want them in Arizona. Not --
3 again, polarized by party lines, not a -- not a very
4 popular thing once you get to the point of would you
5 like one in your neighborhood.

6 Foreign policy is also polarizing. Most
7 Republicans are saying that they're supportive of
8 what's happening currently; but as mentioned earlier, a
9 lot of respondents are indifferent. So this is
10 indicating a need to provide more education around the
11 purpose and goals and consequences of foreign policy.

12 We asked about the Iran war. Republicans are
13 more -- were more likely in March to say that they
14 support the war, while a slight majority of Democrats
15 and a third of the independents and other opposed the
16 war. A quarter are saying that they're not really
17 supporting or opposing.

18 We have some questions here about tariffs as
19 well. And again, you see some differences by party
20 lines.

21 Okay. This is what I was thinking about. So
22 despite being polarized in their support of tariffs,
23 when they asked -- when we asked them about possible
24 solutions, the parties did align on this -- this
25 concept of thinking about renegotiating. That

Page 19

1 selection that is very popular, it says negotiate a --
2 negotiate new trade agreements that lower tariffs on
3 all sides. So there is some appetite for working
4 together in order to renegotiate the situation with
5 regard to tariffs. 42 percent of Democrats hope to
6 eliminate most tariffs; one in three independents
7 support that as well.

8 All right. This is a lot more detail on
9 water as well. We've talked about the alignment that
10 we're seeing in terms of conservation of water.

11 This is where we ask about agreeing with the
12 -- whether it's important for a candidate to agree --
13 agree on the issue and/or be a member of your preferred
14 party. So agreeing with the candidate on issues and
15 party alignment are what matter most to people. But
16 independents really stand out, you can see that spike
17 there, in terms of assigning greater importance to
18 issues alignment, right. They're not -- obviously
19 they're not tied to a specific party.

20 Please rate your agreement with these
21 statements. So this is where we ask specifically about
22 voting across party lines, wanting parties to work
23 together, wanting candidates to really stand firm, even
24 if it means there's gridlock. And then we asked -- we
25 provided these two statements: I cannot see myself

Page 20

1 voting for a Republican; I cannot see myself voting for
2 a Democrat. And we've got scores on each of those
3 factors broken down by party.

4 So the insights. Independents are most open
5 to voting across party lines. There is strong
6 agreement across the electorate that they want parties
7 to be able to work together. In terms of standing firm
8 even if it results in gridlock, the electorate is
9 split. The Republican respondents were slightly more
10 open to vote for other -- for the other party or other
11 parties -- I'm sorry -- for Democrats than Democrats
12 were saying that they're likely to vote for a
13 Republican.

14 This is a continuation, so -- right. Open to
15 policies from both parties, candidate personally
16 matters as much as policy -- candidate's personality
17 matters. They want a candidate who will fight for
18 their issues. There is strong -- strong demand for
19 assertiveness. People really do want a fighter. And
20 preferring candidates who collaborate, there's no need
21 to be rude. This idea that we want people to -- we may
22 want them to stand firm, but we want them to be civil.
23 And that's important, and that's another thing that
24 people are looking for in the debates.

25 All right. Regional analysis. So we have --

Page 21

1 these regions are all broken down across all of the
2 questions that I've gone through today, and we're going
3 to pull out some highlights for you. We've added
4 central Phoenix this year as well. So we'll take a
5 look at issues first, and then we'll look at sentiment.

6 So when we break this down, we've highlighted
7 the top issues, which is -- which are consistent, but
8 it is interesting. The first thing that jumps out here
9 is affordable housing being stronger in some areas than
10 others. We see the inflation numbers being, for the
11 most part, quite high across the board. But there is
12 -- I mean, the takeaway here is that there is some
13 variation across regions, so it is helpful to see this
14 broken out.

15 In terms of -- this is our -- more of our
16 regional analysis for sentiment. When we ask if the
17 state economy is getting better, worse, or staying the
18 same, you can see that Tucson had the highest, at
19 66 percent, feeling that the state economy is getting
20 worse. But you can see the breakdown across the board
21 here, with a majority feeling that things are not
22 great. Would you say your financial -- personal
23 financial situation, same question, getting worse,
24 better, staying the same, and then the breakdown there
25 as well.

Page 22

1 And that's it. I flew through. If there's
2 anything else you have questions on or if you'd like to
3 revisit any of these slides, I am more than happy to do
4 that.
5 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you, Kristin.
6 Any questions or comments from Members of the
7 Commission?
8 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Mr. Chairman, I have a
9 question.
10 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Commissioner Werther.
11 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: I was just wanting to
12 know more kind of about your sample size and sort of
13 how -- was this sort of like people opt in, like phone
14 calls, online, like how did you sort of get to, you
15 know, people to actually provide the input?
16 And then I just had a specific question about
17 rural Arizona, since it's sort of a wide swath sort of
18 proportionately.
19 MS. ALTMAN: Yeah.
20 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Is it based on
21 community population? Like just how much rural
22 Arizona, I guess, was considered?
23 MS. ALTMAN: Yeah. So let me answer those in
24 reverse order. Rural Arizona -- on the addendum slide,
25 I think a few slides back -- I mean, towards --

Page 23

1 further. It was anything that wasn't in the ZIP Codes
2 that were in those other five regions, so we grouped --
3 that's how we segmented the rural respondents.
4 And then in terms -- oh, okay. In terms of
5 sample, yes. So we work with a panel provider. It's
6 one of the largest in the nation. It's called Sago.
7 They tend to -- these panel providers tend to use a
8 variety of methods in terms of getting their sample, so
9 that can be online ads, networking, word of mouth,
10 social media ads, they have like team members who go
11 out to community organizations and recruit people to be
12 on the panel. So it's a huge variety of sources that
13 they use to sign people up to be potential respondents
14 to quant and qualitative research for large companies
15 like this.
16 And then we're able to say, we want to speak
17 to people only in Arizona. And then we requalify them
18 in the survey that we build on our end and we ensure
19 that everyone is selecting Arizona, selecting that
20 they're registered to vote. Those were our criteria
21 for this study. And if not, they're thanked and they
22 are not, you know, allowed to proceed.
23 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: So following up on what
24 Commissioner Werther was asking, so what is the level
25 of confidence that this is accurate?

Page 24

1 MS. ALTMAN: So we -- we always try to -- it
2 is highly confident -- highly accurate. Because it's
3 essentially 388 at 95 percent confidence level, and 388
4 being sample size, is what -- the minimum that we do
5 for a -- for a research study. We wanted it to be
6 1,600 so that, when we drilled down on these smaller
7 segments, the segments would be large enough to feel
8 confident about. So -- so the overall sample being
9 1,600, highly confident.
10 I would say -- or, I will say the other
11 group, which was Libertarians, Greens, No Labels, and I
12 don't know, but I'm registered, that was a smaller
13 sample size. It was not -- so I -- I mean, that is not
14 significant.
15 So I guess my -- my answer is that it varies
16 by sample size, but for the large parties it is -- it
17 is large enough to be at a highly confident accurate,
18 yeah.
19 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: So the main purpose of this
20 was to kind of shape the discussion going into the
21 debates?
22 MS. ALTMAN: Yes.
23 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: And are we doing other
24 things -- I mean, this is a significant survey of -- in
25 terms of numbers. Are we doing anything else to get

Page 25

1 the results of this out there to the general public --
2 MS. ALTMAN: Yes.
3 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: -- other than posting it on
4 our website?
5 MS. ROBERTS: Thanks, Kristin.
6 Mr. Chairman, Commissioners, yes. So how we
7 intend to use this, it will be provided to every
8 moderator who is in our moderator pool for both our
9 statewide and federal debates and also our legislative
10 debates, so they will have access to it.
11 We are also giving access to this to our
12 candidates. So when they confirm their participation
13 in our debate, we're communicating with them. Prior to
14 their debate we are giving them what is essentially a
15 preparation package to help them understand, okay, here
16 is the format, here is, you know, your length of time
17 to be speaking for opening and closing statements.
18 For our broadcast debates we are giving them
19 the actual topics, not questions, but the topics for
20 discussion. And then we're giving them the research,
21 saying, this is the research that we have that was
22 provided to the moderators, so that way you can prepare
23 yourself and you can see where the voters in your
24 region or statewide care about the issues, and the
25 moderators may make reference to this.

Page 26

1 We are also hoping to do some public
2 relations with this and hopefully get it out to our
3 media partners, you know, other entities that we have
4 relationships with, and then of course posting it on
5 our website and our social.

6 We are also using this to inform not only our
7 debates, but our Inside the Issues coverage that we are
8 doing. So this could speak to -- as Tom mentioned in
9 the ED Report, we just did one on water. Looking at
10 the results of this information can help us say, okay,
11 maybe immigration is our next topic, or something to
12 that extent, seeing where the numbers fall.

13 And then, of course, we will be using it for
14 all of our own content, like our People's Ledger, you
15 know, our newsletter, things like that.

16 So we intend to also get this out to voters
17 to say, hey, did you know that people, you know, maybe
18 in Tucson and the Pima area care about these top three
19 issues. You know, learn more and hear the candidates
20 talk about this at the Clean Elections debates.

21 So we do have a lot of plans for how to push
22 this information out to the public.

23 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Okay. Thank you, Gina.

24 Any other questions or comments from Members
25 of the Commission?

Page 27

1 (No response.)

2 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you, Gina. Thank
3 you, Kristin.

4 MS. ALTMAN: Thank you all.

5 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: I'm kind of buried in paper
6 here. Item V, discussion and possible action on an
7 amendment to Rule R2-20-113 relating to the
8 Commission's Voter Education Guide. This rule
9 implements the statutory requirements for preparation
10 and publication of the Guide.

11 Tom, do you want to walk us through this
12 proposed amendment?

13 MR. COLLINS: Yes, Mr. Chairman. So the
14 Commission authorized us to circulate this for public
15 comment at our February meeting, and this is a --
16 effectively a cleanup amendment to align our rule with
17 the statute, with the addition of County candidates to
18 the Voter Education Guide. So that is the -- that is
19 the -- that's the -- that's what it does.

20 Were you to approve it unanimously, you know,
21 you may -- you know, it would be in your discretion, if
22 you wanted to, to indicate you'd like it to be
23 effective immediately if GRRC were to authorize it to
24 be effective immediately. Because the statute
25 ultimately prevails, I'm not -- you know, I'm not

Page 28

1 completely convinced that immediate effectiveness is
2 absolutely necessary, right, but -- but it certainly
3 can't hurt to ask. And then -- but that's really it.

4 We didn't -- we did not receive any public
5 comments. I don't know if anybody here was -- but we
6 didn't receive any written public comments in. So if
7 there are people here to make public comment on this
8 rule, obviously, you know, that -- this would be an
9 appropriate time for that, but we don't have any other
10 comments.

11 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: So just to -- just to
12 clarify, up until now the Voter Guide that voters get
13 in the mail included information only on federal
14 candidates, statewide candidates, and legislative
15 candidates?

16 MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman, by statute it was
17 only statewide and legislative. And in 2000 -- the
18 last -- last session the Legislature included
19 countywide candidates and board of supervisors
20 candidates, not county judicial candidates or
21 precinct-based county candidates.

22 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Okay. Thank you.

23 Any Members of the Commission wants -- want
24 to make any comments on this?

25 (No response.)

Page 29

1 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Is there anybody here
2 wishing to comment on this item in the Agenda or anyone
3 online?

4 (No response.)

5 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Hearing none, do I have a
6 motion regarding this proposed rule amendment?

7 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Mr. Chairman, I move
8 to approve the amendment to Administrative Rule
9 R2-20-113 relating to the Commission Voter Education
10 Guide to be effective immediately.

11 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you,
12 Commissioner Werther.

13 Is there a second?

14 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: I'll second.

15 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you,
16 Commissioner Crump.

17 It's been moved and seconded that we move
18 ahead on this amendment to Rule R2-20-113 relating to
19 the Voter Education Guide. I will call the roll.

20 Commissioner Werther.

21 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Aye.

22 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Commissioner Crump.

23 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Aye.

24 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Commissioner Titla.

25 COMMISSIONER TITLA: Aye.

Page 30

1 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Chair votes aye.
2 The motion is approved 4-to-nothing.
3 Item VI, discussion and possible action on
4 the order assessing penalties and notice of appealable
5 agency action in MUR 25-03 involving Monica Timberlake,
6 a 2025 legislative candidate.
7 Commissioners, you have the proposed order in
8 your packets. The Executive Director will present his
9 recommendations. And then Ms. Timberlake, if she is in
10 attendance, or if anyone representing her is in
11 attendance, will have an opportunity to respond.
12 Tom.
13 MR. COLLINS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman,
14 Commissioners. So this is -- as the Chairman said,
15 this is the order and notice of appealable action
16 respecting the complaint against Ms. Timberlake.
17 This matter had two components to it. One
18 was a repayment order that the Commission issued last
19 year. This is -- this complaint -- and then at the
20 last meeting you determined that there was probable
21 cause to believe the facts in -- outlined in the -- in
22 the probable cause memo.
23 This order, as a factual matter, you know,
24 goes through the facts underlying the complaint that
25 were confirmed, and specifically that Ms. Timberlake

Page 31

1 did not timely file campaign finance reports that she
2 was obligated to file under the Act, the Rules, and
3 under her agreement to participate. She did not
4 provide and has not provided to the auditors for the
5 Commission the backup documentation respecting those --
6 those reports. She has not -- with respect to
7 repayment, we -- she has admitted that she has around
8 \$5,000 in Clean Elections funds still. We have not
9 received those funds. And -- oh, and then the last
10 issue, based on her communications with us and
11 admissions, is that, you know, her books or records
12 were not organized sufficiently for her to timely file
13 the reports, nor to provide that information to the
14 auditors timely.
15 So those are the -- those are the facts. And
16 our recommendation with respect to a penalty -- you
17 know, as I think we've discussed many times, the
18 penalties under the Act for failure to file can be
19 significant. We've recommended a reduction of the fine
20 respecting the failure to file. Roughly that nets out
21 as the equivalent of the amount of money that she got
22 from Clean Elections. It's not -- it's off by about
23 \$3,000. So we think that's a reasonable resolution.
24 You know, we are -- we have provided notice
25 for this meeting and for meetings throughout the

Page 32

1 process. We understand, and I think the record that
2 you have indicate, that Ms. Timberlake has a standing
3 appointment that she's unwilling or unable to move on
4 Thursday mornings, but we've never received, for
5 example, a formal request that we move our meeting, nor
6 any documentation or anything else respecting that.
7 So, you know, I -- so, I mean, I feel it's
8 important to acknowledge that, but in my view, absent
9 some engagement on the issues that involve the
10 disgorgement of what money she agrees she still has
11 from Clean Elections and providing the records to the
12 auditor, et cetera, I don't think that that's a
13 particularly strong excuse or mitigator.
14 So with that, I am happy to answer any
15 questions the Commission has.
16 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: So just to summarize,
17 almost two years ago Ms. Timberlake received \$31,760 in
18 Clean Elections funds, and we don't know how she spent
19 it, and she has either not kept records indicating how
20 she spent it or she has not provided them to us. So
21 your proposal is that she repay that plus \$3,000 in
22 various penalties?
23 MR. COLLINS: If I could clarify, we've
24 already done the repayment order in a separate
25 proceeding. This -- these fines are separate from

Page 33

1 that. This is -- so this would be an additional 31,000
2 in fines, plus the 3 -- I think it's 3,000 in
3 additional fines for the additional violations. So
4 that -- so there will be -- were she to get the notice,
5 you know, appeal, resolved, et cetera, you know, the
6 total amount under this order would be around \$34,000.
7 There's a separate order with respect to repayment that
8 is effective, and there was no appeal from -- for the
9 amount of the Clean Elections money.
10 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Okay. Thank you.
11 Is Ms. Timberlake here or is anyone
12 representing Ms. Timberlake here?
13 (No response.)
14 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Let the record show no one
15 is here and Ms. Timberlake is not here.
16 Is there anyone in the audience wishing to
17 address this matter on the Agenda or anyone on Zoom?
18 (No response.)
19 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Any Member of the
20 Commission have any comments?
21 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Mr. Chairman, I just
22 have a clarification question to Tom.
23 So in the penalty section, as you mentioned,
24 it says the total was 34,760, but then the order, the
25 next line, says, hereby imposes a civil penalty of

Page 34

1 320,600.
2 MR. COLLINS: Oh, that is a -- that is a
3 mistake.
4 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: I just want to know
5 what penalty we're imposing.
6 MR. COLLINS: I'm sorry. Yes. No, the
7 penalty is the 34,000. And we can -- I apologize. If
8 we could -- in your motion we can certainly take care
9 of that.
10 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Okay. For that, can I
11 just say the amount?
12 MR. COLLINS: Yes, I think. I think. I
13 mean, it's not -- that would be my recommendation, but
14 it's not -- I'm not the final word on that.
15 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Craig, can we say the
16 amount?
17 MR. MORGAN: Yes, ma'am. Commissioner, you
18 can just say the amount.
19 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Thank you.
20 MR. MORGAN: You're welcome.
21 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Mr. Chairman.
22 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Yes, Commissioner Crump.
23 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Yeah, my question was
24 going to be the same. I was confused. I didn't have
25 the paperwork in front of me. But in reviewing in

Page 35

1 preparation for this I saw the 320, but I think I even
2 saw on an updated order 370, and so I was confused.
3 But that number has nothing to do with what we're
4 talking about, right?
5 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: That's correct,
6 Commissioner Crump.
7 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Okay.
8 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: And we'll -- we'll clear
9 that up in the motion.
10 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Okay. I guess I would
11 ask a follow-up question then --
12 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Sure.
13 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: -- if I may, for Tom.
14 So I'm hearing -- if I'm hearing correctly,
15 there was a separate order for the repayment of funds.
16 And then this is a penalty, and just coincidentally the
17 number -- or, maybe not coincidentally, but the
18 number is roughly similar to the original amount that
19 she received, correct?
20 MR. COLLINS: So it is -- it is coincidental.
21 I mean, it's not a targeted number. What we -- what
22 we -- what it is is 10 percent of the overall potential
23 fine. Okay. So the overall potential fine was
24 317,600, and we reduced that to 31,760.
25 I just want to also point out that the notice

Page 36

1 that we issued to Ms. Timberlake specifies the 34,760,
2 so -- so the letter that I filed with you and with her,
3 you know, has the correct, you know, and clear
4 number and it has the -- it has both the exposure and
5 the final recommendation in the -- in the notice
6 letter.
7 So it's a coincidence, but, you know, I think
8 it's of some -- I think it warrants acknowledging. In
9 other words, I think that the fact that it doesn't
10 exceed the amount of the underlying fine is -- the
11 underlying repayment is -- helps to tie it to some
12 degree of proportionality.
13 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Okay. Mr. Chairman and
14 Tom, and so if we were to approve this recommended
15 order today, am I correct in understanding there would
16 be two orders against her totaling roughly 70 to
17 \$75,000, something like that?
18 MR. COLLINS: Mr. Chairman,
19 Commissioner Crump, yes.
20 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Okay. Thank you.
21 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you for clearing that
22 up, Commissioner Crump.
23 Any other questions or comments from Members
24 of the Commission?
25 (No response.)

Page 37

1 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Hearing none, do we have a
2 motion on this item?
3 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Mr. Chairman, I move
4 to approve the order assessing penalties and notice of
5 appealable agency action in MUR 25-03 in the matter of
6 Monica Timberlake for the amount of \$34,760.
7 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Is there a second to that
8 motion?
9 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: I'll second.
10 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you,
11 Commissioner Crump.
12 Before we move ahead, Craig, does that meet
13 your concerns?
14 MR. MORGAN: Mr. Chairman, yes. Thank you.
15 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Okay. Thanks, Craig.
16 It's been moved and seconded that -- that we
17 move ahead on Order MUR 25-03 for assessing penalties
18 of \$34,760. I will call the roll.
19 Commissioner Werther.
20 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Aye.
21 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Commissioner Crump.
22 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Aye.
23 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Commissioner Titla.
24 COMMISSIONER TITLA: Aye.
25 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Chair votes aye.

Page 38

1 The motion is approved 4-to-nothing.
2 Thank you, Tom.
3 MR. COLLINS: Thank you.
4 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Item VII, public comment.
5 This is the time for consideration of comments and
6 suggestions from the public. Action taken as a result
7 of public comment will be limited to directing staff to
8 study the matter, rescheduling the matter for further
9 consideration, or responding to criticism. Please
10 limit your comments to no more than five minutes.
11 Is there any member of the public wishing to
12 make a comment?
13 Come forward and state your name for the
14 record, please. And please limit your comments to five
15 minutes.
16 MR. LOGVIN: Yes. Good morning,
17 Commissioners, Executive Director Collins. My name is
18 Alex Logvin. I'm an SRP ratepayer and a registered
19 voter. I'm here because 72.3 percent of Arizona voters
20 passed Prop 211 for one reason, transparency. We want
21 to know who is spending money to influence our
22 elections, and for three years this Commission has
23 failed to deliver on that promise. Not a single Voter
24 Right to Know Act penalty, no enforcement actions,
25 complaints that seem to be swept under the rug without

Page 39

1 ever reaching this board for a vote.
2 On March 26th Mr. Collins told this
3 Commission there's a rule that allows the Executive
4 Director to close complaints. That rule is
5 R2-20-811(F). And yes, it says he may dismiss the
6 complaint at any time, but here is the problem:
7 A.R.S. 16-977(A), the statute you are charged with
8 enforcing, says the Commission shall investigate. Not
9 may, not the Executive Director, the Commission.
10 That's you. A regulatory "may" cannot override a
11 statutory "shall."
12 For the violations exceeding \$50,000 -- and
13 Turning Point Action has spent millions -- Section
14 16-977(C) specifically says prosecutorial discretion
15 cannot justify dismissal or inaction.
16 Mr. Collins has used 811(F) to dismiss every
17 single Prop 211 complaint that has come before this
18 body today, five of them: Arizona Senate Victory Fund,
19 Make Liberty Win, Stand for Children, Arizona Solutions
20 PAC, and Opportunity Arizona. This board never voted
21 on any of them. This dismissal letter showed up in the
22 packet after the fact. This is the opposite of what
23 the statute requires.
24 On April 6th I filed a formal VKR -- VRKA
25 complaint with this Commission against Turning Point

Page 40

1 Action. I see -- I see today's packet has it docketed
2 as MUR 26-03. It joins two other Turning Point
3 complaints, MUR 25-04 and MUR 25-05, that have been
4 sitting with the Commission for seven months without
5 disposition. Five prior Prop 211 complaints, five
6 dismissals, three against Turning Point, no action.
7 You can see the pattern.
8 Commissioners, Prop 211 was about
9 transparency. What is happening here is the opposite
10 of transparency. Complaints are being handled in the
11 dark, at the staff level, without your knowledge or
12 vote.
13 I'm formally requesting that this Commission
14 demand a full accounting of every -- every VRKA
15 complaint received and that VRKA enforcement is added
16 to a recurring agenda item in every meeting going
17 forward. No more closed-door dispositions. Every
18 legitimate complaint investigated, every result
19 reported to this board in open session.
20 I plan on being here next month, and the
21 month after that, and the month after that, until we
22 see some more transparency from this Commission. Thank
23 you.
24 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you for your
25 comments.

Page 41

1 Does anyone else wish to make a comment?
2 Yes, ma'am. Could you come forward and state
3 your name for the record.
4 MS. SPENCER: Good morning. My name is
5 Paige Spencer. Good morning, Commissioners, and
6 specifically Commissioner Crump. Thank you for your
7 service on this Commission and for your service to the
8 country. Your background as a prosecutor,
9 legislator --
10 UNIDENTIFIED MALE VOICE: I don't think they
11 can hear.
12 MS. SPENCER: Oh, all right. I'm not good
13 with tech. Can you hear me now?
14 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: No.
15 MS. THOMAS: You've got to push the button.
16 MS. SPENCER: This button? Hello, hello,
17 anybody.
18 MS. ROBERTS: It might have gotten unplugged.
19 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: When the previous gentleman
20 was speaking, the light was green, so...
21 MS. ROBERTS: Oh, here we go.
22 MS. SPENCER: Hello.
23 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Why don't you give it
24 another shot.
25 MS. SPENCER: Hello.

Page 42

1 MS. ROBERTS: Should we just use the dais?
2 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Why don't you come up here
3 and speak.
4 MS. THOMAS: You can sit down. Just hit the
5 button and leave it green.
6 UNIDENTIFIED MALE VOICE: Oh, it just turned
7 red.
8 MS. THOMAS: Well, I turned it off, but,
9 yeah, she needs to hit it and then don't touch it.
10 There you go.
11 MS. SPENCER: Hello.
12 MR. COLLINS: All right. That's good.
13 MS. SPENCER: Good morning, Commissioners,
14 and specifically Commissioner Crump. My name is
15 Paige Spencer, and I am an Arizona voter. Thank you
16 for your service on this Commission and for your
17 service to the country. Your background as a
18 prosecutor, legislature, and member of the armed forces
19 gives you particular clarity about how statutes and
20 rules are supposed to interact, and that's useful here.
21 On a consent agreement last September you
22 asked, if we theoretically wanted to reject this
23 proposed agreement and just enforce the statute, which
24 is the kind of question a prosecutor asks. It means
25 you're reading the statute carefully and thinking about

Page 43

1 what authority actually exists on the page, not just
2 what's been done in the past. I'd like to ask you to
3 bring that same eye to a procedural question previously
4 referenced by Executive Director Collins regarding the
5 rule letting staff close a complaint.
6 I am not a lawyer, but my interpretation is
7 that Article 2 under the Clean Elections Act,
8 R2-20-206(A)(3), and the Article 8 rules adopted for
9 Proposition 211 in October of 2023, R2-20-809 through
10 813, don't contain the same authority. As a lawyer,
11 you know these are separate regulatory articles
12 governing separate statutes. I may be reading that
13 wrong, and if so, I'd welcome the correction. If this
14 question is answered in open session, it will no longer
15 be a source of confusion.
16 The statute also says the Commission shall
17 investigate Voters' Right to Know Act complaints. I
18 would love to see that applied the way a prosecutor
19 would apply any mandatory statutory duty,
20 transparently, on the record, with the Commission
21 casting the final votes.
22 Before he became a Supreme Court Justice,
23 Louis Brandeis wrote in 1913 that sunlight is said to
24 be the best of disinfectants.
25 My final request is the same one that you

Page 44

1 previously heard from Alex, a recur -- recurring VRKA
2 status moment on the agenda so the public can clearly
3 watch these cases move. Thank you for your service and
4 for your time.
5 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you very much.
6 Does anyone else wish to make a comment?
7 Yes, sir. Sir, why don't you come forward.
8 I saw you first. Why don't you come up here too.
9 MR. GERROS: Good morning. My name is
10 Bill Gerros, and I am an Arizona voter. I'll be brief,
11 because the people who spoke before me have said most
12 of what he's saying.
13 I want to make sure the Commission
14 understands what happens next. On April 6th, a formal
15 VRKA complaint was filed with this Commission. Your
16 Executive Director has had it for 17 days. His
17 five-day jurisdictional review period under
18 R2-20-809(D) expired on April 13th. The respondent
19 notification deadline under R2-20-810 was April 20th.
20 As of today, the complaint should have a case
21 number and the respondent should have been notified.
22 Has any of that happened? Has Mr. Collins told you
23 about it?
24 A.R.S. 16-977(C) gives Arizona voters a
25 private right of action. If this Commission dismisses

Page 45

1 a complaint or fails to act within 90 days, the
2 complainant can file a civil action in Superior Court
3 to compel enforcement. The court reviews your decision
4 de novo, that means afresh, no deference to your
5 judgment.
6 And for violations exceeding \$50,000 -- and
7 Turning Point Action has spent millions, by its own
8 admission -- the statute specifically says that
9 prosecutorial discretion cannot justify dismissal or
10 inaction. Let me repeat that. For violations over
11 \$50,000 you cannot claim discretion. It is written
12 into the law you are charged with enforcing.
13 The Unity Rising complaint's 90-day clock
14 expired five months ago. The April 6th complaint's
15 clock is now running. If this Commission does not act,
16 voters will in court.
17 And one more thing. Mr. Collins told you on
18 March 26th that there is a rule that allows him to
19 close complaints. That rule is R2-20-811(F), and yes,
20 it says he may dismiss the complaint at any time, but
21 A.R.S. 16-977(A) says the Commission shall investigate.
22 A regulatory "may" cannot override a statutory "shall."
23 And 16-977(C) says that for violations exceeding
24 \$50,000, prosecutorial discretion cannot justify
25 dismissal or inaction.

Page 46

1 If the April 6th complaint is dismissed
2 without a vote of this Commission on a matter involving
3 millions in alleged VRKA spending, that will be part of
4 the court filing. Thank you very much.
5 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you very much.
6 Ma'am.
7 MS. SOLON: Hello, Commissioners. My name is
8 Kathryn Solon. I'm an Arizona voter, and I'm one of
9 that 72 percent that voted for Prop 211.
10 And I'm coming here today to thank you for
11 your work; to thank you for adding these cases to the
12 docket, MUR 26-03, 25-04, 25-05; thank you for
13 defending Prop 211 in the courts; acknowledging that
14 there is legislative action that may defund this
15 Commission; and to let you know that I'm one of those
16 voters that would be helping to fight that, because I
17 think your work is important.
18 I have a couple of asks today, and some is
19 repetitive of people who have already spoken. I want
20 to ask you to investigate MUR 26-03. I want to ask you
21 to assign a case number to AZ FRG. I want to ask you
22 to continue to keep these VRKA cases on your docket.
23 And then sort of really in general, it would be very
24 helpful for the general public if you would define the
25 process that you're using to consider these complaints

Page 47

1 and put it on your website so people will know how to
2 file a complaint, what will happen, when you will
3 consider, and so that the general public could
4 understand this. This bill was -- this initiative was
5 passed for transparency and accountability, and we
6 appreciate your work.
7 And then finally I'd like to ask, that great
8 survey that we heard earlier today, can you put a link
9 to it on your website or let the general public find it
10 somewhere. Thank you very much.
11 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you.
12 Does anyone else wish to make comment?
13 Yes, sir.
14 MR. GEORGE: Is it on? Okay. Great.
15 Mr. Chair, Commissioners, Director Collins,
16 my name is Jacob George. I am a concerned Arizona
17 voter and a founder of Unity Rising USA. I am deeply
18 concerned that I haven't heard back about the status of
19 my complaint that was submitted in July of 2025 against
20 Turning Point Action and their PAC under Prop 211, the
21 Voter Right to Know. We received TPUSA -- TPUSA's
22 response and responded back to the Commission in
23 August, and it has been dead silent since.
24 Arizonans voted for Prop 211 by an
25 overwhelmingly majority and would like it to be treated

Page 48

1 as such. Are we all here to hold bad actors
2 accountable and use the enforcement mechanisms that
3 Arizonans handed to you, or are we here to twiddle our
4 thumbs and look the other way? Arizonans deserve to
5 know who's buying their elections.
6 And I'm just going to kind of second what
7 everyone else said. As a school board member, though,
8 I truly thank you for your time and service to this
9 Commission. Thank you so much.
10 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you very much.
11 Is there anyone else who wishes to make a
12 comment?
13 Yes, sir. Come forward and state your name
14 for the record.
15 MR. TRAVISE: Hey, good after -- or, good
16 morning still, actually. My name is John Travise. I'm
17 a combat veteran and was a first-time running for
18 office to the recent SRP district election. I ran for
19 council and won. I'm speaking for myself, though, as
20 a -- as a ratepayer.
21 I ran my campaign by the rules. I filed on
22 time. I itemized my donors. I filed every report
23 under signature of perjury. And I sat here today and
24 watched the Commission move to find a school board
25 candidate over \$70,000 on a 31,000 fund for a filing

Page 49

1 failure. That tells me enforcement exists when the
2 Commission decides to do it.
3 On April 6th the complaint was filed with the
4 Commission alleging Turning Point Action failed to
5 disclose its finances and was improperly integrated
6 with the candidates that supported it. Since then, the
7 Arizona Republic has reported one of those candidates
8 gave \$200,000 to Turning Point in the two years before
9 the race. The scale of the money involved in the SRP
10 race was orders of magnitude larger than this whole
11 board matter the Commission just acted on.
12 My concern is not my race. I won. The
13 concern is about whether this tells first-time
14 candidates about whether the rules are real. My
15 concern -- or, if filing failure by a small candidate
16 warrants \$70,000 in penalties, a complaint alleging
17 \$200,000 in undisclosed donations and improper
18 coordination warrants at least an investigation with a
19 meaningful time line. I'm not asking for a particular
20 conclusion. I'm asking you for the same enforcement
21 posture you just demonstrated. Thank you.
22 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you very much.
23 I'm not sure I should say this, but point of
24 clarification. Ms. Timberlake was running for the
25 Legislature, not for the school board.

Page 50

1 MR. TRAVISE: Oh, yeah. But she was a school
2 board candidate. I'm sorry. Yeah.
3 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Is there anyone else who
4 wishes to make a comment today?
5 Yes, would you please come forward.
6 MS. ROBBINS: Good morning, Commissioners.
7 My name is Judy Robbins. I'm a voter and a person who
8 is concerned with our election laws that -- I am a
9 volunteer for petition gathering and circulating. I am
10 very concerned about what has happened over the time
11 that Proposition 211 had been passed, and I have seen
12 absolutely nothing.
13 I concur with all of the folks that stood up
14 here before me. And I am frustrated as a person who
15 wants to see accountability and transparency, and
16 that's why I worked so hard to get this thing on
17 the ballot and to make sure that voters understood it,
18 and they overwhelmingly passed it by 72 percent.
19 We need a Commission like yourselves to have
20 teeth when voters complain about violations to this
21 law, and making sure that we have enough transparency
22 and enough accountability that people could trust a
23 Clean Elections Commission to do the work that we have,
24 as an electorate, set out for you to do.
25 This is not a choice. This is a mandate.

Page 51

1 And we really would love to see some acknowledgment of,
2 A, number one, the work you're doing to address the
3 complaints, as well as the complaints, the process in
4 which you make decisions around timelines, and of
5 course making this process transparent so voters like
6 myself and the electorate in general knows who's giving
7 what money to whom and to know that our laws that we
8 craft by law in our Arizona Constitution is followed
9 through with accountability and have enough teeth to be
10 a deterrent for our future candidates for office,
11 whether they're Clean Elections candidates or they're
12 self-funded or, you know -- whomever is interested in
13 stepping forward needs to know that they have a playing
14 field that they can count on and a Commission that will
15 take on that challenge and not look away.
16 This is why the voters wrote the bill the
17 way -- or, the proposition the way it was, that you
18 should not have that discretion and it should be
19 followed through. I would hope that in future that you
20 would use your teeth and make sure that our Clean
21 Commissioners are responsible for the accountability
22 and transparency that we so chose to set forth to you.
23 Thank you so much for all your work. I know
24 the work is very challenging, and I appreciate all the
25 time you spend. And I am a defender as well, like

Page 52

1 Kathryn, of fighting against those legislators who want
2 to defund and close this program. So thank you so
3 much, and I hope that moving forward I'll see some
4 changes. Thank you.
5 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you.
6 Is there anyone else who wishes to make
7 comments?
8 (No response.)
9 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Anyone on Zoom who wishes
10 to a make a comment?
11 (No response.)
12 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: As I said before the
13 comments started, action taken as a result of these
14 comments will be limited to directing staff to study
15 the matter or rescheduling it for further
16 consideration. Thank you very much for taking the time
17 to come down here and give us your comments.
18 The public may also submit comments by e-mail
19 at ccec@azcleelections.gov.
20 Item VIII, adjournment. At this time, I
21 would entertain a motion to adjourn.
22 MR. COLLINS: I don't know if
23 Commissioner Crump wanted to speak on...
24 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Oh, no. He's getting
25 ready to second.

Page 53

1 Mr. Chairman I move to adjourn.
2 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you,
3 Commissioner Werther.
4 Is there a second?
5 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: I'll second.
6 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Thank you,
7 Commissioner Crump.
8 It's been moved and seconded that we adjourn.
9 I'll call the roll.
10 Commissioner Werther.
11 COMMISSIONER WERTHER: Aye.
12 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Commissioner Crump.
13 COMMISSIONER CRUMP: Aye.
14 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Commissioner Titla.
15 COMMISSIONER TITLA: Aye.
16 CHAIRMAN KIMBLE: Chair votes aye.
17 We are adjourned. Thank you.
18 (The meeting concluded at 11:10 a.m.)
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

1 STATE OF ARIZONA)
) ss.
2 COUNTY OF MARICOPA)
3

4 BE IT KNOWN that the foregoing proceedings
5 were taken by me; that I was then and there a Certified
6 Reporter of the State of Arizona; that the proceedings
7 were taken down by me in shorthand and thereafter
8 transcribed into typewriting under my direction; that
9 the foregoing pages are a full, true, and accurate
10 transcript of all proceedings had and adduced upon the
11 taking of said proceedings, all to the best of my skill
12 and ability.

13
14 I FURTHER CERTIFY that I am in no way related
15 to nor employed by any of the parties hereto nor am I
16 in any way interested in the outcome hereof.

17
18 DATED at Tempe, Arizona, this 26th day of
19 April, 2026.

20
21 

22
23 Kathryn A. Blackwelder, RPR
Certified Reporter #50666

24
25

<hr/>	23rd 3:5	<hr/>	activities 7:8
\$	247 5:23	7	activity 8:5,7
\$3,000 31:23 32:21	25 9:9	70 36:16	actors 48:1
\$31,760 32:17	25-03 30:5 37:5,17	72 46:9	actual 25:19
\$34,000 33:6	25-04 40:3 46:12	72.3 38:19	added 21:3 40:15
\$34,760 37:6,18	25-05 40:3 46:12	<hr/>	addendum 22:24
\$5,000 31:8	26 4:4	8	adding 46:11
\$50,000 39:12 45:6,11,24	26-03 40:2 46:12,20	8 43:8	addition 27:17
\$70,000 48:25	26th 3:22,23 4:13 39:2	811(F) 39:16	additional 33:1,3
\$75,000 36:17	45:18	813 43:10	address 33:17
<hr/>	<hr/>	83 17:14	Administration 6:6
1	3	<hr/>	administrative 6:24 7:8
1,600 9:24 16:21 24:6,9	3 33:2	9	29:8
1,632 9:24	3,000 33:2	90 45:1	admission 45:8
10 35:22	31,000 33:1 48:25	90-day 45:13	admissions 31:11
10:00 3:4	31,760 35:24	95 24:3	admitted 31:7
11 10:13	317,600 35:24	<hr/>	adopted 43:8
12th 5:23	320 35:1	A	ads 23:9,10
13th 6:11 44:18	320,600 34:1	a.m. 3:4	affiliation 12:15
16-977(A) 39:7 45:21	34,000 34:7	A.R.S. 39:7 44:24 45:21	affordability 14:20
16-977(C) 39:14 44:24	34,760 33:24 36:1	absent 32:8	affordable 10:14 14:14
45:23	370 35:2	absolutely 28:2	16:13 21:9
17 44:16	388 24:3	accelerate 6:12	afresh 45:4
1913 43:23	<hr/>	access 14:20 25:10,11	age 13:18
19th 5:18	4	access 14:20 25:10,11	agency 30:5 37:5
<hr/>	4-to-nothing 4:21 30:2	accountability 47:5	agenda 29:2 33:17 40:16
2	38:1	accountable 48:2	44:2
2 43:7	40 12:3	accounting 40:14	agree 19:12,13
2000 28:17	42 19:5	accurate 5:14 23:25 24:2,	agreeing 12:16 19:11,14
2022 13:23	47 17:11	17	agreement 19:20 20:6
2023 43:9	<hr/>	acknowledge 32:8	31:3 42:21,23
2024 10:3 11:10 13:24	6	acknowledging 36:8	agreements 19:2
2025 30:6 47:19	60 12:18	46:13	agrees 12:22 32:10
2026 3:5,22,23 4:4 8:17	62 17:8,13	act 6:21 31:2,18 38:24	ahead 9:13 13:15 29:18
20th 10:2 44:19	66 21:19	43:7,17 45:1,15	37:12,17
211 6:16,18 38:20 39:17	6th 10:2 39:24 44:14	action 3:21 8:17 27:6	air 12:10 15:2
40:5,8 43:9 46:9,13 47:20,	45:14 46:1	30:3,5,15 37:5 38:6 39:13	Alex 38:18 44:1
24		40:1,6 44:25 45:2,7 46:14	align 18:24 27:16
		47:20	
		actions 38:24	

Aligning 12:14	Article 43:7,8	beginning 6:7	calls 22:14
alignment 12:9 19:9,15,18	articles 43:11	behavior 13:22	campaign 7:20 31:1 48:21
alleged 46:3	asks 42:24 46:18	Behavioral 14:21	candidacy 7:23
allowed 23:22	aspect 6:20	beliefs 12:25	candidate 5:25 7:11,16 12:21,24 13:9 19:12,14 20:15,17 30:6 48:25
Altman 8:23 9:1,3 22:19,23 24:1,22 25:2 27:4	aspects 15:8,15	belt 9:21	candidate's 14:7 20:16
amendment 27:7,12,16 29:6,8,18	assertiveness 20:19	Benson 5:20	candidates 5:15,23 8:22 10:25 15:4 19:23 20:20 25:12 26:19 27:17 28:14,15,19,20,21
amount 31:21 33:6,9 34:11,16,18 35:18 36:10 37:6	assessing 30:4 37:4,17	bill 44:10 47:4	CAP 5:12
analysis 9:16 20:25 21:16	assign 46:21	bills 8:1,3,4,6	care 10:8 25:24 26:18 34:8
and/or 19:13	assigning 19:17	bit 9:7,18,22 12:14 15:19 17:18	carefully 42:25
answers 16:7	Associate 9:19	bleak 11:9	caring 16:3
apologize 34:7	ASU 5:9	blue 15:11,12	case 7:5 44:20 46:21
appeal 6:10,15 7:10 33:5,8	attendance 3:6 30:10,11	board 7:6,9 21:11,20 28:19 39:1,20 40:19 48:7,24	cases 17:23 44:3 46:11,22
appealable 30:4,15 37:5	attitude 13:1	body 39:18	casting 43:21
appetite 19:3	audience 33:16	books 31:11	central 21:4
applied 43:18	auditor 32:12	box 16:20	cetera 32:12 33:5
apply 43:19	auditors 31:4,14	Brandeis 43:23	Chair 4:20 30:1 37:25 47:15
appointment 32:3	August 10:4 47:23	breadth 7:1	Chairman 3:2,12,18 4:1,3,5,8,11,16,18,20 5:1 8:12,16 9:1 22:5,8,10 23:23 24:19,23 25:3,6 26:23 27:2,5,13 28:11,16,22 29:1,5,7,11,15,22,24 30:1,13,14 32:16 33:10,14,19,21 34:21,22 35:5,8,12 36:13,18,21 37:1,3,7,10,14,15,21,23,25 38:4 40:24 41:14,19,23 42:2 44:5 46:5 47:11 48:10
approach 11:17	authorize 27:23	break 21:6	challenges 7:12
appropriately 10:11	authorized 27:14	breakdown 12:6 13:14,17,18 21:20,24	changing 8:1
approve 4:2,4,12 27:20 29:8 36:14 37:4	Avery 6:3	briefing 6:15	charged 39:7 45:12
approved 4:21 30:2 38:1	aware 6:13	briefly 7:14	Children 39:19
April 3:5 6:11 39:24 44:14,18,19 45:14 46:1	aye 4:15,17,19,20 29:21,23,25 30:1 37:20,22,24,25	bring 43:3	chime 9:10
area 26:18	AZ 46:21	broadcast 25:18	choice 15:11
areas 11:1 21:9	<hr/> B	broken 13:19 14:1 15:22 16:23 17:5 20:3 21:1,14	
Arizona 5:10 6:9 9:24 12:2 14:2,8 18:2 22:17,22,24 23:17,19 38:19 39:18,19,20 42:15 44:10,24 46:8 47:16	back 9:17 22:25 47:18,22	budget 8:8	
Arizonans 10:14 14:21 47:24 48:3,4	background 9:18 41:8 42:17	build 23:18	
armed 42:18	backup 31:5	buried 27:5	
	bad 48:1	button 41:15,16 42:5	
	ballots 16:1	buying 48:5	
	bar 15:11	<hr/> C	
	bars 15:12	call 3:3 4:13 29:19 37:18	
	based 22:20 31:10	called 23:6	
	began 5:18		

choices 11:16	38:5,10,14 40:25	components 30:17	county 7:5,6,9 27:17 28:20,21
choose 10:17,18	Commission 3:4 7:15 8:13,19 22:7 26:25 27:14 28:23 29:9 30:18 31:5 32:15 33:20 36:24 38:22 39:3,8,9,25 40:4,13,22 41:7 42:16 43:16,20 44:13,15,25 45:15,21 46:2,15 47:22 48:9,24	concept 18:25	countywide 28:19
chose 16:8		concern 11:13 14:14,16, 19 16:10	couple 6:8 7:25 8:1 46:18
Christina 3:9		concerned 15:14 47:16, 18	court 6:17 7:2 43:22 45:2, 3,16 46:4
circulate 27:14		concerns 37:13	Court's 6:16
Citizens 3:3		conduct 10:3	courts 46:13
civil 20:22 33:25 45:2	Commission's 6:21,22 27:8	conducted 10:3	coverage 26:7
claim 6:18 45:11	Commissioner 3:9,10, 14,15,16 4:3,5,7,8,10,14, 15,16,17,18,19 22:8,10, 11,20 23:24 29:7,12,14, 16,20,21,22,23,24,25 33:21 34:4,10,15,17,19, 21,22,23 35:6,7,10,13 36:13,19,20,22 37:3,9,11, 19,20,21,22,23,24 41:6 42:14	conducting 9:4	Craig 34:15 37:12,15
clarification 33:22		Conference 6:6	criteria 23:20
clarify 28:12 32:23		confidence 23:25 24:3	criticism 38:9
clarity 42:19		confident 24:2,8,9,17	Crump 3:14,15,16 4:7,9, 10,16,17 29:14,16,22,23 34:21,22,23 35:6,7,10,13 36:13,19,20,22 37:9,11, 21,22 41:6 42:14
clean 3:4 7:15,16,23 26:20 31:8,22 32:11,18 33:9 43:7	Commissioners 3:7,19, 22 5:2 9:2 25:6 30:7,14 38:17 40:8 41:5 42:13 46:7 47:15	confirm 25:12	crunch 11:12
cleanup 27:16		confirmed 30:25	current 12:5
clear 35:8 36:3		confused 34:24 35:2	
clearing 36:21		confusion 43:15	D
climate 15:1	committee 7:21	consent 42:21	DACA 15:10
clock 45:13,15	common 10:25	consequences 18:11	dais 42:1
close 39:4 43:5 45:19	communicating 25:13	conservation 19:10	dark 40:11
closed 7:22	communications 31:10	consideration 38:5,9	data 10:8
closed-door 40:17	community 11:6 22:21 23:11	considered 22:22	date 8:1
closing 25:17	companies 23:14	consistent 21:7	David 7:14
Codes 23:1	compel 45:3	constitutes 3:20	days 13:11 44:16 45:1
coincidence 36:7	complainant 45:2	content 26:14	de 45:4
coincidental 35:20	complaint 7:17,22 30:16, 19,24 39:6,17,25 40:15,18 43:5 44:15,20 45:1,20 46:1 47:2,19	context 5:16	dead 47:23
coincidentally 35:16,17	complaint's 45:13,14	continuation 20:14	deadline 44:19
collaborate 20:20	complaints 7:13 38:25 39:4 40:3,5,10 43:17 45:19 46:25	continue 6:2 46:22	debate 5:4 8:20 25:13,14
Collins 5:1 27:13 28:16 30:13 32:23 34:2,6,12 35:20 36:18 38:3,17 39:2, 16 42:12 43:4 44:22 45:17 47:15	completely 28:1	contributions 7:19	debates 5:16 10:9 13:3,5 20:24 24:21 25:9,10,18 26:7,20
Colorado 5:11	completes 8:9	convinced 28:1	decision 45:3
combat 48:17		Corporation 7:15	decisions 6:23
comment 27:15 28:7 29:2 38:4,7,12 41:1 44:6 47:12 48:12		correct 35:5,19 36:3,15	deck 10:23 12:18
comments 22:6 26:24 28:5,6,10,24 33:20 36:23		correction 43:13	decrease 17:24
		correctly 35:14	
		corruption 16:11	
		council 48:19	
		country 41:8 42:17	

deeply 47:17
defending 46:13
deference 45:4
define 46:24
defund 46:14
degree 36:12
deliver 38:23
demand 20:18 40:14
Democrat 15:22 20:2
Democrats 12:4,20
14:15,19,25 15:9,13,17
16:4,9,14 17:13 18:14
19:5 20:11
deportations 17:24
deserve 48:4
detail 14:6 19:8
determined 30:20
develop 8:20
differences 10:21 18:19
dig 16:25 17:18
dire 17:12
directing 38:7
direction 12:3,5 14:3,4
Director 9:19 30:8 38:17
39:4,9 43:4 44:16 47:15
Director's 4:22
discretion 27:21 39:14
45:9,11,24
discussed 31:17
discussion 3:21,24 5:13
8:17 24:20 25:20 27:6
30:3
disgorgement 32:10
disinfectants 43:24
dismiss 39:5,16 45:20
dismissal 39:15,21 45:9,
25
dismissals 40:6
dismissed 46:1

dismisses 44:25
disorder 14:22
disposition 40:5
dispositions 40:17
district 48:18
dive 9:13
divide 7:7
docket 46:12,22
docketed 40:1
documentation 31:5
32:6
donors 48:22
Douglas 5:20
dozen 13:13
Dreamers 15:10
drill 16:18
drilled 24:6
driven 16:2
dug 16:8
duty 43:19

E

eager 9:5
earlier 18:8 47:8
economic 14:9
economy 11:6 17:3,9,13
21:17,19
ED 26:9
edition 5:5
educating 12:1
education 5:3,22 6:4
8:18 12:7 13:20 15:12,15
18:10 27:8,18 29:9,19
effective 27:23,24 29:10
33:8
effectively 27:16
effectiveness 28:1
effort 6:11

efforts 6:3
election 5:17 6:5 10:5,15
13:23,24 14:9 16:1,12
48:18
election-related 8:6
elections 3:4 5:19 7:8,23
26:20 31:8,22 32:11,18
33:9 38:22 43:7 48:5
electorate 12:17 13:1,2
20:6,8
eligible 5:24
eliminate 19:6
end 23:18
enforce 42:23
enforcement 4:23 6:23
38:24 40:15 45:3 48:2
enforcing 39:8 45:12
engagement 32:9
ensure 23:18
entire 16:21
entities 26:3
Environment 15:1
equivalent 31:21
essentially 24:3 25:14
ethnicity 13:18
exceed 36:10
exceeding 39:12 45:6,23
excuse 4:24 32:13
Executive 4:22 30:8
38:17 39:3,9 43:4 44:16
existential 12:12
exists 43:1
expired 44:18 45:14
explain 16:7
exposure 36:4
extent 26:12
eye 43:3

F

facilities 18:1
fact 36:9 39:22
factors 12:7 14:10 15:13
17:2 20:3
facts 30:21,24 31:15
factual 30:23
failed 38:23
fails 45:1
failure 31:18,20
fall 11:23 26:12
favorably 15:8
February 27:15
federal 25:9 28:13
feel 9:10 11:1,5,24 24:7
32:7
feeling 11:12 21:19,21
fewer 11:7
fielded 10:1
fight 20:17 46:16
fighter 12:23 20:19
file 6:10 31:1,2,12,18,20
45:2 47:2
filed 36:2 39:24 44:15
48:21,22
filing 46:4 48:25
filmed 5:4
final 12:17 34:14 36:5
43:21,25
finalizing 6:5
finally 6:10 7:24 12:23
47:7
finance 31:1
financial 11:8 17:4,10
21:22,23
find 10:25 47:9 48:24
findings 9:6,15 10:12
13:12 15:21

fine 31:19 35:23 36:10
finer 32:25 33:2,3
firm 19:23 20:7,22
first-time 48:17
five-day 44:17
Flagstaff 5:20
flew 22:1
focusing 17:23
follow-up 35:11
forces 42:18
foreign 11:18 18:6,11
formal 32:5 39:24 44:14
formally 40:13
format 25:16
forward 10:22 13:19
15:15 38:13 40:17 41:2
44:7 48:13
founder 47:17
fraud 14:17 16:11
free 9:10
fresh 10:10
FRG 46:21
front 7:24 34:25
full 9:7 40:14
fund 39:18 48:25
funds 31:8,9 32:18 35:15
future 12:13

G

gas 14:11
general 10:4 25:1 46:23,
24 47:3,9
gentleman 41:19
George 47:14,16
Gerros 44:9,10
Gina 6:3 26:23 27:2
give 9:17 16:19 41:23

giving 25:11,14,18,20
goal 10:7
goals 18:11
good 3:10,12,17,18 38:16
41:4,5,12 42:12,13 44:9
48:15
governing 43:12
government 14:13,15,17
16:10
Governor's 8:2
granted 7:2
granular 14:6
gray 16:20
great 17:11 21:22 47:7,14
greater 19:17
green 41:20 42:5
Greens 24:11
gridlock 19:24 20:8
ground 10:25
group 6:10 24:11
grouped 23:2
GRRC 27:23
guess 17:13 22:22 24:15
35:10
Guide 5:22,24,25 27:8,10,
18 28:12 29:10,19

H

Half 12:2
handed 48:3
handled 13:8 40:10
happen 47:2
happened 44:22
happening 18:8 40:9
happy 8:10 9:4 22:3
32:14
headed 12:4
heading 12:3 14:3

health 14:21
healthcare 14:18,19
hear 3:15 26:19 41:11,13
heard 9:24 44:1 47:8,18
hearing 4:1 8:16 29:5
35:14 37:1
heavily 13:8
helpful 21:13 46:24
helping 46:16
helps 36:11
hey 26:17 48:15
high 15:5 17:7 21:11
highest 21:18
highlight 5:2 6:8
highlighted 21:6
highlights 21:3
highly 24:2,9,17
hit 42:4,9
hitting 5:22
hold 48:1
hope 19:5
hoping 26:1
host 10:16
household 13:20
housing 10:14 14:13,14
16:13 21:9
hug 23:12
hurt 28:3

I

ICE 11:14 17:21 18:1
idea 20:21
identify 3:7 11:1
IDS 16:1
II 3:21
III 4:22
immediately 27:23,24
29:10

immigration 15:6,8
17:17,20 26:11
implements 27:9
importance 13:3 19:17
important 5:14 10:18
13:2 14:7,12 15:20 16:19
19:12 20:23 32:8 46:17
imposes 33:25
imposing 34:5
inaction 39:15 45:10,25
included 5:9 28:13,18
includes 5:18
including 4:23
inclusion 5:24
income 13:20 14:20
incredibly 5:12
independent 6:9 15:23
independents 12:19
14:15 15:16 16:5,9,15
18:15 19:6,16 20:4
indicating 18:10 32:19
indifferent 18:9
individuals 7:19
inefficiencies 14:15
inflation 10:15,19 11:12
14:10 16:13,20,22 21:10
influence 38:21
inform 26:6
information 5:14 9:8
10:10 26:10,22 28:13
31:13
informed 5:16
initial 15:21
initiative 47:4
input 22:15
Inside 5:5 26:7
insights 20:4
Institute 5:9
intend 25:7 26:16

interact 42:20	justify 39:15 45:9,24	legislator 41:9	39:19 41:1 44:6,13 47:12 48:11
interest 9:8		legislature 28:18 42:18	
interested 15:9	K	legitimate 40:18	MALE 41:10 42:6
interesting 11:18 12:11 21:8	Kartha 5:11	length 25:16	Manager 5:12
interference 6:23,24	Kathryn 46:8	letter 36:2,6 39:21	mandatory 43:19
interpretation 43:6	key 9:15 11:4 13:12	letting 43:5	March 3:22,23 4:4,13 10:2,3 18:13 39:2 45:18
intro 9:22	Kimble 3:2,12,18 4:1,5,8, 11,16,18,20 8:12,16 9:1 22:5,10 23:23 24:19,23 25:3 26:23 27:2,5 28:11, 22 29:1,5,11,15,22,24 30:1 32:16 33:10,14,19 34:22 35:5,8,12 36:21 37:1,7,10,15,21,23,25 38:4 40:24 41:14,19,23 42:2 44:5 46:5 47:11 48:10	level 13:21 17:18 23:24 24:3 40:11	Maricopa 7:5,6,9
investigate 39:8 43:17 45:21 46:20	kind 13:16 15:16 22:12 24:20 27:5 42:24 48:6	Libertarians 24:11	Mark 3:2
investigated 40:18	knowledge 40:11	Liberty 39:19	Marshall 7:14
involve 32:9	Kristin 8:23,25 9:3 22:5 25:5 27:3	life 13:10	matter 19:15 30:17,23 33:17 37:5 38:8 46:2
involving 30:5 46:2	Kyle 5:9	light 41:20	mattered 14:24
Iran 18:12	L	limit 38:10,14	matters 11:18 12:16 20:16,17
issue 6:24 7:1,2 10:19 11:4,24 12:9,12 16:3,8,19 19:13 31:10	Labels 6:9 24:11	limited 38:7	matters 11:18 12:16 20:16,17
issued 30:18 36:1	land 12:10 15:2	lines 12:11,21 13:20 18:3, 20 19:22 20:5	means 17:24 19:24 42:24 45:4
issues 4:24 5:5 6:9 8:20 10:9,13,14,16 11:1,14,21, 22 12:16,22,24 14:5 15:4, 18,20,25 19:14,18 20:18 21:5,7 25:24 26:7,19 32:9	large 23:14 24:7,16,17	linger 13:13 16:15	mechanisms 48:2
item 3:21 4:22 8:17 27:6 29:2 30:3 37:2 38:4 40:16	largely 6:17 12:8	link 47:8	media 5:7 23:10 26:3
itemized 48:22	largest 23:6	listed 14:10	meet 37:12
IV 8:17	latest 5:3	local 5:17 11:6 17:3	meeting 3:3,22,23 27:15 30:20 31:25 32:5 40:16
J	law 45:12	Logvin 38:16,18	meetings 31:25
Jacob 47:16	lawyer 43:6,10	longer 43:14	Megdal 5:10
John 48:16	leadership 12:5	lot 6:2 8:5 10:21 15:6 18:9 19:8 26:21	member 19:13 33:19 38:11 42:18 48:7
joins 40:2	Leadership's 6:18	Louis 43:23	members 8:13 22:6 23:10 26:24 28:23 36:23
judgment 6:16 45:5	learn 26:19	love 43:18	memo 30:22
judicial 28:20	leave 42:5	low 14:20	mention 7:3
July 47:19	Ledger 26:14	lower 19:2	mentioned 7:4,25 10:6 18:8 26:8 33:23
jumps 21:8	legal 6:8	M	methodology 9:14,23
June 5:23	legislative 4:23,24 6:17, 23 7:20,24 8:5,7 25:9 28:14,17 30:6 46:14	made 7:19 8:21	methods 23:8
jurisdictional 44:17		mail 28:13	midterm 13:23,25
Justice 43:22		mail-in 15:25	millions 39:13 45:7 46:3
		mailboxes 5:23	mind 10:10 16:11
		main 24:19	minimum 24:4
		majority 18:14 21:21 47:25	minutes 3:22,23 4:2,4,13, 21 9:9 38:10,15
		make 25:25 28:7,24 38:12	

mistake 34:3	neighborhood 18:5	orders 36:16	people 10:16 11:11,22 12:1,15,19,23 13:4,23 16:7,21 18:1 19:15 20:19, 21,24 22:13,15 23:11,13, 17 26:17 28:7 44:11 46:19 47:1
mitigator 32:13	nets 31:20	organizations 23:11	People's 26:14
moderate 11:16	networking 23:9	organized 31:12	percent 12:3,18 17:8,11 19:5 21:19 24:3 35:22 38:19 46:9
moderator 25:8	news 7:5	original 35:18	Perception 11:3
moderators 8:22 10:10 25:22,25	newsletter 26:15	outlined 30:21	period 44:17
moment 9:17 10:17 13:9 44:2	note 7:14 13:18	outreach 6:3	perjury 48:23
money 31:21 32:10 33:9 38:21	notice 6:10 30:4,15 31:24 33:4 35:25 36:5 37:4	override 39:10 45:22	personal 11:8 17:3,10 21:22
Monica 30:5 37:6	notification 44:19	overwhelmingly 47:25	personality 20:16
monitoring 8:6	notified 44:21	<hr/> P <hr/>	personally 20:15
month 6:7 40:20,21	novo 45:4	PAC 39:20 47:20	Phoenix 21:4
months 7:25 40:4 45:14	number 11:5 17:13,14,24 35:3,17,18,21 36:4 44:21 46:21	package 25:15	phone 3:17 22:13
mooted 7:17	numbers 17:7,10 21:10 24:25 26:12	packet 39:22 40:1	Pima 26:18
MORGAN 34:17,20 37:14	<hr/> O <hr/>	packets 3:24 30:8	plan 10:3 40:20
morning 3:2,11,12,17,18 38:16 41:4,5 42:13 44:9 48:16	objective 9:14,23	Paige 41:5 42:15	planning 13:25
mornings 32:4	obligated 31:2	panel 5:8 23:5,7,12	plans 6:5 26:21
motion 4:2 29:6 30:2 34:8 35:9 37:2,8 38:1	October 43:9	paper 16:1 27:5	point 18:4 35:25 39:13,25 40:2,6 45:7 47:20
mouth 23:9	office 14:8 48:18	paperwork 34:25	polarization 15:6
move 4:3 8:16 10:22 13:16 29:7,17 32:3,5 37:3, 12,17 44:3 48:24	older 14:20	part 5:3 6:21 11:9 21:11 46:3	polarized 17:25 18:3,22
moved 4:12 29:17 37:16	ongoing 7:12	participate 31:3	polarizing 11:14,19 18:6
movement 8:8	online 9:24,25 22:14 23:9 29:3	participation 25:12	policies 20:15
moving 13:19	open 5:25 20:4,10,14 40:19 43:14	parties 10:22 12:19 13:15,17 18:24 19:22 20:6,11,15 24:16	policy 11:18 18:6,11 20:16
MUR 30:5 37:5,17 40:2,3 46:12,20	opening 25:17	partners 5:7 26:3	poll 9:5
muted 3:15	opinion 11:20	party 6:9,10 10:24 12:10, 21 13:20 14:1 16:23 17:5, 25 18:3,19 19:14,15,19,22 20:3,5,10	pool 25:8
<hr/> N <hr/>	opportunity 11:25 13:6,7 30:11 39:20	party's 12:15	popular 18:4 19:1
narrow 7:2	oppose 17:19	passed 38:20 47:5	population 22:21
nation 23:6	opposed 18:15	past 8:18 43:2	Porter 5:9
national 11:6 17:2,8,13	opposing 18:17	pattern 40:7	position 9:20 14:8
necessarily 11:11	opposite 39:22 40:9	penalties 30:4 31:18 32:22 37:4,17	posting 25:3 26:4
negotiate 19:1,2	opt 22:13	penalty 31:16 33:23,25 34:5,7 35:16 38:24	potential 23:13 35:22,23
	order 3:4 19:4 22:24 30:4, 7,15,18,23 32:24 33:6,7, 24 35:2,15 36:15 37:4,17	pending 8:7	powers 6:19

precinct-based 28:21	proportionately 22:18	quorum 3:20	reduction 31:19
preference 15:3	proposal 32:21	_____	reference 25:25
preferred 19:13	proposed 7:16 27:12 29:6 30:7 42:23	R	referenced 43:4
preferring 20:20	Proposition 43:9	R2-20-113 27:7 29:9,18	Reform 6:6
preparation 25:15 27:9 35:1	prosecutor 41:8 42:18, 24 43:18	R2-20-206(a)(3) 43:8	refresh 6:16
prepare 25:22	prosecutorial 39:14 45:9,24	R2-20-809 43:9	refugees 15:10
present 30:8	protect 6:22	R2-20-809(d) 44:18	regard 19:5
presidential 13:24	protection 12:10	R2-20-810 44:19	region 25:24
pretty 11:9	provide 5:13 18:10 22:15 31:4,13	R2-20-811(f) 39:5 45:19	regional 9:16 20:25 21:16
prevails 27:25	provided 19:25 25:7,22 31:4,24 32:20	race 13:18	regions 21:1,13 23:2
previous 41:19	provider 23:5	ran 48:18,21	registered 9:25 23:20 24:12 38:18
previously 10:6 43:3 44:1	providers 23:7	rare 13:6,8	regulatory 4:23 39:10 43:11 45:22
prices 10:15,20 11:13 14:10,11 16:14,22	providing 9:12 32:11	rate 19:20	reject 42:22
primary 8:1,18	public 5:13 25:1 26:1,22 27:14 28:4,6,7 38:4,6,7,11 44:2 46:24 47:3,9	ratepayer 38:18 48:20	rejected 6:17
principles 6:19	publication 27:10	reaching 39:1	related 6:19 7:8
printed 5:24	pull 21:3	read 9:12	relating 27:7 29:9,18
prior 10:4 25:13 40:5	purpose 18:11 24:19	reading 9:7 42:25 43:12	relations 26:2
private 44:25	push 26:21 41:15	real 13:10	relationships 26:4
probable 30:20,22	put 47:1,8	reason 38:20	released 5:7
problem 11:17 39:6	_____	reasonable 31:23	relevant 12:25
problems 14:21	Q	receive 28:4,6	relief 7:1
procedural 43:3	qualifying 7:11	received 31:9 32:4,17 35:19 40:15 47:21	remain 5:25
proceed 23:22	qualitative 13:4 23:14	recent 48:18	remained 7:20
proceeding 32:25	quant 23:14	recommendation 31:16 34:13 36:5	renegotiate 19:4
process 32:1 46:25	quarter 18:16	recommendations 30:9	renegotiating 18:25
produced 13:7	quarters 12:25	recommended 31:19 36:14	repay 32:21
production 5:22	question 14:2,18 15:2 16:25 21:23 22:9,16 33:22 34:23 35:11 42:24 43:3,14	record 3:8 32:1 33:14 38:14 41:3 43:20 48:14	repayment 30:18 31:7 32:24 33:7 35:15 36:11
profiles 5:25	questions 8:10,14 10:11 14:17 16:17 18:18 21:2 22:2,6 25:19 26:24 32:15 36:23	Recorder 7:6	repeat 45:10
program 5:3,4 7:23 8:21	quo 12:8	records 31:11 32:11,19	repetitive 46:19
programs 5:11 14:22		recruit 23:11	report 4:22 8:10 9:6 26:9 48:22
promise 38:23		recur 44:1	reported 40:19
Prop 6:16,18 38:20 39:17 40:5,8 46:9,13 47:20,24		recurring 40:16 44:1	reports 31:1,6,13
properly 6:25		red 42:7	representing 30:10 33:12
proportionality 36:12		reduced 35:24	

Republican 15:22 20:1, 9,13
Republicans 12:2,7,20 14:23 15:7,17 16:3 18:7, 12
Republicans' 14:16
requalify 23:17
request 32:5 43:25
requesting 40:13
requirements 27:9
requires 39:23
rescheduling 38:8
research 9:15,19,21 13:4 23:14 24:5 25:20,21
resolution 31:23
resolved 33:5
respect 6:4,5 7:13 31:6, 16 33:7
respecting 6:21 7:7 30:16 31:5,20 32:6
respond 15:8 30:11
responded 47:22
respondent 44:18,21
respondents 18:9 20:9 23:3,13
responding 13:9 38:9
response 3:25 8:15 27:1 28:25 29:4 33:13,18 36:25 47:22
result 38:6 40:18
results 8:21 20:8 25:1 26:10
reverse 22:24
review 44:17
reviewing 34:25
reviews 45:3
revisit 22:3
Riester 8:23 9:4,20
rising 10:15,19 11:13 14:10 16:13,22 45:13 47:17

River 5:11
ROBERTS 25:5 41:18,21 42:1
roll 4:13 29:19 37:18
roughly 31:20 35:18 36:16
rude 20:21
rug 38:25
rule 27:7,8,16 28:8 29:6,8, 18 39:3,4 43:5 45:18,19
rulemaking 6:22
rules 31:2 42:20 43:8 48:21
running 7:15,16 45:15 48:17
runoff 5:19
rural 22:17,21,24 23:3

S

Sago 23:6
sample 16:21 22:12 23:5, 8 24:4,8,13,16
Sarah 5:9
sat 48:23
satisfied 12:8
scheduled 5:17
school 48:7,24
Science 6:6
scores 20:2
seconded 4:12 29:17 37:16
section 33:23 39:13
sector 16:2
security 10:15 15:25 16:1,12
seek 7:9
seeks 6:22
segmented 23:3
segments 24:7

selecting 23:19
selection 19:1
Senate 39:18
sentiment 11:3,4,9 16:24 17:17 21:5,16
separate 32:24,25 33:7 35:15 43:11,12
separation 6:19
September 42:21
series 5:6
service 41:7 42:16,17 44:3 48:8
session 28:18 40:19 43:14
set 14:16
shape 24:20
share 9:5
shared 9:6
Sharon 5:10
she'll 8:4
shot 41:24
show 11:15 33:14
showed 14:19 39:21
side 10:24 11:24
sides 19:3
sign 8:3 23:13
signature 48:23
significant 12:9 24:14,24 31:19
silent 47:23
similar 35:18
single 10:18 16:19 38:23 39:17
sir 44:7 47:13 48:13
sit 42:4
sitting 40:4
situation 11:8 17:4,11 19:4 21:23
size 22:12 24:4,13,16

skip 9:10
slide 15:18 22:24
slides 9:10 12:17 13:13 17:16 22:3,25
slight 18:14
slightly 11:7 17:22 20:9
slow 9:11
smaller 24:6,12
social 23:10 26:5
Solon 46:7,8
solutions 18:24 39:19
solve 11:17
sort 6:18 8:9 22:12,13,14, 17 46:23
source 43:15
sources 23:12
speak 23:16 26:8 42:3
speaking 25:17 41:20 48:19
specific 17:23 19:19 22:16
specifically 19:21 30:25 39:14 41:6 42:14 45:8
specifies 36:1
Spencer 41:4,5,12,16,22, 25 42:11,13,15
spending 38:21 46:3
spent 32:18,20 39:13 45:7
spike 15:10 19:16
spiking 15:13
split 20:9
spoke 44:11
spoken 46:19
SRP 38:18 48:18
staff 38:7 40:11 43:5
stand 19:16,23 20:22 39:19
standing 12:24 20:7 32:2

start 14:5
state 12:4,13 14:8 17:3
21:17,19 38:13 41:2 48:13
stated 9:3
statements 19:21,25
25:17
States 17:20
statewide 9:25 25:9,24
28:14,17
status 12:8 44:2 47:18
statute 6:25 27:17,24
28:16 39:7,23 42:23,25
43:16 45:8
statutes 42:19 43:12
statutory 27:9 39:11
43:19 45:22
stay 6:12 7:9
staying 17:1 21:17,24
Steve 3:10
strategy 9:19,21
strong 5:8 16:5 20:5,18
32:13
stronger 21:9
strongly 16:3
study 10:2,7 23:21 24:5
38:8
submission 6:1
submitted 47:19
substance 14:22
substantial 11:5
substantive 5:12
sufficiently 31:12
suggestions 38:6
summarize 32:16
summary 8:10
sunlight 43:23
Superior 6:15,17 7:2 45:2
supervisors 7:6 28:19
support 11:16 15:15
17:19,23 18:14,22 19:7

supporting 18:17
supportive 18:7
supposed 42:20
Supreme 43:22
Surprise 18:2
survey 8:18,19,21,24
9:24,25 23:18 24:24 47:8
swath 22:17
swept 38:25

T

tailor 10:11
takeaway 21:12
taking 15:4
talk 10:21 11:25 13:5
26:20
talked 12:14 19:9
talking 35:4
targeted 35:21
tariffs 18:18,22 19:2,5,6
team 23:10
tech 41:13
Tempe 5:19
temperament 13:1
tend 23:7
terms 10:8,12 11:3 17:20
19:10,17 20:7 21:15 23:4,
8 24:25
thanked 23:21
theoretically 42:22
thing 5:2 18:4 20:23 21:8
45:17
things 17:1 21:21 24:24
26:15
thinking 18:21,25 42:25
thirds 13:2
THOMAS 41:15 42:4,8
thumbs 48:4

Thursday 32:4
tie 36:11
tied 19:19
Timberlake 30:5,9,16,25
32:2,17 33:11,12,15 36:1
37:6
time 9:8 15:19 25:16 28:9
38:5 39:6 44:4 45:20 48:8,
22
timely 10:7 31:1,12,14
times 31:17
Titla 3:10,12,13 4:18,19
29:24,25 37:23,24
today 3:20 21:2 36:15
39:18 44:20 46:10,18 47:8
48:23
today's 40:1
told 39:2 44:22 45:17
Tom 4:25 8:12,14 26:8
27:11 30:12 33:22 35:13
36:14 38:2
top 10:10,14 13:14 14:11,
14,16 16:8,11,21 21:7
26:18
top-line 9:5 10:12 15:21
topic 16:1 26:11
topics 14:23 25:19
total 17:24 33:6,24
totaling 36:16
touch 42:9
touched 15:21
TPUSA 47:21
TPUSA's 47:21
track 14:3
trade 19:2
trailed 14:23
transferred 7:21
transparency 38:20
40:9,10,22 47:5
transparently 43:20

Travise 48:15,16
treated 47:25
Tucson 21:18 26:18
tuned 15:7
turned 42:6,8
Turning 39:13,25 40:2,6
45:7 47:20
twiddle 48:3

U

ultimately 27:25
unable 32:3
unanimously 27:20
underlying 30:24 36:10,
11
underscores 13:3
understand 25:15 32:1
47:4
understanding 36:15
understands 44:14
understood 6:25
UNIDENTIFIED 41:10
42:6
unique 11:11
United 17:20
Unity 45:13 47:17
University 5:10
unplugged 41:18
unwilling 32:3
updated 35:2
updates 4:24
USA 47:17

V

valued 13:10
values 12:25
variation 21:13
varies 24:15

variety 11:22 12:7 14:9
15:13 23:8,12
verbatim 16:7
veteran 48:17
veto 8:4
VI 30:3
Victory 39:18
view 8:2 32:8
views 8:20
VII 38:4
Vineetha 5:11
violates 6:18
violations 33:3 39:12
45:6,10,23
VKR 39:24
VOICE 41:10 42:6
vote 12:21 20:10,12 23:20
39:1 40:12 46:2
voted 7:9 13:23 39:20
46:9 47:24
voter 5:3,21 6:4 8:18,19
11:3 15:25 16:24 17:17
27:8,18 28:12 29:9,19
38:19,23 42:15 44:10 46:8
47:17,21
voters 8:22 9:25 10:8,23
11:5,15,20 12:12 25:23
26:16 28:12 38:19 44:24
45:16 46:16
voters' 8:20 43:17
votes 4:20 30:1 37:25
43:21
voting 5:18 13:22,25 14:8
15:25 19:22 20:1,5
VRKA 39:24 40:14,15
44:1,15 46:3,22

W

walk 8:23 27:11
wanted 5:2 6:8 7:3,13
11:4 24:5 27:22 42:22
wanting 10:25 19:22,23

22:11
war 15:10 18:12,14,16
warrants 36:8
waste 14:16
watch 44:3
watched 48:24
water 5:6 12:10,11 15:2
19:9,10 26:9
website 6:1 8:22 25:4
26:5 47:1,9
Werther 3:9 4:3,14,15
22:8,10,11,20 23:24 29:7,
12,20,21 33:21 34:4,10,
15,19 37:3,19,20
wide 22:17
Win 39:19
wishes 48:11
wishing 29:2 33:16 38:11
withdrawal 7:22
withdrew 7:17
won 48:19
word 23:9 34:14
words 36:9
work 19:22 20:7 23:5
46:11,17 47:6
working 5:21 6:4 19:3
worse 11:7,8 17:1,6,9,12
21:17,20,23
written 28:6 45:11
wrong 12:5 14:4 43:13
wrote 43:23

Y

year 9:5 11:11 21:4 30:19
years 8:19 9:21 32:17
38:22
yesterday 5:18 7:9

Z

ZIP 23:1
Zoom 33:17

**CITIZENS CLEAN ELECTIONS COMMISSION
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR REPORT
May 28, 2026**

Announcements:

- The Voter Education Guide has gone to print and will begin arriving in households on June 12. The Primary Election is July 21.
- Clean Elections will cohost the 10th Annual Summer Conference on Election Science, Reform, and Administration (ESRA) at ASU's Downtown Phoenix Campus. The conference brings together approximately 200 researchers,

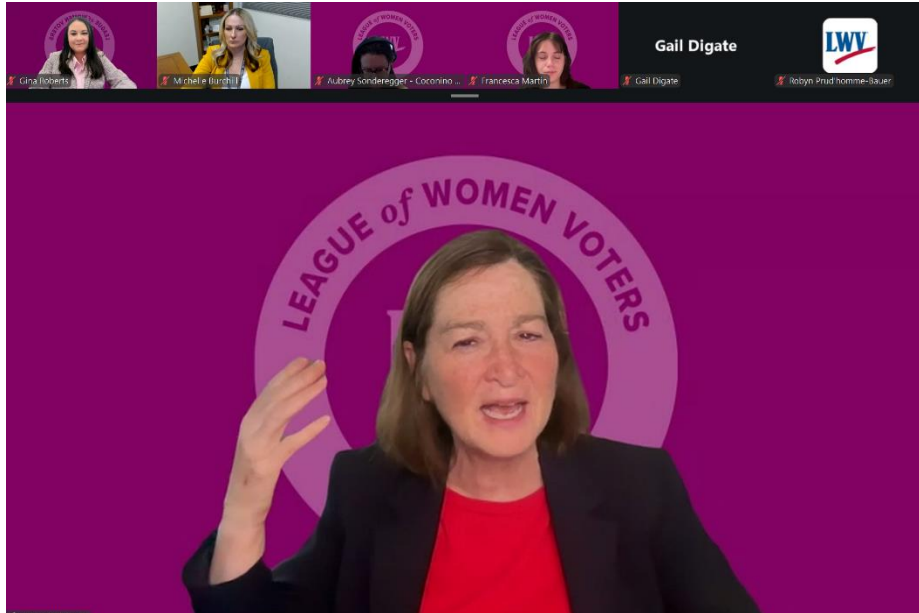


- professors, election officials, and practitioners to discuss topics including:
- Election administration and management
 - Voter registration, turnout, and participation
 - Election technology, security, and infrastructure
 - Misinformation, disinformation, and voter confidence
 - Poll worker recruitment, training, and retention
- Thanks to a new partnership with Northern Arizona University and Coconino County, we are pleased to welcome three voter education interns. Based in Flagstaff, the interns will work with Avery as part of a hands-on experience in election administration.
 - We have 45 participating candidates to date, with 30 participating candidates funded.
- Clean Elections and Captain Activate! will return to Fan Fusion for the third year, featuring Issue 3. Fan Fusion runs June 5–7 at the Phoenix Convention Center.

Voter Education and Outreach:

- Captain Activate! appeared at the First Friday evening event in Kingman in partnership with the Mohave County Recorder's Office to support nonpartisan voter education and community outreach.
- Avery met with civic and community leaders around the state, including Tucson-based Disability Rights Arizona and The Center for Community Mediation and Facilitation, to discuss potential collaboration opportunities.
- Debates for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Corporation Commissioner, and legislative offices have been held thus far. Republican Attorney General candidates are scheduled to debate on May 28.
- Clean Elections, in partnership with Arizona Talks and the Arizona Speech & Debate Association, is hosting a June 10 event titled From Student Voice to Civic Impact. Current students will showcase their skills, and the program will explore how speech and debate cultivate critical thinking, confidence, and the habits of mind that support healthy civil discourse.

- Apache County has transitioned from a polling place voting model to vote centers. Staff is working with Apache County to educate voters regarding the transition ahead of the Primary Election.
- Gina participated in a panel hosted by the League of Women Voters Northern



Arizona regarding misinformation and election security. Barbara McQuade, former United States Attorney, author of *Attack from Within – How Disinformation is Sabotaging America*, and legal analyst for NBC News and MSNBC, served as the keynote presenter alongside panelists Michelle Burchill, Yavapai County Recorder, and

Aubrey Sonderegger, Coconino County Recorder.

Legal:

- Arizona Citizens Clean Elections Commission v. Fontes, Arizona Court of Appeals, 2 CA-CV 2026-0185
 - The Commission’s application for fees is pending in the superior court for Maricopa County, No. CV2025-064149. The Secretary of State’s office filed a response last week.
 - The Court of Appeals transferred the case from Division 1 to Pima County-based Division 2, pending resolution of the fee claim and the appellant Arizona Independent Party’s (No Labels) filing fee.
- Center for Arizona Policy v. Arizona Secretary of State, Arizona Supreme Court No. CV-24-0295-PR.
 - Awaiting decision. Oral argument was held September 11. This is a state constitutional challenge to Proposition 211.
- Americans for Prosperity v. Meyer, No. 24-2933 (9th Cir.).
 - Awaiting decision following May Oral Argument.
- Montenegro v. Fontes, Arizona Court of Appeals, No. 1 CA-CV 26-0154.
 - Briefing is underway on this appeal regarding appeal from Superior Court.
- The Power of Fives, LLC v. Clean Elections, CV2021-015826, Superior Court for Maricopa County & Clean Elections v. The Power of Fives, LLC et al. CV2022-

053917, Superior Court for Arizona. The superior court granted Plaintiff's motion for summary judgment. It is available at this link:

<https://courtminutes.clerkofcourt.maricopa.gov/viewerME.asp?fn=Civil/052026/m11774306.pdf>.

- Branch et al. v. Collins, et al., CV2024-004136, Superior Court for Maricopa County. Ongoing.

Other litigation

- Heap v. Galvin, CV2025-020261, Superior Court for Maricopa County.
 - The Court held that the Board unlawfully controlled the Recorder's IT systems, staff, and election infrastructure, and impaired the Recorder's ability to perform statutory duties. It ordered the Board to provide adequate funding and prohibited the use of budget authority to override election functions.
 - The Board has sought an appellate stay and has filed a notice of appeal.

Appointments:

- Staff continues to monitor appointments, and direct interested applicants to the appropriate officials.

Complaints:

- MUR 25-04, Turning Point
- MUR 25-05, Turning Point
- MUR 25-06, Timberlake
- MUR 26-03, Turning Point.

2026 Regulatory Agenda:

The Commission may conduct a rulemaking even if the rulemaking is not included here. The Governor's Regulatory Review Commission will consider recent amendments to R2-20-702 at its business meeting June 5.

The following information is provided under A.R.S. § 41-1021.02:

- Notices of Docket Opening:
 - 32 A.A.R. 694 (candidate statement pamphlet), https://apps.azsos.gov/public_services/register/2026/12/contents.pdf.
 - 32 A.A.R. 266 (use of funds), apps.azsos.gov/public_services/register/2026/4/contents.pdf.
 - 31 A.A.R. 2255 (revision and addition of funding rules), https://apps.azsos.gov/public_services/register/2025/27/contents.pdf.
- Notices of Proposed Rulemaking:
 - 32 A.A.R. 669 (candidate statement pamphlet) https://apps.azsos.gov/public_services/register/2026/12/contents.pdf

- 32 A.A.R. 245 (use of funds),
apps.azsos.gov/public_services/register/2026/4/contents.pdf.
- 31 A.A.R. 2141 (revision and addition of funding rules),
https://apps.azsos.gov/public_services/register/2025/27/contents.pdf.
- Supplemental Notices 31 A.A.R.3917 (setting our next meeting to consider rules related to campaign finance report and monitoring of clean candidate funds).
https://apps.azsos.gov/public_services/register/2025/40/contents.pdf.
- Federal funds for proposed rulemaking: **None**
- Review of existing rules: **Five Year Report Approved 9/2/2025**
- Notice of Final Rulemaking: Notice of final rulemaking for NPR 31 A.A.R. 2141 (revision and addition of funding rules) pending publication.
- Rulemakings terminated: **None.**
- Privatization option or nontraditional regulatory approach considered: **None Applicable.**

2026 Legislative Update

HB 2001 - Elections; early voting; tabulation

Sponsor

Selina Bliss (R)

Summary

Makes broad updates to election procedures, focusing on early voting, polling locations, and ballot handling. It tightens identification and chain-of-custody requirements, adds new deadlines and penalties for mishandling early ballots, and updates rules for mailing, returning, and processing ballots. The bill also authorizes counties to use voting centers and implement on-site tabulation of early ballots with strict verification, staffing, and security protocols.

Action Taken

HB 2006 - Sample ballots; mailing date

Sponsor

Nick Kupper (R)

Summary

Requirements are imposed to mail sample ballots at least fourteen days before primary and general elections to each household with registered voters, excluding those on active early voting lists. Sample ballots must include a disclaimer that they cannot be used as official ballots, and the state or local seal with "official voting materials" must be displayed on the mailing. Provisions clarify the preparation, review, and distribution process of sample ballots for primary, general, city, town, and special district elections, including cost reimbursement to the secretary of state.

Action Taken

Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 5-1

Passed the House 55-5 and sent to the Senate

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 7-0

Passed Senate 29-0 and was sent to the Governor

Signed by Governor

HB 2009 - Constitutional amendments; foreign contributions prohibited

Sponsor

Nick Kupper (R)

Summary

Contributions from foreign nationals are prohibited for committees primarily organized to influence Arizona constitutional amendment ballot propositions, including signature collection and campaign support. Committees must verify contributors' status, disclose funding sources, return prohibited contributions, and include disclaimers if over 20% of funding is from nonresidents, with violations classified as class 1 misdemeanors subject to civil penalties. Definitions clarify foreign nationals,

residents, and nonresidents, and exceptions apply to federal political committees, independent expenditures, and volunteer services.

Action Taken

Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs& Elections 4-3

[HB 2022](#) - Elections; July primary; curing; observers

Sponsor

Alexander Kolodin (R)

Summary

Primary elections are rescheduled from the first Tuesday in August to the last Tuesday in July starting in 2026, with related adjustments to election dates for political subdivisions. Signature cure periods for early ballots are extended, and daily updates of voters with signature issues are required to be provided to qualified political parties. Provisions for ballot replacement centers, party observers, and challenger appointments at polling places are clarified, and nomination and initiative petitions with the former primary date are validated for the 2026 election.

Action Taken

Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs & Elections 5-2

Passed the House 56-0 and was sent to the Senate

Passed the Senate 27-1 and was sent to the Governor

Signed by the Governor

[SB 1003](#) - Elections; canvass; certification; acknowledgment

Sponsor

John Kavanagh (R)

Summary

Sections 16-642 and 16-646 of the Arizona Revised Statutes are amended to specify deadlines and procedures for canvassing and acknowledging election results by county, state, and local governing bodies. Requirements are imposed for the content, certification, and mailing of official canvass statements, including the use of a uniform electronic format for transmitting election results to the secretary of state to facilitate statewide canvassing. Provisions clarify postponement rules for canvass acknowledgments and designate permanent public record maintenance responsibilities for official canvass documents.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-3

Passed the Senate 16-11 and was sent to the House

[SB 1006](#) - Campaign finance; aggregate report; amount

Sponsor

John Kavanagh (R)

Summary

Campaign finance reporting requirements are amended to increase the threshold for itemizing in-state individual contributions from \$100 to \$200 per election cycle and to allow non-disclosure of residential addresses for protected individuals. Aggregate reporting of contributions under \$200 is required unless contributors consent to identification, and detailed itemization of receipts and disbursements is

maintained with expanded categories. Independent expenditure and ballot measure expenditure reporting thresholds and content requirements are also specified.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-3
Passed the Senate 16-11 and was sent to the House
Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-3

[SB 1027](#) - Public notices; government website posting

Sponsor

John Kavanagh (R)

Summary

Requirements are imposed for government entities in Arizona to post public notices electronically on their official websites, including maintaining the full text in a designated public notices section with a prominent homepage link and retaining the notice for the entire required publication period. A reference advertisement must also be published in a newspaper, meeting specific size, content, and contact information criteria, to direct the public to the online notice. Compliance with these provisions is deemed legally equivalent to traditional newspaper publication, and government entities must keep a permanent electronic record of the posting.

Action Taken

[SB 1029](#) - Candidate committees; posthumous closure

Sponsor

John Kavanagh (R)

Summary

Posthumous closure procedures for candidate committees are established, allowing designated individuals to act as treasurer and manage surplus funds after a candidate's death. Campaign finance reporting penalties are modified to permit waiver of fines for reports due after a candidate's death. Surplus committee funds are regulated for transfer, donation, or repayment, with specific conditions for contributions to other candidate committees and officeholder expense accounts.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 7-0
Passed the Senate 29-0 and was sent to the House
Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 7-0
Passed the House 57-3 and was sent to the Governor
Signed by Governor

[SB 1037](#) - Voting; equipment; internet; custody; violation

Sponsor

Mark Finchem (R)

Summary

SB 1037 imposes strict security requirements on voting equipment, mandating that all vote recording and tabulating machines lack internet connectivity, prohibit remote access, and maintain detailed user logs and tamper-proof custody records. It requires the secretary of state to certify voting systems based on federal standards and cybersecurity best practices, with penalties for unauthorized use or modifications. Additionally, continuous video recording of counting center activities must be posted online, and chain-of-custody protocols must ensure bipartisan oversight of all election equipment and data storage devices.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-2
Passed the Senate 16-11 and was sent to the House
Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-2
Passed the House 31-20 and was sent back to the Senate

[SB 1038](#) - Cast vote record; public record

Sponsor

Mark Finchem (R)

Summary

Requirements are imposed on county recorders in Arizona to make voter information and cast vote records publicly available within one hour after polls close for each election. The public record must include the name, voter identification number, political party registration, and a sortable cast vote record without any randomization or alteration of the original files. These records are explicitly designated as public under the new section 16-407.04 added to Title 16, Chapter 4, Article 1 of the Arizona Revised Statutes.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-2
Passed the Senate 17-12 and was sent to the House
Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-3

[SB 1040](#) - Voter registration rolls; internet access

Sponsor

Mark Finchem (R)

Summary

Access to voter registration rolls is required to be provided through a public internet portal without fees, and county recorders are mandated to supply school district precinct registers upon request. Provisions for the preparation, contents, and distribution of precinct registers are updated, including electronic transmission and detailed voter information sharing with political parties. Restrictions on the use and dissemination of voter registration data are reinforced, with penalties for unauthorized use, and a statewide voter registration database is maintained under uniform standards.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-2
Passed the Senate 16-11 and was sent to the House

[SB 1057](#) - Watermark; paper ballots

Sponsor

Mark Finchem (R)

Summary

Section 16-504 of the Arizona Revised Statutes is repealed and replaced to require vendors providing ballot paper with antifraud measures to hold ISO 27001, ISO 17025, or ISO 9001:2015 certification. Ballot fraud countermeasures must include at least three specified security features such as unique watermarked security paper, secure holographic foils, branded holograms, complex security backgrounds, variable digital infill, specialized inks, stealth numbering, micro-numismatic ultraviolet designs, forensic fraud detection technology, or unique bar/QR codes accessible only to voters for ballot tracking. These provisions aim to enhance the security and integrity of paper ballots used in elections.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-2
Passed the Senate 16-11 and was sent to the House
Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-3

[SB 1060](#) - Voter registration; temporary absence

Sponsor

Wendy Rogers (R)

Summary

Sections 16-103 and 16-593 of the Arizona Revised Statutes are amended to allow qualified persons temporarily absent from Arizona to register to vote via affidavit or federal postcard application, with registration permitted up to 7:00 p.m. on election day for those covered under the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act. Eligibility to vote using a federal write-in early ballot is extended to U.S. citizens who have never resided in the U.S. but have a parent registered to vote in Arizona. Rules clarifying voter residence determination are updated to reflect these provisions and specify conditions under which residence is maintained or lost.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 3-2
Passed the Senate 16-11 and was sent to the House
Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-2

[HCR 2002](#) - Legislature; lifetime term limits; salary

Sponsor

Stacey Travers (D)

Summary

Lifetime term limits are imposed on Arizona state legislators beginning in 2027, restricting senators and representatives to a maximum of four terms each in their respective chambers during their lifetime, regardless of consecutive service. Legislative salaries are set at \$35,000 per year starting with the 2027 legislature and are adjusted biennially based on changes in the consumer price index.

A commission on salaries for elective state officers is authorized to recommend pay rates for elected officials, with legislative salary recommendations subject to voter approval at the next general election.

Action Taken

HCR 2004 - Photo enforcement systems; prohibition

Sponsor

Teresa Martinez (R)

Summary

HCR 2004 prohibits the use of photo enforcement systems by local authorities and state agencies to identify traffic violations related to excessive speed or failure to obey traffic control devices. It repeals existing statutes authorizing such systems and emphasizes that law enforcement must remain with trained officers, preventing outsourcing to private entities. The measure is submitted to voters for approval to become law.

Action Taken

Passed House Transportation and Infrastructure 6-1
Passed the House 37-19 and was sent to the Senate
Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-3

HCR 2005 - Legislative session; adjournment

Sponsor

Justin Wilmeth (R)

Summary

An amendment to the Arizona Constitution is proposed to require the legislature to hold annual sessions beginning the second Monday of January and adjourning no later than April 30 each year. The governor is authorized to call special sessions limited to specified subjects outlined in the call. The amendment is submitted for voter approval at the next general election.

Action Taken

Passed House Government 4-3
Passed the House 42-14 and was sent to the Senate

SCR 1004 - Photo enforcement systems; prohibition

Sponsor

Wendy Rogers (R)

Summary

Photo enforcement systems are prohibited from use by local authorities or state agencies to identify violations of speed limits or traffic control devices. Sections of Arizona Revised Statutes related to photo enforcement are repealed or amended to remove authorization for such systems. Enforcement authority is reserved exclusively for trained law enforcement officers, preventing outsourcing to private entities and aiming to prioritize public safety over revenue generation.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Appropriations, Transportation, and Technology 6-4
Passed the Senate 16-12 and was sent to the House
Passed House Technology and Infrastructure 4-2

SCR 1005 - Elections; foreign contributions; prohibition

Sponsor

Mark Finchem (R)

Summary

Foreign contributions from corporations, persons, or nongovernmental sources are prohibited from being given, accepted, or used to influence the outcome of elections on ballot measures in Arizona. Entities required to file campaign finance reports must certify under penalty of perjury that they have not accepted or used such foreign contributions. Federally recognized sovereign tribal nations are exempt from these restrictions.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-3
Passed the Senate 16-13 and was sent to the House
Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 3-2

HB 2431 - Appropriation; consolidated elections facility

Sponsor

Selina Bliss (R)

Summary

\$15 million is appropriated from the state general fund in fiscal year 2026-2027 to the Arizona state treasurer for distribution to Yavapai County to support a consolidated elections facility. Distribution of funds requires Yavapai County to provide at least 50% matching capital costs in writing. The appropriation is exempt from lapsing until June 30, 2029.

Action Taken

HB 2221 - Elections; tribal consultation; voting locations

Sponsor

Brian Garcia (D)

Summary

Section 16-411 of the Arizona Revised Statutes is amended to require county boards of supervisors to consult with tribal representatives when designating polling places, combining or splitting precincts, and authorizing voting centers or emergency voting centers in counties with tribal lands. Provisions are added to ensure tribal consultation in election precinct boundary adjustments, polling place designations, and the use of voting centers, while maintaining requirements for public notification, emergency designations, and voter wait time management. Coordination with state agencies to provide state-owned facilities as voting locations is also mandated beginning in 2026.

Action Taken

HB 2318 - School districts; elections; term limits**Sponsor**

Matt Gress (R)

Summary

Term limits are imposed on school district governing board members in Arizona for districts with at least 250 students, prohibiting candidacy after eight consecutive years of service unless four years have passed since the last term. Election procedures are amended to require rotation of candidate name positions on ballots and clarify term lengths for newly formed or restructured boards. Current board members may complete their terms, but all future candidates are subject to the new term limits under HB 2318.

Action Taken

Passed House Education 6-5
Passed the House 33-27 and was sent to the Senate
Passed Senate Education 4-3

HB 2506 - Voting centers; board of supervisors**Sponsor**

Stephanie Stahl Hamilton (D)

Summary

Voting centers and early voting drop-off centers are authorized for use in Arizona elections, allowing any county voter to cast ballots at designated locations regardless of precinct. Election boards for voting centers must include representatives from the two largest political parties and may include minors under specific conditions. Provisions are established for early ballot requests, replacement ballots, emergency voting centers, and notification of provisional ballot status, with updated procedures for polling place designation, electioneering restrictions, and voter registration updates.

Action Taken

HB 2512 - Municipal; county measures; filings; actions

Sponsor

Stephanie Stahl Hamilton (D)

Summary

Section 19-141 of the Arizona Revised Statutes is amended to clarify that city or town clerks, county election officers, and recorders cannot reject initiative or referendum filings based on constitutionality and must follow specified procedures for distribution, filing deadlines, and challenges. Actions contesting the validity of initiatives or referenda must be filed within five calendar days, with expedited court hearings and appeals to ensure timely resolution before elections. Penalties are imposed on contractors for late mailing of pamphlets, and courts are required to expedite litigation to allow for proper ballot preparation and distribution.

Action Taken

HB 2510 - Early voting; hours; emergency voting

Sponsor

Stephanie Stahl Hamilton (D)

Summary

Early voting locations are required to remain open until 7:00 p.m. on the weekend preceding election day and at least until 3:00 p.m. on the Monday before the election, with possible extension to 7:00 p.m. County boards of supervisors are authorized to establish emergency voting centers with specified locations and hours, allowing voter registration updates on-site. Polling place designations and consolidations are regulated to ensure adequate access, with provisions for emergency designations restricting electioneering within facility property, and methods to reduce voter wait times are mandated.

Action Taken

HB 2505 - Early voting; hours; weekends; emergencies

Sponsor

Stephanie Stahl Hamilton (D)

Summary

Early voting locations are required to remain open until 7:00 p.m. on the Saturday and Sunday immediately preceding election day, with extended hours on the Monday before the election as determined by the county recorder. Emergency balloting procedures are expanded to allow qualified electors experiencing unforeseen circumstances after 7:00 p.m. on the Friday before the election to request special voting accommodations, including updating voter registration information. Early ballot request and distribution processes are clarified, including penalties for improper handling of request forms by candidates or organizations.

Action Taken

[HB 2366](#) - Voting centers ban; precinct size

Sponsor

Rachel Keshel (R)

Summary

Precinct boundaries are limited to a maximum of 2,500 registered voters, and the use of voting centers is prohibited except for emergency voting centers authorized by a specific board resolution. Election boards must be appointed for each precinct or voting location with specified party representation, and minors aged 16 or older may serve as election clerks under supervision. Early ballot procedures are expanded to allow on-site tabulation at designated polling places or voting centers, with strict identification and affidavit requirements, while electioneering restrictions are reinforced within 75 feet of polling places and early voting locations.

Action Taken

[HB 2656](#) - Election worker harassment task force

Sponsor

Seth Blattman (D)

Summary

An election worker harassment task force is established within the Arizona Secretary of State's office, composed of appointed members from the Attorney General's office, law enforcement, election workers, and election officers representing multiple political parties. The task force is charged with coordinating, investigating, prosecuting, or referring election worker harassment violations and must submit annual reports on its activities to state leadership and post them online. Administrative support, meeting space, and record retention are provided by the Secretary of State.

Action Taken

HB 2511 - Early ballot collection; limitations; repeal

Sponsor

Stephanie Stahl Hamilton (D)

Summary

Limitations on early ballot collection are repealed, allowing only voters, their family members, household members, or caregivers to handle or return ballots. Penalties for ballot abuse, including unauthorized collection or handling of ballots, are clarified and maintained, with specific felony classifications for violations. Instructions for voters and election officers are updated to reflect these changes, emphasizing lawful ballot handling and signature requirements for mail-in ballots.

Action Taken

SB 1168 - Ballots; categories; count

Sponsor

Shawna Bolick (R)

Summary

Requirements are imposed on Arizona election officials to maintain and publicly post detailed counts of physical and electronic ballots by category, including early, regular, provisional, and federal-only ballots. Hand counts are mandated for selected precincts and races with specific procedures for random selection, party involvement, and thresholds for expanding recounts, including full jurisdictional hand counts if discrepancies exceed designated margins. A vote count verification committee is established to set and review these margins, oversee hand count accuracy, and ensure transparency through public reporting and source code review when necessary.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-3
Passed the Senate 16-11 and was sent to the House
Passed House Appropriations 15-2
Passed the House 43-11 and was sent back to the Senate

SB 1229 - Early voting; identification; emergency voting

Sponsor

Brian Fernandez (D)

Summary

Early voting procedures are expanded to include extended hours for on-site voting locations and emergency balloting provisions for voters experiencing emergencies shortly before elections. Identification requirements are clarified, allowing voters to verify identity when returning early ballots at voting locations, which are then processed without additional signature verification. Signature cure processes are enhanced with daily updates to political parties, and strict chain of custody protocols are imposed for early ballots returned at polling places on election day.

Action Taken

[HB 2220](#) - Polling places; accessible equipment

Sponsor

Brian Garcia (D)

Summary

Requirements are imposed for accessible voting devices at polling places in Arizona, mandating that each device be programmed to offer all ballot styles for the entire jurisdiction regardless of location. Election officials must notify political party chairmen of device inspection times before elections, ensure sufficient voting booths and devices are provided, and designate independent observers for election software installation and modifications. These provisions amend Arizona Revised Statutes section 16-447 to enhance accessibility and transparency in election administration.

Action Taken

[HB 2628](#) - Ballot delivery; collection

Sponsor

Lorena Austin (D)

Summary

Requirements are imposed on ballot handling and delivery in Arizona, including prohibitions on collecting early ballots from non-family members except under specific conditions, and mandates for voter instructions emphasizing lawful ballot return. Penalties for ballot abuse, including unauthorized collection, solicitation, or possession of ballots, are clarified and classified as felonies, with enhanced penalties for patterns of ballot fraud. Mail ballot affidavit procedures and voter assistance disclosures are updated to include new delivery options and signature requirements effective 2026 under HB 2628.

Action Taken

HB 2902 - Electoral college; support

Sponsor

Steve Montenegro (R)

Summary

Section 16-410.01 is added to Arizona Revised Statutes affirming the importance of the Electoral College in presidential elections, emphasizing its constitutional foundation, role in ensuring nationwide participation, and its function in guaranteeing election outcome certainty.

Action Taken

Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-2

Passed the House 31-21 and was sent to the Senate

HB 2901 - Voting equipment; requirements; origin

Sponsor

Steve Montenegro (R)

Summary

Requirements are imposed on vote recording and tabulating machines used in Arizona elections, mandating that beginning January 1, 2029, all parts and components must be sourced and assembled entirely within the United States. Certification and use of voting equipment must comply with the Help America Vote Act and be approved by a designated committee, with provisions for emergency use and revocation of certification for noncompliance. Exemptions are provided for machines acquired before January 1, 2028.

Action Taken

Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-2

HB 2508 - Ballot measures; descriptive title; summary

Sponsor

Stephanie Stahl Hamilton (D)

Summary

Requirements are imposed on the form and content of ballot measures in Arizona, including numbering conventions, official and descriptive titles, and the inclusion of an impartial summary of principal provisions not exceeding fifty words. The secretary of state and attorney general must approve and prominently post the impartial summary online at least thirty days before ballots and publicity pamphlets are printed, and provide the summary to the filing committee. Notices regarding the amendment restrictions under Proposition 105 (1998) must be printed on ballots for state statutory measures, and alternative concise ballot formats with specific content elements are authorized.

Action Taken

HB 2805 - Electronic signatures; nomination petitions

Sponsor

John Gillette (R)

Summary

A secure online signature collection system is established by the Secretary of State for nomination petitions for candidates in specified local districts, including school, community college, hospital, and multi-county water conservation districts. Equal access to the system is mandated for all candidates in certain elections regardless of political party affiliation or nomination method, with uniform application of rules and prohibitions on discriminatory restrictions. The system must verify elector identity and transmit filings to election officials, allowing candidates to collect all petition signatures electronically.

Action Taken

Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 5-2
Passed the House 31-25 and was sent to the Senate
Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-2

HB 2504 - Ballot measure amendments

Sponsor

Stephanie Stahl Hamilton (D)

Summary

Sections 19-102.01 and 19-111.01 of Arizona Revised Statutes are repealed, and a new section 19-111.01 is added to allow political committees to submit proposed ballot measure descriptions to the attorney general for pre-approval and legal sufficiency review. Requirements are imposed on registration and regulation of paid and non-resident circulators for statewide initiative and referendum petitions, including application details, disqualification criteria, and enforcement mechanisms. Ballot measure numbering, official and descriptive title formatting, and impartial summary posting procedures are revised to enhance transparency and restore the people's right to legislate by initiative and referendum under the Arizona Constitution.

Action Taken

HB 2509 - Campaign finance; corporate contributions; registration

Sponsor

Stephanie Stahl Hamilton (D)

Summary

Requirements are imposed on corporations, limited liability companies, and labor organizations to register and report contributions exceeding specified thresholds to political action committees or similar entities in Arizona. Contribution disclosures must include detailed information about the contributor, recipient, candidate supported or opposed, and contribution date, with notarized verification required within five days. Civil penalties up to three times the contribution amount and misdemeanor charges are established for noncompliance or false filings under HB 2509.

Action Taken

HB 2655 - Election committee; security standards; practices

Sponsor

Seth Blattman (D)

Summary

An election security standards and practices committee is established by the Secretary of State in consultation with local election officials and technical experts to develop and disseminate required and recommended election security controls and a self-assessment questionnaire for jurisdictions. A process and schedule are imposed for regular review and updates of security standards, including public comment opportunities, with biennial submission of updated standards and compliance questionnaires by jurisdictions. Compliance with the standards is confirmed through self-assessments submitted to the Secretary of State every even-numbered year.

Action Taken

HB 2372 - School board candidates; electronic signatures

Sponsor

Stacey Travers (D)

Summary

Section 16-317 of the Arizona Revised Statutes is amended to require the Secretary of State to provide a secure online system for qualified electors to sign nomination petitions for city, county,

school board, justice of the peace, constable, and precinct committeeman candidates. Candidates may collect up to 110% of the minimum required nomination petition signatures through this online system starting in 2025, expanding from the previous allowance through 2024. The system must verify elector identity and transmit filings to the appropriate election officer.

Action Taken

HB 2630 - Election officers; privacy protections

Sponsor

Lorena Austin (D)

Summary

HB 2630 expands privacy protections for election officers and other eligible persons by prohibiting public access to their personal identifying information in county recorder, assessor, treasurer, and Department of Transportation records upon court order. It establishes procedures for eligible persons to file affidavits requesting redaction or sealing of such information to reduce threats to their safety, and criminalizes the unauthorized dissemination of election officers' personal information when it poses an imminent threat. The measure also clarifies definitions and extends confidentiality provisions to include family and household members of election officers.

Action Taken

HB 2507 - Early ballot return; voter intimidation

Sponsor

Stephanie Stahl Hamilton (D)

Summary

Section 16-1018 of the Arizona Revised Statutes is amended to classify as a class 2 misdemeanor the act of knowingly interfering with or harassing individuals delivering or attempting to deliver voted ballots to lawful recipients or receptacles. Additional unlawful acts related to voting, such as electioneering near polling places, removing ballots, and soliciting voters to show ballots, are reaffirmed and detailed. These provisions regulate conduct to protect the integrity and security of early ballot return and voting processes in Arizona.

Action Taken

HB 2789 - Nominating petitions; in lieu fee

Sponsor

Lupe Diaz (R)

Summary

An in-lieu filing fee option is established for candidates seeking ballot access in Arizona elections beginning in 2028, allowing payment of a fee instead of submitting nomination petition signatures. The Secretary of State is required to set and publish the fee and provide a notarized form for candidates to declare payment in lieu of petitions. This option excludes candidates for U.S. Senator, Representative in Congress, and President or Vice President.

Action Taken

HB 2219 - Ballot receptacles; electioneering limits**Sponsor**

Brian Garcia (D)

Summary

Seventy-five-foot limits are extended to include designated ballot receptacles, prohibiting electioneering and unauthorized presence within these areas while accessible to the public. Election officials, party representatives, and challengers are restricted from displaying political materials or electioneering within these limits, and photography is prohibited. Violations of these provisions and other specified unlawful acts related to voting conduct are classified as class 2 misdemeanors under HB 2219.

Action Taken

HB 2557 - Candidate petitions; felony disclosure**Sponsor**

Quang Nguyen (R)

Summary

Sections 13-911, 16-314, and 16-341 of the Arizona Revised Statutes are amended to require candidates submitting nomination petitions to disclose any felony sexual offense convictions involving a minor, including those sealed or expunged. Procedures for sealing criminal records are clarified, specifying exceptions for certain offenses and mandating disclosure of relevant convictions on nomination petitions. Nomination petitions must include a candidate-completed statement regarding such felony convictions, enhancing transparency in candidate qualifications.

Action Taken

Passed House Judiciary 9-0
Passed the House 37-16 and was sent to the Senate
Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 5-2
Passed the Senate 17-9 and was sent back to the House

SB 1609 - New political parties; party name

Sponsor

Thomas "TJ" Shope (R)

Summary

Requirements are imposed on new political parties in Arizona to ensure their names are distinguishable and exclude terms like "unaffiliated" or "independent." Procedures for petition signatures and ballot representation for new parties at primary, general, county, and municipal elections are clarified and standardized. Election officials are mandated to recognize political parties by their petitioned names, and the act applies retroactively from December 31, 2024, with immediate effect.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 7-0

SB 1568 - Early ballots; registration signatures; curing

Sponsor

Jake Hoffman (R)

Summary

Requirements are imposed on early ballot requests in Arizona, including mandating that voter registration records contain a handwritten signature obtained within the past five years before mailing ballots and before comparing signatures on returned ballots. Signature cure processes are expanded with daily updated lists of voters needing to cure signatures provided to political parties, candidates, and third-party organizations upon request. Early voting procedures are regulated to ensure timely ballot distribution, signature verification, and secure ballot processing, with penalties established for improper handling of early ballot request forms and unauthorized ballot mailings.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-3

Passed the Senate 16-12 and was sent to the House

Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-3

SB 1569 - Special election boards; voter registration

Sponsor

Jake Hoffman (R)

Summary

Section 16-549 of the Arizona Revised Statutes is amended to regulate the appointment and duties of special election boards for ill or disabled voters, including procedures for personal ballot delivery and voting. Special election board members are prohibited from collecting, processing, or facilitating voter registrations while acting on behalf of the county recorder or election officer. Compensation and travel reimbursements for board members are prescribed, and emergency provisions for ballot delivery to hospitalized voters are established.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-3

SB 1237 - Election procedures manual; consultation

Sponsor

John Kavanagh (R)

Summary

Rules governing election procedures, including early voting, ballot handling, and electronic voting system security, are revised to require consultation with county recorders and legislative election committee leaders before the Secretary of State prescribes them. An official instructions and procedures manual must be issued biennially before general elections, approved by the governor and attorney general, and include rules for fax and internet transmission of ballots and requests for absent uniformed and overseas voters. Violations of these rules are classified as class 2 misdemeanors, and expert personnel must be provided to review electronic voting systems and recommend statutory or procedural changes.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-3
Passed the Senate 16-11 and was sent to the House
Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-3
Passed the House 31-21 and was sent back to the Senate

SCR 1031 - Legislative districts; population; census; citizenship

Sponsor

Jake Hoffman (R)

Description

SCR 1031 proposes a constitutional amendment to require legislative districts to be drawn based on citizen population rather than total population, mandating a state-run census of United States citizens and establishing a State Census Fund. It directs the transfer of \$5,000,000 annually from the Citizens

Clean Election Fund to the State Census Fund to finance the required census. The bill also outlines the structure and procedures of the independent redistricting commission, emphasizing the use of citizen population data for legislative district mapping and referencing the principle that only United States citizens may participate in state elections.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Government 4-3
Passed the Senate 16-11 and was sent to the House

SB 1687 – Strike Everything Amendment – May Primary Date

Sponsor

Jake Hoffman (R)

Description

The bill amends election laws to move primary elections beginning in 2027 to the Tuesday before the last Monday in May and consolidates election dates to increase voter participation and reduce costs.

Action Taken

Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 4-3
Passed the Senate 16-12 and was sent to the House
Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 4-3

SB 1138 – Strike Everything Amendment - Automated license plate readers

Sponsor

Mark Finchem (R)

Description

The Strike Everything amendment would redirect the 10% surcharge that funds the Clean Elections fund to the Highway User Revenue Fund (HURF).

Action Taken

Passed Senate Appropriations, Transportation and Technology 6-3

HB 2874 - campaign committees; termination statements; contributions

Sponsor

Jeff Weninger (R)

Description

The bill would modify penalties and requirements for late reporting if/when a committee files a termination statement. It would cap fines at \$5000.

Action Taken

Passed House Federalism, Military Affairs, & Elections 7-0
Passed the House 54-6 and as sent to the Senate
Passed Senate Judiciary and Elections 5-2
Passed the Senate 16-12 as amended and was sent to a conference committee

1 D. In his Application for Certification, Mr. Jaramillo agreed to: (a)
2 comply with all requirements of the Act and Commission rules; (b) keep and
3 furnish to the Commission all documentation relating to expenditures,
4 receipts, funding, books, and records (including bank records for all
5 accounts), and supporting documentation; (c) permit an audit and examination
6 of all receipts and expenditures, and facilitate the audit and examination; (d)
7 use all Clean Elections funding for direct campaign purposes only; (e) bear the
8 burden of proving that expenditures made by or on behalf of the candidate
9 were for direct campaign purposes; and (f) file all campaign finance reports
10 with the Secretary of State in an electronic format in a timely manner.

11 E. On July 22, 2024, the Secretary of State notified Mr. Jaramillo that
12 he had submitted a sufficient number of qualifying contributions to meet
13 the statutory requirements to receive Clean Elections funding under A.R.S. §
14 16-950(D).

15 F. Mr. Jaramillo reallocated a portion of his Clean Elections
16 funding to the primary election period pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-952.

17 G. On July 23, 2024, Mr. Jaramillo received \$31,760 in Clean
18 Elections funds for the 2024 primary election.

19 H. Mr. Jaramillo did not advance to the 2024 general election.

20 I. Mr. Jaramillo filed his 2024 Pre-Primary Election campaign
21 finance report on July 23, 2024.

22 J. Following the July 23, 2024 Pre-Primary Election report, Mr.
23 Jaramillo did not file any of the remaining reports due under A.R.S. § 16-927 and
24 the Commission rules within the prescribed time periods.

25 K. As of January 8, 2025, Mr. Jaramillo had not filed five campaign
26 finance reports required under A.R.S. § 16-927 and Commission rules.

27 L. Mr. Jaramillo's receipt of the \$31,760 in Clean Elections funds
28 and the expenditure of those funds were reported in campaign finance
29 reports filed after the applicable statutory deadlines.
30

1 M. In his Application for Certification, Mr. Jaramillo agreed to: (a)
2 comply with all requirements of the Act and Commission rules; (b) keep and
3 furnish to the Commission all documentation relating to expenditures, receipts,
4 funding, books, and records (including bank records for all accounts), and
5 supporting documentation; (c) permit an audit and examination of all receipts
6 and expenditures, and facilitate the audit and examination; (d) use all Clean
7 Elections funding for direct campaign purposes only; (e) bear the burden of
8 proving that expenditures made by or on behalf of the candidate were for direct
9 campaign purposes; and (f) file all campaign finance reports with the Secretary
10 of State in an electronic format in a timely manner.

11 N. On July 22, 2024, the Secretary of State notified Mr. Jaramillo that
12 he had submitted a sufficient number of qualifying contributions to meet the
13 statutory requirements to receive Clean Elections funding under A.R.S. § 16-
14 950(D).

15 O. Mr. Jaramillo reallocated a portion of his Clean Elections funding
16 to the primary election period pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-952.

17 P. On July 23, 2024, Mr. Jaramillo received \$31,760 in Clean
18 Elections funds for the 2024 primary election.

19 Q. Mr. Jaramillo did not advance to the 2024 general election.

20 R. Mr. Jaramillo filed his 2024 Pre-Primary Election campaign
21 finance report on July 23, 2024.

22 S. Following the July 23, 2024 Pre-Primary Election report, Mr.
23 Jaramillo did not file any of the remaining reports due under A.R.S. § 16-927
24 and the Commission rules within the prescribed time periods.

25 T. As of January 8, 2025, Mr. Jaramillo had not filed five campaign
26 finance reports required under A.R.S. § 16-927 and Commission rules.

27 U. Mr. Jaramillo's receipt of the \$31,760 in Clean Elections funds and
28 the expenditure of those funds were reported in campaign finance reports filed
29 after the applicable statutory deadlines.
30

1 V. Mr. Jaramillo did not file a written response to the October 5, 2025
2 Statement of Reasons of the Executive Director.

3 W. On October 7, 2025, during a public meeting, the Commission
4 determined that there was reason to believe Mr. Jaramillo had violated the Act
5 and Commission rules.

6 X. Mr. Jaramillo was informed of the October 7, 2025, Commission
7 meeting.

8 Y. Mr. Jaramillo did not appear at the October 7, 2025, Commission
9 meeting.

10 Z. On October 15, 2025, Executive Director Collins issued an Order
11 of Compliance and Deadline to Comply, directing Mr. Jaramillo to comply within
12 14 days, by October 29, 2025.

13 AA. Mr. Jaramillo did not file a written response to the October 15,
14 2025, Order of Compliance.

15 BB. On December 3, 2025, Executive Director Collins issued a Brief of
16 the Executive Director, Probable Cause Recommendation and Notice of
17 Possible Penalties.

18 CC. Mr. Jaramillo did not file a written response to the December 3,
19 2025, Brief of the Executive Director, Probable Cause Recommendation and
20 Notice of Possible Penalties.

21 DD. On December 11, 2025, during a public meeting, the Commission
22 determined that there was probable cause to believe Mr. Jaramillo had violated
23 the Act and Commission rules.

24 EE. Mr. Jaramillo was informed of the December 11, 2025,
25 Commission meeting.

26 FF. Mr. Jaramillo did not appear at the December 11, 2025,
27 Commission meeting.

28 GG. On January 29, 2026, the Commission issued an Order and
29 Notice of Appealable Agency Action, imposing a mitigated civil penalty of
30

1 \$16,000 against Mr. Jaramillo. The penalty consisted of \$15,000 for reporting
2 violations under A.R.S. § 16-942(B) and A.A.C. R2-20-110(A), and \$1,000 for
3 recordkeeping and audit violations under A.A.C. R2-20-222(A).

4 HH. In its January 29, 2026 Order, the Commission found good cause
5 under A.R.S. § 16-957(B) to reduce the penalty below the amount otherwise
6 authorized by A.R.S. § 16-942(B) because “Respondent provided records and
7 evidence to auditors allowing the determination that clean elections funds were
8 used for direct campaign purposes,” and “Respondent did not intend to deceive
9 or gain unfair advantage.”

10 II. On February 28, 2026, Mr. Jaramillo timely filed a Request for
11 Administrative Appeal of the Commission’s January 29, 2026, Order.

12 3. At hearing, Mr. Jaramillo argued that the penalty should be further
13 reduced because his income was variable and he worked as a behavioral health
14 technician in a Peoria area school which was closing, therefore he did not have the
15 funds to pay the same. However, Mr. Jaramillo would not provide an amount at which
16 he was comfortable paying.

17 4. Defendant argued that the penalty had already been mitigated
18 significantly, and that it was seeking payment of a \$15,000 fine regarding the failure to
19 file reports and the fact that the Respondent eventually provided records that
20 demonstrated that his expenses were direct campaign expenses but reflected the
21 seriousness of the failure to file timely reports. An additional \$1,000 penalty was also
22 sought for failure to provide records at the request of the Commission.

23 **CONCLUSIONS OF LAW**

24 1. Mr. Jaramillo received funding as a Citizens Clean Elections candidate.
25 This matter therefore lies within the Commission’s jurisdiction.¹

26 2. The Commission bears the burden of proof to establish that Mr. Jaramillo
27 violated the Act by a preponderance of the evidence.² Mr. Jaramillo bears the burden to
28

29 ¹ See A.R.S. § 16-956(A)(7).

30 ² See A.R.S. § 41-1092.07(G)(3); A.A.C. R2-19-119(B)(1); *see also Vazanno v. Superior Court*, 74 Ariz.
369, 372, 249 P.2d 837 (1952).

1 establish affirmative defenses and matters in mitigation of the penalty by the same
2 evidentiary standard.³

3 3. "A preponderance of the evidence is such proof as convinces the trier of
4 fact that the contention is more probably true than not."⁴ A preponderance of the
5 evidence is "[t]he greater weight of the evidence, not necessarily established by the
6 greater number of witnesses testifying to a fact but by evidence that has the most
7 convincing force; superior evidentiary weight that, though not sufficient to free the mind
8 wholly from all reasonable doubt, is still sufficient to incline a fair and impartial mind to one
9 side of the issue rather than the other."⁵

10 4. The Commission established, and Mr. Jaramillo so stipulated as
11 mentioned above, that Mr. Jaramillo violated the requirements of the Act.

12 5. The Commission, through its arguments and pleadings filed in this matter,
13 have determined that a total civil penalty of \$16,000.00, pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-942
14 and R2-20-109(F)(3), and R2-20-222(A), a civil penalty is appropriate in this case. Mr.
15 Jaramillo failed to provide any persuasive evidence to justify the tribunal to further
16 reduce the penalty.

17 **RECOMMENDED ORDER**

18 **IT IS ORDERED** that the Commission shall affirm the January 29, 2026, Order in
19 its entirety.

20 **IT IS FURTHER ORDERED** that within thirty (30) days of the effective date of the
21 Order entered in this matter, Mr. Jaramillo shall pay to the Commission a civil penalty
22 under A.R.S. § 16-942(B) in the amount \$52,290.60.

23 *In the event of certification of the Administrative Law Judge Decision by the*
24 *Director of the Office of Administrative Hearings, the effective date of the Order will be*
25 *forty (40) days from the date of that certification.*

26 Done this day, May 8, 2026.

27 /s/ Adam D. Stone
28 Administrative Law Judge

29 ³ See A.A.C. R2-19-119(B)(2).

30 ⁴ MORRIS K. UDALL, ARIZONA LAW OF EVIDENCE § 5 (1960).

⁵ BLACK'S LAW DICTIONARY at page 1220 (8th ed. 1999).

1 Transmitted by either mail, e-mail, or facsimile to:

2 Thomas Collins, Executive Director
3 Citizens Clean Elections Commission

4 Allie Karpurk
5 Osborn Maledon, P.A.
6 2929 N. Central Avenue, Suite 2000
7 akarpurk@omlaw.com

8 Hector Jaramillo
9 hec4az@gmail.com

10 By: OAH Staff

Thomas M. Collins
Executive Director



**State of Arizona
Citizens Clean Elections Commission**

1110 W. Washington St. - Suite 250 - Phoenix, Arizona 85007 - Tel (602) 364-3477 - Fax (602) 364-3487 - www.azcleanelections.gov

Via E-mail

May 22, 2026

Hector Jaramillo
6926 N 74th Ave.
Glendale AZ 85303

Re: Commission Meeting on Administrative Law Judge Decision

Dear Mr. Jaramillo,

The Commission will review the Administrative Law Judge's decision of May 8, 2026 at the May 28, 2026 Commission meeting. In accordance with Arizona Administrative Code R2-20-227, the Commission may accept, reject or modify this decision and will serve you with the Commission's final decision. The ALJ decision is enclosed with the email delivering this letter.

I anticipate recommending that the Commission reinstate the original assessment of \$16,000.00 and modify the part of the order assessing a fine of \$52,290.60.

Your attendance at the meeting is not required. However, it is encouraged. We will provide you with information for how to appear remotely early next week. The meeting will begin at 10 a.m. at the Commission office, 1110 W. Washington, Suite 250.

Sincerely,

Thomas M. Collins
Executive Director

Enclosure

Cc: Paula Thomas
Craig Morgan, Independent Advisor to the Commission

Katie Hobbs
Governor

Thomas M. Collins
Executive Director



Mark S. Kimble
Chair

Steve M. Titla
Galen D. Paton
Christina Werther
Sam Crump
Commissioners

State of Arizona
Citizens Clean Elections Commission

1110 W. Washington St. - Suite 250 - Phoenix, Arizona 85007 - Tel (602) 364-3477 - Fax (602) 364-3487 - www.azcleanelections.gov

Via Certified Mail and E-mail
May 28, 2026

Hector Jaramillo
6926 N 74th Ave.
Glendale AZ 85303

Re: Final Administrative Order in MUR 25-01

Dear Mr. Jaramillo:

As you are aware, the Arizona Citizens Clean Elections Commission (the "Commission") found probable cause that you violated the Citizens Clean Elections Act and Commission rules, including the reporting requirements imposed by A.R.S. § 16-927 and Commission rules, the civil penalty provisions of A.R.S. § 16-942(B), and the Commission's recordkeeping and audit requirements under A.A.C. R2-20-222(A). On January 29, 2026, the Commission issued its Order and Notice of Appealable Agency Action, imposing a mitigated civil penalty of \$16,000.00 against you. The Commission determined that mitigation was appropriate because you ultimately provided records and evidence allowing auditors to determine that Clean Elections funds were used for direct campaign purposes, and because the Commission found no intent to deceive or gain unfair advantage.

You timely appealed the imposition of the civil penalties, and on April 23, 2026, a hearing was held before the Office of Administrative Hearings. As a result of that hearing, the Administrative Law Judge issued a Recommended Order containing Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law. The Recommended Order is enclosed with this letter.

In Conclusion of Law No. 5, the Administrative Law Judge concluded that the Commission had established by a preponderance of the evidence that you violated the requirements of the Act and that a civil penalty of \$16,000.00 pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-942 and Commission rules was appropriate. The Administrative Law Judge

further concluded that you failed to provide persuasive evidence justifying any additional reduction in the penalty. However, in the final paragraph of his order the Administrative Law Judge appeared to set the penalty at \$52,290.60.

FINAL ADMINISTRATIVE DECISION

Pursuant to A.R.S. § 41-1092.08(B), the Commission hereby modifies to the original penalty of \$16,000 and otherwise incorporates by reference its Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law into its Final Administrative Decision as if fully set forth herein. Accordingly, as recommended in the Recommended Order, the Commission's Final Administrative Decision is as follows:

The Commission affirms the finding that Mr. Jaramillo violated the reporting requirements imposed under the Citizens Clean Elections Act and Commission rules.

The Commission affirms the finding that civil penalties are authorized pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-942(B) and A.A.C. R2-20-222(A).

The Commission affirms the January 29, 2026, Order and Notice of Appealable Agency Action except that the penalty shall be \$16,000.

It is further ordered that within thirty (30) days of the effective date of this Final Administrative Decision, Mr. Jaramillo shall pay to the Commission a civil penalty in the amount of \$16,000.00.

ACCORDINGLY, pursuant to this Final Administrative Decision, you are ordered to pay to the Commission the civil penalty of \$16,000.00 within thirty days of the effective date of this Decision.

RIGHT TO APPEAL

Pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-957(B), **you have fourteen (14) days** from the date of issuance of this order to appeal to the superior court as provided in title 12, chapter 7, article 6.

Dated this ____ day of _____, 2026.

FOR THE COMMISSION:

S/Mark Kimble
Mark Kimble

Chairman,
Arizona Citizens Clean Elections Commission

A copy of this Decision was sent by
U.S. Certified Mail and emailed
this 28th day of May 2026, to:

Hector Jaramillo
6926 N 74th Ave.
Glendale AZ 85303

Katie Hobbs
Governor

Thomas M. Collins
Executive Director



Mark S. Kimble
Chair

Steve M. Titla
Galen D. Paton
Christina Werther
Sam Crump
Commissioners

State of Arizona
Citizens Clean Elections Commission

1110 W. Washington St. - Suite 250 - Phoenix, Arizona 85007 - Tel (602) 364-3477
Fax (602) 364-3487 - www.azcleelections.gov

MEMORANDUM

To: Clean Elections Commissioners

From: Thomas Collins

Cc: Hector Jaramillo

Date: 5/26/2026

Subject: Recommendation Regarding Final Administrative Order & Notice of Hearing

Recommendation

Following an administrative hearing held before the Office of Administrative Hearings on April 23, 2026, the Administrative Law Judge issued a Recommended Order concluding that violations of the Citizens Clean Elections Act and Commission rules were established and that civil penalties were authorized under A.R.S. § 16-942(B) and A.A.C. R2-20-222(A).

The Administrative Law Judge concluded that the Commission established by a preponderance of the evidence that Respondent violated the reporting and recordkeeping requirements imposed under the Act and Commission rules, and further concluded that Respondent did not establish a basis for any additional reduction in the mitigated civil penalty previously imposed by the Commission. Although the Recommended Order referenced a higher penalty amount in its concluding paragraph, the body of the Recommended Order otherwise supports the Commission's previously imposed mitigated penalty of \$16,000.00.

Staff therefore recommends that the Commission approve the attached Final Administrative Decision affirming the Commission's January 29, 2026, Order and Notice of Appealable Agency Action, except that the civil penalty shall remain \$16,000.00.

The proposed Final Administrative Decision also recognizes the mitigating factors previously identified by the Commission, including Respondent's eventual production of records sufficient to confirm that Clean Elections monies were used for direct campaign purposes and the absence of evidence showing intent to deceive or obtain an unfair advantage.

Pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-957(B), Respondent would have fourteen (14) days from issuance of the Final Administrative Decision to appeal to superior court.

If the Final Administrative Decision is approved and becomes effective, payment of the \$16,000.00 civil penalty would be due within thirty (30) days. Staff will work with Respondent regarding an appropriate payment plan if necessary.

Hearing

The Citizens Clean Elections Commission will hold a regular meeting at which it will consider this matter on on May 28, 2026. This meeting will be held at 10:00 a.m. at Commission's office, 1110 W. Washington, Suite 250, Phoenix, Arizona 85007. You may also participate via Zoom via the address below:

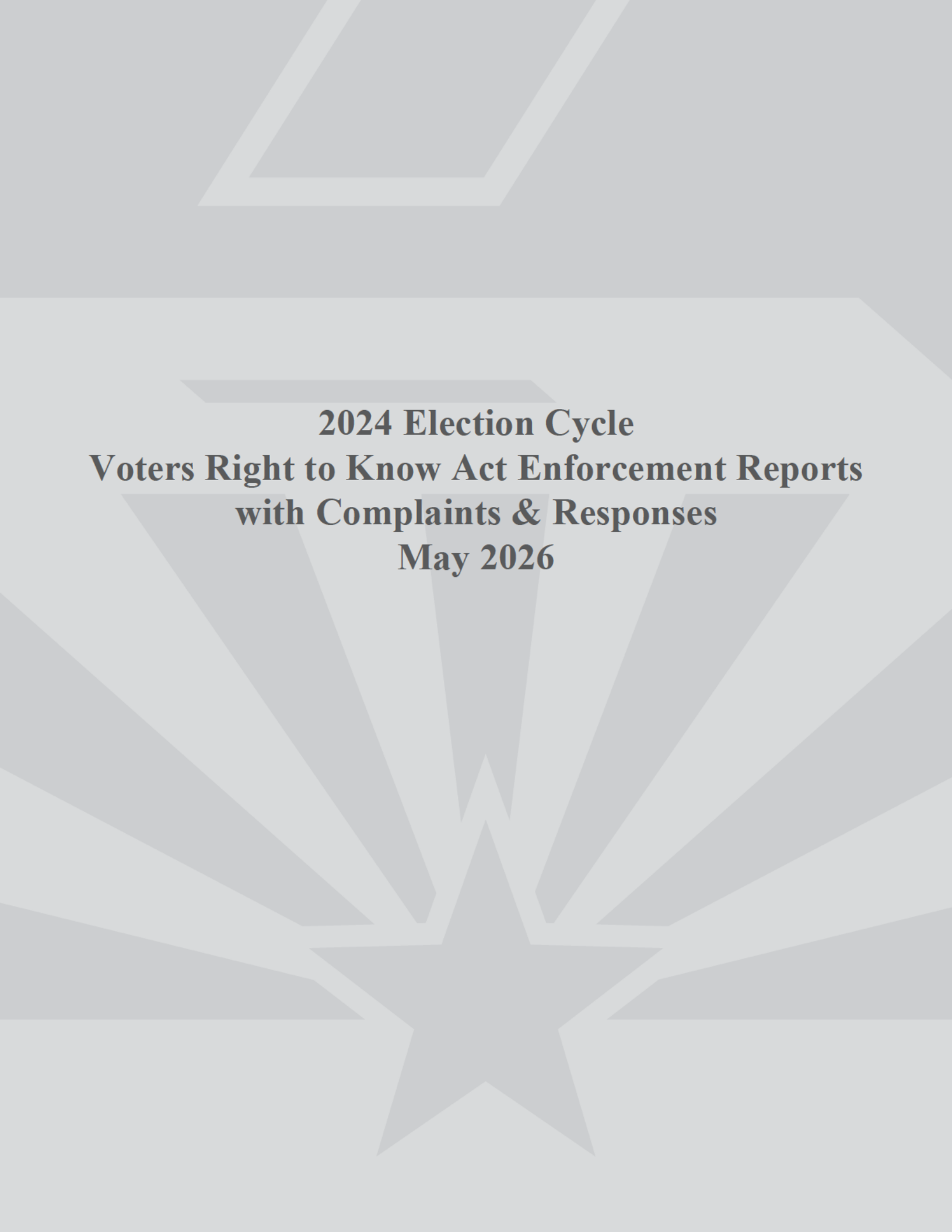
Join Zoom Meeting

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/86328992962>

Meeting ID: 863 2899 2962

One tap mobile

+1-346-248-7799,,86328992962# US

A large, light gray, stylized star graphic is centered on the page. The star has five points and is surrounded by several concentric, slightly offset star shapes, creating a layered effect. The background is a light gray color.

2024 Election Cycle
Voters Right to Know Act Enforcement Reports
with Complaints & Responses
May 2026

Voters Right to Know Act Enforcement Reports including Complaints and Responses

May 2026

Introduction

This compilation contains Executive Director reports issued pursuant to A.A.C. R2-20-811(F) under the Arizona Citizens Clean Elections Commission's rules implementing the Voters' Right to Know Act and related campaign finance laws. Under these rules, any qualified Arizona voter may submit a sworn complaint alleging a violation of A.R.S. Title 16, Chapter 6.1 or the Commission's rules. Complaints must identify the alleged violator, describe the factual basis for the alleged violation with reasonable specificity, and, where possible, include supporting documentation.

Once a complaint is determined to satisfy the procedural requirements of A.A.C. R2-20-809, the respondent is provided notice and an opportunity to respond pursuant to A.A.C. R2-20-810. The Commission's rules expressly provide that the notification of a complaint reflects no judgment regarding the truth or accuracy of the allegations and that respondents may present legal and factual reasons why further enforcement action should not proceed.

Following the response period, the Executive Director or Commission staff may conduct an investigation, including the use of subpoenas and other investigative tools authorized by rule and statute. Upon completion of that process, the Executive Director may recommend enforcement action, enter into a proposed consent agreement, or dismiss the complaint.

The reports compiled here are reports issued pursuant to A.A.C. R2-20-811(F), reflecting determinations by the Executive Director that, after investigation, insufficient facts existed to substantiate the allegations in the complaint and pursue the matter further. These reports are part of the Commission's administrative enforcement process and are intended to provide transparency regarding the Commission's review and disposition of complaints arising under Arizona's campaign finance and disclosure laws.

I.

Table of Contents

1. MUR 24-03 Arizona Senate Victory Fund	1
2. MUR 24-04 Make Liberty Win	30
3. MUR 24-06 Stand for Children IEC	119
4. MUR 24-07 Arizona Solutions PAC	132
5. MUR 24-08 Opportunity Arizona	207

Katie Hobbs
Governor

Thomas M. Collins
Executive Director



**State of Arizona
Citizens Clean Elections Commission**

1110 W. Washington St. - Suite 250 - Phoenix, Arizona 85007 - Tel (602) 364-3477 - Fax (602) 364-3487 - www.azcleanelections.gov

Via E-Mail

January 23, 2025

Brett W. Johnson
Tracy Olson
Snell & Wilmer
One East Washington Street
Suite 2700
Phoenix, AZ 85004

Re: MUR 24-03 Arizona Senate Victory Fund PAC

Dear Mr. Johnson and Ms. Olson:

I am writing to notify you that I have dismissed this Complaint and provide the report required by Ariz. Admin. Code R2-20-811(F).

The Complaint

The Complaint arose from a claim of incomplete disclosures on public communications against Democratic legislative candidates by the Arizona Senate Victory Fund, an Arizona political action committee (“the fund”). Complaint at 1. The Complaint alleged that the Arizona Senate Victory Fund became a covered person in 2023 because its expenditures, or “disbursements” as reflected on the fund’s 2023 amended Q2 and Q3 campaign finance reports, totaled \$68,975.16. *Id.* Cf. A.R.S. § 16-971(7)(a)(defining covered person).¹

¹ The Amended Q2 report is available here:

<https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/1E78455B-308A-4632-97CC-B0F036B73BA6.pdf>.

The Amended Q3 report is available here:

<https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/DBC79AEA-216F-408D-B232-E6C754DA5BC8.pdf>.

Covered persons are required to provide certain information about their donors on their public communications. A.R.S. § 16-974(C), Ariz. Admin. Code § R2-20-805.

Specifically, the statute and rule require that public communications disclose the “three largest contributions of original monies.” *Id.* This means that covered persons do not meet the requirement by substituting an organization through whom it received monies for a person who is the original source of those monies. CEC AO 2024-06.

The Complaint alleged that in its public communications against particular Democratic legislative candidate, rather than disclosing a particular corporation that donated to the fund as its largest donor for purposes of the Voter’s Right to Know Act, the fund disclosed only organizations that took donations from others and provide monies to the fund. Complaint at 1.

The Response

The fund’s response takes issues with both factual premises of the Complaint. First, it disputes that it was a covered person beginning in 2023, noting that it filed its initial report of campaign media spending under VRKA on September 3, 2024. Response at 1, Ex. A.² The corporation that made the donation, the fund explained, had opted out of having its monies used for campaign media spending. *Id.* at 1-2 *See* Ariz. Admin. Code § R2-20-805(B) (explaining that donors who have opted out need not be disclosed on public communications).

Analysis

The allegations of the Complaint are not substantiated. First, the Complaint relies on the aggregate expenses or disbursements reported on the fund’s campaign finance reports to identify the date when it became a covered person. But while PAC disbursements may be presumptively for the purpose of influencing an election, such expenses are not necessarily campaign media spending. The reports disclose expenses for such items as campaign finance compliance and airfare. A PAC may disclose campaign media spending, in contrast, on forms created for reports under the VRKA. Here, the fund began those disclosures in late 2024.

² The initial report is available here:

https://azsos.gov/sites/default/files/vrka/2025/9.3.2024_AZ_Senate_Victory_Fund.pdf.

The fund also disclosed communications with the donor confirming that the donor opted out of having their donation used for campaign media spending.

Conclusion

For the reasons identified above, the Complaint is not substantiated and is dismissed.

Thank you for your response in this matter. This letter, along with the Complaint and Response will be made available to the Commission as part of the Executive Director's Report at the next regular Commission meeting.

Sincerely,

S/ Thomas M. Collins

cc: Mark Ashley

9 September 2024

Mark. Ashley
9330 E Dreyfus Pl.
Scottsdale, AZ 85260
cptmashley@gmail.com

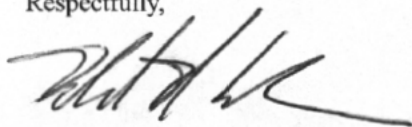
Dear Director Thomas Collins:

In Advisory Opinion 2024-06 sent out by Chair Mark S. Kimble dated July 25th, 2024, the summary answer provides the following:

“A covered person should include the names of the top three original donors of monies. The names should be those of the persons whose business income or, in the case of an individual, their personal monies, that make up ‘the three largest contributions of original monies during the election cycle to the covered person.’”

The Arizona Senate Victory Fund has completed various express advocacy expenditures throughout the 2024 Election Cycle, such as street signs in Legislative Districts 2 and 4, and the websites extremechristine.com and radicaljudy.com, which lists the organization’s top donors as the Republican State Leadership Committee, the Republican Legislative Victory Fund, and GOPAC. All three organizations, the Republican State Leadership Committee, the Republican Legislative Victory Fund, and GOPAC ELECTION ARIZONA, serve as intermediary or pass-through organizations and fail to qualify as original source donors. The Arizona Senate Victory Fund became a qualified covered person after their Amended 2023 Quarter 3 Campaign Finance Report filed on July 15th, 2024 indicated expenditures totaling \$68,975.16. As a political action committee, all expenditures made are conducted in the preparation of campaign media spending and should count towards the \$25,000 threshold for a qualified covered person, according to Advisory Opinion 2024-04 published on April 18th, 2024. Furthermore, the Arizona Senate Victory Fund’s 2024 Quarter 2 Campaign Finance Report filed on July 15th, 2024, lists the organization’s top contributor this cycle to date as Uber Technologies Inc. with a contribution total of \$75,000. The Arizona Senate Victory Fund has failed to identify Uber Technologies Inc. as a top three original source donor, but identified another organization, GOPAC, as a top three original source donor despite the organization having a smaller contribution total of \$51,000 cycle to date. Express advocacy to support or oppose a specific candidate for office makes the entity a covered person who must comply. The Arizona Senate Victory Fund became a covered person on August 3rd, 2023. Accordingly, I request that the Citizens Clean Elections Commission investigate these matters pursuant to Arizona Revised Statutes Title 16, Chapter 6.1.

Respectfully,



Mark Ashley



Rebecca Smith Gross
September 10, 2024

WARSH

VOTED AGAINST

RAISING TEACHER PAY

EXTREME CHRISTINE.COM

PAID FOR BY ARIZONA SENATE VICTORY FUND WITH 50% FROM IN-STATE CONTRIBUTORS AND 50% FROM OUT-OF-STATE CONTRIBUTORS. TOP DONORS: REPUBLICAN STATE LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE, REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE VICTORY FUND, AND GOPAC. WWW.AZSENATEVICTORYFUND.ORG 480-470-7999



**SEND
EXTREME**

CHRISTINE

HOME.

PAID FOR BY ARIZONA SENATE VICTORY FUND WITH 60% FROM IN STATE
CONTRIBUTORS AND 40% FROM OUT OF STATE CONTRIBUTORS. TOP DONORS
REPUBLICAN STATE LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE, REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE VICTORY
FUND, AND ORFAC. NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE

State of Arizona



Campaign Finance Report

Arizona Senate Victory Fund PAC
Committee #: 101359
Jurisdiction: Arizona Secretary of State

Treasurer: RAGAN, ASHLEY
2211 E Highland Ave, Ste 210, Phoenix, AZ 85016
Phone: (602) 451-4292
Email: ashleymragan@cox.net

2024 Quarter 2

Election Cycle: 2024
Date Filed: July 15, 2024
Reporting Period: April 1, 2024-June 30, 2024
Jurisdiction: Arizona Secretary of State

Summary of Finances

Cash Balance at Beginning of Reporting Period:	\$461,231.19
Total Cash Receipts this Reporting Period:	\$288,000.00
Total Cash Disbursements this Reporting Period:	\$83,867.92
Cash Balance at End of Reporting Period:	\$665,363.27

Report ID: 259954

101359 Arizona Senate Victory Fund PAC

Jurisdiction: Arizona Secretary of State

Covers 04/01/2024 to 0

Schedule C2 - Individual contributions

		Date	Amount	Cycle
Name:	Barclay, Steven	04/02/2024	\$1,000.00	\$
Address:	2 N Central Ave, Ste 1800, Phoenix, AZ 85004		Cash	
Occupation:	Lawyer, Barclay Legal, PLC			
Memo:	Anedot 4.30			
Name:	Barclay, Steven	04/02/2024	\$2,500.00	\$
Address:	2 N Central Ave, Ste 1800, Phoenix, AZ 85004		Cash	
Occupation:	Lawyer, Barclay Legal, PLC			
Memo:	Anedot 4.30			
Name:	Helgason, Grant	04/08/2024	\$150.00	
Address:	8141 E Indian Bend Rd, Scottsdale, AZ 85250		Cash	
Occupation:	Business Owner, GDH Investments			
Memo:	Anedot 4.30			
Name:	Spataro, Lucian	04/09/2024	\$500.00	
Address:	32026 N Black Cross Rd, Scottsdale, AZ 85266		Cash	
Occupation:	Professor, Lucian Spataro			
Memo:	Anedot 4.30			
Name:	Candland, James	04/12/2024	\$600.00	
Address:	305 N 159th St, Gilbert, AZ 85234		Goods/Services	
Occupation:	Consultant, Self			
Trans. Type:	In-Kind Contribution			
Memo:	In-Kind Food and Beverage			
Name:	Jacobs, Gretchen	04/12/2024	\$10,000.00	\$1
Address:	6916 E Mariposa Dr, Scottsdale, AZ 85251		Cash	
Occupation:	ATTORNEY, LAW OFFICES OF GRETCHEN JACOBS, LTD			
Memo:	Batch 4.19.24			
Name:	Kendrick, Randy	04/12/2024	\$25,000.00	\$3
Address:	3964 E Paradise View Dr, Paradise Valley, AZ 85253		Cash	
Occupation:	Retired Attorney, Philanthropist Goldwater Institute Board Member			
Memo:	Batch 4.19.24			
Name:	Norton, James	04/15/2024	\$5,000.00	\$
Address:	2525 East Biltmore Circle, Suite D-140, Phoenix, AZ 85016		Cash	
Occupation:	Government Relations, Garrison 48			
Memo:	Anedot 4.30			
Name:	Tapia, Donald	05/10/2024	\$12,500.00	\$1
Address:	4805 E Road Runner Rd, Paradise Valley, AZ 85253		Cash	
Occupation:	Ambassador, US State Dept			
Memo:	5.13.24			

101359 Arizona Senate Victory Fund PAC

Jurisdiction: Arizona Secretary of State

Covers 04/01/2024 to 0

Schedule C3b - Contributions from PACs

		Date	Amount	Cycle
Name:	101291 - GOPAC ELECTION ARIZONA	06/24/2024	\$16,000.00	\$5
Address:	1201 Wilson Blvd, Ste 2110, Arlington, VA 22209		Cash	
Trans. Type:	Contributions from PACs			
Memo:	Original source information available here: https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00559740/ (This links to			
Total of Contributions from PACs			\$16,000.00	
Total of Refunds Given			\$0.00	
Net Total of Contributions from PACs			\$16,000.00	

101359 Arizona Senate Victory Fund PAC

Jurisdiction: Arizona Secretary of State

Covers 04/01/2024 to 0

Schedule C4b - Contributions from Corporations/LLCs

	Date	Amount	Cycle
Name: McDonald's Corporation Address: 110 N Carpenter St, Chicago, IL 60607 Trans. Type: Contributions from Corps and LLCs Memo: Batch 4.8.24	04/07/2024	\$2,000.00 Cash	\$
Name: Axxess Financial Services Inc. Address: 7755 Montgomery Rd, Cincinnati, OH 45236 Trans. Type: Contributions from Corps and LLCs Memo: Batch 4.19.24	04/12/2024	\$5,000.00 Cash	\$
Name: Cash Time Title Loan Address: 8590 East Shea Blvd #110, Scottsdale, AZ 85260 Trans. Type: Contributions from Corps and LLCs Memo: Batch 4.19.24	04/12/2024	\$3,000.00 Cash	\$
Name: Community Choice Financial Address: 5165 Emerald Pkwy, Ste 100, Dublin, OH 43017 Trans. Type: Contributions from Corps and LLCs Memo: Batch 4.19.24	04/12/2024	\$5,000.00 Cash	\$
Name: Populus Financial Group, Inc. Address: 300 E John Carpenter Fwy, Ste 900, Irving, TX 75062 Trans. Type: Contributions from Corps and LLCs Memo: Batch 4.19.24	04/12/2024	\$5,000.00 Cash	\$
Name: Barclay Legal plc Address: 2 N Central Ave, Ste 1800, Phoenix, AZ 85004 Trans. Type: Contributions from Corps and LLCs Memo: Batch 5.3.24	05/03/2024	\$1,500.00 Cash	\$
Name: HSL Properties Inc. Address: 3901 E Broadway Blvd, Tucson, AZ 85711 Trans. Type: Contributions from Corps and LLCs Memo: 5.13.24	05/10/2024	\$25,000.00 Cash	\$2
Name: Sazerac Company, Inc. Address: 10101 Linn Station Rd, #400, Louisville, KY 40223 Trans. Type: Corp and LLC In-Kind Contribution (later) Memo: In Kind Food & Beverage	05/21/2024	\$510.00 Goods/Services	
Name: Advance Financial Administration, LLC Address: 100 Oceanside Dr, Nashville, TN 37204 Trans. Type: Contributions from Corps and LLCs Memo: Batch 5.31.24	05/31/2024	\$5,000.00 Cash	\$
Name: Isaacson Law Firm, P.C. Address: 3101 N Central Ave, Ste 650, Phoenix, AZ 85012 Trans. Type: Contributions from Corps and LLCs Memo: Batch 5.31.24	05/31/2024	\$1,000.00 Cash	\$

101359 Arizona Senate Victory Fund PAC

Jurisdiction: Arizona Secretary of State

Covers 04/01/2024 to 0

Schedule E1 - Operating expenses

		Date	Amount	Cycle
Name:	InCompliance	04/02/2024	\$3,000.00	\$2
Address:	2211 E Highland Ave, Ste 210, Phoenix, AZ 85016		Cash	
Category:	Professional Services - Consultants			
Name:	Snell and Wilmer L.L.P.	04/02/2024	\$677.00	\$
Address:	1 Arizona Ctr, Phoenix, AZ 85004		Cash	
Category:	Professional Services - Attorney fees			
Name:	Winged Victory	04/02/2024	\$7,500.00	\$4
Address:	1677 East Maryland, Phoenix, AZ 85012		Cash	
Category:	Professional Services - Consultants			
Name:	Hermitage Retail	04/10/2024	\$2,226.50	\$
Address:	10508 W HWY 42, Goshen, KY 40026		Cash	
Category:	Event Expenses - Event site rentals			
Name:	Lovas, Corinne	04/19/2024	\$291.50	
Address:	7197 W Mariposa Grande Ln, Peoria, AZ 85383		Cash	
Category:	Event Expenses - Event site rentals			
Memo:	Reimbursement			
Name:	Lovas Co., LLC	04/22/2024	\$11,982.50	\$7
Address:	7197 W Mariposa Grande Ln, Peoria, AZ 85383		Cash	
Category:	Professional Services - Consultants			
Name:	InCompliance	04/26/2024	\$3,000.00	\$2
Address:	2211 E Highland Ave, Ste 210, Phoenix, AZ 85016		Cash	
Category:	Professional Services - Consultants			
Name:	Barclay's	04/29/2024	\$11,349.12	\$1
Address:	PO Box 60517, City of Industry, CA 91716		Cash	
Category:	Event Expenses - Event site rentals			
Memo:	MEMO ITEMS: Credit Card Payment			
Name:	Anedot	04/30/2024	\$367.50	\$
Address:	1340 Poydras Street, New Orleans, LA 70122		Cash	
Category:	Administration - Bank fees/service charge			
Memo:	Anedot 4.30			
Name:	Lovas Co., LLC	05/09/2024	\$7,227.50	\$7
Address:	7197 W Mariposa Grande Ln, Peoria, AZ 85383		Cash	
Category:	Professional Services - Consultants			
Name:	Snell and Wilmer L.L.P.	05/09/2024	\$5,927.00	\$
Address:	1 Arizona Ctr, Phoenix, AZ 85004		Cash	
Category:	Professional Services - Attorney fees			
Name:	Winged Victory	05/09/2024	\$10,000.00	\$4
Address:	1677 East Maryland, Phoenix, AZ 85012		Cash	
Category:	Professional Services - Consultants			
Memo:	2500 spent towards campaign media spending threshold-texting communiations			

November 12, 2024

Thomas M. Collins, Executive Director
Arizona Citizens Clean Elections Commission
1110 West Washington Street
Phoenix, Arizona 85007
ccec@azcleelections.gov

Re: Response to Clean Elections Commission Complaint

Dear Director Collins,

Arizona Senate Victory Fund (“ASVF”) has retained Snell & Wilmer regarding the above referenced Complaint. We are in receipt of your October 11, 2024, notice letter and the September 9, 2024, complaint from Mr. Ashley regarding ASVF’s compliance with the Voter’s Right to Know Act.

The Complaint makes two allegations: (1) that ASVF’s top-three disclaimers on various ads listed intermediaries instead of original sources; and (2) that ASVF “failed to identify Uber Technologies Inc. as a top three original source donor, but identified another organization, GOPAC, as a top three original source donor despite the organization having a smaller contribution total.” We will address each in turn.

Allegation #1: Entities in Top Three Donor Rule

A.R.S. § 16-974(C) requires covered persons to include on all public communications “the names of the top three donors who directly or indirectly made the three largest contributions of original monies during the election cycle to the covered person.”

However, the public communications cited by Complainant were published before ASVF met Prop 211’s campaign media spending thresholds. Specifically, ASVF became a covered person on or around August 30, 2024, and the Marsh road sign was printed on or around July 31, 2024, the webpage “extremechristine.com” was published on or around August 6, 2024, and the webpage “radicaljudy.com” was published on or around August 16, 2024. **Exhibit A** (ASVF Initial Report); **Exhibit B** (road sign order confirmation and X posts regarding website publication).

Accordingly, as a political action committee that was not yet a covered person, ASVF properly complied with A.R.S. § 16-925(B), which requires that it list its top three donors that are PACs contributing more than \$20,000.

Allegation #2: Uber as a Top Three Donor

Covered persons are only required to list a top three source of original monies if that donor has “not opted out pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-972.” A.A.C. § R2-20-805(B). When Uber

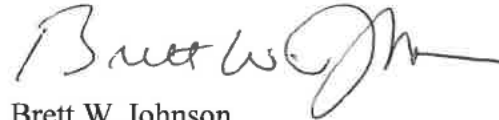
Technologies Inc. contributed to ASVF, it opted out of campaign media spending. See **Exhibit C** (May 20, 2024, Opt-Out Correspondence).¹ ASVF designated Uber's contribution for administrative purposes only, and has not used it for any campaign media spending, including those listed in the complaint.

Accordingly, while ASVF disclosed Uber Technologies Inc. on its campaign finance disclosure statement, it was not required to list Uber on its VRKA reports or top-three donor disclosure.

Please feel free to reach out if you require any further information or clarification regarding this issue.

Very Truly Yours,

Snell & Wilmer



Brett W. Johnson
Tracy A. Olson

Enclosures

¹ ASVF respectfully requests that the information contained in Exhibit C be treated as confidential. This disclosure contains information that is confidential, the release of which could cause harm to ASVF's competitive position. Further, the information provided may also be personal and private. Accordingly, this information is exempt from disclosure. Cf. *Carlson v. Pima County*, 141 Ariz. 487, 490-491 (1984); *Scottsdale Unified Sch. Dist. v. KPNX Broadcasting Company*, 191 Ariz 297 (1998) (holding that disclosure did not override privacy interest) (citing *U.S. Dep't of Justice v. Reporters Comm. for Freedom of the Press*, 489 U.S. 749, 763 (1989)); *Pomares v. Department of Veterans Affairs*, 113 F.4th 870, 885 (9th Cir. 2024).


NOTARY CERTIFICATE

State of Arizona

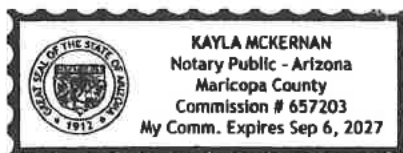
County of Maricopa

Subscribed and Sworn to me under the penalty of perjury on this 12th day of November, 2024, Brett W. Johnson, who personally appeared before me and whose identity was proved to me on the basis of satisfactory evidence to be the person whose name is subscribed to this document.

Seal:



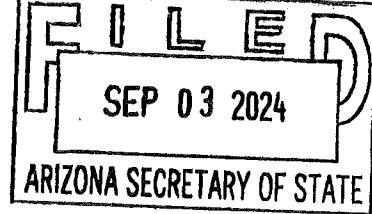
Notary Public



My Commission Expires:

September 6, 2027

EXHIBIT A



Voters Right to Know Act Initial Report: Campaign Media Spending

A covered person must file within five days after first spending monies or accepting in-kind contributions totaling \$50,000 or more for a statewide campaign or \$25,000 or more for any other type of campaigns. A.R.S. § 16-973(A).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

<p>In the case of an entity: Arizona Senate Victory Fund PAC</p> <p>Name: _____</p> <p>Mailing address: 2211 East Highland #210 Phoenix AZ 85016</p> <p>Federal tax status: 527 political organization</p> <p>State of incorporation, registration or partnership: Arizona, Secretary of State</p>
<p>In the case of an individual:</p> <p>Name: _____</p> <p>Mailing address: _____</p> <p>Occupation: _____</p> <p>Employer: _____</p>

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

<p>Name: _____</p> <p>Mailing address: _____</p> <p>Federal tax status: _____</p> <p>State of incorporation, registration or partnership: _____</p> <p>Relationship to the Covered Person: _____</p>
--

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).



Custodian of Transfer Records

Name: Ashley Ragan
Mailing address: 2211 East Highland #210 Phoenix AZ 85016
Position: Treasurer

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name: James Candland
Mailing address: 2211 East Highland #210 Phoenix AZ 85016
Position with Covered Person: Chairman

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies: 1,011,700.50
Total COH less donors who opt out.

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).



Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date
Kristi DesJarlais	5420 Lyndon B Johnson Frwy #600 Dallas, TX 75240	SVP Communications	Invitation Homes	10,000	7/23/2024
Doug McGregor	20729 N. 102nd Pl Scottsdale, AZ 85255	Retired	Retired	5,000	7/24/2024
Elijah Norton	30 W. Palm Ln Phoenix AZ 85003	Founder	Veritas Global	15,000	8/21/2024
The Geo Group	4955 Technology Way Boca Raton, FL 33431	Corporation	Florida	10,000	8/27/2024

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.



Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source
RSLC AZ PAC	1201 F St NW #675 Washington DC 20004	527 political action committee	FEC	400,000	8/30/2024	Patee/Tate: see below
RSLC Original Source: David Patee	440 Bayhill North Sioux City, SD 57049	Retired	Retired	5,205.08	8/30/2024	
RSLC Original source: Sonya Tate	304 Robert Rose Blvd Murfreesboro, TN 37129	Business	Venture Express	2,800.00	8/30/2024	

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).



Disbursements⁷

Example

Recipient and Amount of Disbursement	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Date	In Support or Opposition of Candidate or Ballot Measure
ABC Consulting \$10,000	1234 W. Washington St. Phoenix, AZ 85007	Consultant	State of Arizona	8/02/2021	Supporting Jane Doe for State Senate District 01
Roosevelt Strategy 8200	3104 E. Camelback Rd #616 PHX AZ 85016	Consultant	State of Arizona	8/5/2024	Opposing Chris4AZ
Red Maverick Media 10,669.50	1426 N. 3rd Street #310 Harrisburg, PA 17102	Consultant	Pennsylvania	8/30/2024	Supporting Werner for AZ
					Select One

⁷ The purpose of each disbursement must include the full name and office sought of any candidate or a description of any ballot proposition that was supported, opposed or referenced in a public communication that was paid for, in whole or in part, with the disbursed monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(8).



Disbursements⁶

Recipient and Amount of Disbursement	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Date	In Support or Opposition of Candidate or Ballot Measure
BW Creative \$3500	344 W Thunderbird Phoenix AZ 85023	Consultant	Arizona	8/28/2024	Opposing Eva for AZ
Roosevelt Strategy Group \$8200	3104 E Camelback Road Phx AZ 85016	Consultant	Arizona	8/28/2024	Opposing Judy for AZ
Roosevelt Strategy Group \$4100	3104 E Camelback Road Phx AZ 85016	Consultant	Arizona	8/28/2024	Opposing Eva for AZ
Red Maverick Media \$10,669.50	1426 N 3rd Street #310 Harrisburg, PA 17102	Consultant	PA	8/30/2024	Opposing Chris4Arizona

⁶ The purpose of each disbursement must include the full name and office sought of any candidate or a description of any ballot proposition that was supported, opposed or referenced in a public communication that was paid for, in whole or in part, with the disbursed monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(8).



Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:

Mailing address:

Position:

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name:

Ashley Ragan

Signature:

Ashley Ragan

Date:

11/3/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



EXHIBIT B



[Redacted]@rooseveltstrategy.com>

Proof for Project MARSH (259787)

Wed, Jul 31, 2024 at 10:32 AM

To: [Redacted]@rooseveltstrategy.com
Cc: [Redacted]@rooseveltstrategy.com

The proofs for the following orders have been approved.

Order #: 259787-1
Advertiser: MARSH
Design: OPEN BORDERS
Product: Street Sign - 4' 0" x 4' 0"
Quantity: 75

Order #: 259787-2
Advertiser: MARSH
Design: TEACHER PAY
Product: Street Sign - 4' 0" x 4' 0"
Quantity: 75

Order #: 259787-3
Advertiser: MARSH
Design: SHOWER CURTAINS
Product: Street Sign - 4' 0" x 4' 0"
Quantity: 10

Order #: 259787-4
Advertiser: MARSH
Design: EXTREME
Product: Street Sign - 4' 0" x 4' 0"
Quantity: 40





Post





AZ War Room
@AZVictoryPAC

Follow

 Meet [#RadicalJudy](#):

[@JudyForAZ](#) is out of touch with Arizona values and her extreme record proves it.

From being weak on border security to opposing parental rights, she's the last person we need in our Senate.

Here's why  



9:43 AM · 8/15/24 · **8.4K** Views





Post



AZ War Room
@AZVictoryPAC

Follow



🇺🇸 THE TRUTH ABOUT EXTREME
CHRISTINE 🇺🇸

We're launching the [#EXTREMECHRISTINE](#) campaign to expose the radical and dangerous record of [@ChristinePMarsh](#).

Arizona and [#LD4](#) deserve to know the truth. 🧵



2:44 PM · 8/6/24 · 12K Views



3



20



18



1



EXHIBIT C

From: [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: UBER OPT OUT EMAIL
Date: Wednesday, September 4, 2024 10:13:40 AM

OPT OUT EMAIL FOR UBER

Begin forwarded message:

From: [REDACTED]@uber.com>
Subject: Re: Uber donation
Date: May 20, 2024 at 1:39:13 PM MST
To: [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] >

Can do. Please find forthcoming a donation in May/Jun 2024 of \$37,500 to the House Victory Fund and \$37,500 to the Senate Victory Fund from UBER. We acknowledge that the donation amount will be used for purposes OTHER than campaign media spending.

[REDACTED]

On Mon, May 20, 2024 at 3:36 PM [REDACTED] > wrote:

Hello [REDACTED],

Following up to [REDACTED] email dated 5/15. Would you please reply to this email acknowledging the following:

Please find forthcoming a donation in May/Jun 2024 of \$37,500 to the House Victory Fund and \$37,500 to the Senate Victory Fund from UBER. We acknowledge that the donation amount will be used for purposes OTHER than campaign media spending.

The Victory Teams are so very grateful for the generous support of UBER in this important effort.

Once the contributions are received you will receive a letter of acknowledgment from the Victory Team as well for your files.

Thanks again!

Best regards,
[REDACTED]

Katie Hobbs
Governor

Thomas M. Collins
Executive Director



**State of Arizona
Citizens Clean Elections Commission**

1110 W. Washington St. - Suite 250 - Phoenix, Arizona 85007 - Tel (602) 364-3477 - Fax (602) 364-3487 - www.azcleanelections.gov

Via E-Mail

January 27, 2025

Alex Kaufman
Petra Mangini
CABK, LLC
100 North Main Street, Suite 340
Alpharetta, GA 30009

Re: MUR 24-04 Make Liberty Win

Dear Mr. Kaufman and Ms. Mangini:

I am writing to notify you that I have dismissed this Complaint and provide the report required by Ariz. Admin. Code R2-20-811(F).

The Complaint

The Complaint arose from a claim of incomplete disclosures on campaign filings made by Make Liberty Win Arizona, an Arizona political committee. Complaint at 1. The Complaint alleged that the Make Liberty Win Arizona became a covered person based on certain expenditures allegedly should have disclosed underlying donors to its major named benefactor, Make Liberty Win. *Id.* The Complaint identified donors who provided more than \$5,000 to Make Liberty Win, which is a committee registered with the Federal Election Commission. *Id.* at 1-2.

The Response

The Make Liberty Win Arizona's response provides a number of different reasons why the Complaint should be dismissed. These include: insufficiency of the Complaint, that Make Liberty Win Arizona is not a covered person based on its activities or the amount it spent in Arizona elections, complications with the filing systems provided for committees in Arizona, whether the Act requires each

disclosed donor to have intent that their monies be used for campaign media spending in Arizona, constitutional issues with the Act and its application here, and that Committee need not disclose \$5,000 or greater donors because its upstream donors have sufficient smaller donations to make up the amount of money received by Make Liberty Win Arizona.

Analysis

The Committee provides several reasons to dismiss the Complaint. However, for purposes of dismissal under Ariz. Admin. Code R2-20-811(F) this report need only address one, that there were no donors over \$5,000 to disclose.

There is no dispute that the federal Committee Make Liberty Win received donations of greater than \$5,000. But the Act and Rules both make clear that an intermediary need only identify underlying donors up to the amount of the donation. A.R.S. § 16-972(D) (“Any person that donates to a covered person more than \$5,000 in traceable monies in an election cycle must inform that covered person in writing. . . . of the identity of each other person that . . . contributed more than \$2,500 in original monies *being transferred* and the amount of each other person's original monies *being transferred*.”); accord Ariz. Admin. Code R2-20-801(C).

The sworn response of Make Liberty Win Arizona states that Make Liberty Win, the federal committee, and its major donor Young Americans for Liberty, Inc. have sufficient donors of less than \$5,000 to make up the donation ultimately reported on the Arizona committee’s reports.¹ In this context, it follows, no amendment of reports would be necessary.

Conclusion

For the reason identified above, the Complaint is not substantiated and is dismissed.

¹ Respondents should consider providing the appropriate records required under A.R.S. § 16-972 in their responses to complaints. But in this initial period of activity under the Act, I accept the sworn response as sufficient to find this Complaint has not been substantiated.

Thank you for your response in this matter. This letter, along with the Complaint and Response will be made available to the Commission as part of the Executive Director's Report at the next regular Commission meeting.

Sincerely,

S/ Thomas M. Collins

cc: Ralph Atchue

October 8, 2024

Dear Director Collins,

I am writing to report violations of Arizona Revised Statutes Title 16, Chapter 6.1 committed by Make Liberty Win Arizona. While the attached campaign finance reports show that Make Liberty Win Arizona has completed recent expenditures for the 2024 Arizona Primary Elections, the Secretary of State's Voters' Right to Know Act Reporting website shows that neither organization has filed the necessary reporting to comply with the Voters' Right to Know Act. Make Liberty Win Arizona is a Political Action Committee that according to their website, "is dedicated to deploying activists to state legislative races across the nation.

Our activists, stakeholders, and candidates are fighting to advance the cause of liberty and defend our only special interest: the U.S. Constitution." Additionally, their website says, "Make Liberty Win specializes in mobilizing voters to engage in primary and general elections through direct voter contact. Door Knocking, Phone calls, and texting are the best way to establish an authentic connection in today's political environment", before concluding with "The candidates we support Must Show the same level of commitment and passion for the principles of limited government".

Make Liberty Win Arizona's 2024 Quarter 2 Campaign Finance Report indicates that the committee has made \$389,178.60 in expenditures this cycle to date. Make Liberty Win Arizona became a covered person on June 3rd, 2024. Additionally, Make Liberty Win Arizona's 2024 Quarter 2 Campaign Finance Report indicates that Make Liberty Win Arizona has received contributions this cycle from only one contributor Make Liberty Win. Contributions from Make Liberty Win to Make Liberty Win Arizona are dated May 29th, 2024, and June 14th, 2024, and amount to a total of \$420,000. A.R.S. § 16-973(A) states that cover persons must identify "each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions". However, Make Liberty Win used monies from original donors in their contributions to Make Liberty Win Arizona totaling over \$5,000 that Make Liberty Win Arizona failed to disclose.

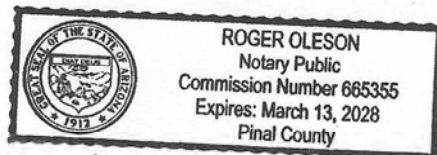
Two examples of this can be viewed in Schedule A Itemized Receipts from the Federal Elections Commissions. These receipts, with the Transaction IDs A04901A36C5F24396ADA and A612DDE1BEC204E15AAF, respectively, show contributions to Make Liberty Win from Young Americans for Liberty, Inc. and George Macricostas worth \$3,000,000 and \$99,781.75 that were made on April 5th, 2024, and April 18th, 2024. Make Liberty Win Arizona has violated A.R.S. § 16-973(A) by failing to name each donor of original monies of more than \$5,000 contributed to them by Make Liberty Win. Express advocacy to support or oppose a specific candidate for office makes the listed entity a covered person who must comply. Accordingly, I respectfully request that the Citizens Clean Elections Commission investigate this matter pursuant to Arizona Revised Statutes Title 16, Chapter 6.1.

Thank you,
Ralph Atchue



atchuer@gmail.com

3968 W Mustang Ct Eloy, AZ 85131



Roger Oleson
10/08/2024

State of Arizona



Campaign Finance Report

Make Liberty Win Arizona

Committee #: 101698

Jurisdiction: Arizona Secretary of State

Treasurer: Curtis, Elizabeth

441 North Lee Street, Suite 100, Alexandria, VA 22314

Phone: (512) 761-8368

Email: notices@makelibertywin.com

2024 Quarter 2

Election Cycle: **2024**
Date Filed: **July 15, 2024**
Reporting Period: **April 1, 2024-June 30, 2024**
Jurisdiction: **Arizona Secretary of State**

Summary of Finances

Cash Balance at Beginning of Reporting Period:	\$0.00
Total Cash Receipts this Reporting Period:	\$420,000.00
Total Cash Disbursements this Reporting Period:	\$389,178.60
Cash Balance at End of Reporting Period:	\$30,821.40

Report ID: 280691

Summary of Activity

Income	Schedule	This Period			Total to Date
		Cash	Other	Total	
Personal and Family Contributions	C1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Individual Contributions	C2	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Contributions from Political Committees	C3a,b,c	\$420,000.00	\$0.00	\$420,000.00	\$420,000.00
Business Contributions	C4a,b,c	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Small Contributions	C5	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
CCEC Funding and Matching	C6	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Qualifying Contributions	C7	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Loans Made to this Committee	L1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Other Receipts, including Interest and Dividends	R1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Transfers from Other Committees	T1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Cash Surplus from Previous Committee	S1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Total Income		\$420,000.00	\$0.00	\$420,000.00	\$420,000.00

Expenditures	Schedule	This Period			Total to Date
		Cash	Other	Total	
Operating Expenses	E1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Independent & Ballot Measure Expenditures	E2a,b,c	\$389,178.60	\$0.00	\$389,178.60	\$389,178.60
Contributions to Committees/Businesses	E3a -E3f	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Small Expenses	E4	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Transfers to Other Committees	T1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Loans Made by This Committee	L2	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Disposal of Surplus Cash	S1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Total Expenditures		\$389,178.60	\$0.00	\$389,178.60	\$389,178.60
Bill Payments for Previous Expenditures	D1	\$0.00		\$0.00	\$0.00
Total Cash Disbursed		\$389,178.60			

Schedule C3b - Contributions from PACs

		Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name:	Make Liberty Win	05/29/2024	\$355,000.00	\$420,000.00
Address:	441 North Lee Street, Suite 100, Alexandria, VA 22314		Cash	
Trans. Type:	Contributions from PACs			
Name:	Make Liberty Win	06/14/2024	\$65,000.00	\$420,000.00
Address:	441 North Lee Street, Suite 100, Alexandria, VA 22314		Cash	
Trans. Type:	Contributions from PACs			
Total of Contributions from PACs			\$420,000.00	
Total of Refunds Given			\$0.00	
Net Total of Contributions from PACs			\$420,000.00	

Schedule E2a - Independent expenditures

	Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name: PAC Management Services, LLC Address: 441 North Lee Street, Suite 100, Alexandria, VA 22314 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Flyers/handouts/door hangers Memo: Field Distribution of Literature Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/03/2024	\$58,824.12 Cash	\$351,735.20
Name: PAC Management Services, LLC Address: 441 North Lee Street, Suite 100, Alexandria, VA 22314 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Flyers/handouts/door hangers Memo: Field Distribution of Literature Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/03/2024	\$58,824.12 Cash	\$351,735.20
Name: PAC Management Services, LLC Address: 441 North Lee Street, Suite 100, Alexandria, VA 22314 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Flyers/handouts/door hangers Memo: Field Distribution of Literature Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/03/2024	\$58,824.11 Cash	\$351,735.20
Name: PAC Management Services, LLC Address: 441 North Lee Street, Suite 100, Alexandria, VA 22314 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Flyers/handouts/door hangers Memo: Field Distribution of Literature Benefits: 101058 - Hudelson for Arizona	06/03/2024	\$130,924.75 Cash	\$351,735.20
Name: PAC Management Services, LLC Address: 441 North Lee Street, Suite 100, Alexandria, VA 22314 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Flyers/handouts/door hangers Memo: Field Distribution of Literature Benefits: JOHN FILLMORE for State Representative - District 7	06/03/2024	\$22,169.05 Cash	\$351,735.20
Name: PAC Management Services, LLC Address: 441 North Lee Street, Suite 100, Alexandria, VA 22314 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Flyers/handouts/door hangers Memo: Field Distribution of Literature Benefits: 202000052 - Wendy Rogers for AZ Senate	06/03/2024	\$22,169.05 Cash	\$351,735.20

Schedule E2a - Independent expenditures

	Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.94 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.94 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.94 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.94 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40

Schedule E2a - Independent expenditures

	Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.94 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40

Schedule E2a - Independent expenditures

	Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: P2P Texting Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$923.95 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40

Schedule E2a - Independent expenditures

	Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40

Schedule E2a - Independent expenditures

	Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$1,709.00 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$341.80 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$341.80 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$341.80 Cash	\$37,443.40

Schedule E2a - Independent expenditures

	Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$341.80 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$341.80 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$341.80 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 101026 - Justine Wadsack for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$341.80 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100917 - Jones for Arizona	06/14/2024	\$341.80 Cash	\$37,443.40
Name: Campaign HQ Address: PO Box 257, Brooklyn, IA 52211 Trans. Type: Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check Category: Communications - Other Memo: Phone Calls Benefits: 100908 - McGarr for Arizona House	06/14/2024	\$341.80 Cash	\$37,443.40
Total of Independent Expenditures		\$389,178.60	
Total of Refunds, Rebates, and Credits Received		\$0.00	
Net Total of Independent Expenditures		\$389,178.60	

SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X)
ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Use separate schedule(s) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page	FOR LINE NUMBER: (check only one)	PAGE 10 OF 56		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 11a <input type="checkbox"/> 13	<input type="checkbox"/> 11b <input type="checkbox"/> 14	<input type="checkbox"/> 11c <input type="checkbox"/> 15	<input type="checkbox"/> 12 <input type="checkbox"/> 16

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)
Make Liberty Win

Full Name of Individual (Last, First, Middle Initial) or Full Organization Name
A. Peterson, Patrick, , ,

Mailing Address 469 Foxborough Ct

City Versailles	State KY	Zip Code 40383-1537
--------------------	-------------	------------------------

FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee. **C**

Name of Employer (for Individual) Eli Lilly	Occupation (for Individual) Scientist
--	--

Receipt For:
 Primary General
 Other (specify) ▼

Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼
6000.00

Date of Receipt
 M M M / D D D / Y Y Y Y Y Y
 04 / 17 / 2024
Transaction ID : A19E271A1F25E4AB7931

Amount of Each Receipt this Period
6000.00

Memo Item
Carey Contribution

Full Name of Individual (Last, First, Middle Initial) or Full Organization Name
B. Sheely, Marlene, , ,

Mailing Address 23774 Wallace Street

City Rapid City	State SD	Zip Code 57702-7317
--------------------	-------------	------------------------

FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee. **C**

Name of Employer (for Individual) Retired	Occupation (for Individual) Retired
--	--

Receipt For:
 Primary General
 Other (specify) ▼

Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼
500.00

Date of Receipt
 M M M / D D D / Y Y Y Y Y Y
 05 / 17 / 2024
Transaction ID : AD39EC1E0510E4B21B74

Amount of Each Receipt this Period
500.00

Memo Item
Carey Contribution

Full Name of Individual (Last, First, Middle Initial) or Full Organization Name
C. Young Americans for Liberty, Inc.

Mailing Address 3267 Bee Cave Rd
Ste 107-65

City Austin	State TX	Zip Code 78746-6700
----------------	-------------	------------------------

FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee. **C**

Name of Employer (for Individual)	Occupation (for Individual)
-----------------------------------	-----------------------------

Receipt For:
 Primary General
 Other (specify)

Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼
3008388.00

Date of Receipt
 M M M / D D D / Y Y Y Y Y Y
 04 / 05 / 2024
Transaction ID : A04901A36C5F24396ADA

Amount of Each Receipt this Period
3000000.00

Memo Item
Carey Contribution

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional).....	3006500.00
TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....	3117790.27

**SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X)
ITEMIZED RECEIPTS**

Use separate schedule(s) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page	FOR LINE NUMBER: (check only one)	PAGE 9 OF 56
	<input type="checkbox"/> 11a <input type="checkbox"/> 13 <input type="checkbox"/> 11b <input type="checkbox"/> 14 <input type="checkbox"/> 11c <input type="checkbox"/> 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 12 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 17	

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)
Make Liberty Win

Full Name of Individual (Last, First, Middle Initial) or Full Organization Name
A. Capital Bank, NA

Mailing Address 10700 Parkridge Blvd.
Ste. 180

City Reston State VA Zip Code 20191-5429

FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee. **C**

Name of Employer (for Individual) Occupation (for Individual)

Receipt For:
 Primary General
 Other (specify) ▼

Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼
41075.27

Date of Receipt
 M M / D D / Y Y Y Y
 04 / 30 / 2024
Transaction ID : AC7141556B9DD4A569C4

Amount of Each Receipt this Period
11448.52

Memo Item
Interest

Full Name of Individual (Last, First, Middle Initial) or Full Organization Name
B. Capital Bank, NA

Mailing Address 10700 Parkridge Blvd.
Ste. 180

City Reston State VA Zip Code 20191-5429

FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee. **C**

Name of Employer (for Individual) Occupation (for Individual)

Receipt For:
 Primary General
 Other (specify) ▼

Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼
41135.27

Date of Receipt
 M M / D D / Y Y Y Y
 05 / 01 / 2024
Transaction ID : AFC87D155082C4BC197B

Amount of Each Receipt this Period
60.00

Memo Item
Bank Fee Refund

Full Name of Individual (Last, First, Middle Initial) or Full Organization Name
C. Macricostas, George, , ,

Mailing Address 930 Tahoe Blvd.
#802-525

City Incline Village State NV Zip Code 89451-9488

FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee. **C**

Name of Employer (for Individual) Occupation (for Individual)
Flat Willow Farm LLC Farmer

Receipt For:
 Primary General
 Other (specify)

Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼
99781.75

Date of Receipt
 M M / D D / Y Y Y Y
 04 / 18 / 2024
Transaction ID : A612DDE1BEC204E15AAF

Amount of Each Receipt this Period
99781.75

Memo Item
Carey Contribution: 725 shares DLR

SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional).....	111290.27
TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only).....	

sufficiently clear that reading them otherwise, to seek to engulf the expenditures here, beyond their plain meaning, would violate due process.

Even if MLW Arizona had become subject to the VRKA, Respondent's campaign finance reports still disclosed all relevant donor information, according to the plain text of the statute. The statute requires the disclosure of original-monies donors who contributed "more than \$5,000 of traceable monies ... *for* campaign media spending ... *to* the covered person." A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(6) (emphasis added). The plain text of this provision—both in isolation and in context—clearly requires disclosure only of donors who intended their funds to reach the covered person and be used for campaign media spending in Arizona. *See* Sec. IV. All the pending cases challenging portions of the VRKA regime merely assumed intent/earmarking was not required; none have actually raised this point.

Even if donor intent were irrelevant, Respondent's timely-filed Quarter 2 campaign finance report still discloses all donor information required by Arizona law. When MLW Arizona made the expenditures in issue, sufficient "original monies" of \$5,000 or less were available in its accounts to cover the amounts expended. This is true even if the Commission were to erroneously consider both the canvassing and phone expenditures to be "campaign media spending." Respondent disbursed less than \$390,000 for the canvassing and phone communications in total but had far more than that in under-threshold original monies available for allocation.

Therefore, the Commission has no basis to find Respondent ever became a "covered person" or, if it did, that any donor went undisclosed. Even if that were not true, the VRKA cannot be applied to Respondent consistent with the United States Constitution. As explained below, any finding of a violation on these facts would be based on a misreading of the relevant statutory text

and violate due process. Application of the stifling VRKA regime would also violate the First Amendment, both facially and as-applied, for the (inexhaustive) reasons given below.

I. The Commission Should Take No Action Because the Complaint Is Not Sworn or Notarized.

As an initial matter, the complaint should not be considered at all, because it is not properly sworn or notarized. The Voters' Right to Know Act ("VRKA", the "Act"), under which this purported complaint is submitted, permits only qualified voters to file a complaint, and complaints must be verified. A.R.S. § 16-977(A). The Citizens Clean Elections Commission ("Commission", "CCEC") has promulgated rules for such complaints, including that "the complaint shall be sworn to and signed in the presence of a notary public and shall be notarized." R2-20-809.C.4. The submission attached to the Commission's October 11, 2024 letter to Respondent is neither. Verification requires the complainant include a statement in the document affirming the contents are true and correct and that the statement is made under penalty of perjury. No such statement is included in the letter. Without such a statement, the allegations purportedly attested by Mr. Atchue are not *actually* attested, and are not a "complaint," under the VRKA or this Commission's own rules.

Even if a proper verification by the complainant were included, the letter would still be deficient because it is not properly notarized. The letter bears a notary's stamp and signature. While those are two necessary *components* of a notarization, they are not themselves *sufficient* for a notarization. Notarization requires a "certificate" attesting to certain basic facts, including that the notarial act (here, Mr. Atchue's signature) was executed on the same date as the notarization; that it was done in the notary's presence; and the jurisdiction in which the letter was executed. A.R.S. § 41-264(A). The statute provides a "short form" certificate that may be used to notarize the execution of a signature. *Id.* §§ 41-264(C)(1); 41-265(4). All of these elements are missing. The

notary's bare stamp and signature are insufficient, because the notary has not included the certificate stating what his signature is supposed to be attesting.

Accordingly, the complaint is deficient and void *ab initio* and the Commission should take no action. A.A.C. R2-20-809E.. Nonetheless, should the Commission consider the deficient complaint, there has been no violation, as provided herein.

II. Factual Background and Complaint Allegations

MLW Arizona (Filer ID 101698) is a state political action committee registered with the Arizona Secretary of State ("SOS") on June 7, 2024. See A.R.S. § 16-905(C). Respondent has timely filed its regular periodic reports. A.R.S. § 16-927(A).

MLW Arizona timely filed its 2024 Quarter 2 report on July 15, 2024. It reflects a total of \$420,000 in contributions received (\$355,000 on May 29, 2024 and \$65,000 on June 14, 2024, each from Make Liberty Win,¹ a federally-registered *Carey* political action committee).²

MLW Arizona reported expenditures to PAC Management Services LLC for canvassing activity on June 3, 2024, totaling \$351,735.20. These expenditures were for canvassers to knock on doors and speak to voters, including compensation to and lodging for the canvassers, gas cards and generic supplies, and the nominal cost of printed literature, including "door hangers" and palm cards. These were correctly reported under "Category: Flyers/handouts/door hangers" with the "Memo" "Field distribution of literature." The total is broken out into six itemized expenditures in proportion to the amount expended relative to each of six different candidates in the July primaries who were supported by this independent canvassing effort. All six candidates were competing in

¹ 2024 Quarter 2 Report, Make Liberty Win Arizona, Schedule C3b, <https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/19CA1924-389E-4962-BDCA-26B7354E7D77.pdf>;

² FEC Statement on *Carey v. FEC* (2011), FEC Record: Litigation Federal Election Commission, Oct. 6, 2011, <https://www.fec.gov/updates/fec-statement-on-carey-v-fec/>.

their respective Republican Party primaries. None of the printed literature used the word “Republican” or “Democrat” or otherwise mention the opponent of the supported candidate. See **Exhibit A** (literature).

MLW Arizona also reported a total of \$37,443.40 in expenditures to CampaignHQ on June 14, 2024.³ CampaignHQ is a phone vendor to campaigns, committees, and organizations in the United States. These expenditures were for contacts with voters by texts and phone calls; the total is broken out into the amount expended relative to each supported candidate for a respective communication. The candidates supported were the same candidates as supported with the canvassing activity. The total disbursed to PAC Management Services LLC and CampaignHQ for these activities combined was \$389,178.60.

MLW Arizona subsequently received a refund of \$121,001.78 from the canvassing vendor (PAC Management Services LLC), for unspent funds.⁴ MLW Arizona refunded a total of \$151,823.18 in unused contributions to Make Liberty Win (federal PAC).⁵ MLW Arizona’s 2024 Post-Primary Election (Q3) report reflects the refund from the vendor and the subsequent contribution refund to Make Liberty Win. Accordingly, MLW Arizona’s actual expenditure for the canvassing activity, apart from the telephone communications, was only \$230,733.42.

III. MLW Arizona Did Not Become a “Covered Person,” According to the VRKA’s Plain Text.

The Voters’ Right to Know Act is triggered only if a person exceeds the requisite monetary threshold in “campaign media spending” becoming a “covered person.” A.R.S. § 16-971(7).

³ 2024 Quarter 2 Report, Make Liberty Win Arizona, Schedule E2a, at 5–10, <https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/19CA1924-389E-4962-BDCA-26B7354E7D77.pdf>.

⁴ 2024 Post-Primary Election (Q3) Report, Make Liberty Win Arizona, Schedule E2a, at 4-5, <https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/5C47697B-F7E6-4EC2-B06A-1F123596EA7B.pdf>.

⁵ 2024 Post-Primary Election (Q3) Report, Make Liberty Win Arizona, Schedule E2a, at 3, <https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/5C47697B-F7E6-4EC2-B06A-1F123596EA7B.pdf>.

Complainant suggests MLW Arizona “became a covered person on June 3, 2024” (Complaint at 1), referring to the expenditures reported on that date for canvassing. However, MLW Arizona’s canvassing expenditures do not constitute “campaign media spending” that would count toward the threshold for attaining “covered person” status.

a. Canvassing is not “campaign media spending”

The first five subcategories of “campaign media spending” are various types of “public communication[s],” §§ 16-971(2)(a)(i)-(v), but canvassing is not a “public communication.”

“Public communication ... [m]eans a paid communication to the public by means of broadcast, cable, satellite, internet or another digital method, newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility, mass mailing or another mass distribution, telephone bank or any other form of general public political advertising or marketing, regardless of medium.” A.R.S. 16-971(17)(a). Paid canvassing is not one of the specific activities expressly enumerated in this statute. Accordingly, it would only be within the definition if it qualified as another form of “general public political advertising or marketing.” As the Commission has already impliedly acknowledged in Advisory Opinion 2024-04 (Arizona Democratic Party), it does not.

The term “general public political advertising” is not further defined in Arizona law. However, the VRKA clearly draws this term from federal law. The VRKA incorporates the federal definition of “public communication” with some slight modifications, concluding with a similar general catch-all at the end. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 30101(22) (“‘public communication’ means a communication by means of any broadcast, cable, or satellite communication, newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility, mass mailing, or telephone bank to the general public, or any other form of general public political advertising”); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 100.26.

Arizona provides by statute that “[t]echnical words and phrases and those which have acquired a peculiar and appropriate meaning in the law shall be construed according to such peculiar and appropriate meaning.” A.R.S. § 1-213 (cited in CCEC Adv. Op. 24-06). The term “general public political advertising” has a peculiar meaning developed under federal campaign law, and relying on these principles, the Federal Election Commission (“FEC”) has recently concluded paid canvassing is not “general public political advertising” and therefore not a “public communication.” FEC Adv. Op. No. 2024-01 (Texas Majority PAC). The FEC distinguished door-to-door canvassing from the other types of communications typically within the definition of “general public political advertising” for two reasons. First, a common element of “general public political advertising” is that it “typically require[s] the person making the communication to pay ‘for access to an established audience using a forum controlled by another person’” instead of a forum or audience established and controlled by the person making the communication. *Id.* at 5 (relying on FEC Adv. Op. 2022-20 (Maggie for NH)). Canvassing does not require the distribution of communication through a third party-controlled forum or to an audience curated or established by a third party. As with MLW Arizona, Texas Majority PAC controlled all aspects of the canvassing program, and vendors merely acted as agents executing the committee’s program. Second, the FEC observed that canvassing is “fundamentally different from the types of mass media enumerated” in the statute because it “involves individual[s] . . . talking face-to-face with voters.” *Id.* at 6.

The VRKA borrowed the term from federal law, and, for the reasons expressed by the FEC, the same conclusion follows as a matter of Arizona law. Arizona statute states the VRKA’s use of the term should be interpreted in accordance with its peculiar technical meaning, and both this Commission and the District Court of Arizona have regularly looked to terms defined in federal

campaign finance law, practices permitted by the FEC, and tests applied under FECA as reliable references to the meaning of VRKA provisions.⁶ Respondent’s canvassing does not qualify as “general public political advertising or marketing.” The Commission has already recognized as much, at least impliedly, in Advisory Opinion 2024-04, which considered the Arizona Democratic Party’s proposed canvassing to elect Democratic candidates as “partisan get-out-the-vote efforts” that qualified as “campaign media spending” under A.R.S. § 16-971(2)(a)(vi). But unlike the Arizona Democratic Party—which specifically stated in its advisory opinion request that its planned expenditures would be undertaken with the “mission of electing Democrats” and canvassing would “support ... Democratic candidates[,]” Adv. Op. 24-04 at 2, 3, MLW Arizona’s canvassing does not qualify as partisan campaign activity.

Subsection (2)(a)(vi) reaches “*an activity or public communication that supports the election or defeat of candidates of an identified political party or the electoral prospects of an identified political party, including partisan voter registration, partisan get-out-the-vote activity or other partisan campaign activity.*” A.R.S. § 16-973(2)(a)(vi). MLW Arizona’s canvassing does not fall within this subsection.

⁶ In CCEC Adv. Op. 24-03, the Commission reasoned that while “the terms ‘clearly identified candidate’ were not defined in VRKA, they are defined in other federal and state laws.” *Id.* at 8. The Commission pointed to the federal definition of “clearly identified” in 52 U.S.C. § 30101(18) as similar in context to the use in VRKA. Further, the Commission cited the District Court of Arizona and its “expla[nation] how the language in the VRKA parallels federal standards[,]” including the federal definition of “electioneering communications” being the “relevant authority” to engage with for similar definitions. While the terms “clearly identified candidate” are defined in Arizona’s campaign finance law, the Commission and the District Court of Arizona referred to and relied on federal definition and interpretation to construe the technical term under VRKA. In another advisory opinion discussed further below, the Commission reasoned that, while the VRKA fails to specify an accounting system for compliance with recordkeeping requirements, the methods proposed by the requestor there were reasonable, in accord with VRKA and CCEC rules, and “consistent with permitted practices by the FEC.” *Id.* at 8. In CCEC Adv. Op. 24-05, where the media exception language of the VRKA was noted as indistinguishable from the exception under the Federal Campaign Finance Act, and VRKA did not have an articulated test for determining if a media exception applies, CCEC concluded the FEC test should apply based on VRKA’s statutory language, and so analyzed the AOR including evaluating FEC enforcement matters in this context. *Id.* at 6.

MLW Arizona paid for door hangers and palm cards distributed door-to-door in advance of the July 2024 primary elections, but without reference to either political party, or the opponents of the supported candidates. The canvassing was not furthering the “*election* or defeat of *candidates of an identified political party*” because none of the candidates were yet the nominee of the Republican Party. To the contrary, they were competing precisely to determine who would be *nominated* to represent the Party. Nor does canvassing during a primary election support “the electoral prospects of an identified political party,” because the Republican Party stood to win no elections in July.

The inapplicability of (2)(a)(vi) to primary activity is further evident in the fact that the VRKA *does* expressly reach certain “public communications” regarding primary contests. A.R.S. §§ 16-971(2)(a)(i) (defining “campaign media spending” to include “a public communication that expressly advocates for or against the nomination, or election of a candidate”); 16-971(2)(a)(iii) (“a public communication that refers to a clearly identified candidate within ninety days before a primary election until the time of the general election and that is disseminated in the jurisdiction where the candidate’s election is taking place”). The authors of the VRKA thus demonstrated acute awareness of the distinction between primaries and other elections; between “nomination” and “election.” This variation in the terminology is material and must be given effect. Courts “must avoid interpreting a statute so as to render any of its language mere ‘surplusage,’ but rather, must give meaning to ‘each word, phrase, clause, and sentence . . . so that no part of the statute will be void, inert, redundant, or trivial.’” *Herman v. City of Tucson*, 197 Ariz. 430, 434 (Ct. App. 1999); *see also City of Tucson v. Clear Channel Outdoor, Inc.*, 218 Ariz. 172, 183, (Ct. App. 2008) (must “avoid an interpretation that makes any language superfluous or redundant”) (internal quotations omitted). “Activity” that is *not* a “public communication” is only included as “campaign media

spending” where it is “partisan,” which means supporting the “election” of a candidate, as distinguished from supporting “nomination” in a primary.⁷

b. MLW Arizona Phone expenditures did not trigger VKRA reporting

MLW Arizona’s phone expenditures were “public communications,” but did not meet the statutory threshold triggering additional disclosure. The statute is triggered where a “covered person” spends \$50,000 or more in “statewide campaigns” or “\$25,000 or more during the election cycle in any other type of campaigns.” A.R.S. § 16-973(A). MLW Arizona spent approximately \$37,000 total in “public communications” by phone across several legislative primary elections (i.e., not statewide), but the total with respect to any one of those particular races was less than half the \$25,000 threshold – only \$12,481 each. The plain language of the statute is clearly read as imposing a threshold of \$25,000 *per non-statewide campaign*, not an aggregate threshold across all non-statewide campaigns.⁸

The Arizona Secretary of State’s own guide to the law confirms this interpretation. *See Exhibit B*, Sec’y of State, Voter’s Right to Know Act (VRKA): Guide to Arizona’s New Campaign Finance Disclosure Law. The Secretary of State describes the threshold as follows:

Statewide Campaigns: Any individual or entity spending \$50,000 or more on campaign media spending in support of or opposition to **a candidate, a recall election, or ballot measure** must disclose their spending ...

Other Campaigns: For campaigns not at the statewide level, the disclosure threshold is set at \$25,000 on campaign media spending for the same reasons described for statewide campaigns

⁷ Notably, the literature distributed by MLW Arizona’s canvassers does not mention or advocate an “identified political party.” *See, e.g., Exhibit A*. The word “Republican” does not appear on any of the door hangers or palm cards, nor does the word “Democrat,” nor any of their derivatives, nor any other party identifier. Even if the literature had used Party-identifying terms, it still would not transform a primary competition into a partisan competition, for the reasons stated above. But the fact such terms were absent serves to illustrate the lack of partisan nature of the activity.

⁸ And in a post-*Chevron* world, post-facto agency interpretations amongst equally reasonable interpretations of a statute may not be used as a regulatory cudgel.

Exh. B at 1 (emphasis added).⁹

MLW Arizona spent less than the threshold in each of these races and therefore did not trigger “covered person” status.

Even assuming, arguendo, that the text could be reasonably interpreted to impose an aggregate threshold of \$25,000, and assuming there was no regulatory guidance one way or the other promulgated before the activity at issue, the law would still have to be read in favor of Respondent and precluding enforcement. In *Fed. Election Comm'n v. Wisconsin Right To Life, Inc.*, the Court held that, because a communication could “reasonably be interpreted as something other than” the functional equivalent of express advocacy, it *must* be treated as such, rather than as coming within the regulation’s scope. 551 U.S. 449, 474 (2007) (“Where the First Amendment is implicated, the tie goes to the speaker, not the censor.”) This is especially true where the regulatory guidance supports Respondent’s interpretation.

c. AZ SOS filing software itself supports this reading because it failed to provide notice that any additional disclosure was required.

Political action committees (“PAC”) are required to file campaign finance reports, including a comprehensive periodic report on the regular schedule and supplemental independent expenditure reports or “Trigger Reports.” A.R.S. §§ 16-926(A), (H); 16-927(A); 16-941(D); 16-958. The Arizona Secretary of State (“SOS”) is the filing officer for a political committee engaging in statewide and legislative elections. A.R.S. § 16-928(A)(1). Comprehensive reports may be electronically filed using the SOS’s electronic filing system. A.R.S. § 16-928(C). Supplemental independent expenditure reports are required to be electronically filed, and the SOS software made available to committees “must accommodate such electronic filing.” A.R.S. § 16-958(E).

⁹ The \$25,000 threshold would make little sense as an aggregate limit across all non-statewide races. With 90 House and Senate seats in Arizona, a speaker would become a “covered person” by spending as little as \$277 in each race.

All campaign media spending reports under the VRKA are required to be electronically filed with the SOS. A.R.S. §16-973(H). PACs that become covered persons required to file VRKA reports are permitted to satisfy the reporting requirements under VRKA by filing the PAC's periodic reports, "provided that the disclosures required by [the VRKA] are included in those periodic reports," including identifying "original sources of traceable monies who gave, directly or indirectly, and any intermediaries who transferred, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 in traceable monies to [a] covered person during the election cycle." A.R.S. § 16-973(I).

The SOS electronic filing software, Beacon, generates and "publishes reports consistent with the statutory requirements from data input by each PAC." Office of the Secretary of State, Campaign Finance – Political Action Committee Guide, at 22 (Apr. 22, 2024). When a user enters information about a transaction into the Beacon system, the system logs the information, determines the relevant regular report the information should be disclosed on, and when the report filing period opens, generates a report for users to review and file. The tab for generated reports details the reporting period and filing due date. This method of operation is consistent whether a user is filing a regular report or a Trigger Report.

MLW Arizona, as it has done in the past, entered its transactions into Beacon with the expectation, and reliance thereupon, that any statutorily required reports would automatically be generated and appear for filing as they had before. All expenditures by MLW Arizona were entered into Beacon as independent expenditures, detailing all required parts including payee, amount, date, election date, whether the expenditure supported or opposed a candidate, the candidate, publication start and end dates, a category, and purpose description. All contributions were entered as receipts of contributions, detailing all required parts including the contributor's name, amount, and date.

During the primary election reporting period, Beacon failed to generate Trigger Reports, or *any* campaign media spending reports under VRKA. MLW Arizona entered the data as required, but no VRKA reports or special fields for VRKA-required information appeared in Beacon’s “reports” tab.

Beacon did not provide any other form of notice that a report would be due, what type of report, or when such report may be due. The SOS did not send any standard courtesy emails to MLW Arizona providing a friendly reminder that a filing period opened for a Trigger Report or campaign media spending report or that any such report was due by a specified date.

Not only did Beacon not generate a separate campaign media spending VRKA report for filing through its system, it did not allow a filer to enter the specific information required by VRKA. *See* § 16-973(1)-(6).¹⁰ This was another indication to a reasonable filer that nothing additional was expected based upon the data Respondent entered. Further, there is no option to enter a contribution or expenditure as a memo entry transaction, which would allow for the disclosure of multiple related transactions, including the chain-of-custody required by VRKA, without impacting the cash balance.¹¹

Operating under the exception for PAC filers meant not having to file separate VRKA reports but rather meeting the disclosure requirements by filing periodic reports. Yet Beacon did

¹⁰ There are no options to enter information relative to persons or entities controlled by persons that own or control any traceable monies, any custodian of transfer records, or the total amount of traceable monies a covered person holds. A.R.S. § 16-973(1)-(5). On presumably the receipt side, there is no way to separately enter or otherwise distinguish a contribution as being from an original source versus an intermediary or identify any person that makes up more than half of the traceable monies at the beginning of an election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(6)-(7), (9). On the disbursement side, there was no way to separately enter or otherwise distinguish or designate an expenditure as campaign media spending versus any other applicable expenditure reporting option available.

¹¹ For example, a covered person who receives a contribution of \$30,000 from an “intermediary” that was comprised of two “original monies” donations (say, \$15,000 each) would have to report the receipt from the intermediary (for purposes of the regular campaign report) but also the receipts from the original donors (to satisfy the VRKA). Without a memo entry option, the total contributions and cash balance disclosed will be inflated by \$30,000.

not appear to have a configuration to allow MLW Arizona to provide information outside the normal reporting process that would be relevant to additional VRKA information.

- d. Even if MLW Arizona decided to separately file VRKA reports during the primary period using the VRKA/Prop 211 portal within Beacon, the new filing software released for VRKA failed to accommodate the requirements for filing VRKA reports.**

The VRKA/Prop 211 portal in Beacon today is not what filers saw or experienced leading up to the primary election. SOS released a beta filing system (“Beta System”) within Beacon for VRKA reports under the VRKA/Prop 211 tab. The Beta System was visually and functionally different than the Beacon operating system. The Beta System was a web-based software using form fill-in fields for data entry. Data initially entered into Beacon did not pull into the Beta System, requiring filers to engage in duplicate data entry. The fields to complete only captured basic transaction information—selecting whether a transaction is a contribution or expenditure, contributor or payee name, address, date and amount of the transaction, and “details.” This specific information does not appear to be expressly required under the statute. Moreover, there were no fields to identify a candidate or office any expenditure related to nor indicate whether a transaction was supporting or opposing a candidate for that office, or to provide a purpose description regarding the transaction. Though not expressly required under statute, without the ability to detail the expenditures, filers are unable to attribute campaign media spending to candidates and demonstrate the relevant spending thresholds have been met or exceeded during the election cycle. Technically, and likely due to VRKA being a source of funds versus expenditure disclosure law, filers using the Beta System were, at least on occasion, unable to enter data into the Beta System that had a dollar amount of less than \$5,000, which corresponds to the contribution source disclosure requirement but makes expenditure disclosure impractical. A filer like MLW Arizona that makes a lump sum payment for an independent expenditure, in the amount of \$20,000 to

support or oppose a slate of ten candidates in equal amounts, may have been unable to breakdown the lump sum expenditure to ten entries of \$2,000 per candidate in the Beta System.

VRKA goes the distance to capture and require the disclosure of any conceivable form and source of money that finds its way into campaign media spending, yet there is no express requirement to disclose any type of expenditure or any details of any campaign media spending, not to a level required of a disbursement nor to the level required of an independent expenditure.¹² Arizona voters are provided extensive details regarding the sources of funds used for campaign media spending, giving them the impression they can make fully informed decisions. However, there is no requirement for providing extensive details regarding how those funds are actually spent, rendering the former information useless in understanding who is paying for what.

Similar to the Beacon system, as noted above, the Beta System did not prompt users to enter transaction information in a way consistent with the requirements under VRKA. Reviewing contemporaneously filed VRKA reports by others clearly demonstrates the Beta System failed to create data that actually comply with VRKA. For example, in a report filed by Arizona Taxpayers for a Secure Border, the report cover page shows the committee had total income of \$386,430.70.¹³

¹² A.R.S. § 16-973 (contains no express language regarding specific expenditure type or details required to be reported on a disclosure report); *see also* Voter’s Right to Know Act (VRKA): Guide to Arizona’s New Campaign Finance Disclosure Law, Section 4. Content of Disclosure Report and Conclusion, at 2, https://azsos.gov/sites/default/files/docs/VRKA_Guide.pdf (The guide states that “by mandating the disclosure of significant media expenditures, the law aims to provide voters with critical information about the financial influences shaping their elections.” In the Content of Disclosure Report section of the guide, there is no stated requirement to disclose any type of expenditure with any level of specificity, let alone a media expenditure.), *see* A.R.S. § 16-926(3) (committee reported disbursements must disclose “the recipient, the recipient’s address, a description of the disbursement and the amount and date of the disbursement); A.R.S. § 16-926(3)(l) (committees reporting independent expenditures must include the “identification of a candidate, office sought by the candidate, election date, mode of advertising, and distribution or publication date); A.R.S. § 16-926(H) (reporting for entities making an independent expenditure or ballot measure expenditure shall “identify the candidate or ballot measure supported or opposed, office sought by the candidate, if any, election date, mode of advertising and first date of publication, display, delivery or broadcast of the advertisement.)

¹³ Arizona Taxpayers for a Secure Border, VRKA Disclosure Report, State of Arizona, Jul. 9, 2024, https://apps.azsos.gov/files/vrka/2024/7.9.24_Arizona_Taxpayers_for_a_Secure_Border.pdf.

However, the report details page shows a series of transactions, and the total contributions disclosed on the report was \$205,000 and the total expenditures disclosed on the report was \$181,430.70. This is clearly misleading output from use of the Beta System—it does not allow users to actually comply with the law. Further, the form does not contain fields to allow the filer to distinguish between sources of original monies or intermediaries.

Use of the Beta System in operation during the relevant period MLW Arizona would have filed reports would not yield any greater information than contained on a comprehensive periodic report filed with the SOS using Beacon. The SOS's transition from the Beta System, just before the primary, but after MLW Arizona's spending concluded, to requiring filers to download, prepare newly formatted PDF forms, and submit them via email, supports the conclusion the Beta System would not have led to compliance with VRKA.

The information the Beta System was prompting users to include and what was generated on a report is was inconsistent with the VRKA disclosure requirements. If in fact the Beta System was able to produce reports that met disclosure requirements, and the vast trove of incorrect and inadequate reports submitted by numerous filers were the result of user error, the SOS did not appear to inform filers of how to use the Beta System (or Beacon) to accomplish the required filings. The SOS failed to provide adequate instruction and guidance on how PAC's that file comprehensive periodic reports and Trigger Reports should prepare for and file any required campaign media spending reports under VRKA, whether using Beacon, the Beta System, or other third-party software. There were no updates to the PAC Manual or Beacon User Guide to provide instructions and details about how to properly file any required VRKA report using the existing software or new Beta System.

Filers should not be faulted for noncompliance, as they were clearly hindered by the SOS's incompatible software, lack of proper instructions, and insufficient guidance on the new law's technical reporting requirements. The State cannot simultaneously demand compliance, fail to provide a reasonable method of compliance, and fault filers who relied on the State's lack of contrary indication their filings were correct.

IV. Even if MLW Arizona's expenditures did trigger VRKA reporting, the reports comply with the law.

For the reasons given above, MLW Arizona did not cross the threshold to become a "covered person." But, even if MLW Arizona's expenditures triggered the VRKA, Respondent's report timely disclosed all relevant donors in any event.

The statute requires "the identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, *more than \$5,000 of traceable monies . . . for campaign media spending* during the election cycle *to the covered person*[".]” A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(6) (emphasis added). MLW Arizona's Quarter 2 report (which was timely filed pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(I)) is complete and correct in disclosing the two contributions from Make Liberty Win. This is true for two independent reasons based on the plain text of the statute.

a. The plain text of the statute reaches only funds from a donor who intended the funds to reach the "covered person" and to be used "for campaign media spending" in Arizona.

"When interpreting statutes, [a court must] begin with the text." *In re Riggins*, 257 Ariz. 1, 544 P.3d 64, 67 (2024) (internal citation omitted). "We interpret statutory language in view of the entire text, considering the context and related statutes on the same subject." *Id.* "If a statute's text is plain and unambiguous, it controls unless it results in an absurdity or a constitutional violation." *Id.* Here, the text of the particular disclosure provision at issue (§ 16-973(A)(6)), both read by itself and in context, plainly and unambiguously incorporates a donor-intent element.

Starting with the particular provision, the text of § 16-973(A)(6) limits its application to donors of “original monies” who intended their funds would be used for campaign media spending in Arizona. This is clear from the grammatical structure of the subsection. It requires “the identity of each donor of original monies who contributed . . . more than \$5,000 . . . *for* campaign media spending . . . *to* the covered person.” A.R.S. § 16-1973(A)(6) (emphasis added). The dependent clauses—“for campaign media spending” and “to the covered person”—both refer to the subject, that is, the “donor . . . who contributed.” The *donor* who contributed must have contributed for a purpose (“campaign media spending” in Arizona), and, to a person (a “covered person”). The clause “directly or indirectly” clarifies the mere presence of intermediaries through which “original monies” travel to arrive at the “covered person” do not obviate the disclosure requirement. But that phrase itself cannot be read as if it negates the other elements present in the text.¹⁴

This is also consistent with, and effectuates, the express purpose and intent of the Act. Section 2 of the Act explains “the People of Arizona affirm their desire to stop . . . the practice of *laundering* political contributions, often through multiple intermediaries, *to hide the original source.*” VRKA Section 2.A.C. These references to laundering and hiding denote intentional acts affirmatively calculated to shield from disclosure those who nonetheless intended to fund campaign ads in Arizona. To this end, the Act aims to achieve the “public disclosure of the identity of all donors who give more than \$5,000 *to fund campaign media spending* in an election cycle

¹⁴ The cases considering various challenges to the VRKA thus far have not addressed the fact the statute itself requires earmarking, and instead have apparently assumed earmarking is not required by the text. For example, in *Center for Arizona Policy, Inc. v. Az. Sec’y of State*, __ P.3d __, 135 Az. Cases Digest 17, *1 (Ct. of Appeals Div.1, 2024), the court of appeals characterizes the statute as “requir[ing] a ‘covered person’ to disclose the original source of campaign donations exceeding \$5,000 used for ‘campaign media spending.’” (emphasis added). But that is not what the statute says. The statute requires the disclosure of those who “contributed . . . *for* campaign media spending . . . *to* the covered person.” (*Emph.* added). It is phrased with reference to the donor’s knowledge/intent, rather than the ultimate use of the funds irrespective of the donor’s intent. The plaintiffs in CAP did not address the plain text of the statute as Respondent does here, and instead appear to have assumed the statute reaches unearmarked contributions (see *id.* At *8 (para 40)). Having not been argued by the plaintiffs there, these textual elements were understandably not addressed by the court.

and the source of those monies, regardless of whether they passed through one or more intermediaries.” VRKA Section 2.A. Indeed, the “donor opt-out” procedure mandated by § 16-972(B) and (C) would mean that, even if an “original monies” donor had not intended or authorized his funds for “campaign media spending” in Arizona when he relinquished control of the funds, he would *have* to provide such authorization (expressly or constructively) before they can be used for such purposes.¹⁵ As noted below, the opt-out requirement is a nefarious prior restraint on speech, and even an invasion of the property rights of entities with regard to their own funds. But even assuming a court ultimately recognizes the opt-out provision is unconstitutional and unenforceable, it would not change the fact that the disclosures required under § 16-973(A)(6), when read in isolation *and* in context of the entire VRKA scheme, include only those donors of original monies who intended or authorized their funds to be used for campaign media spending in Arizona. If a donor is not required to provide retroactive consent after receiving an opt-out notice, § 16-973(A)(6) still requires disclosure only of those donors who contributed more than \$5,000 “for campaign media spending ... to the covered person.”

Nobody contributed “original monies” (“business income or an individual’s personal monies”) to MLW Arizona (or Make Liberty Win, or YAL) “for campaign media spending” in Arizona. Accordingly, there are no additional donors Respondent was required to report. Donors give money to Make Liberty Win (or to Make Liberty Win’s largest organizational contributor, Young Americans for Liberty, Inc. (“YAL”)) for the respective purposes of those organizations, to be spent in the organization’s exclusive discretion, and such funds are not earmarked or

¹⁵ Such consent, under the VRKA, may be given affirmatively or impliedly, by failing to respond after the expiration of the 21-day waiting period. A.R.S. § 16-972(C) (“[T]he donor’s monies may not be used or transferred for campaign media spending until at least twenty-one days after the notice is provided or until the donor provides written consent pursuant to this section, whichever is earlier.”).

contributed for any particular purpose. YAL decides what modest percentage of the substantial general/unearmarked funds it receives annually it wishes to contribute to Make Liberty Win based on YAL's own decision making, without regard to whether Make Liberty Win will spend money in any particular state, election, or race. Make Liberty Win, in turn, considers the funds it receives from YAL and all other donors and decides for itself where it chooses to engage in political activity, and whether and how much to give to local political committees to do so. Make Liberty Win did not solicit any funds for use in Arizona generally, nor for campaign media spending in Arizona. Consequently, those who gave original monies to YAL and to Make Liberty Win did not earmark or intend for any funds to be used in Arizona "for campaign media spending," and such donors are therefore not required to be disclosed under the plain text of § 16-973(A).¹⁶

This straightforward textual reading, giving effect to all elements of the text rather than ignoring elements of the text, must be adopted to avoid an unconstitutional interpretation of the VRKA scheme, for two reasons. *See Hayes v. Cont'l Ins. Co.*, 178 Ariz. 264, 272, 872 P.2d 668, 676 (1994) (court should "construe[] statutes to avoid rendering them unconstitutional"). First, ignoring the intent-based elements of the text would violate due process. Second, if the statute is not read to require disclosure only of those "original monies" earmarked for use by the covered person for campaign media spending in Arizona, then the VRKA would unconstitutionally burden the desired disbursements of all affected parties (Make Liberty Win, MLW Arizona, and YAL) free exercise of their constitutional rights. As explained below, limiting the covered person's desired expenditures by (1) requiring them to secure the consent of donors *prior to* disposition of

¹⁶ Respondent acknowledges that a donation exceeding \$5,000 (individual or in the aggregate) to an intermediary that was earmarked to support "campaign media spending" in Arizona would be within the statutory description of what must be disclosed in a special report under 16-973(A)(6). But no "original monies" (given to Make Liberty Win federal committee or YAL) were actually earmarked for any "campaign media spending" in Arizona.

unencumbered funds already legally held by the recipient, and (2) requiring public disclosure of donors of un earmarked funds to groups that don't otherwise publicly disclose their donors (like YAL), imposes severe burdens on fundamental First Amendment rights, where time is often of the essence. These burdens would be unconstitutional, as explained below.

These serious constitutional problems may be avoided by simply respecting the textual limitations already present in the statute itself, which reaches only "original monies" earmarked *for* campaign media spending by the covered person.

b. Even setting aside the issue of intent, MLW Arizona's report is still complete because the funds received by MLW Arizona are comprised of sufficient "original monies" of \$5,000 or less to cover the amount(s) expended by MLW Arizona.

Even assuming, *arguendo*, that intent plays no role, MLW Arizona's Quarter 2 report already disclosed the "identity of each donor of original monies" who contributed "more than \$5,000 of traceable monies[.]" This is because, considering all funds in Make Liberty Win's accounts when it made its total of \$420,000 in contributions to MLW Arizona, including the \$3,000,000 Make Liberty Win had received from YAL on April 5, 2024, there were more than sufficient receipts of amounts of \$5,000 or less to support MLW Arizona's "campaign media spending," regardless of what the Commission considers to meet that definition.¹⁷ That is, whether the Commission counts only the \$37,000 in phone communications, or includes the canvassing expenses, for a total of \$389,178.60,¹⁸ no additional donor identities are required to be disclosed because sufficient below-threshold monies existed in MLW Arizona's account to pay for such

¹⁷ Respondent understands, based on representations made by YAL representatives, that, before YAL's \$3,000,000 contribution to Make Liberty Win, YAL held more than \$469,000 in funds from donations of \$5,000 or less.

¹⁸ YAL's contribution itself, therefore, contained sufficient below-threshold receipts to cover the entire amount of the original disbursements by MLW Arizona. MLW itself had substantial additional receipts of \$5,000 or less prior to its contributions in May and June to MLW Arizona, from other contributions made directly to, Make Liberty Win, including more than \$25,000 in interest earned and paid into its bank account before its contributions to MLW Arizona. Such interest income is allowed to a federal political committee and constitutes additional "original monies" available for allocation to the contributions made to MLW Arizona. *See* A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

expenditures. Neither the Federal Election Commission nor Arizona require a political committee to designate or use a particular accounting method. CCEC Adv. Op. 24-02 (concluding all three accounting methods proposed by the requestor as means of identifying which original monies went into a transfer, including allocation of funds without respect to order of receipt, would be reasonable and consistent with practices permitted by the FEC). The complainant’s allegation of insufficient disclosure, therefore, is simply his unfounded speculation. There were more than enough “original monies” of \$5,000 or less just within the funds received from YAL to support all of the expenditures.

Accordingly, because the funds held by Make Liberty Win—before it made its contributions to MLW Arizona—were comprised of funds from original donations under the threshold, there are no additional “original monies” to disclose. To the extent MLW Arizona was required to file a VRKA report, MLW Arizona’s report would mirror reports filed by other similarly situated organizations where the form field for the \$5,000 original monies entry is tagged “N/A”.¹⁹

V. Finding a Violation on These Facts Would Violate Due Process.

“A fundamental principle in our legal system is that laws must give fair notice of conduct that is forbidden or required.” *F.C.C. v. Fox Television Stations, Inc.*, 567 U.S. 239, 253 (2012) (“*Fox II*”). This principle “requires the invalidation of laws that are impermissibly vague.” *Id.* “Even when speech is not at issue, the void for vagueness doctrine addresses at least two connected but discrete due process concerns: first, that regulated parties should know what is required of them so they may act accordingly; second, precision and guidance are necessary so that those

¹⁹ See Voters Right to Know Act Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending, MoveOn.org Political Action, filed September 23, 2024, https://apps.azsos.gov/files/vrka/2024/09232024_MoveOnorg_Political_Action.pdf.

enforcing the law do not act in an arbitrary or discriminatory way.” *Id.* (citing *Grayned v. City of Rockford*, 408 U.S. 104, 108–109 (1972)); *see also Connally v. General Constr. Co.*, 269 U.S. 385, 391 (1926) (“[A] statute which either forbids or requires the doing of an act in terms so vague that men of common intelligence must necessarily guess at its meaning and differ as to its application, violates the first essential of due process of law”). “When speech is involved, rigorous adherence to those requirements is necessary to ensure that ambiguity does not chill protected speech.” *Fox II*, 567 U.S. at 253-54. Due process precludes finding a violation here due to ambiguity inherent in several aspects of the VRKA regime.

a. Ambiguity in threshold to become a “covered person”

First, MLW Arizona had no reasonable notice, based on the text of the statute, that its activity would be construed as “campaign media spending” that could turn it into a “covered person” implicating additional, onerous disclosure and recordkeeping obligations. The Commission has already effectively recognized that canvassing is not a “public communication,” CCEC Adv. Op. 2024-04, and *primary*-phase canvassing is not an “activity” within the meaning of §16-971(a)(2)(vi) either, as explained in section III, above. The plain text clearly *omits* primary canvassing because surrounding provisions reflect the VRKA’s authors specifically denoted primary activity when they wanted to do so. That omission must be given effect; otherwise, the specific references to “nomination” as distinct from “election,” and specific treatment of “primary” activity, in other subsections would be mere surplusage. Further, even if “a reasonable doubt persist[ed]” after applying this ordinary canon of construction (it does not), the rule of lenity would require subsection (vi) to be read in Respondent’s favor. *See SCALIA & GARNER, READING LAW: THE INTERPRETATION OF LEGAL TEXTS* at 299 (West 2012).

Even if the text-message expenditures were “public communications,” they were under the threshold to make MLW Arizona a “covered person.” The Secretary of State’s own guidance—provided to the public to assist in compliance with the statute—describes the threshold as \$25,000 per non-statewide race. Respondent’s phone expenditures never met that threshold. Respondent certainly cannot be subject to enforcement where guidance promulgated by the state reflects that Respondent did not become a covered person.

“Those regulated by an administrative agency are entitled to know the rules by which the game will be played.” *United States v. AMC Entm’t, Inc.*, 549 F.3d 760, 768 (9th Cir. 2008) (quotations omitted). Agencies are to “provide regulated parties fair warning” of the conduct the agency “prohibits or requires” and cannot “unfair[ly] surprise” a regulated entity by penalizing it for actions taken in “good-faith reliance” on the agency’s prior positions. *Christopher v. SmithKline Beecham Corp.*, 567 U.S. 142, 156-57 (2012) (quotation omitted); *see also ExxonMobil Pipeline Co. v. United States DOT*, 867 F.3d 564, 580 (5th Cir. 2017). An agency “must give the person of ordinary intelligence a reasonable opportunity to know” what is required or prohibited, so they may act accordingly. *United States v. 64,695 Pounds of Shark Fins*, 520 F.3d 976, 980 (9th Cir. 2008); *see also United States v. Chrysler Corp.*, 158 F.3d 1350 (D.C. Cir. 1998). The fair notice requirement applies not only to formal regulations issued by an agency, but also to an agency’s “other public statements,” including informal, internal, or non-binding policies, positions, and representations. *See Gen. Elec. Co. v. EPA*, 53 F.3d 1324, 1329 (D.C. Cir. 1995); *see also Morton v. Ruiz*, 415 U.S. 199, 235 (1974) (internal agency procedures); *PHH Corp. v. CFPB*, 839 F.3d 1, 48 (D.C. Cir. 2016), *reinstated in relevant part en banc*, 881 F.3d 75, 83 (D.C. Cir. 2018) (nonbinding letter guidance); *ExxonMobil Pipeline Co.*, 867 F.3d at 579-580 (“extra-regulatory” source agency had previously endorsed numerous times); An agency acts arbitrarily

and capriciously when it fails to adhere to this “[r]ule of law,” *Circus Circus Casinos, Inc. v. NLRB*, 961 F.3d 469, 476 (D.C. Cir. 2020), and instead announces a new requirement at the same time it seeks to enforce it.

b. Due process requires giving effect to donor intent element in text of statute.

MLW Arizona also lacked sufficient notice its own activity in Arizona, undertaken without any earmarked contributions, could somehow (purportedly) require the public disclosure of its donors’ donors (and, potentially, its donors’ donors’ donors, ad infinitum). As explained above, a grammatically correct reading of the text of § 16-973(A)(6) includes donor intent as an element in determining which donors of “original monies” are required to be disclosed. Any reading ignoring the element of intent is inconsistent with the text and, *ipso facto*, contrary to due process. The actors here, including twice-removed, non-earmarked, far-in-advance contributor YAL—and beyond that YAL’s own unearmarked donors, had no notice of the requirement, and if it were to require disclosure, it would chill contributions to 501(c)(4)s (and others), restricting speech of entities who have their own rights. *Fox*, 567 US. 239 (2012).²⁰

* * *

Accordingly, the statute must be applied to avoid infringing the First Amendment rights of Respondent and related third parties, or it is unconstitutional.

The potential injury to Respondent and Respondent’s contributors would not arise merely in the case of a fine; *any* finding of a violation would constitute a harm violating due process. For the same reasons expressed by the Supreme Court in *Fox II*, severe reputational injury to MLW

²⁰ Respondent expressly asserts the First Amendment interests of YAL. While one must normally stand on one’s own rights, longstanding precedent recognizes the right of Respondent to assert the constitutional interests of affected parties here, including organizations who may be chilled from contributing to Respondent due to the prospect of disclosure of its contributors, as well as the burdensome accounting and recordkeeping requirements imposed on “intermediaries” transferring “original monies.” See *Sec’y of State of Md. v. Joseph H. Munson & Co., Inc.*, 467 U.S. 947, 955-58 (1984).

Arizona (and Make Liberty Win and potentially YAL) would result from any finding of wrongdoing. *See* 567 U.S. at 255. The Supreme Court recognized “findings of wrongdoing can result in harm to a broadcaster’s ‘reputation with viewers and advertisers,’” given the public nature of the business and the dissemination of the findings to interested or affected parties. *Id.* at 256. This interest is at least as pronounced here as it was in *Fox II*. The mere finding of a violation would also likely affect Respondent’s ability to fundraise and negatively affect the public’s perception and credibility of Respondent (whose identity will continue to be disclosed in any campaign communications disseminated in the future). *Id.* at 256 (“The challenged orders could have an adverse impact on Fox’s reputation that audiences and advertisers alike are entitled to take into account.”).

Principles of due process therefore foreclose any finding of a violation, with or without a fine, against MLW Arizona in the circumstances here.

VI. The VRKA Violates the First Amendment Facially and As-Applied.

The VRKA scheme violates the First Amendment both facially and as applied to Respondent.

a. The VRKA’s burdens are uniquely broad and severe.

If “traceable monies” are not limited to earmarked monies, the VRKA’s recordkeeping and reporting requirements present an accounting nightmare and limit protected activity both directly and indirectly.

The VRKA requires each “covered person” to “maintain transfer records.” A.R.S. § 16-972(A). “‘Transfer records’ means a written record of the identity of each person that directly or indirectly contributed or transferred more than \$2,500 of original monies used for campaign media spending, the amount of each contribution or transfer and the person to whom those monies were

transferred.” A.R.S. § 16-971(19). The burden imposed by this deceptively short provision is breathtaking given the definitions of the incorporated terms.

The covered person, of course, only receives funds from the last donor in a chain that may have included numerous prior transfers. But the VRKA obliges the covered person to maintain the “transfer records” *from the origin of so-called “original monies” to itself*, regardless of how many legitimate, good-faith, non-earmarked transfers occurred over an unbounded time period. This alone distinguishes the VRKA from the San Francisco ordinance upheld in *No on E v. Chiu*, where the panel emphasized the ordinance only required disclosure of donors two-levels removed from the spender in an on-ad disclaimer. 85 F.4th 493, 510 (9th Cir. 2023), *reh’g en banc denied, cert. denied*, 220 L.Ed.2d 10 (Oct. 7, 2024) (emphasizing that San Francisco’s ordinance “*does not have an unconstrained reach*”)²¹ The VRKA’s unlimited scope therefore sets far outside even the most demanding disclosure provision otherwise upheld in this Circuit—which itself nearly drew an *en banc* rebuke. *See id.* Under the VRKA, the last person donating to the covered person is saddled with the following burden:

Any person that donates to a covered person more than \$5,000 in traceable monies in an election cycle must inform that covered person in writing, within ten days after receiving a written request from the covered person, of the identity of each other person that directly or indirectly contributed more than \$2,500 in *original monies* being transferred and the amount of each other person's *original monies* being transferred.

²¹ The San Francisco ordinance is materially less burdensome than the VRKA regime in several ways. For one, look-through disclosures are only even potentially required up to two-levels removed from the “primarily formed committee” that runs a candidate or ballot measure ad, *No on E*, 85 F.4th at 497-98, not infinite levels, as with the VRKA. Second, the secondary committee *would be on clear notice when a contribution would implicate disclosure of its donors*, because the ordinance is only triggered if it contributes to a “primarily formed committee,” an entity expressly formed to engage in campaign activity. *Id.* (“a primarily formed committee ... is formed or exists primarily to support or oppose a single candidate, a single measure, a group of candidates being voted on in the same election, or two or more measures being voted on in the same election”).

A.R.S. § 16-972(D) (emphasis added); *see also* R2-20-801.C. In other words, the donor is required (somehow) to make a representation to the covered person of the provenance of all dollars constituting the funds provided, disclosing (what the statute considers) the original source of the funds as someone’s “business income” or “personal monies.” This means that if any of the funds constituting the monies transferred to the covered person came from any kind of nonprofit entity (in other words, it was not “business income” or “personal monies” when received by the last donor), then that last donor is required to look behind the corporate/associational entity from which it received the funds and demand from that entity “transfer records” identifying the source of “original monies.”²²

But how does the donor-to-the-covered-person determine which of its funds constitute the funds transferred to the covered person, so that it can know to whom such funds should be allocated? If the donor had five million dollars in its bank account on the date of its \$100,000 contribution to the covered person, it must have some way of allocating the funds to one or more sources that contributed to its account. The VRKA provides the Commission authority to “establish the records persons must maintain to support their disclosures.” A.R.S. § 16-974(A)(7). The Commission has issued a rule stating that “[a]ll records required to be retained ... shall be kept in such order that a reasonable person could confirm the accuracy of transactions, transfer records, reports, opt out notices, and other information by review of the documents and other information.” R2-20-807.A. The Commission has set out certain baseline requirements for “reasonable” recordkeeping:

²² That § 16-972(D) obligates donors to look beyond the corporate identity of any person from whom it received the funds—and any prior intermediaries, *ad infinitum*—to warrant the source of the “original monies,” is confirmed by the fact that the statute requires identification of all intermediaries through which the funds passed in addition to the purported original source. That is, the next sentence in § 16-972(D) states: “[i]f the original monies were previously transferred, the donor must disclose all such previous transfers of more than \$2,500 and identify the intermediaries.”

The Commission has not adopted any particular accounting method or required a particular accounting method of persons subject to the Act. Generally, a method of maintaining records will be reasonable where it:

- A) allows a reasonable person to confirm the accuracy of the transactions the person had engaged in,
- B) requires a written record of transactions that is replicable by the appropriate personnel,
- C) is determined prior to engaging in a set of transactions by the person responsible for the transactions, set forth in writing and distributed to appropriate agents and employees, and adhered to by the responsible person, their agents and employees,
- D) includes appropriate records retention policies that are determined in advance of engaging in a set of transactions by the person responsible for the transactions, set forth in writing, distributed and adhered to by the appropriate agents and employees of the responsible person,
- E) remains consistent with respect to transactions in Arizona over time,
- F) does not create false reports or double count disclosures in any jurisdiction or otherwise invalidate the information,
- G) is not adopted, used or attempted to be used to evade the reporting requirements of the Act or the Commission's rules promulgated pursuant to the Act.

CCEC Adv. Op. 24-02 at 2 (Jan. 2024).

At this point, one begins to understand that “maintaining records” in the way many organizations do—including many, or perhaps most, of the nonprofit entities and political committees that may be “intermediaries” in a chain—is woefully insufficient to meet the requirements of the VRKA. Copies of canceled checks received, bank statements showing the dates of all receipts including receipts by wire/ACH, will not allow one to comply with the VRKA’s recordkeeping and disclosure requirements even if the “intermediary” donor keeps meticulous records reflecting who contributed each and every receipt populating its bank statements. Instead, the entity must apply some kind of accounting method to be able to allocate in a “reasonable” and “confirmable” manner *particular receipts with particular disbursements*. The entity must be able to say that a disbursement of \$10,000 made on December 1 is considered

to be comprised of \$5,000 received from the Sierra Club on a particular date and \$5,000 received from YAL on a particular date.²³

This requires applying an accounting method to the activity in its bank account, such as “first in, first out” (FIFO) or “last in, first out” (LIFO). No matter the method used, it cannot be applied unless *every single receipt and disbursement is individually itemized* in a comprehensive format, such as a spreadsheet or accounting software. But even that is not enough, because the entity would still have to decide whether to apply cash or accrual accounting. Under cash accounting, the last disbursement leaving the account is considered to be the last item paid that was actually debited; accrual accounting would mean that the last item considered to have left the account was the last item for which an obligation to pay was incurred (such as by sending a check that hasn’t yet been deposited by the payee, or paying by debit card but before the charge is actually drawn from the account). And all of this must be “*determined prior to engaging in a set of transactions by the person responsible for the transactions, set forth in writing and distributed to appropriate agents and employees, and adhered to by the responsible person, their agents and employees.*” CCEC Adv. Op. 24-02 at 2. In other words, some method of accounting must be determined not just by the last donor to the covered person, but by *all* prior entities that transferred funds in the chain, *before such transfer was made.*²⁴

²³ Then, because those receipts came from entities and do not qualify as “original monies,” the donor must trace the Sierra Club’s and YAL’s funds back to “original monies,” thus requiring application of the same forensic accounting methods by each and every association in the chain of custody.

²⁴ The Commission has stated that cherry-picking receipts to allocate to a given transaction retroactively can be a “reasonable” method of accounting. CCEC Adv. Op. 24-02 at 7. Even if this method would suffice for an intermediary entity with isolated transfers at issue, it seems unlikely to be a practical method for any entity engaging in substantial transactions, especially because it cannot know ahead of time which of its funds might eventually end up triggering disclosures. So an organization like YAL would worried about compliance and cognizant of the expectation that its method be decided and promulgated *before any transactions* would still likely have to adopt FIFO or LIFO and remain consistent in order to avoid double-counting.

Unfortunately, to fully understand the practical task necessitated by the VRKA, one must dive yet deeper into accounting detail. Consider an entity—call it Immigrant Rights Institute—that holds a fundraiser at which it received 10 paper checks, each for \$10,000, on the same evening, all of which were deposited into its bank account in a single deposit the following day. Assume that such entity transfers \$10,000 to a covered person a month later, which the covered person uses for “campaign media spending.” To which of the Institute’s \$10,000 donors should the transfer be attributed? There are at least ten viable donors who could be tagged as the person funding the “campaign media spending”—none of whom intended to fund any such expense and merely supported the general good work of the Institute. The Commission has already stated that in such cases, “the statute and rule provide certain flexibility to those providing information to covered persons,” and the Institute could allocate the funds in its discretion, so long as it “maintain[s] an objective standard to support the reliability of that information.” CCEC Adv. Op. 24-02 at 7. The Institute could select any one of the \$10,000 donors and report such person’s identity to the covered person. *Id.* This scenario will be revisited below for its relevance to the VRKA’s relationship to the State’s purported interests in disclosure.

Whatever accounting principles are decided upon by the last donor (or any prior “intermediary”), all records must be maintained in writing in a confirmable format, and “[t]he donor”—not merely the covered person—“must maintain these records for at least five years *and provide the records on request to the commission.*” A.R.S. § 16-972(D) (last sentence; emphasis added). Donors of in-kind contributions to a covered person are responsible for the same forensic accounting applicable to any monetary transfers. *Id.* § 16-972(E). Importantly, “[f]ailure to maintain records in a reasonable manner may give rise to a *factual presumption against the person* in an enforcement proceeding or other action under Chapter 6.1 of Title 16.” R2-20-807(C)

(emphasis added). The VRKA states that “to determine the sources, intermediaries and amounts of indirect contributions received, a covered person may rely on the information it received pursuant to § 16-972, *unless* the covered person knows or has reason to know that the information relied on is false *or unreliable*.” A.R.S. § 16-973(D) (emphasis added).

The covered person must also devise and implement a system that allows for adequate reporting compliance. The covered person must review new inbound transfer records, in whatever volume and written form they take (email, spreadsheet, hard copy, etc.), cross reference with its existing transfer records and presumably calculate when any source of original monies aggregates to the reportable threshold of \$5,000.01 for the election cycle, and then determine how to technically report these transactions. Absent the use of accounting or compliance software, which can be costly, the covered person must undertake a significant administrative burden to develop a comprehensive compliance system. Practical compliance with VRKA means this is an undoubtedly daunting task for any covered person, even more so for smaller organizations or less sophisticated organizations.

While the statute frames the donor’s obligation as arising only upon written request from the covered person, § 16-972(D), this obligation may not be avoided. In the absence of an earmarking limitation, covered persons *must* request the transfer records to collect the “original monies” contributor information necessary for their “initial” and “supplemental” reports under the VRKA. A.R.S. §§ 16-973(A)(6)-(7), (B).

Opt-out and waiting period. Even assuming the requisite information is collected and properly maintained, the covered person is not free to disburse funds for “campaign media spending” without providing donors the ability to “opt out.” Specifically:

Before the covered person may use or transfer a donor's monies for campaign media spending, the donor must be notified in writing that the monies may be so used and

must be given an opportunity to opt out of having the donation used or transferred for campaign media spending. The notice under this subsection must:

1. Inform donors that their monies may be used for campaign media spending and that information about donors may have to be reported to the appropriate government authority in this state for disclosure to the public.
2. Inform donors that they can opt out of having their monies used or transferred for campaign media spending by notifying the covered person in writing within twenty-one days after receiving the notice.

A.R.S. § 16-972(B).

Commission regulation imposes specific form requirements for the notice, including font size; requires “a receipt [be provided] to the donor confirming the donor’s choice” upon request by the donor; and requires “[a]ny person responsible for providing the opt-out information” to “keep a record of when the information was provided and maintain all related records including the written notice for five years.” R2-20-803.B.3, C.

The statute says the covered person is prohibited from disbursing the funds for “at least 21 days after the notice is provided,” unless the donor responds earlier with affirmative assent. *Id.* § 16-972(C). While the statute seems to limit the covered person’s potential wait time to three weeks, a Commission rule extends the potential waiting period indefinitely. R2-20-803(E) (“A donor may request to opt out at any time after the initial notice period and the covered person must confirm the opt out to the donor in writing no later than 5 days after the request and subsequently that donor shall be treated as having opted out by the covered person.”).

b. Level of scrutiny

At least three distinct aspects of the VRKA regime violate the First Amendment. MLW Arizona challenges the recordkeeping obligations imposed upon covered persons and all other donors (§ 16-972(D)) and the donor-disclosure requirement of § 16-1973(A)(6).

Even if these requirements are properly categorized as “disclosure” obligations, strict scrutiny should apply, given the uniquely intrusive and boundless burdens imposed and because

they threaten disclosure of donors to “multi-purpose” organizations such as YAL.²⁵ However, it is unnecessary to belabor this complex issue here, because the VRKA also fails exacting scrutiny. *See Canyon Ferry*, 556 F.3d at 1031. “Exacting scrutiny demands that the government show that it has (1) a sufficiently important interest (2) to which the challenged regulations are substantially related and narrowly tailored.” *Smith v. Helzer*, 95 F.4th 1207, 1214–15 (9th Cir. 2024), *cert. denied sub nom. Smith v. Stillie*, No. 23-1316, 2024 WL 4805897 (U.S. Nov. 18, 2024) (citing *Ams. for Prosperity Found.*, 141 S. Ct. at 2383). “To withstand exacting scrutiny, the strength of the governmental interest must reflect the seriousness of the actual burden on First Amendment rights.” *Id.* at 1214-15 (internal quotations omitted). “Unlike strict scrutiny, however, ‘exacting scrutiny does not require that disclosure regimes be the least restrictive means of achieving their ends.’” *Id.* “Narrow tailoring in this context therefore ‘require[s] a fit that is not necessarily perfect, but reasonable; that represents not necessarily the single best disposition but one whose scope is in proportion to the interest served.’” *Id.* at 1215 (quoting *McCutcheon v. Fed. Election Comm'n*, 572 U.S. 185, 218 (2014)).

Respondent also challenges the opt-out notice requirement (§ 16-972(B)), which is a direct temporal prohibition on speech subject to strict scrutiny. “Laws that burden political speech are subject to strict scrutiny, which requires the government to prove that the restriction furthers a compelling interest and is narrowly tailored to achieve that interest.” *Ariz. Free Enterprise Freedom’s Club PAC v. Bennett*, 564 U.S. 721, 131 S. Ct. 2806, 2817 (2011).

- c. **The VRKA’s disclosure requirements impose an unjustifiably severe burden on associational and speech rights out of proportion to any legitimate government interest.**

²⁵ *Canyon Ferry*, 556 F.3d at 1031.

“Campaign media spending” in the VRKA is vastly broader than the scope of “independent expenditures” or “electioneering communications” in federal law. The VRKA reaches beyond advertisements that are the functional equivalent of express advocacy for identified candidates, or even broadcast communications referring to identified candidates in very narrow time periods before elections. For example, it would include, without temporal limitation, any “partisan get-out-the-vote activity,” or any other “partisan campaign activity,” presumably including, e.g., paid distribution of yard signs that read “Vote Republican.” If a person exceeds the spending threshold, the VRKA requires the disclosure of the “identity of each donor of original monies who contributed ... more than \$5,000” for the effort. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(6). If construed to reach “original monies” irrespective of donor intent, the provision would require disclosure of donors with no knowledge or meaningful connection to the “covered person” or any spending in Arizona, as explained further below.

d. The limited scope of the legitimate governmental interest in disclosure

Given the boundless scope of the VRKA’s look-through scheme, which threatens to publicize otherwise private donors far removed from any intent to have anything to do with Arizona or any notice that it may occur, it is necessary to review the limited scope of the government interest in compelling disclosure in the electoral context juxtaposed against the vast backdrop of associational activity affected.

The “Court has ‘long understood as implicit in the right to engage in activities protected by the First Amendment a corresponding right to associate with others.’” *Ams. for Prosperity Found. v. Bonta*, 594 U.S. 595, 606 (2021) (quoting *Roberts v. U.S. Jaycees*, 468 U.S. 609, 622 (1984)). “Protected association furthers ‘a wide variety of political, social, economic, educational, religious, and cultural ends,’ and ‘is especially important in preserving political and cultural

diversity and in shielding dissident expression from suppression by the majority.” *Id.* (quoting *Roberts*, 468 U.S. at 622). It is “hardly a novel perception that compelled disclosure of affiliation with groups engaged in advocacy may constitute as effective a restraint on freedom of association as [other] forms of governmental action.” *Id.* (quoting *NAACP v. Alabama ex rel. Patterson*, 357 U.S. 449, 462 (1958)). As the Court has observed, “[e]ffective advocacy of both public and private points of view, particularly controversial ones, is undeniably enhanced by group association,” and there is a “vital relationship between freedom to associate and privacy in one’s associations.” *Bonta*, 594 U.S. at 606. (quoting *NAACP v. Alabama*, 357 U.S. at 460, 462). Laws compelling disclosure (without imposing actual limits on speech or association) are therefore invalid unless they withstand “exacting scrutiny” under the First Amendment. *Id.* at 607 (plurality opinion) (quoting *Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 64). Exacting scrutiny requires that a law bear a “substantial relation” to the “sufficiently important” interests asserted by the state. *Id.* (quotation omitted).

Not every interest so qualifies. The Ninth Circuit, in its recent decision in *Canyon Ferry Rd. Baptist Church of E. Helena, Inc. v. Unsworth*, summarized these interests:

In *Buckley* and again in *McConnell*, the Supreme Court identified three “important” interests that justified campaign finance disclosure in the context of elections for federal office: (1) “providing the electorate with information, (2) deterring actual corruption and avoiding any appearance thereof, and (3) gathering the data necessary to enforce more substantive electioneering restrictions.” *McConnell*, 540 U.S. at 196 (citing *Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 67–68).

556 F.3d 1021, 1031 (9th Cir. 2009) (numbering added; some citations truncated).

The latter two interests are wholly irrelevant to Respondent’s activity in issue, which involves only independent expenditures. Respondent’s canvassing and phone expenditures here were undertaken independently from any candidates or officeholders. The anti-corruption interest is not implicated by such independent expenditures. *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 368. Nor is the interest in “gathering the data necessary to enforce more substantive” restrictions, because there

are no substantive limits (1) on independent expenditures in support of any candidate or (2) contributions toward independent expenditures. *See Canyon Ferry*, 556 F.3d at 1032 (“[T]he state disclosure requirements at issue in this case are evidently not substantially related to the third important interest: aid in enforcing “more substantive electioneering *restrictions*,” for no substantive limits on contributions or expenditures apply in the context of Montana’s ballot issues.”).²⁶

Accordingly, if Arizona hopes to justify the application of the challenged VRKA requirements to Respondent’s activity, it must be in service of the state’s informational interest. That interest is not unlimited. The Court in *Buckley* observed that disclosure of contributions “allows voters to place each candidate in the political spectrum more precisely than is often possible solely on the basis of party labels and campaign speeches.” 424 U.S. at 67. *Buckley* also noted that “sources of a candidate’s financial support also alert the voter to the interests to which a candidate is most likely to be responsive and thus facilitate predictions of future performance in office.” *Id.*

While these interests are most acutely served by disclosure of contributions made to a candidate’s campaign (directly or indirectly, e.g., for coordinated communications), the Court has recognized that this informational interest is also served, at least to some extent, by disclosure of contributions for independent expenditures or electioneering communications. With respect to such contributions by organizations who are not political committees, the Court has allowed event-based disclosures temporally related to the specific independent expenditures/electioneering communications, which include disclaimers noting the name of the organization that paid for the

²⁶ *AFP v. Meyer* errs in relying on the interest in “gathering information” to police other limits, 724 F.Supp.3d at 872, because there are no limits for the data to be relevant to, to the extent the statute reaches campaign media spending uncoordinated with the relevant candidate.

communication and a public filing to the Federal Election Commission disclosing—at most—those persons who contributed *directly to the entity funding the communication at issue*. In *McConnell v. FEC*, 540 U.S. 93, 197-98 (2003), the Court upheld a new disclosure provision of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2001 (BCRA) requiring organizations or individuals funding more than \$10,000 in “electioneering communications” in a calendar year to disclose the identities of persons who contributed \$1,000 or more to the payor.

The provision at issue there—2 U.S.C. § 434(f), now located at 52 U.S.C. § 30104(f)—is the same statute that was later upheld in *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 368–71. *Citizens United* had objected to both the disclaimer and disclosure requirements of BCRA, arguing they should not apply to what *Citizens United* characterized as a “commercial advertisement” for its film about Hillary Clinton. The disclaimer provision (BCRA §311) required the electioneering communication to include a statement identifying *Citizens United* as the payor; the disclosure provision (BCRA § 201) called for the filing with the FEC identifying the contributors who gave more than \$1,000 to *Citizens United*. It was in this context that the Supreme Court observed that, “[e]ven if the ads only pertain to a commercial transaction, the public has an interest in knowing *who is speaking* about a candidate shortly before an election.” 558 U.S. at 369 (emphasis added).

Thus, the statute upheld in *McConnell* and again in *Citizens United* only required the identification of the names of contributors who gave more than \$1,000 *directly to the entity funding the electioneering communication*. This remains the furthest the Supreme Court has yet gone in upholding election-related disclosure requirements. Accordingly, under federal law, if an organization contributes to a sponsor of electioneering communications, *the organization itself* would be disclosed on the electioneering report required by 52 U.S.C. § 30104(f). Efforts to exploit the disclosure rules to hide the true source of contributions are addressed by means of an

earmarking rule requiring disclosure of the actual source of any earmarked transfer. *See* 11 C.F.R. § 110.6. These cases did not reach, and federal law does not require, the kind of look-through disclosures that would be required under the VRKA.²⁷

e. The VRKA bears no substantial relationship to any legitimate interest.

As shown above, Arizona can assert a legitimate interest in providing the electorate with information regarding contributions funding campaign communications to the extent that the information may tend to illuminate “*who* is speaking about ... candidate[s] shortly before an election,” *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 369 (emphasis added), or “alert the voter to the interests to which a candidate is most likely to be responsive,” *Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 67. *See also Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 67. (“A public armed with information about a candidate’s most generous supporters is better able to detect any post-election special favors that may be given in return.”); *Canyon Ferry*, 556 F.3d at 1034 (explaining that, “in the ballot issue context, the relevant informational goal is to inform voters as to ‘who backs or opposes a given initiative’ financially, so that the voters ‘will have a pretty good idea of who stands to benefit from the legislation’”) (quoting *Cal. Pro-Life Council, Inc. v. Getman*, 328 F.3d 1088, 1106 (9th Cir. 2003)). Compelled disclosure of unearmarked donations made to associations other than the “covered person,” which may have been given to such association for any number of legitimate purposes, bears no substantial relationship to *either* disclosing “who is speaking” or who might stand to benefit from a candidate’s election.

²⁷ After *Citizens United* cleared the way for corporations and unions to use their general treasury funds for express advocacy (and, of course, electioneering communications), making such expenditures more commonplace, the FEC promulgated a rule that clarified that entities were only required to disclose those who contributed “for the purpose of furthering electioneering communications.” 11 C.F.R. 104.20(c). This regulation was upheld as a reasonable linguistic interpretation of the statutory text in *Van Hollen, Jr. v. FEC*, 811 F.3d 486, 501 (D.C. Cir. 2016). The D.C. Circuit specifically noted as “significant” the FEC’s rationale that the purpose requirement is “narrowly tailored to address many of the commenters’ concerns regarding individual donor privacy.” *Id.* at 499 (quoting 72 Fed. Reg. at 72901).

Consider an individual (or a business) who donates \$10,000 in December 2024 to a 501(c)(4) like the Sierra Club (organization A) because they appreciate the Sierra Club's efforts to preserve a wooded area near the donor's home in Washington State. In January 2025, the Sierra Club contributes \$100,000 to another organization (B) because it appreciates B's research into environmental problems in Texas. In January 2026, that organization contributes \$125,000 to C, a federal political committee advocating preferred candidates in Democratic primary elections in targeted congressional districts throughout the country. Finally, in October 2026, the federal political committee (C) contributes to NARAL Pro-Choice America (D) to support its last-minute independent expenditures in favor of an unexpectedly strong candidate for Arizona Attorney General who promises to fight any federal effort limiting abortion funding.

In such a scenario, there would be no basis for believing the original contributor, who donated to an environmental nonprofit in response to specific, localized conservation efforts nearly two years earlier, also supported the Attorney General candidate in any meaningful way. More to the point: the donor is not interested in any decisions the Attorney General candidate might make as an officeholder, and the candidate would have no favor to possibly provide to such a donor, even if he knew the donor's identity (which he would not know, but for compelled disclosure under the VRKA).

Disclosing this out-of-state Sierra Club donor's identity to the Arizona public does not remotely, much less "substantially," help Arizona voters evaluate who the potential officeholder may be "responsive" to or who stands to benefit. In *Canyon Ferry*, the Ninth Circuit fully acknowledged disclosure of in-kind contributions of even a miniscule amount may serve *some* informational interest ("signals are transmitted ... not only by a contribution's size but also by the contributor's identity"), but still held that Montana's reporting requirement was not substantially

related to the interest because the financial value of the church’s contribution was so tiny that disclosing it *would not communicate meaningful information*. 556 F.3d at 1033 (“As a matter of common sense, the value of this financial information to the voters declines drastically as the value of the expenditure or contribution sinks to a negligible level.”). *Shelton*—cited approvingly in *Bonta*, 594 U.S. at 608-11—provides another textbook illustration of an excessive restriction. *Shelton* invalidated a state statute requiring teachers to disclose every organization to which they belonged or contributed, purportedly to allow the state to assess competence and fitness. 364 U.S. at 480, 485. *Shelton* observed that “[t]he scope of the inquiry required by [the law] is completely unlimited.... It requires [the teacher] to list, without number, every conceivable kind of associational tie—social, professional, political, avocational, or religious. *Many such relationships could have no possible bearing upon the teacher's occupational competence or fitness.*” *Shelton*, 364 U.S. at 488 (emphasis added).

Similarly, knowing the identity of the “original monies” donor, regardless how far removed, communicates nothing of value to Arizona voters when that donor’s money reached the “covered person” only because of the independent decisions of one or more entities that transferred their funds for their own purposes.²⁸

In fact, an often-overlooked portion of *Buckley* itself is particularly apposite here. *Buckley* upheld FECA’s reporting requirement in section 434(e), which required groups (or individuals) that engaged in a certain amount of “contributions” or “expenditures” “*other than by contribution to a political committee or candidate*” to file a statement with the FEC disclosing its relevant

²⁸ To be sure, this is not to suggest that Arizona voters have no legitimate interest in identifying donors just because they may reside out of state or whose original donation may have travelled through multiple “intermediaries.” But that “substantial relationship” is present primarily where a donor intends to funnel his or her funds to support the communications/activity at issue.

disbursement(s). 424 U.S. at 75-76 (emphasis added). But the Court only upheld the provision after imposing a limiting construction to avoid chilling protected activity. While the triggering terms, “contribution” and “expenditure,” were already defined to mean use of money or assets “for the purpose of influencing” the nomination or election of federal candidates, *Buckley* held it was dangerously vague to the extent it touched upon persons not themselves candidates or political committees. 424 U.S. at 76-77 (“In its effort to be all-inclusive ... the provision raises serious problems of vagueness, particularly treacherous where, as here, the violation of its terms carries criminal penalties and fear of incurring these sanctions may deter those who seek to exercise protected First Amendment rights.”). Absent a limiting construction, the terms could require disclosure of “groups engaged purely in issue discussion.” *Id.* at 79. Accordingly, *Buckley* observed that, when the maker of the expenditure at issue was not itself a candidate or political committee, “the relation of the information sought to the purposes of the Act may be too remote.” *Id.* at 80. The Court solved the potential overbreadth by construing “expenditure” for purposes of this disclosure statute to mean only funds used for express advocacy, a “reading ... directed precisely to that spending that is unambiguously related to the campaign of a particular federal candidate.” *Id.* In other words, *Buckley* limited the reach of 434(e) so that it required “statements” only by those whose independent spending unmistakably reflected their *intent* to affect an election.

The unwitting donors who contributed unearmarked funds to 501(c)(4)s like YAL, or the Sierra Club, are precisely like the spenders *Buckley* was apt to shield from the reach of FECA 434(e). Such donors, who give their funds to associations for charitable or other tax-exempt purposes—without intent or knowledge that the recipient may later donate to another group whose funds may eventually support “campaign media spending” in Arizona—may be chilled from their protected associational activity if they knew there was a chance that a decision by some remote

and unknown actor far down the line could require his or her identity to be blasted to the Arizona public. Bonta; MCFL. Alternatively, the donor may simply refuse consent in response to an opt-out notice, which would prevent disclosure but also would prevent the covered person from spending what is actually its own money on political speech. Whether through compelled disclosure or foregone spending, the VRKA severely burdens fundamental rights.

Just like the hypothetical issue-ad spenders in *Buckley*, a donation to YAL by someone who appreciates YAL's educational endeavors is "too remote" from the purposes served by the VRKA. 424 U.S. at 80; *Canyon Ferry*, 556 F.3d at 1033. And the VRKA is treacherously vague if it is construed to erase the donor-intent element. *See Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 80 (limiting statute to require disclosure only where spender engages in activity clearly indicating intent to speak about an election). Limiting § 16-973(A)(6) to earmarked donations would remove such ambiguity.

Nor is the VRKA substantially related to the interest in disclosing "who is speaking" about candidates close to elections. *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 369. Disclosing the Sierra Club's donor does not provide any relevant information to the Arizona public; instead, it affirmatively misleads them. The Sierra Club's funds only reached NARAL after the independent decisions of multiple associations disposing of their own funds in their discretion. Ignoring the independence of these associations and treating a covered person's "campaign media spending" as if it were the product of a far removed "original monies" donor distorts rather than illuminates "who is speaking."

The Supreme Court has repeatedly recognized voluntary associations have their own corporate identity as speakers in their own right, apart from their donors, despite sympathy of interests. In *California Medical Association v. FEC*, the Court squarely rejected the view that communications by a corporate-sponsored PAC are the speech of the corporation itself. 453 U.S. 182, 196 (1981) ("CALPAC instead is a separate legal entity that receives funds from multiple

sources and that engages in independent political advocacy. Of course, CMA would probably not contribute to CALPAC unless it agreed with the views espoused by CALPAC, *but this sympathy of interests alone does not convert CALPAC's speech into that of CMA.*") (emphasis added). *Accord Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 337 ("A PAC is a separate association from the corporation. So the PAC exemption ... does not allow corporations to speak."); *Zimmerman v. City of Austin, Tex.*, 881 F.3d 378, 395 (5th Cir. 2018), *cert. denied*, 586 U.S. 1051 (following *CMA* to hold candidates engage in "independent political advocacy" with campaign contributions received in prior election cycle, rejecting City's argument the candidate's First Amendment rights to use prior-cycle contributions in his discretion were extinguished because the contributors may not continue to support him). The courts that rejected First Amendment challenges to the VRKA have correctly recognized that "[d]isclosure regimes aimed at identifying 'who is speaking' are only effective if the disclosures identify the speaker," *Ams. for Prosperity v. Meyer*, 724 F.Supp.3d at 871, but their assumption the "original source of funds," *id.*, is the relevant speaker is too casual, and it contradicts *CMA* and progeny. These cases refute the simplistic assumption that look-through disclosures serve to "identify the speaker."

In fact, when one understands the practical realities of the accounting required by the VRKA as summarized above, it is clear the VRKA does not in any substantial way actually disclose "who is speaking." The last donor-to-the-covered person, and indeed every intermediary along the way, must engage in what really amounts to generic accounting methods in an attempt to tie a donor name to a financial transaction. The "original monies" donor disclosed by an association would differ completely depending on whether the association used FIFO as opposed to LIFO, or even cash versus accrual accounting. And the illustration regarding the ten \$10,000 checks collected at a single fundraiser further demonstrates the disconnect. The association itself

has the flexibility to identify any one of the ten potential “funders” as the donor to the covered person. This bears zero relationship to informing the Arizona electorate who is funding campaign activity in Arizona. The decision to provide the funding was made by the association(s) in these examples, not the contributors to the associations.

While the public is affirmatively misled in a misguided attempt to serve the informational interest, these organizations (like YAL) that enjoy their own corporate identity and serve such a fundamental purpose recognized in decades of caselaw will have their entity status violated and their activities chilled. Public disclosure of anonymous donors to 501(c)(4)s like YAL and onerous recordkeeping requirements will chill their activity.

f. The VRKA is not narrowly tailored.

Even if disclosure of unearmarked donations removed by one or more levels from contributions to MLW Arizona *were* substantially related to the state’s informational interest, the law must also be narrowly tailored. “A substantial relation is necessary but not sufficient to ensure that the government adequately considers the potential for First Amendment harms before requiring that organizations reveal sensitive information about their members and supporters. Where exacting scrutiny applies, the challenged requirement must be narrowly tailored to the interest it promotes, even if it is not the least restrictive means of achieving that end.” *Bonta*, 594 U.S. at 609–10.

First, it is important to understand that Arizona cannot escape or minimize the narrow tailoring requirement by arguing that the VRKA-imposed burden is not sufficiently severe. It is the *breadth* of a challenged statute—the fact that it applies to a broad swath of protected activity—rather than its severity that requires narrow tailoring. *Bonta*, 594 U.S. at 610. Narrow tailoring means that “[t]he breadth of legislative abridgment must be viewed in the light of less drastic

means for achieving the same basic purpose.” *Id.* (quoting *Shelton*, 364 U.S. at 488). The state’s interest in informing the electorate as to the actual speakers behind “campaign media spending” can be addressed more effectively with much less damage to First Amendment rights.

For one, requiring disclosure of earmarked donations, regardless of how far removed from the covered person’s ultimate expenditures, would serve the interest. *See McCutcheon*, 572 U.S. at 222-23. Consistent with the statutory text as discussed above, the First Amendment problems can be avoided by simply reading the statute as it is: requiring disclosure only of contributions given by donors who intended that they reach a covered person to be used for campaign media spending in Arizona.²⁹

Arizona could also, at a minimum, limit look-through disclosures to “original monies” given in a more reasonable temporal window and/or going back through a more limited number of transfers rather than infinite transfers. *Cf. No on E*, 85 F.4th at 510-11 (provision at issue only required potential disclosure of “secondary committee” contributors two-levels removed from the spender). This is not to say that such measures would be constitutional themselves, especially where it may require disclosure of nonprofit donors who would otherwise not be disclosed and did not earmark. But they are options available to the state that could be explored. *See McCutcheon*, 572 U.S. at 221-23.

g. The opt-out notice requirement is a direct ban on spending and violates the First Amendment.

²⁹ The court in *Center for Arizona Policy v. Arizona Sec’y of State* rejects the argument that the disclosure requirement isn’t narrowly tailored because it isn’t limited to earmarked contributions. 2024 WL 4719050, *8-9. This analysis is not persuasive. The court relied on the fact that FECA’s electioneering-contributor disclosure requirement was upheld in *McConnell*, but that provision is far less intrusive than VKRA’s infinite look-through, as explained above. The provision at issue in *McConnell* only required disclosure of contributions made to the person *directly funding the electioneering communications*. *Center for Arizona Policy* also fails to reckon with Buckley’s holding that the original FECA independent expenditure “statement” requirement was narrowly construed to apply only to expenditures for express advocacy specifically to avoid ensnaring those exercising their rights in a simple disclosure requirement without some clear indication of intent by that person’s actions. Moreover, challengers in *Center for Arizona Policy* did not address the fact that donor intent is already required under the statute’s plain text.

All of Respondent's expenditures at issue were undertaken independently from any candidates or officeholders. Because such expenditures, as a matter of law, do not present a relevant corruption threat, Arizona has no legitimate interest in restricting them, with an opt-out notice-and-waiting-period or otherwise. Section 16-972(B) is unconstitutional for lack of any cognizable government interest.

As a matter of law, "[i]ndependent expenditures...do not give rise to corruption or the appearance of corruption." *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 357; *see also American Tradition P'ship, Inc. v. Bullock*, 567 U.S. 516 (2012) (per curiam) (summarily reversing judgment of state supreme court that state-specific evidence justified limits on independent expenditures); *SpeechNow.org v. FEC*, 599 F.3d 686, 696 (D.C. Cir. 2010) ("*Citizens United* holds that independent expenditures do not corrupt or give the appearance of corruption as a matter of law[.]"). Because independent expenditures do not corrupt, and because combatting corruption is the only cognizable interest sufficient to *restrict* campaign finances (as opposed from a true disclosure requirement that may indirectly impose a burden but not directly restrict spending),³⁰ as a matter of law, the State has no legitimate interest "burdening" them. Thus, § 16-972(B) is facially unconstitutional to the extent it restricts independent expenditures.³¹

Meyer's brief analysis of the opt-out provision should not give the Commission any confidence. *See* 724 F.Supp.3d at 873-74. The district court claimed that "the opt-out provision is straightforward":

³⁰ The only governmental interest sufficient to justify campaign finance restrictions is the prevention of *quid pro quo* corruption or its appearance. *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 359; *see also NCPAC*, 470 U.S. at 496-97 ("[P]reventing corruption or the appearance of corruption are the only legitimate and compelling interests thus far identified for restricting campaign finances.").

³¹ Respondent focuses its argument here on the unconstitutionality of the opt-out notice requirement to the extent it restricts independent expenditures, because that is all that is at issue in this particular enforcement matter. But the opt-out requirement cannot be constitutionally applied to restrict *any* type of activity regulated by the VRKA, and if litigation is necessary, Respondent will challenge it across the board.

If covered persons wish to use donations for campaign media spending, they can provide the required notice to their donors at the time of the donation. Alternatively, covered persons could provide the notice later and the donors could provide immediate written consent. Under either of these options, covered persons would be free to spend donations immediately. Because covered persons and their donors can easily avoid the 21-day period, the opt-out provision is not unduly burdensome.

Id. at 873. *Meyer* thus blithely claimed that, to the extent a covered person would have to sit silent for 21 days, “it would only come about because of decisions made by the ... covered persons, or their donors.” *Id.*

This analysis ignores the practical reality of the notice requirement and of political speech in general. *Meyer* simply assumes that the restricted “covered person” knew in advance that it would want to engage in “campaign media spending” in Arizona, and that it has direct and easy communication with “original monies” donors such that it could have collected the necessary information at the time or subsequently. *Meyer*, 724 F.Supp.3d at 873.

These assumptions are belied by the reality of political speech. Groups cannot be in “control” of the timing of this waiting period unless they can predict the political future. The Supreme Court has stressed the impossibility of predicting when political speech will be necessary. In *Wisconsin Right to Life*, the Court noted that “groups like WRTL cannot predict what issues will be matters of public concern during a future blackout period....WRTL had no way of knowing well in advance that it would want to run ads on judicial filibusters[.]” *FEC v. Wisc. Right to Life, Inc.*, 551 U.S. 449, 462 (2007) (Roberts, C.J., for the Court). “It is well known that the public begins to concentrate on elections only in the weeks immediately before they are held,” and “[t]he need or relevance of the speech will often first be apparent at this stage in the campaign.” *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 334. Spontaneous speech is often necessary because “the decision to speak is made in the heat of political campaigns, when speakers react to messages conveyed by others.” *Id.*; see also *Ariz. Right to Life PAC v. Bayless*, 320 F.3d 1002, 1009 (9th Cir. 2003) (providing

examples of necessary spontaneous speech in the course of striking down a 24 hour advance notice requirement for expenditures in final ten days before election).

Respondent did not know at the time it was collecting funds whether it would want to spend money in Arizona or for what purpose. *Meyer*'s blinkered analysis ignores this scenario, although it is actually far more common than the scenario the district court imagined. Established political organizations like Make Liberty Win are often fundraising year-round and only decide which specific races (or even states) to engage after the fact – sometimes only shortly before election day.

Given this reality, *Meyer* also wrongly assumes a covered person would have easy access to the supposed “original monies” donors. The VRKA’s infinite look-through regime means an entity that decides *after* fundraising that it wants to engage in “campaign media spending” in Arizona would have to try to piece this information together retroactively. The entity would not have collected the “transfer records” from every entity that gave it money at the time because it would have had no need for it. Even if the entity had anticipated it, the requests themselves would likely be met with a stunned disbelief. “Before you can accept my money, you need me to give you written representation of which specific donors’ contributions constitute the money we are providing you, which must be based on ‘reasonable’ accounting confirmable in writing?” Such requests for transfer records themselves would stifle fundraising, and quite understandably. Nonprofit entities are not in the business of providing a forensic accounting of which of their donors the transfer should be allocated to; it is a nonsense request (because funds are generally treated as fungible) that would require a stilted and generic accounting. Therefore, gathering the “transfer records” would have to be done retroactively, and in an infinite-lookback regime, there is no reason to believe it would even be *possible*, much less easy, to trace funds back to an original

source. The “original monies” could have been given to the Sierra Club two (or more) years ago, and the original recipient organization might not have the relevant contact information. Even if they do, the donor might have moved, or they might not be checking their mail often, or they might not be apt to answer a cold call from an unknown phone number. Or, they may be the funds of entities that wound down or individual donors who have since died. The whole regime is built upon fantastical assumptions that ignore political reality.³²

In sum, the requirement to secure (express or constructive) opt-outs from “original monies” donors imposes a hard ban on spending money until the entity is able to meet the requirements. This takes it from the realm of mere “disclosure” requirements to an external ban, because, unlike a disclosure requirement, which may prevent activity only if the regulated person does not want to comply with it, the opt-out imposes a waiting period even for a covered person vigorously attempting to satisfy it. *See Catholic Leadership Coal. of Tex. v. Reisman*, 764 F.4th 409, 435 (5th Cir. 2014).

These logistical difficulties presented by the opt-out requirement are matched by the fact that it also *substantively* degrades the covered person’s property rights over its own funds. Forcing an entity to sit on its own legally-held funds unless and until the supposed “original monies” donor consents to its political program effectively transforms the entity’s wholly-owned funds into some kind of community-held property where the donors are vested with veto power. This is contrary to the principles recognized in *CMA* and *Zimmerman*.

“The loss of First Amendment freedoms, for even minimal periods of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury,” and “the timeliness of *political* speech is particularly important.”

³² The plaintiffs in *Center for Arizona Policy Inc.* did not challenge the opt-out as an unconstitutional burden on speech for these reasons. *See* 2024 WL 4719050, *9.

Elrod v. Burns, 427 U.S. 347, 373, 374 n. 9 (1976) (emphasis added).³³ See *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 338-39 (recognizing that corporations had a right to speak immediately “to make [their] views known...in a current campaign” rather than be forced to establish a PAC). The opt-out notice requirement is unconstitutional because it does not serve any legitimate government interest, and it is therefore unnecessary to consider its tailoring.

VII. Potential Penalties Are So Excessive They Violate the Constitution.

The penalty provisions of the VRKA are so excessively severe in terms of potential dollar amounts assessed against respondents that it is unconstitutional. The Supreme Court has repeatedly held even standard reporting burdens to constitute cognizable burdens that chill First Amendment rights. *E.g.*, *FEC v. Mass. Citizens for Life, Inc.*, 479 U.S. 238, 254 (1986). The excessive fines possible under the VRKA chill fundamental activity and render it unenforceable against Respondent. See *Osterberg v. Peca*, 12 S.W.3d 31, 49 n.24 (Tex. 2000) (“Because we need not address the issue in this case, we leave open the issue of whether punishment for reporting violations can rise to the level of being so severe and so extreme that it amounts to an unconstitutional infringement of rights under the First Amendment.”)

VIII. Conclusion

Respondent respectfully suggests that no further action should be taken by the Commission.

³³ The statute first held unconstitutional as applied in *WRTL II*, 551 U.S. at 449, and then facially invalidated in *Citizens United* (along with the rest of 2 U.S.C. § 441b), *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 320-21, 337, 365, was a temporal ban. Section 203 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA) had amended 2 U.S.C. § 441b to prohibit “electioneering communications,” which were defined as certain advertisements referring to a federal candidate and “made within 30 days of a primary or 60 days of a general election.” *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 320-21. The Court referred to § 441b as “an outright ban” on speech, and specifically offered several examples of electioneering communications that would “all be felonies” under the statute, calling their prohibition “classic examples of censorship.” *Id.* at 337.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Alex Kaufman

Alex Kaufman (AZ Bar # 035313)

akaufman@chalmersadams.com

Jerad Najvar

najvar@chalmersadams.com

Petra Mangini

pmangini@chalmersadams.com

Caitlin Contestable

ccontestable@chalmersadams.com

Dan Backer

dbacker@chalmersadams.com

Chalmers, Adams, Backer & Kaufman, LLC

100 North Main Street, Suite 340

Alpharetta, GA 30009

CITIZENS CLEAN ELECTIONS COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF § MUR 24-04
§
MAKE LIBERTY WIN ARIZONA, §
§
RESPONDENT §
§

VERIFICATION OF RESPONDENT

I, Elizabeth Curtis, declare as follows:

1. I am the Treasurer for Respondent Make Liberty Win Arizona.
2. I verify under penalty of perjury that the factual statements in the accompanying Response, filed today with the Citizens Clean Elections Commission, concerning Respondent and Respondent's finances, plans, and activities, are true and correct.

3. Executed in Burlington (county), N.J. (state).

Elizabeth Curtis
Printed Name: Elizabeth Curtis

Notary:

Kimberly Cino
12/23/2024

KIMBERLY CINO
NOTARY PUBLIC
STATE OF NEW JERSEY
ID # 50081404
MY COMMISSION EXPIRES APR. 30, 2028

Exhibit A

ELECT ROB



**ROB
HUDELSON**

ARIZONA STATE HOUSE - DISTRICT 16

**PROVEN
CONSERVATIVE
CHOICE FOR
ARIZONA!**

VOTE JULY 30TH

EARLY VOTING JULY 3RD - JULY 26TH

- ★ **KICKSTART OUR ECONOMY**
- ★ **PROTECT OUR GUN RIGHTS**
- ★ **DEFEND SCHOOL CHOICE**

ELECT ROB



ELECT ROB HUDELSON

**FOR STATE HOUSE
VOTE ON JULY 30TH**

Rob Hudelson is a true conservative that will not waver in the face of adversity. He is determined to protect your constitutional rights and make Arizona's communities safer. Rob Hudelson is the clear choice in Phoenix.



KICKSTART OUR ECONOMY

In this time of turmoil, it is important we revitalize our economy. Rob will fight to lower taxes and cut state bureaucracy. He believes that we are bankrupting future generations.



PROTECT OUR GUN RIGHTS

Rob prioritizes our right to bear arms and will defend Constitutional Carry. He will never compromise on our Second Amendment rights. Period.



DEFEND SCHOOL CHOICE

Rob understands the importance of investing in our kids, and giving parents greater input in their children's education, so that we can build a better system!

**A CONSERVATIVE STANDING ON FAMILY VALUES!
VOTE FOR ROB ON JULY 30TH!**

**Paid for by Make Liberty Win Arizona with
100% from out-of-state contributors.
Not authorized by any candidate or
candidate's committee. Major contributor:
Make Liberty Win (federal PAC)**



VOTE 
JULY 30TH

**John
Fillmore**
For House



**Wendy
Rogers**
For Senate



*The conservative duo
for Arizona!*

THE CONSERVATIVE DUO!

ELECT JOHN FILLMORE
FOR ARIZONA HOUSE AND
WENDY ROGERS FOR SENATE

District 7 deserves conservative leadership! John Fillmore and Wendy Rogers are the freedom-loving champions we need. On July 30th, vote for the conservative duo!



SCHOOL CHOICE

MEDICAL FREEDOM



ELECTION INTEGRITY

ON JULY 30TH, VOTE FOR THE CONSERVATIVE DUO!

Paid for by Make Liberty Win Arizona with 100% from out-of-state contributors. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.
Major contributor: Make Liberty Win (federal PAC)



VOTE 
JULY 30TH

**CORY
MCGARR**
FOR HOUSE



**RACHEL
JONES**
FOR HOUSE

**JUSTINE
WADSACK**
FOR SENATE



*The conservative trio
for Arizona!*

THE CONSERVATIVE TRIO!

RE-ELECT **CORY MCGARR AND RACHEL JONES**
FOR ARIZONA HOUSE
AND **JUSTINE WADSACK** FOR SENATE

District 17 deserves conservative leadership! Cory McGarr, Rachel Jones, and Justine Wadsack are the freedom-loving champions we need. On July 30th, vote for the conservative trio!



SCHOOL CHOICE

MEDICAL FREEDOM



ELECTION INTEGRITY

ON JULY 30TH, VOTE FOR THE CONSERVATIVE TRIO!

Paid for by Make Liberty Win Arizona with 100% from out-of-state contributors. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.
Major contributor: Make Liberty Win (federal PAC)



JOHN FILLMORE



For House Representative | 7th District

108

JOHN FILLMORE

House Representative for the 7th District of Arizona

★ KEEP TAXES LOW ★

★ DEFEND SECOND AMENDMENT ★

★ PROMOTE SCHOOL CHOICE ★

Paid for by Make Liberty Win Arizona with 100% from out-of-state donors. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee. Major contributor: Make Liberty Win (federal PAC)

109



RACHEL JONES



For House Representative | 17th District

110

RACHEL JONES

House Representative for 17th District of Arizona

★ KEEP TAXES LOW ★

★ DEFEND SECOND AMENDMENT ★

★ PROMOTE SCHOOL CHOICE ★

Paid for by Make Liberty Win Arizona with 100% from out-of-state donors. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee. Major contributor: Make Liberty Win (federal PAC)



WENDY ROGERS



For State Senator | 7th District

112

WENDY ROGERS

State Senator for the 7th District of Arizona

★ KEEP TAXES LOW ★

★ DEFEND SECOND AMENDMENT ★

★ PROMOTE SCHOOL CHOICE ★

Paid for by Make Liberty Win Arizona with 100% from out-of-state contributions. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee. Major contributor: Make Liberty Win (federal PAC)



JUSTINE WADSACK



For State Senator | 17th District

114

JUSTINE WADSACK

State Senator for the 17th District of Arizona

★ KEEP TAXES LOW ★

★ DEFEND SECOND AMENDMENT ★

★ PROMOTE SCHOOL CHOICE ★

Paid for by Make Liberty Win Arizona with 100% from out-of-state donors/buyers. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee. Major contributor: Make Liberty Win (federal PAC)

Exhibit B



Voter's Right to Know Act (VRKA): Guide to Arizona's New Campaign Finance Disclosure Law

Overview

Arizona's Voter's Right to Know Act represents a significant change in the state's campaign finance landscape. The law aims to enhance transparency in political spending by mandating disclosure of substantial media expenditures in both statewide and other political campaigns. The key provisions and necessary filing requirements are as follows:

Key Provisions

1. Disclosure Thresholds:

- Statewide Campaigns: Any individual or entity spending \$50,000 or more on campaign media spending in support of or opposition to a candidate, a recall election, or ballot measure must disclose their spending, the source of the funding, and any intermediaries or entities or decide how the funds are spent.
- Other Campaigns: For campaigns not at the statewide level, the disclosure threshold is set at \$25,000 on campaign media spending for the same reasons described for statewide campaigns.

2. Campaign Media Spending Definition:

- Means spending monies for a public communication that promotes or opposes any election candidate, any public communication that supports or opposed any recall, initiative or referendum, or any other partisan campaign activity.
- Media spending includes expenditures for advertising on television, radio, print media, digital platforms, and other similar channels.

3. Disclosure Requirements:

- An Initial Report shall be filed within five (5) days after first spending monies or accepting in-kind contributions totaling \$50,000 or more for a statewide campaign or \$25,000 or more for any other type of campaign
- A Supplemental Report shall be filed within three (3) days after the covered person spends monies or accepts in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more in statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more on during an election cycle in any other type of campaigns
- An Amended Report shall be filed within (20) twenty days when any of the information required to be disclosed in the Initial or Supplemental Disclosure Report has changed.

This rapid reporting is designed to ensure that the public is informed about significant campaign media spending and the identity of the donors, entities, campaign finance managers, and media responsible for the campaign media spending.

4. Content of Disclosure Report:

- The identity of the person who owns or controls the money being contributed.
- The identity of any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the money being contributed and that maintains its own transfer records.
- The name, address and position of the person who is the custodian of the transfer records.
- The name, address and position of the person who controls how the money is spent.
- The total amount of money donated or promised to be donated to the covered person for use or transfer for campaign media spending on the date the covered person makes the report.
- The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of money or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person, and the date and amount of each donor's contribution.

4. Filing Report and Public Access:

- Disclosures should be filed with the Arizona Secretary of State's office by emailing a .pdf copy to campaignfinance@azsos.gov.
- The VRKA filing will be posted on the See the Money/Spotlight.

6. Enforcement and Penalties:

- The Citizens Clean Elections Commission is the primary agency to implement and enforce this law. The Commission is authorized to adopt and enforce rules, issue civil subpoenas, initiate enforcement actions, conduct fact-finding hearings and investigations, impose civil penalties for noncompliance and seek legal and equitable relief in court.
- The Citizens Clean Elections Commission may impose civil penalties to be at least as much as the amount of the improper contribution but not more than three times that amount and requires penalties to be deposited in the Clean Elections Fund to pay for implementing and enforcing campaign finance laws or for other Commission-approved purposes.

Conclusion

The Voter's Right to Know Act establishes that the People of Arizona have the right to know the original source of all major contributions used to pay, in whole or part, for campaign media spending. This right requires the prompt, accessible, comprehensible and public disclosure of the identity of all donors who give more than \$5,000 to fund campaign media spending in an election cycle and the source of those monies, regardless of whether the monies passed through one or more intermediaries. By mandating the disclosure of significant media expenditures, the law aims to provide voters with critical information about the financial influences shaping their elections.

Thomas M. Collins
Executive Director



**State of Arizona
Citizens Clean Elections Commission**

1110 W. Washington St. - Suite 250 - Phoenix, Arizona 85007 - Tel (602) 364-3477 - Fax (602) 364-3487 - www.azcleanelections.gov

**Via Email
MUR 24-06**

January 27, 2024

Andy Gaona
Coppersmith Brockelman PLC
2800 N. Central Ave.
Ste. 1900
Phoenix, Arizona 85004

Dear Mr. Gaona:

I am writing to notify you that I have dismissed this Complaint and provide the report required by Ariz. Admin. Code R2-20-811(F).

The Complaint

The Complaint is a claim that that Stand for Children Arizona IEC, an Arizona political committee, did not disclose the original sources of monies used for campaign media spending. *Id.* The Complaint argued that the because the source of funds disclosed is a 501(c)(4) organization, Stand for Children, Inc., and as such an organization that “almost always” acts as an “intermediary,” that is to say, not the original source of funds. *Id.* Therefore, the Complaint asserts that dollars that should have been disclosed are included on the committee’s campaign finance reports. Stand for Children Arizona IEC, Amended Post Primary Campaign Finance Report 2024), Arizona Secretary of State, Schedule C4b, *available at* <https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/1F36C0A8-7A7A-4B43-B76C-8977F7145DE7.pdf>.

The Response

The Committee's response is two-fold.

- 1) The Response argues that the Complaint is insufficient to warrant any action at all. Response at 1. The Complaint does not lay out a prima facie case of a violation or allege that the Complainant has knowledge of the facts of the Complaint, according to the response. *Id.*
- 2) The Response next explains that there was no original source to disclose as the 501(c)(4) Stand for Children, Inc., provided the money from a "separate" investment account created in 2018 and the corporation could not determine a source beyond that and asked that the corporation be identified as the source. *Id.* at 2. Consequently, the Response concludes, the Committee did everything it could do to determine the original source of funds in reliance on the statements included in the response. *Id.*

Analysis

The allegations of the Complaint are not substantiated under this set of circumstances.

Stand for Children Arizona IEC is an Arizona political committee. It is closely associated with Stand for a Children, Inc., a Portland, Oregon based nonprofit corporation. The nonprofit Stand for Children, Inc. reported \$7,585,258 in gross receipts on its 2022 Form 990 filed with the I.R.S. in early 2024, including \$7,053,667 in revenue from contributions, gifts, grants and similar donations. *See* Stand for Children, Inc. Internal Revenue Service, Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (2022), available at https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/522146673_202308_990O_2024041022353817.pdf. The nonprofit claimed \$30,595,634 in gross receipts on its 2021 Form 990 and identified revenue of \$30,188,301 in contributions, gifts, and grants and other similar donations. Stand for Children, Inc. Internal Revenue Service, Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (2021), available at https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/522146673_202208_990O_2023052421302217.pdf.

Stand for Children, Inc. identifies an Arizona affiliate. <https://stand.org/people> (last checked January 27, 2025). The Vice President of State Operations identified on the website is the chair of the Committee. Stand for Children, Inc., has consistently donated to the Committee. For example, Stand for Children, Inc.'s 990s report contributions to "Stand for Children AZ IEC" to the IRS, in addition to the 2024 contribution at issue here. Stand for Children, Inc. Internal Revenue Service, Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (2022), available at

https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/522146673_202308_9900_2024041022353817.pdf; Stand for Children, Inc. Internal Revenue Service, Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (2021), *available at* https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/522146673_202208_9900_2023052421302217.pdf; *see, e.g.*, Stand for Children Arizona IEC, Post Primary Campaign Finance Report 2022, Arizona Secretary of State, Schedule C4b, <https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2022/2F2E94FB-2AB1-403A-BC54-EEB0F7A4BFCA.pdf> (reporting \$671,250 from Stand for Children, Inc. in Q3 and \$921,383.70 for the cycle to date).

The nonprofit also reported general contributions to other organizations that purport to be political action committees or independent expenditure committees. Stand for Children, Inc. Internal Revenue Service, Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (2022), *available at* https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/522146673_202308_9900_2024041022353817.pdf; Stand for Children, Inc. Internal Revenue Service, Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (2021), *available at* https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/522146673_202208_9900_2023052421302217.pdf.

The “Stand for Children AZ IEC” identified on the nonprofit’s Form 990 shares an address with Stand for Children, Inc. *See, e.g.*, Stand for Children, Inc. Internal Revenue Service, Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (2023), *available at* https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/522146673_202308_9900_2024041022353817.

Here, the Complaint asserts that Stand for Children, Inc. receives substantial donations that, the Complaint claims, are presumably included in the donation Stand for Children Arizona IEC received during the election cycle. Complaint at 1. The Response, however, explains the Arizona IEC was told that the nonprofit could not determine the original sources of the money that was in a segregated election fund that was set up in 2018.

The Voter’s Right to Know Act provides that business income is an original source of an organization. A.R.S. § 16-971(12). Business income includes “[m]onies received by a person in commercial transactions in the ordinary course of . . . the person's regular investments.” A.R.S. § 16-971(1)(a). Here the establishment of an investment fund several years ago supports the inference that the nonprofit engages in commercial investments transaction in the ordinary course of its operations and that money is business income of the nonprofit. Different issues may arise where a

corporation set up a fund with donor monies after Prop. 211's enactment or commingled funds to avoid a required disclosure, or other factors.

Given the staff emphasis this cycle on compliance rather than penalizing good faith efforts to comply with the Act, the relatively limited facts provided in the Complaint, and the apparent attempt to comply with the Act's terms, dismissal of the Complaint is warranted.

Conclusion

For the reasons identified above, the Complaint is dismissed.

Thank you for your response in this matter. This letter, along with the Complaint and Response will be made available to the Commission as part of the Executive Director's Report at the next regular Commission meeting.

Sincerely,

S/ Thomas M. Collins

cc: Ryan O'Daniel

October 24, 2024

Clean Elections Commission
C/O Tom Collins
1110 W Washington St
Phoenix, AZ 85007

To Whom It May Concern,

On behalf of multiple Arizona candidates, I am filing a formal complaint against "Stand For Children Arizona IEC", [ref] Committee #201200658 ("Committee"), for the following:

1. Failure to provide the original source of campaign funding, and;
2. Failure to make required reports, both initial and supplemental, with the Arizona Secretary of State under the Arizona Voter's Right to Know Act.

As indicated in the campaign filings with the Secretary of State's office ([available Oct 23, 2024](https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/8E25247F-A90F-46AB-B98E-4CC6D527828E.pdf) or <https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/8E25247F-A90F-46AB-B98E-4CC6D527828E.pdf>), the organization has accepted contributions exceeding \$1,500,000 and expended Independent Expenditures to benefit and oppose candidates in various districts that exceed the required monetary threshold. However, the 'Committee' only lists one donor in their disclaimer, and Independent Expenditure filings with the Secretary of State: "Stand for Children, Inc.". The Committee is clearly attempting to circumvent existing law that requires disclosure of donations directly from individuals or businesses, as a 501c4 almost always acts as an "intermediary."

The Commission should consider the presumed intentional failure to abide by existing statute, not only in the initial filing required by law, but for each additional supplemental filing that the 'Committee' failed to report. Given the overwhelming monetary amount of contributions and expenditures by the committee, length of existence/operation in Arizona, and sophistication of the 'Committee', the Commission cannot accept ignorance as an excuse to file the statutorily required reports.

Please take appropriate action against the 'Committee' immediately. It is critical that dark money, and out-of-state special interests, reveal the original source of their funding under the Arizona Voter's Right to Know Act *and* make timely reports to the Secretary of State so the public can be made aware of the campaign activities by mega-donors impacting candidates for local office.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Ryan O'Daniel
(602) 332-2039
RyanO@Intrepidaz.com

COPPERSMITH
BROCKELMAN
LAWYERS

DEC 7 11:54:48 CCEC

D. Andrew Gaona
agaona@cblawyers.com

PH. (602) 381-5486
FAX (602) 224-6020

2800 N. Central Avenue, Suite 1900
Phoenix, AZ 85004
CBLAWYERS.COM

December 6, 2024

Via Email and Hand Delivery

Thomas Collins
Executive Director
Citizens Clean Elections Commission
1110 West Washington Street, Suite 250
Phoenix, Arizona 85007
thomas.collins@azcleanelections.gov
ccec@azcleanelections.gov

**Re: MUR 24-06
Response of Stand for Children Arizona IEC**

Dear Tom:

We represent Stand for Children Arizona IEC (“Committee”) and write today in response to the baseless campaign finance complaint filed against it by Ryan O’Day (“Complaint”). As discussed below, the Citizens Clean Elections Commission (“Commission”) should dismiss the Complaint outright for failure to comply with Commission rules, or at the very least, find no reason to believe that a violation of law occurred and quickly close this matter.

The Complaint alleges that the Committee failed to disclose the “original source” of its contributions because the Committee’s disclaimer and campaign finance reports “list[] only one donor[:] Stand for Children, Inc.” From these unremarkable facts, the Complaint then proclaims that the Committee “is clearly attempting to circumvent existing law that requires disclosure of donations directly from individuals or businesses, as a 501(c)(4) almost always acts as an ‘intermediary.’” The Complaint cites no facts in support of this legal conclusion.

First, the Complaint doesn’t “recite[s] the facts that describe a violation of A.R.S. Title 1, Chapter 6.1 or these rules,” contain any relevant “supporting documentation,” or allege that Mr. O’Day has any knowledge (personal or otherwise) that the Committee violated the law. The Complaint is thus insufficient under A.A.C. R2-20-809(C), and further fails to even allege a *prima facie* violation of any relevant statute or rule. The Commission shouldn’t allow a complainant like Mr. O’Day to

Thomas Collins
December 6, 2024
Page 2

saddle the Committee with the burden of responding to mere “because I said so” allegations like those in the Complaint. Yet that’s all the Complaint contains. This is reason enough to dismiss the Complaint without any further action.

Second, should the Commission consider the Complaint’s substance, the Committee complied with the Voters Right to Know Act (“Act”) and its implementing rules. Here are the facts: on or about August 30, 2024, and September 24, 2024, Stand for Children, Inc. (“Contributor”) contributed \$750,000 to the Committee. On both occasions, the Contributor sent the Committee a letter authoring the Committee to use its contributions for “campaign media spending,” and further explained as follows:

The original source of these funds should be noted as Stand for Children, Inc. because they are from a segregated investment account set up in 2018. We are therefore unable to determine any other original source.

The donor of these funds should be noted as Stand for Children, Inc. on any public reporting or political disclaimers.

True and correct copies of these letters to the Committee are attached to this Response as **Exhibits 1 and 2**. Based on this information, the Committee filed all campaign finance reports required by law and included an appropriate disclaimer on all public communications it paid for.

On these facts, the Committee did everything the law requires of it by (1) obtaining written authorization to use the contributions for “campaign media spending,” (2) requesting and obtaining information about the “original source” of the contributed funds, and (3) then reasonably relying on that information when filing its campaign finance reports and crafting its disclaimer.

For all these reasons, the Commission should either dismiss the Complaint or close it after concluding there’s no reason to believe that the Committee violated any provision of the Act or its implementing rules. Please let us know if there’s any other information we can provide to bring a swift end to this matter.

Sincerely,



D. Andrew Gaona

VERIFICATION

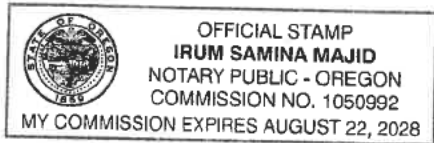
I, Kara Dahl, state that I have read the foregoing Response of Stand for Children IEC, MUR 24-06 (the "Response"). To the best of my knowledge, information and belief, the statements made in the Response are true and correct.

Kara Dahl

Kara Dahl

STATE OF OREGON)
)ss
County of Washington)

Subscribed and sworn before me this 4th day of December, 2024, by Kara Dahl.



Irum Majid

Notary Public

My commission expires: August 22, 2028

EXHIBIT 1



August 30th, 2024

Kara Dahl
Stand for Children Arizona IEC

RE: Contribution

Dear Kara,

Stand for Children, Inc. is contributing \$750,000 to the Stand for Children Arizona IEC. This contribution may be used for campaign media spending as defined by the Voters' Right to Know Act.

The original source of these funds should be noted as Stand for Children, Inc. because they are from a segregated investment account set up in 2018. We are therefore unable to determine any other original source.

The donor of these funds should be noted as Stand for Children, Inc. on any public reporting or political disclaimers.

[REDACTED]
Thresa Giles
Chief Financial Officer

EXHIBIT 2



September 24th, 2024

Kara Dahl
Stand for Children Arizona IEC

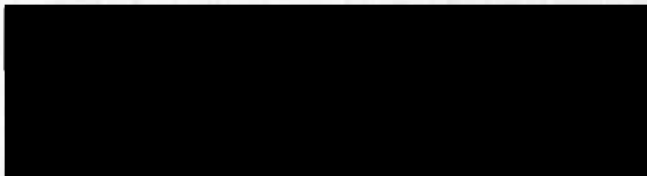
RE: Contribution

Dear Kara,

Stand for Children, Inc. is contributing an additional \$750,000 to the Stand for Children Arizona IEC. This contribution may be used for campaign media spending as defined by the Voters' Right to Know Act.

The original source of these funds should be noted as Stand for Children, Inc. because they are from a segregated investment account set up in 2018. We are therefore unable to determine any other original source.

The donor of these funds should be noted as Stand for Children, Inc. on any public reporting or political disclaimers.



Thresa Giles
Chief Financial Officer

Katie Hobbs
Governor

Thomas M. Collins
Executive Director



**State of Arizona
Citizens Clean Elections Commission**

1110 W. Washington St. - Suite 250 - Phoenix, Arizona 85007 - Tel (602) 364-3477 - Fax (602) 364-3487 - www.azcleanelections.gov

Via E-Mail

August 7, 2025

Roy Herrera
Jillian Anderson
Austin Marshall
Herrera & Arellano
1001 North Central Ave
Suite 404
Phoenix, AZ 85004

MUR 24-07 Arizona Solutions PAC

Dear Mr. Herrera, Ms. Anderson, and Mr. Marshall:

I am writing to notify you that I have dismissed this Complaint and provide the report required by Ariz. Admin. Code R2-20-811(F).

The Complaint

The Complaint arose from a claim of incomplete disclosures on public communications and filings. The Complaint alleges that the Committee violated the Arizona Voters' Right to Know Act (VRKA or the Act) by failing to disclose the original source of its campaign funding, listing only Greater Phoenix Leadership as the source of an \$800,000 contribution. It also alleges that the Committee failed file comply with reporting requirements and did not update its disclaimer. Finally, the complaint cites numerous campaign materials—including a website, mailers, and digital ads—that it argues omit the legally required disclosure of the top three original donors.

The Response

Arizona Solutions PAC says the complaint has no merit and should be dismissed. It argues that it followed the law by including funding information in its regular reports and used the format recommended by the Secretary of State, noting that there were no original donors over \$5,000 to report. The PAC also says it filed complete and readable reports, that any display issues were resulting from the reporting system, and that its disclaimers followed the rules because no qualifying donors needed to be listed.

Additional information

Clean Elections staff reviewed publicly available records related to Greater Phoenix Leadership, Inc., an Arizona nonprofit corporation that claims a tax exemption as a 501(c)(6) organization, including available Form 990 filings. “Section 501(c)(6) of the Internal Revenue Code provides for the exemption of business leagues, chambers of commerce, real estate boards, boards of trade and professional football leagues.” Internal Revenue Service, Business Leagues (Jan. 30, 2025), <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/other-non-profits/business-leagues> (discussing lobbying and political activities). In order to be exempt, such organizations are “must receive meaningful membership support.” Internal Revenue Service, Requirements for Exemption: Business League, IRS (Jan. 30, 2025), <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/other-non-profits/requirements-for-exemption-business-league>.

Under VRKA, membership dues may be “business income” A.R.S. § 16-971(1)(b)(“Business income” includes “[m]embership or union dues that do not exceed \$5,000 from any one person in a calendar year.”). Using an organization’s business income for public communications could be subject to disclosure under A.R.S. 16-974(c) as original monies.

The PAC explained that Greater Phoenix Leadership membership dues exceed \$5,000 and that the organization’s donation was an aggregation of money from others assessed to be below the threshold for reporting the identities of those donors on a report or in a disclaimer.

Staff also confirmed that the PAC amended its report after the Complaint to note that Greater Phoenix Leadership was an intermediary.

Conclusion

I have not reviewed evidence that would substantiate the Complaint that the PAC had additional donor disclosure obligations as the Complaint asserts.

I would emphasize that, in response to a required request from a covered person, the person to whom the request is directed “must inform that covered person in writing, within ten days after receiving a written request from the covered person, of the identity of each other person that directly or indirectly contributed more than \$2,500 in original monies being transferred *and* the amount of each other person's original monies being transferred.” A.R.S. § 16-972(D).

The Complaint is dismissed.

Thank you for your response in this matter. This letter, along with the Complaint and Response will be made available to the Commission as part of the Executive Director’s Report at the next regular Commission meeting.

Sincerely,

S/ Thomas M. Collins

cc: Ryan O’Daniel (complainant)

October 24, 2024

Clean Elections Commission
C/O Tom Collins
1110 W Washington St
Phoenix, AZ 85007

To Whom It May Concern,

On behalf of multiple Arizona candidates, I am filing a formal complaint against "Arizona Solutions PAC", [ref] Committee #101746 ("Committee), for the following:

1. Failure to provide the original source of campaign funding. The Committee has not only failed to file the initial Arizona Voter's Right to Know Act disclosing the original source of funds, but in the course of their campaign finance reporting, fails to disclose the original source of funds other than "Greater Phoenix Leadership". So even if the initial VRKA reporting was properly completed, sourcing the original funds as \$800,000 from Greater Phoenix Leadership flies in the face of the reporting requirement under the Arizona Voter's Right to Know Act.
2. The Committee has failed to properly file the required VRKA supplemental filings (see attached: Arizona_Solutions_PAC Ex 1, Arizona_Solutions_PAC Ex 2) as the Recipient and Amount of Disbursement are not visible on the filed copies; and
3. The egregious failure to properly disclaim all of the associated campaign material that have been distributed. Examples included are the PAC website (accessed: <https://www.ld4voterguide.org/>), various mail pieces (see "Havoc" attached), and digital ads created by the committee (screenshot "YouTube Video" attached). The disclaimer discloses the committee name only, but fails to comply with VRKA requirements to list the top three donors from the original source of the campaign funding - which was also never reported.

The initial amount reported to the Committee was \$800,000, and their most recent filing shows they have \$276,432.04 available, far exceeding the threshold for reporting and updating the Committee disclaimer.

The Commission should consider the presumed intentional failure to abide by existing statute, not only in the initial filing required by law, but for each additional supplemental violation. Given the overwhelming monetary amount of contributions and expenditures by the committee, length of existence/operation in Arizona, and sophistication of the 'Committee', the Commission cannot accept ignorance as an excuse to file the statutorily required reports.

Please take appropriate action against the 'Committee' immediately. It is critical that dark money, and out-of-state special interests, reveal the original source of their funding under the Arizona Voter's Right to Know Act *and* properly disclose their campaign disclaimer so the public has visibility into the activity of mega-donors impacting candidates for local office.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Ryan O'Daniel
(602) 332-2039
RyanO@Intrepidaz.com

VERIFICATION

State of Arizona)
) ss.
County of Maricopa)

I, Ryan O'Daniel, state that I have read the foregoing complaint and know the contents thereof by personal knowledge. I know the allegations of the complaint to be true, except any matters therein on information and belief, which I believe to be true.

Signed under penalty of perjury this 24th day of October, 2024.

Ryan O'Daniel
[Name]

[Handwritten Signature]
[Signature]

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of October, 2024.

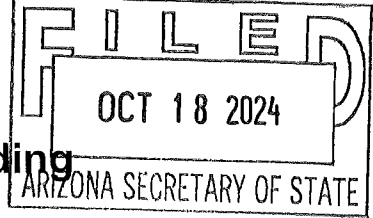
Karin Vazquez
Notary Public Name

[Handwritten Signature]
[Signature]

My Commission Expires: 04/30/2027



Voters Right to Know Act Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending



A covered person must file a supplemental report within three days after spending or accepting in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more on statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more during an election cycle on local campaigns pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(B).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

In the case of an entity:	Arizona Solutions PAC
Name:	
Mailing address:	4340 E Indian School Rd STE 21-203 Phoenix AZ 85018
Federal tax status:	State PAC
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	Arizona
In the case of an individual:	
Name:	
Mailing address:	
Occupation:	
Employer:	

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

Name:	
Mailing address:	
Federal tax status:	
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	
Relationship to the Covered Person:	

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).



Custodian of Transfer Records

Name:	The Money Wheel
Mailing address:	PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position:	Compliance

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name:	Eric Chalmers
Mailing address:	4455 E Camelback Road, STE D145
Position with Covered Person:	Principal

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies:	323,901.34
-----------------------------------	------------

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.

Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).

Amount of Disbursement	Amount of Disbursement	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual/Federal Tax Status (Entity))	Employer (Individual/State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration)	Date	In Support or Opposition of Candidate or Ballot Measure
		4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ		Support: Prop 139
egies	\$2,679.04	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
egies	\$4,020.00	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
egies	\$4,020.00	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
egies	\$3,235.84	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Oppose: Shawna Bolick
egies	\$101.98	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
egies	\$589.36	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
ctive Digital	\$15,000.00	920 Swedesford Road, Lower Gwynedd, PA 19002 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/17/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
ctive Digital	\$15,000.00	920 Swedesford Road, Lower Gwynedd, PA 19002 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/17/2024	Oppose: Justin Heap
rinting	\$823.08	338 E Tuckey Ln Phoenix AZ 85012	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Oppose: Carine Werner

Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:	
Mailing address:	
Position:	

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name: Jorge Badillo

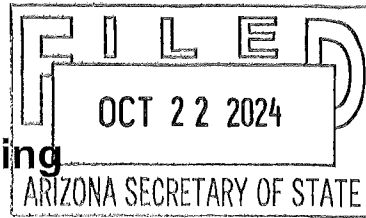
Signature: 

Date: 10/18/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



Voters Right to Know Act Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending



A covered person must file a supplemental report within three days after spending or accepting in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more on statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more during an election cycle on local campaigns pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(B).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

In the case of an entity:	Arizona Solutions PAC
Name:	
Mailing address:	4340 E Indian School Rd STE 21-203 Phoenix AZ 85018
Federal tax status:	State PAC
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	Arizona
In the case of an individual:	
Name:	
Mailing address:	
Occupation:	
Employer:	

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

Name:	
Mailing address:	
Federal tax status:	
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	
Relationship to the Covered Person:	

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).



Custodian of Transfer Records

Name: The Money Wheel

Mailing address: PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060

Position: Compliance

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name: Eric Chalmers

Mailing address: 4455 E Camelback Road, STE D145

Position with Covered Person: Principal

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies:	\$276,432.04
-----------------------------------	--------------

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.

Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).

Amount of Disbursement	Amount of Disbursement	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual/Federal Tax Status (Entity))	Employer (Individual/State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration)	Date	In Support or Opposition of Candidate or Ballot Measure
			Consultant	AZ		Support: Prop 139
	\$933.96	638 W Indian School Rd, Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	10/21/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
ications LLC	\$2,240.00	423 E 9th St Tucson AZ 85705	Consultant	AZ	10/21/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
ications LLC	\$960.00	423 E 9th St Tucson AZ 85705	Consultant	AZ	10/21/2024	Oppose: Joel Navarro
	\$296.34	638 W Indian School Rd, Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	10/22/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
	\$296.34	638 W Indian School Rd, Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	10/22/2024	Oppose: Justin Heap

Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:	
Mailing address:	
Position:	

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name: Jorge Badillo

Signature: 

Date: 10/22/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



Please
Support



PAID FOR BY ARIZONA SOLUTIONS.
NOT AUTHORIZED BY ANY CANDIDATE OR CANDIDATE'S AGENT.

Skip Ad ►

October 24, 2024

Clean Elections Commission
C/O Tom Collins
1110 W Washington St
Phoenix, AZ 85007

To Whom It May Concern,

On behalf of multiple Arizona candidates, I am filing a formal complaint against "Arizona Solutions PAC", [ref] Committee #101746 ("Committee), for the following:

1. Failure to provide the original source of campaign funding. The Committee has not only failed to file the initial Arizona Voter's Right to Know Act disclosing the original source of funds, but in the course of their campaign finance reporting, fails to disclose the original source of funds other than "Greater Phoenix Leadership". So even if the initial VRKA reporting was properly completed, sourcing the original funds as \$800,000 from Greater Phoenix Leadership flies in the face of the reporting requirement under the Arizona Voter's Right to Know Act.
2. The Committee has failed to properly file the required VRKA supplemental filings (see attached: Arizona_Solutions_PAC Ex 1, Arizona_Solutions_PAC Ex 2) as the Recipient and Amount of Disbursement are not visible on the filed copies; and
3. The egregious failure to properly disclaim all of the associated campaign material that have been distributed. Examples included are the PAC website (accessed: <https://www.ld4voterguide.org/>), various mail pieces (see "Havoc" attached), and digital ads created by the committee (screenshot "YouTube Video" attached). The disclaimer discloses the committee name only, but fails to comply with VRKA requirements to list the top three donors from the original source of the campaign funding - which was also never reported.

The initial amount reported to the Committee was \$800,000, and their most recent filing shows they have \$276,432.04 available, far exceeding the threshold for reporting and updating the Committee disclaimer.

The Commission should consider the presumed intentional failure to abide by existing statute, not only in the initial filing required by law, but for each additional supplemental violation. Given the overwhelming monetary amount of contributions and expenditures by the committee, length of existence/operation in Arizona, and sophistication of the 'Committee', the Commission cannot accept ignorance as an excuse to file the statutorily required reports.

Please take appropriate action against the 'Committee' immediately. It is critical that dark money, and out-of-state special interests, reveal the original source of their funding under the Arizona Voter's Right to Know Act *and* properly disclose their campaign disclaimer so the public has visibility into the activity of mega-donors impacting candidates for local office.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Ryan O'Daniel
(602) 332-2039
RyanO@Intrepidaz.com

VERIFICATION

State of Arizona)
) ss.
County of Maricopa)

I, Ryan O'Daniel, state that I have read the foregoing complaint and know the contents thereof by personal knowledge. I know the allegations of the complaint to be true, except any matters therein on information and belief, which I believe to be true.

Signed under penalty of perjury this 24th day of October, 2024.

Ryan O'Daniel
[Name]

[Handwritten Signature]
[Signature]

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of October, 2024.

Karin Vazquez
Notary Public Name

[Handwritten Signature]
[Signature]

My Commission Expires: 04/30/2027



1001 North Central Avenue, Suite 404
Phoenix, Arizona 85004

November 25, 2024

Via Email (ccec@azcleaselections.gov)

Thomas M. Collins
Citizens Clean Elections Commission
1110 W. Washington Street, Suite 250
Phoenix, AZ 85007

RE: MUR 24-07 – Response to Complaint

Dear Mr. Collins:

This firm represents Arizona Solutions PAC (the “PAC”) and writes in response to MUR 24-07 and the complaint filed on October 24, 2024 (the “Complaint”). This response is accompanied by a declaration of Jorge Badillo (“Badillo Decl.”), the PAC’s treasurer, and its contents are verified by Lisa Hoberg, the PAC’s Chairperson.

No further action should be taken on the Complaint because its allegations are meritless. Each is addressed in turn below and in Mr. Badillo’s attached declaration.

I. The PAC’s Initial Report is Complete and Accurate.

The complaint alleges that the PAC failed to file its initial Voter’s Right to Know Act (“VRKA”) report. But A.R.S. § 16-973 allows a PAC to satisfy its VRKA reporting requirements by: “

filing the periodic campaign finance reports as required by law for political action committees . . . provided that the disclosures required by this section are included in those periodic reports, including the requirement to identify the original sources of traceable monies . . . and any intermediaries who transferred, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 in traceable monies to the covered person during the election cycle.

A.R.S. § 16-973(I) (emphasis added).

The PAC included its initial VRKA activity on its regularly scheduled Q3 PAC report, in compliance with A.R.S. § 16-973. This report is publicly available on the Secretary’s campaign finance webpage.¹

The complaint next argues that the PAC’s disclosure of its contribution sources was inadequate, but the PAC formatted its report as instructed by the Secretary’s campaign finance staff. Badillo Decl. ¶ 4. Because the normal PAC report form does not contain a field to list VRKA-specific information, staff instructed the PAC to list its original sources and intermediaries on the report’s memo line. *Id.* Accordingly, the PAC reported a contribution of \$800,000 from Committee for Arizona Leadership, and in turn listed on the memo line an entity intermediary (Greater Phoenix Leadership) and indicated that there are no original sources subject to disclosure.²

The PAC made a diligent effort to provide as much information as possible on the report form provided by the Secretary, and complied fully with A.R.S. § 16-973, the Commission’s rules, and technical instructions from the Secretary’s staff.

II. The PAC Filed All Required Supplemental Reports.

The complaint alleges that the PAC “failed to properly file the required VRKA supplemental filings” because certain fields are not visible on the as-filed copies. While it appears that certain portions of the supplemental reports are illegible on the Secretary of State’s website, this is through no fault of the PAC, which submitted full and legible supplemental reports—original copies of which are attached hereto as Exhibit B. *See* Badillo Decl. ¶¶ 6-7. All reports were submitted in accordance with directions from the Secretary’s office, and any error in formatting or display occurred *after* the PAC submitted its reports online. *Id.*

¹ <https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/E14977FF-238A-4A96-8DC9-281EABDED3B0.pdf>

² The original version of the PAC’s Q3 report inadvertently listed Greater Phoenix Leadership as the contributor, rather than the intermediary. Badillo Decl. ¶ 5. A revised and correct version of the report is now available online and is attached here as Exhibit A. As explained further in Section III herein, there were no VRKA original sources to list in the memo line. *See* Badillo Decl. ¶ 8.

III. The Disclaimer on the PAC's Mailers Complies with the Commission's Guidance.

The disclaimer on the mailer at issue in the Complaint was formatted in accordance with the Commission's rules, which require "[p]ublic communications by covered persons shall state the names of the top three donors who directly or indirectly made the three largest contributions of original monies in excess of \$5,000 for the election cycle and who have not opted out." R2-20-805(B).

The Commission interpreted this rule in its Advisory Opinion 2024-06 and instructed Covered Persons to include "the names of the top three original donors of monies," because "the best reading [of] A.R.S. § 16-974(C) is that the disclosure reaches the original source of donations over the threshold of the VRKA even if that leaves intermediaries undisclosed on public communications." Thus, in a situation where an intermediary entity has no original donors over \$5,000 to disclose, neither the intermediary nor any original donor will appear on the disclaimer. *See* AO 2024-06 at 10.

Here, the PAC's donor (Committee for Arizona Leadership) identified an entity intermediary (Greater Phoenix Leadership) and no original source donors over \$5,000. *See* Badillo Decl. at ¶¶ 5, 8. Accordingly, the PAC did not need to identify any donors in its ad disclaimer.

Please let me know if we can provide any further information on behalf of the PAC.

Sincerely,



Roy Herrera

VERIFICATION

State of Arizona

County of Maricopa

I, Lisa Hoberg, state that I am Chairperson of Arizona Solutions PAC. I have read the foregoing response and know the contents thereof to be true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Lisa M Hoberg

Lisa Hoberg

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 25th day of November, 2024.

BRETT BENDER

Notary Public Name

B. Bender

Notary Public Signature



My Commission Expires: MAY 25, 2025

Declaration of Jorge Badillo

I, Jorge Badillo, declare as follows:

1. I serve as treasurer for Arizona Solutions PAC (Committee No. 101746) (the “PAC”). I served as the PAC’s treasurer since its founding and during all times relevant to the complaint submitted in MUR 24-07 (the “Complaint”).
2. In my role as Treasurer, I prepared all the PAC’s campaign finance reports.
3. I am familiar with the requirements of the Voter’s Right to Know Act (“VRKA”) and I acted diligently in complying with all such requirements on behalf of the PAC. Further, I am familiar with Arizona campaign finance law as applicable to the PAC, and I acted diligently in complying with its requirements.
4. I prepared and filed the PAC’s 2024 Q3 report, which includes its initial VRKA disclosures. Staff of the Secretary of State’s office has instructed me to include VRKA intermediary and original source information in the “memo” line of PAC reports because there is nowhere else to include that required information on a regular PAC report.
5. On the PAC’s Q3 report (its initial VRKA report), I inadvertently listed Greater Phoenix Leadership as a *contributor* to the PAC, rather than an *entity intermediary* for VRKA purposes. I have since amended the PAC’s report to correct this clerical error.
6. I prepared and filed the PAC’s VRKA supplemental reports. While the Secretary of State’s office has provided a PDF to use for such reports, the

document is not functional. Instead, I use an Excel spreadsheet to list the PAC's VRKA income and expenditures. My colleagues and I then convert any such spreadsheet to PDF and send it to the Secretary's office for upload to the Secretary's public website.

7. I prepared and submitted the PAC's supplemental VRKA reports in accordance with this process. When I submitted the reports, they were fully legible. I am unaware of any reason why the reports would contain illegible information on the Secretary's public website.
8. There were no original source donors to list on the PAC's initial or supplemental VRKA reports.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on this 25th day of November, 2024.

Jorge Badillo

Jorge Badillo

Exhibit A

State of Arizona



Campaign Finance Report

Arizona Solutions PAC

Committee #: 101746

Jurisdiction: Arizona Secretary of State

Treasurer: Badillo, Jorge

4340 E Indian School Rd, Ste STE 21-203, Phoenix, AZ 85018

Phone: (602) 697-9777

Email: eric@resilientstrategiesaz.com

Amended 2024 Post-Primary Election (Q3)

Election Cycle: 2024
Date Filed: November 19, 2024
Reporting Period: July 14, 2024-September 30, 2024
Jurisdiction: Arizona Secretary of State

Summary of Finances

Cash Balance at Beginning of Reporting Period:	\$0.00
Total Cash Receipts this Reporting Period:	\$800,000.00
Total Cash Disbursements this Reporting Period:	\$20,000.00
Cash Balance at End of Reporting Period:	\$780,000.00

Report ID: 298824

Summary of Activity

Income	Schedule	This Period			Total to Date
		Cash	Other	Total	
Personal and Family Contributions	C1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Individual Contributions	C2	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Contributions from Political Committees	C3a,b,c	\$800,000.00	\$0.00	\$800,000.00	\$800,000.00
Business Contributions	C4a,b,c	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Small Contributions	C5	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
CCEC Funding and Matching	C6	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Qualifying Contributions	C7	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Loans Made to this Committee	L1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Other Receipts, including Interest and Dividends	R1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Transfers from Other Committees	T1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Cash Surplus from Previous Committee	S1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Total Income		\$800,000.00	\$0.00	\$800,000.00	\$800,000.00

Expenditures	Schedule	This Period			Total to Date
		Cash	Other	Total	
Operating Expenses	E1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Independent & Ballot Measure Expenditures	E2a,b,c	\$20,000.00	\$0.00	\$20,000.00	\$20,000.00
Contributions to Committees/Businesses	E3a -E3f	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Small Expenses	E4	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Transfers to Other Committees	T1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Loans Made by This Committee	L2	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Disposal of Surplus Cash	S1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
Total Expenditures		\$20,000.00	\$0.00	\$20,000.00	\$20,000.00
Bill Payments for Previous Expenditures	D1	\$0.00		\$0.00	\$0.00
Total Cash Disbursed		\$20,000.00			

Schedule C3b - Contributions from PACs

	Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name: 201800383 - Committee for Arizona Leadership	09/24/2024	\$800,000.00	\$800,000.00
Address: 400 E Van Buren St, Ste 555, Phoenix, AZ 85004		Cash	
Trans. Type: Contributions from PACs			
Memo: Opt in: No Original Sources, Intermediary Greater Phoenix Leadership \$800,000			
Total of Contributions from PACs		\$800,000.00	
Total of Refunds Given		\$0.00	
Net Total of Contributions from PACs		\$800,000.00	

Schedule E2a - Independent expenditures

		Date	Amount	Cycle To Date
Name:	REA Communications LLC	09/30/2024	\$5,000.00	\$20,000.00
Address:	423 E 9th St, Tucson, AZ 85705		Cash	
Trans. Type:	Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check			
Category:	Communications - Radio			
Memo:	CMS Expenditure Inv# 1190 Spanish Language Media Buy Maricopa County Coverage Joel Navarro for Sup			
Benefits:	Joel Navarro for Supervisor			
Name:	REA Communications LLC	09/30/2024	\$15,000.00	\$20,000.00
Address:	423 E 9th St, Tucson, AZ 85705		Cash	
Trans. Type:	Independent Expenditure - Pay Cash/Check			
Category:	Communications - Radio			
Memo:	CMS Expenditure Inv# 1189 Spanish Language Media Buy Maricopa County Coverage Tim Stringham for C			
Benefits:	Stringham for Arizona			
Total of Independent Expenditures			\$20,000.00	
Total of Refunds, Rebates, and Credits Received			\$0.00	
Net Total of Independent Expenditures			\$20,000.00	

Exhibit B

Voters Right to Know Act

Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending

A covered person must file a supplemental report within three days after spending or accepting in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more on statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more during an election cycle on local campaigns pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(B).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

In the case of an entity:	Arizona Solutions PAC
Name:	
Mailing address:	4340 E Indian School Rd STE 21-203 Phoenix AZ 85018
Federal tax status:	State PAC
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	Arizona
In the case of an individual:	
Name:	
Mailing address:	
Occupation:	
Employer:	

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

Name:	
Mailing address:	
Federal tax status:	
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	
Relationship to the Covered Person:	

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).

Custodian of Transfer Records

Name:	The Money Wheel
Mailing address:	PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position:	Compliance

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name:	Eric Chalmers
Mailing address:	4455 E Camelback Road, STE D145
Position with Covered Person:	Principal

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies:	323,901.34
-----------------------------------	------------

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.



Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).

Disbursements	Recipient and Amount of Disbursement	Amount of Disbursement	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual/Federal Tax Status (Entity))	Employer (Individual/State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration)	Date	In Support or Opposition of Candidate or Ballot Measure
Example				Consultant	AZ		Support: Prop 139
Resilient Strategies		\$2,679.04	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
Resilient Strategies		\$4,020.00	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
Resilient Strategies		\$4,020.00	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
Resilient Strategies		\$3,235.84	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Oppose: Shawna Bolick
Resilient Strategies		\$101.98	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
Resilient Strategies		\$589.36	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
Powers Interactive Digital		\$15,000.00	920 Swedesford Road, Lower Gwynedd, PA 19002 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/17/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
Powers Interactive Digital		\$15,000.00	920 Swedesford Road, Lower Gwynedd, PA 19002 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/17/2024	Oppose: Justin Heap
Looks Good Printing		\$823.08	338 E Tuckey Ln Phoenix AZ 85012	Consultant	AZ	10/18/2024	Oppose: Carine Werner

Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:	
Mailing address:	
Position:	

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name:	Jorge Badillo
Signature:	
Date:	10/18/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



Voters Right to Know Act

Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending

A covered person must file a supplemental report within three days after spending or accepting in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more on statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more during an election cycle on local campaigns pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(B).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

In the case of an entity:	Arizona Solutions PAC
Name:	
Mailing address:	4340 E Indian School Rd STE 21-203 Phoenix AZ 85018
Federal tax status:	State PAC
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	Arizona
In the case of an individual:	
Name:	
Mailing address:	
Occupation:	
Employer:	

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

Name:	
Mailing address:	
Federal tax status:	
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	
Relationship to the Covered Person:	

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).

Custodian of Transfer Records

Name:	The Money Wheel
Mailing address:	PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position:	Compliance

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name:	Eric Chalmers
Mailing address:	4455 E Camelback Road, STE D145
Position with Covered Person:	Principal

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies:	\$276,432.04
-----------------------------------	--------------

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.



Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).

Disbursements												
Recipient and Amount of Disbursement	Amount of Disbursement	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual/Federal Tax Status (Entity))	Employer (Individual/State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration)	Date	In Support or Opposition of Candidate or Ballot Measure						
Example			Consultant	AZ		Support: Prop 139						
JR Graphics	\$933.96	638 W Indian School Rd, Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	10/21/2024	Support: Christine Marsh						
REA Communications LLC	\$2,240.00	423 E 9th St Tucson AZ 85705	Consultant	AZ	10/21/2024	Support: Tim Stringham						
REA Communications LLC	\$960.00	423 E 9th St Tucson AZ 85705	Consultant	AZ	10/21/2024	Oppose: Joel Navarro						
JR Graphics	\$296.34	638 W Indian School Rd Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	10/22/2024	Support: Tim Stringham						
JR Graphics	\$296.34	638 W Indian School Rd Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	10/22/2024	Oppose: Justin Heap						

Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:	
Mailing address:	
Position:	

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name:	Jorge Badillo
Signature:	
Date:	10/22/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



Voters Right to Know Act

Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending

A covered person must file a supplemental report within three days after spending or accepting in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more on statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more during an election cycle on local campaigns pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(B).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

In the case of an entity:	Arizona Solutions PAC #101746
Name:	
Mailing address:	4340 E Indian School Rd Ste 21-203 Phoenix AZ 85018
Federal tax status:	State PAC
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	Arizona
In the case of an individual:	
Name:	
Mailing address:	
Occupation:	
Employer:	

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

Name:	
Mailing address:	
Federal tax status:	
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	
Relationship to the Covered Person:	

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).

Custodian of Transfer Records

Name:	The Money Wheel
Mailing address:	PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position:	Compliance

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name:	Eric Chalmers
Mailing address:	4455 E Camelback Road Ste D145
Position with Covered Person:	Principal

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies:	\$271,705.4
-----------------------------------	-------------

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.

Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).

Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:	
Mailing address:	
Position:	

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name:	Jorge Badillo
Signature:	
Date:	10/24/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



Voters Right to Know Act

Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending

A covered person must file a supplemental report within three days after spending or accepting in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more on statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more during an election cycle on local campaigns pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(B).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

In the case of an entity:	Arizona Solutions PAC #101746
Name:	
Mailing address:	4340 E Indian School Rd Ste 21-203 Phoenix AZ 85018
Federal tax status:	State PAC
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	Arizona
In the case of an individual:	
Name:	
Mailing address:	
Occupation:	
Employer:	

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

Name:	
Mailing address:	
Federal tax status:	
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	
Relationship to the Covered Person:	

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).

Custodian of Transfer Records

Name:	The Money Wheel
Mailing address:	PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position:	Compliance

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name:	Eric Chalmers
Mailing address:	PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position with Covered Person:	

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies:	\$214,575.68
-----------------------------------	--------------

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.

Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).

Disbursements	Recipient and Amount of Disbursement	Amount of Disbursement	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual/Federal Tax Status (Entity))	Employer (Individual/State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration)	Date	In Support or Opposition of Candidate or Ballot Measure
Example				Consultant	AZ		Support: Prop 139
Stones Phones		\$ 2,384.78	41-750 Rancho Las Palmas Dr, Suite E-3 Rancho Mirage, CA 92270	Consultant	AZ	10/25/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
Stones Phones		\$ 922.40	41-750 Rancho Las Palmas Dr, Suite E-3 Rancho Mirage, CA 92270	Consultant	AZ	10/25/2024	Support: Joel Navarro
Convergence Targeted Communications		\$ 14,700.10	1250 Connecticut Avenue Northwest Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
Convergence Targeted Communications		\$ 14,700.10	1250 Connecticut Avenue Northwest Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Oppose: Justin Heap
Resilient Strategies		\$ 6,975.00	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013 USA	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
Winning Connections		\$ 9,201.84	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Fl, Washington, DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
Winning Connections		\$ 9,201.84	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Fl, Washington, DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
Winning Connections		\$ 6,601.77	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Fl, Washington, DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
Winning Connections		\$ 6,601.77	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Fl, Washington, DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Support: Joel Navarro
Winning Connections		\$ 6,601.78	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Fl, Washington, DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
Winning Connections		\$ 3,019.52	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Fl, Washington, DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Support: Stephen Richer
Winning Connections		\$ 2,532.98	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Fl, Washington, DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	10/28/2024	Support: Jack Sellers

Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:	
Mailing address:	
Position:	

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name:	Jorge Badillo
Signature:	
Date:	10/28/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



Voters Right to Know Act

Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending

A covered person must file a supplemental report within three days after spending or accepting in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more on statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more during an election cycle on local campaigns pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(B).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

In the case of an entity:	Arizona Solutions PAC #101746
Name:	
Mailing address:	4340 E Indian School RD STE 21-203 Phoenix AZ 85018
Federal tax status:	State PAC
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	Arizona
In the case of an individual:	
Name:	
Mailing address:	
Occupation:	
Employer:	

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

Name:	
Mailing address:	
Federal tax status:	
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	
Relationship to the Covered Person:	

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).

Custodian of Transfer Records

Name:	The Money Wheel
Mailing address:	PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position:	Compliance

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name:	Eric Chalmers
Mailing address:	PO Box 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position with Covered Person:	Principal

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies:	\$121,095.09
-----------------------------------	--------------

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.

Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).

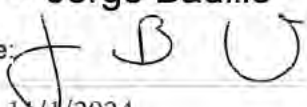
Disbursements						
Recipient and Amount of Disbursement	Amount of Disbursement	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual/Federal Tax Status (Entity))	Employer (Individual/State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration)	Date	In Support or Opposition of Candidate or Ballot Measure
Example			Consultant	AZ		Support: Prop 139
Winning Connections	\$ 8,622.76	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd floor Washington , DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	10/31/2024	Support: Joel Navarro
Winning Connections	\$ 5,748.51	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd floor Washington , DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	10/31/2024	Oppose: Mark Stewart
Looks Good Printing	\$ 1,252.34	338 E Tuckey Ln Phoenix AZ 85012	Consultant	AZ	10/31/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
Looks Good Printing	\$ 777.34	338 E Tuckey Ln Phoenix AZ 85012	Consultant	AZ	10/31/2024	Support: Joel Navarro
Looks Good Printing	\$ 814.84	338 E Tuckey Ln Phoenix AZ 85012	Consultant	AZ	10/31/2024	Oppose: Carine Werner
Looks Good Printing	\$ 539.85	338 E Tuckey Ln Phoenix AZ 85012	Consultant	AZ	10/31/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
Resilient Strategies	\$ 11,481.46	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	11/1/2024	Oppose: Mark Stewart
Resilient Strategies	\$ 11,481.46	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	11/1/2024	Support: Joel Navarro
Resilient Strategies	\$ 6,426.81	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	11/1/2024	Oppose: Carine Werner
Resilient Strategies	\$ 6,426.82	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	11/1/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
Resilient Strategies	\$ 6,277.73	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	11/1/2024	Support: Joel Navarro
Resilient Strategies	\$ 6,277.72	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	11/1/2024	Oppose: Mark Stewart
Resilient Strategies	\$ 15,000.00	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	11/1/2024	Support: Tim Stringham
Resilient Strategies	\$ 5,000.00	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	11/1/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
Resilient Strategies	\$ 5,000.00	4540 11th Ave Phoenix AZ 85013	Consultant	AZ	11/1/2024	Support: Joel Navarro

Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:	
Mailing address:	
Position:	

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name: **Jorge Badillo**

Signature: 

Date: 11/1/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



Voters Right to Know Act

Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending

A covered person must file a supplemental report within three days after spending or accepting in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more on statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more during an election cycle on local campaigns pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(B).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

In the case of an entity:	Arizona Solutions PAC #101746
Name:	
Mailing address:	4340 E Indian School Rd Ste 21-203 Phoenix AZ 85018
Federal tax status:	State PAC
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	Arizona
In the case of an individual:	
Name:	
Mailing address:	
Occupation:	
Employer:	

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

Name:	
Mailing address:	
Federal tax status:	
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	
Relationship to the Covered Person:	

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).

Custodian of Transfer Records

Name:	The Money Wheel
Mailing address:	PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position:	Compliance

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name:	Eric Chalmers
Mailing address:	PO Box 97241, Phoenix , AZ 85060
Position with Covered Person:	Principal

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies:	\$29,967.45
-----------------------------------	-------------

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.

Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).

Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:	
Mailing address:	
Position:	

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name:	Jorge Badillo
Signature:	
Date:	11/7/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



Voters Right to Know Act

Supplemental Report: Campaign Media Spending

A covered person must file a supplemental report within three days after spending or accepting in-kind contributions for campaign media spending totaling an additional \$25,000 or more on statewide campaigns or an additional \$15,000 or more during an election cycle on local campaigns pursuant to A.R.S. § 16-973(B).

Covered Person¹ Reporting Campaign Media Spending

In the case of an entity:	Arizona Solutions PAC #101746
Name:	
Mailing address:	4340 E Indian School Rd Ste 21-203 Phoenix AZ 85018
Federal tax status:	State PAC
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	Arizona
In the case of an individual:	
Name:	
Mailing address:	
Occupation:	
Employer:	

Identity of Entity/Entities Under the Covered Person²

Name:	
Mailing address:	
Federal tax status:	
State of incorporation, registration or partnership:	
Relationship to the Covered Person:	

¹ The identity of the person that owns or controls the traceable monies goes here. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(1). Traceable monies are either money that has been given, loaned or promised for campaign media spending or in-kind contributions to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18)(a)-(b). "Person" includes both a natural person and an entity such as a corporation, limited liability company, labor organization, partnership or association, regardless of legal form. A.R.S. § 16-971(13). Identity means, in the case of an individual, the name mailing address, occupation, and employer of that individual. A.R.S. § 16-971(10). In the case of any other person, identity means the name, mailing address, federal tax status, and state of incorporation, registration, or partnership, if any. A.R.S. § 16-971(10).

² Includes any entity established, financed, maintained or controlled by the person who owns or controls the traceable monies and maintains its own transfer records and that entity's relationship to the covered person. A.R.S. § 16-973(2).

Custodian of Transfer Records

Name:	The Money Wheel
Mailing address:	PO BOX 97241, Phoenix, AZ 85060
Position:	Compliance

Campaign Media Spending Manager³

Name:	Eric Chalmers
Mailing address:	PO Box 97241, Phoenix , AZ 85060
Position with Covered Person:	Principal

Covered Person's Traceable Monies (Cash on hand for campaign media spending)⁴

Total amount of traceable monies:	\$19,465.81
-----------------------------------	-------------

³ Provide this information for at least one individual who controls, directly or indirectly, how the traceable monies are spent. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(4).

⁴ Provide the total amount of traceable monies owned or controlled by the covered person on the date the report is made. A.R.S § 16-973(A)(5). Traceable monies are monies that have been given, loaned or promised to be given to a covered person and for which no donor has opted out of their use or transfer for campaign media spending pursuant to A.R.S. §16-972 and monies used to pay for in-kind contributions to a covered person to enable campaign media spending. A.R.S. § 16-971(18).

Donors of original monies exceeding \$5,000 or more directly or indirectly to the Covered Person⁵

Donor	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date

⁵ The identity of each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies or in-kind contributions for campaign media spending during the election cycle to the covered person and the date and amount of each of the donor's contributions. This includes donors to intermediaries that provided monies to the covered person.

Intermediaries⁶

Intermediary	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual)/ Federal Tax Status (Entity)	Employer (Individual)/ State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration	Amount	Date	Source

⁶ The identity of each person that acted as an intermediary and that transferred, in whole or in part, traceable monies of more than \$5,000 from original sources to the covered person and the date, amount and source, both original and intermediate, of the transferred monies. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(7).

Disbursements	Recipient and Amount of Disbursement	Amount of Disbursement	Mailing Address	Occupation (Individual/Federal Tax Status (Entity))	Employer (Individual/State of Incorporation, Partnership, or Registration)	Date	In Support or Opposition of Candidate or Ballot Measure
Example	Winning Connections	\$ 1,000.00	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Floor Washington DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	11/8/2024	Support: Prop 139
	Winning Connections	\$ 500.00	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Floor Washington DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	11/8/2024	Support: Christine Marsh
	Winning Connections	\$ 500.00	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Floor Washington DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	11/8/2024	Support: Joel Navarro
	Winning Connections	\$ 500.00	317 Pennsylvania Ave SE 2nd Floor Washington DC 20003	Consultant	AZ	11/8/2024	Support: Tim Stringham

Major Donors⁹

Major Contributor's Name:	
Mailing address:	
Position:	

I CERTIFY, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEVE IF IT TRUE AND COMPLETE.

Filer Name:	Jorge Badillo
Signature:	
Date:	11/12/2024

⁹ Any person whose total contributions of traceable monies to the covered person constituted more than half of the traceable monies of the covered person at the start of the election cycle. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(9)



Katie Hobbs
Governor

Thomas M. Collins
Executive Director



**State of Arizona
Citizens Clean Elections Commission**

1110 W. Washington St. - Suite 250 - Phoenix, Arizona 85007 - Tel (602) 364-3477 - Fax (602) 364-3487 - www.azcleanelections.gov

Via E-Mail

February 24, 2025

Jillian Andrews
Herrera Arellano LLP
1001 North Central Ave
Suite 404
Phoenix, AZ 85004

Re: MUR 24-08 Opportunity Arizona

Dear Ms. Andrews:

I am writing to notify you that I have dismissed this Complaint and provide the report required by Ariz. Admin. Code R2-20-811(F).

The Complaint

The Complaint asserts that the Opportunity Arizona, an Arizona nonprofit corporation, failed to provide required complete disclaimers on public communications in legislative campaigns.

The Response

Opportunity Arizona argues that because it had no original sources of greater than \$5,000 that would have been required to disclose on the public communication. *See* Ariz. Clean Elections Comm'n Advisory Opinion 24-06.

The organization did, however, note that its Prop. 211 initial report incorrectly identified the "League of Conservation Voters," as a donor of original monies. *See* Opportunity Arizona, Voters Right to Know Act Initial Report, Ariz. Sec. of State, https://azsos.gov/sites/default/files/vrka/2025/8.29.2024_Opportunity_AZ.pdf. The organization later filed a corrected report. Opportunity Arizona, Voters Right to

Know Act Amended Report, Ariz. Sec. of State,
https://azsos.gov/sites/default/files/vrka/2025/2.19.2025_Opportunity_Arizona.pdf.

Analysis

The Act requires that “public communications by covered persons shall state, at a minimum, the names of the top three donors who directly or indirectly made the three largest contributions of original monies during the election cycle to the covered person.” A.R.S. § 16-974(C); Ariz. Admin. Code § R2-20-805(B) (requiring the disclosure of donors of original monies who have donated more than \$5,000 and who have not opted out of their donation being used for campaign media spending). Opportunity Arizona is a covered person.

The Commission’s A.O. 24-06 addressed how a covered person should resolve a disclaimer issue where there is no donor or original monies greater than \$5,000 but there are intermediary donors, that is donors who collect money from others and funnel that money to the covered person. The opinion concluded that to ensure original sources were disclosed intermediaries should not be treated as donors who “directly or indirectly” made contributions. A contrary opinion would create situations where the top three intermediaries could crowd out original donors.

Here, Opportunity Arizona represents that it’s disclosure of the League of Conservation Donors as an original source on its Proposition 211 reports was mistaken. It has filed a corrected report.

Absent this erroneous disclosure, Staff in this instance concludes that there the disclaimers did not have “donors . . . of original monies” to disclose on the public communications. Under the circumstances, including consideration of the corrected report and the staff emphasis last cycle on compliance rather than penalizing good faith efforts to comply with the Act, no further action is warranted.

Conclusion

For the reason identified above, the Complaint is not substantiated and is dismissed.

Thank you for your response in this matter. This letter, along with the Complaint and Response will be made available to the Commission as part of the Executive Director's Report at the next regular Commission meeting.

Sincerely,

S/ Thomas M. Collins

cc: Ryan O'Daniel

December 13, 2024

Clean Elections Commission
C/O Tom Collins
1110 W Washington St
Phoenix, AZ 85007

To Whom It May Concern,

On behalf of multiple Arizona candidates, I am filing a formal complaint against "Opportunity Arizona", [ref] Filer ID 100355 ("Committee"), for failure to provide the original source of campaign funding in their printed disclaimer and failure to disclose the original source of funding through mandated VRKA reports.

Since registering as an Independent Expenditure organization in 2020, the Committee has not filed campaign finance reports disclosing critical financial information - namely donors. The Committee has undoubtedly relied upon their status as a 501c4 to circumvent mandated disclosures. However, with the passage of Prop 211 in 2022, the Committee is now, for the first time, mandated to report the original source of funds in their VRKA reports as well as list the top three sources of funding in the distributed campaign literature, which directly advocates for the election/defeat of various candidates.

Attached are various examples of electioneering and advocacy in various legislative districts that contain the "paid for by" disclaimer, but fail to disclose the top three donors. The attached are just a small sample of materials made publicly available by the "Committee" via Google Drive, but none of the advocacy the Committee distributed contained the required donor disclosure (see "MadLibs LD4 Opportunity AZ", "TwoChoices LD4_Oppportunity Arizona", "Leeches LD16 Opportunity AZ", "Commandments LD27Oppportunity AZ", "Crossword_LD27 Opportunity AZ Howard", and "Toy LD23 Opportunity AZ Pena").

Please take appropriate action against the 'Committee' immediately. It is critical that dark money, out-of-state special interests, reveal the original source of their funding under the Arizona Voter's Right to Know Act *and* make timely reports to the Secretary of State so the public can be made aware of the campaign activities by mega-donors impacting candidates for local office.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Ryan O'Daniel
(602) 332-2039
RyanO@Intrepidaz.com

VERIFICATION

State of Arizona

)
) ss.
)

County of Maricopa

I, Ryan O'Daniel, state that I have read the foregoing complaint and know the contents thereof by personal knowledge. I know the allegations of the complaint to be true, except any matters therein on information and belief, which I believe to be true.

Signed under penalty of perjury this 24th day of October, 2024.

Ryan O'Daniel
[Name]

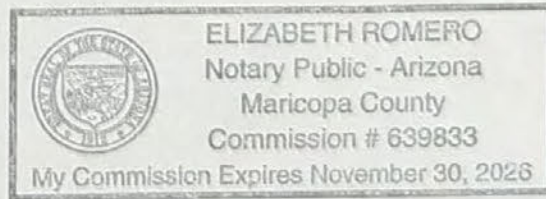
[Handwritten Signature]
[Signature]

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 13th day of December, 2024.

Elizabeth Romero
Notary Public Name
Elizabeth Romero

Elizabeth Romero
[Signature]

My Commission Expires: 11/30/2026





SAD ☹️ FIBS

REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES

Fill in the blanks to uncover what Republican legislators are up to:

Republican legislators in Arizona want to _____ abortion
with no exceptions. They even want to arrest _____ who
perform one. In schools, they want to _____ books but
are also stopping teachers from _____ about evolution
and the history of slavery.

They actually voted to _____ US Presidential elections in
our state. From restricting access to _____ to outlawing
_____ in schools, their agenda is about control.

Now, when times are _____, Republicans are more
focused on controlling our lives than helping.

DON'T LET REPUBLICANS CONTROL WHO FILLS IN THE BLANKS!

**CARINE
WERNER:**



**REP. MATT
GRESS:**



**PAMELA
CARTER:**



Support extreme abortion bans¹

Voted to restrict IVF access²

Support banning books in schools³

VOTE MAIL YOUR BALLOT BACK BY OCTOBER 29
ELECTION DAY IS NOVEMBER 5

¹Matt Gress *LinkedIn* 6/22/24, Pamela Carter *iVoterGuide* | ²HB2502, 2023 | ³SB1007, 2024, "How \$4,000 of right-wing kids books landed in Scottsdale schools" *Phoenix New Times* 6/14/24, @pamelacarter888 X 7/8/2024

**Carine Werner
for State
Senate & Matt
Gress & Pamela
Carter for
State House**

**OPPORTUNITY
ARIZONA**
Opportunity Arizona
530 E McDowell Rd #107-138
Phoenix, AZ 85004

Paid for by Opportunity Arizona.
Not Authorized by Any Candidate
or Any Candidate's Agent.

NONPROFIT ORG
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT # 1417
PHOENIX, AZ

**Sen. Christine
Marsh for State
Senate & Kelli
Butler & Karen
Gresham for
State House**

**VOTE Sen. Christine
Marsh for State Senate
& Kelli Butler & Karen
Gresham for State House**



- ✓ **Eliminating junk fees¹**
- ✓ **Reducing the cost to buy or rent a home²**
- ✓ **Lowering the price of prescription drugs³**

**YOU
DECIDE.**

**OUR
FUTURE,**

EARLY VOTING BEGINS OCTOBER 9TH | ELECTION DAY IS TUESDAY NOVEMBER 5TH

¹HB 2122, 2024 | ²HB 2813, 2024 | ³SB 1532 & HB 2559, 2024



Sen. Christine Marsh for State Senate & Kelli Butler & Karen Gresham for State House

Sen. Christine Marsh, Kelli Butler, and Karen Gresham are looking out for hardworking Arizona families, not for special interests or big corporations, leveling the playing field so that you can succeed.

- Reducing the Cost to Buy or Rent a Home²
- Lowering the Price of Prescription Medications³
- Eliminating Junk Fees¹



Carine Werner, Matt Gress, and Pamela Carter don't trust you to make your own decisions. They want to control your life and impose their extreme values.



¹HB 2122, 2024 | ²HB 2813, 2024 | ³SB 1532 & HB 2559, 2024

¹HB2502, 2023 | ²SB1007, 2024, "How \$4,000 of right-wing kids books landed in Scottsdale schools" *Phoenix New Times* 6/14/24, @pamelacarter888 X 7/8/2024 | ³IB2393, 2024 | ⁴Matt Gress LinkedIn 6/22/24, Pamela Carter iVoterGuide



*IN A WORLD WHERE CORPORATE CASH
CREATES POLITICAL MONSTERS,*

**SEN. TJ SHOPE AND CHRIS
LOPEZ ARE SELLING OUT —**

*WHILE THE REST OF US
GET DRAINED DRY!*

ATTACK OF THE GIANT LEECHES

STARRING: **REPUBLICAN LEGISLATORS AS THE LEECHES • SPECIAL INTERESTS
AS THE SILENT THREAT • YOU AS THE HERO WHO FIGHTS BACK**

COMING TO A POLLING PLACE NEAR YOU THIS ELECTION DAY!



CAN WE STOP THEM BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE?

**PREPARE FOR THE TERRIFYING INVASION OF THE GIANT LEECHES,
WHERE THE VILLAINS ARE LURKING IN PLAIN SIGHT, THREATENING TO
DRAIN YOUR WALLET SO THEIR BILLIONAIRE DONORS GET RICHER.**



**SENATOR
TJ SHOPE**

**CHRIS
LOPEZ**

SENATOR TJ SHOPE

Voted to hide political gifts from lobbyists¹

Voted to cut the minimum wage²

Voted for tax loopholes for the wealthy and big corporations³

CHRIS LOPEZ

While hard-working Arizonans struggle to make ends meet, Republican house candidate Chris Lopez leaves others to pick up the tab. He has⁴:

- 3 failed businesses
- 3 liens against him

At the same time, he supports⁵:

- Cuts to public schools
- Eliminating important worker protections
- Tax loopholes for billionaires

All in service to the special interest donors he represents.

**MAIL YOUR BALLOT BACK BY
OCT 29. ELECTION DAY IS NOV 5.**

¹HB2038, 2019 | ²SCR1040, 2024 | ³SB1495, 2024 & HB2757, 2019 | ⁴Pinal County Recorder and San Diego County/Recorder of Deeds | ⁵lopezforaz.com/issues

THE 4 NEW
COMMANDMENTS
FROM REPUBLICANS
FOR WOMEN

I.
THOU SHALT NOT USE I.V.F. TO
MAKE YOUR DREAMS OF
MOTHERHOOD COME TRUE

II.
THOU SHALT NEVER TERMINATE
A PREGNANCY, EVEN IN CASES
OF RAPE OR INCEST

III.
THOU SHALT NOT BE ALLOWED
TO USE CONTRACEPTION

IV.
THOU SHALT NOT EARN EQUAL
PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

EARLY VOTING BEGINS OCTOBER 9
ELECTION DAY IS NOVEMBER 5

NONPROFIT ORG
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT # 1417
PHOENIX, AZ



Paid for by Opportunity
Arizona. Not Authorized
by Any Candidate or Any
Candidate's Agent.

**OPPORTUNITY
ARIZONA**

Opportunity Arizona
530 E McDowell Rd #107-138
Phoenix, AZ 85004



Former Rep. Tony Rivero is
WEIRDLY EXTREME

El exrepresentante
Tony Rivero es un
EXTREMISTA RARO

- X** Voted for extreme abortion bans¹
Votó a favor de prohibiciones extremas del aborto¹
- X** Voted to restrict I.V.F. access²
Votó para restringir el acceso a la fecundación in vitro (FIV)²
- X** Voted to make it easier to overturn citizen ballot initiatives³
Votó para facilitar la anulación de las iniciativas ciudadanas³

You Decide. ***VOTE.***

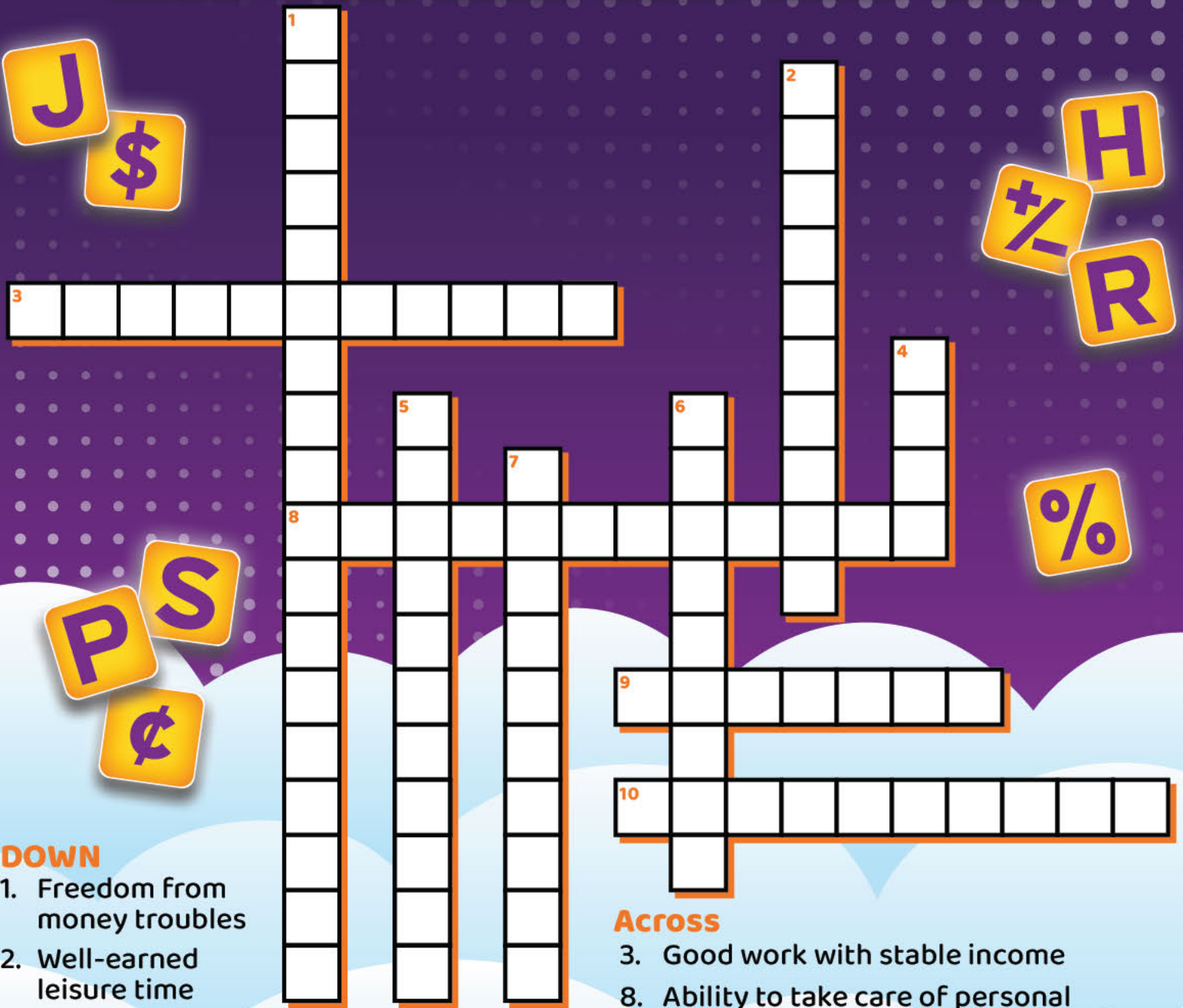
¹SB1164, 2022 | ²SB1393, 2018 | ³HCR 2023, 2016

219



ECONOMIC SECURITY DOESN'T HAVE TO BE A

PUZZLE



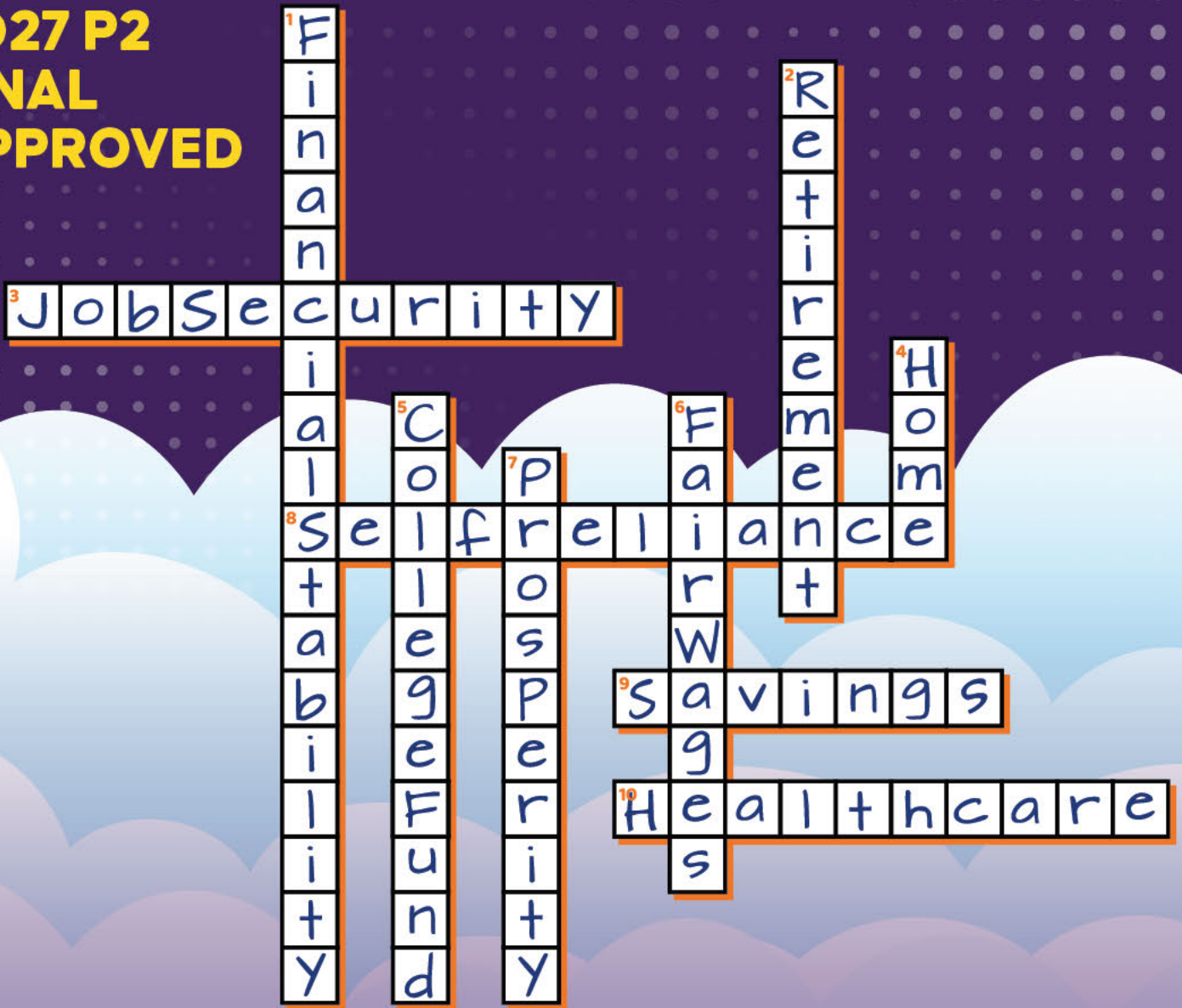
DOWN

- 1. Freedom from money troubles
- 2. Well-earned leisure time
- 4. A safe place for families
- 5. Money set aside for your child's future education
- 6. Reasonable compensation for hard work
- 7. Strong personal finances

Across

- 3. Good work with stable income
- 8. Ability to take care of personal responsibilities without interference from government
- 9. An interest-bearing account with accumulated earnings
- 10. Affordable medical attention and prescription drugs

**LD27 P2
FINAL
APPROVED**



PEOPLE WHO WORK HARD AND PLAY BY THE RULES SHOULDN'T BE ONE PAYCHECK AWAY FROM FINANCIAL HARDSHIP

That's why **Deborah Howard** is focused on lowering prescription drug costs¹, ensuring affordable housing², and getting rid of predatory, hidden junk fees³ that hold families back.



VOTE DEBORAH HOWARD FOR STATE HOUSE

ELECTION DAY IS TUESDAY NOVEMBER 5TH | EARLY VOTING BEGINS OCTOBER 9TH

¹SB 1532 & HB 2559, 2024 | ²HB 2813, 2024 | ³HB 2122, 2024

Arizona's Republican Inaction Figure

This Box Includes:

- **Adjustable Corporate Leash:** Easily pulled by any corporate donor!
- **Pockets Full of Promises:** Ready to hand out kickbacks to anyone who can pay.
- **Rubber Stamp Hand:** Perfect for approving tax loopholes for the super-rich.

TOY

Corporate Toys and Special
Interest Accessories Included!



WARNING:
The Republican
Inaction Figure
is not suitable
for working
families, public
schools, and
women seeking
healthcare.
May cause
severe cases of
corruption
and taxpayer
exploitation.



The Republican Legislator

SAY NO TO OUR DISTRICT'S CORPORATE TOY!

Paid for by Opportunity Arizona.
Not Authorized by Any Candidate
or Any Candidate's Agent.

OPPORTUNITY
ARIZONA

Opportunity Arizona
530 E McDowell Rd #107-138
Phoenix, AZ 85004



NONPROFIT ORG
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT # 1417
PHOENIX, AZ

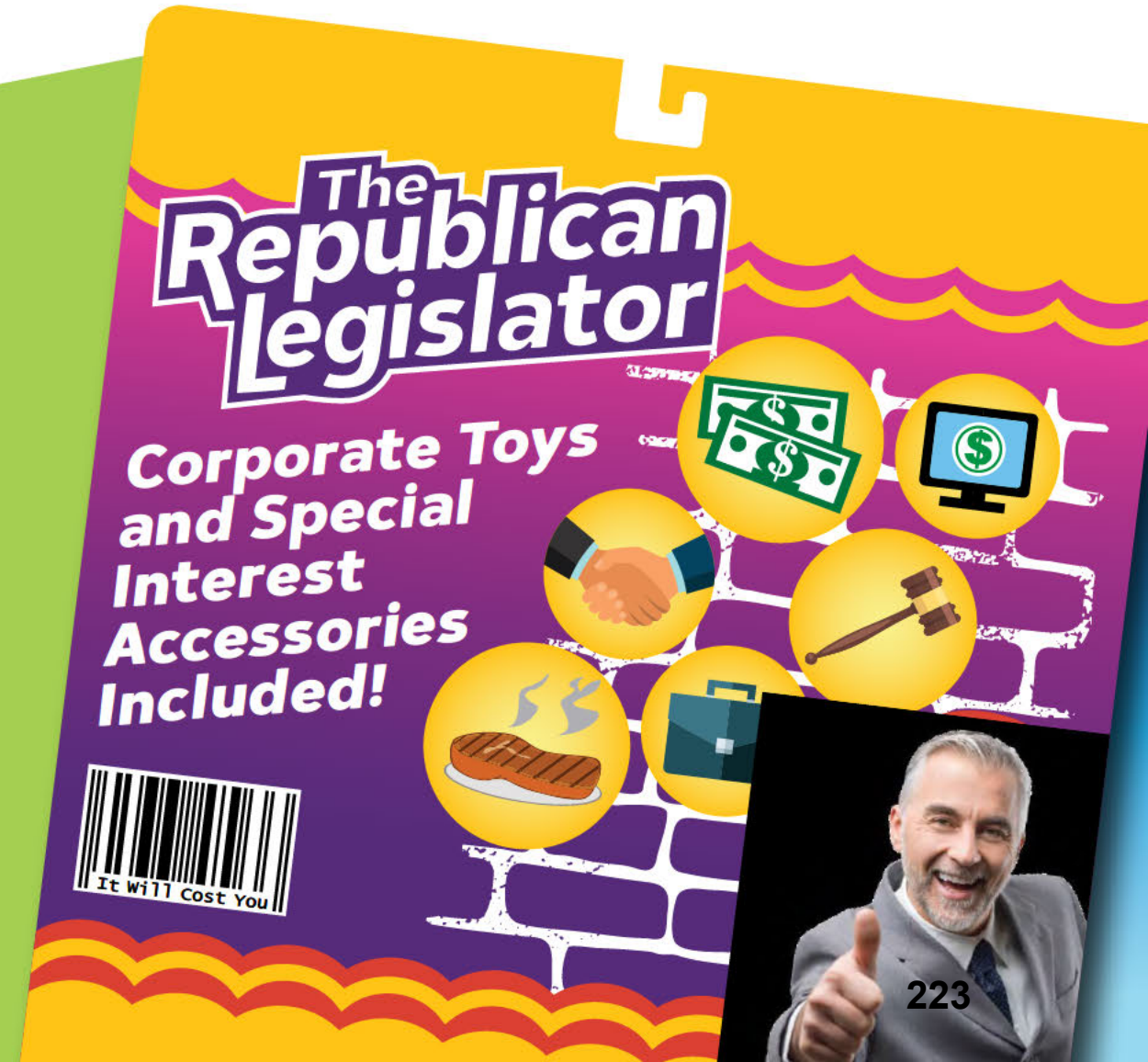
REP. MICHELE PEÑA

- Campaign under investigation by the Attorney General for signature forgery¹
- Voted to cut the minimum wage²
- Voted for tax loopholes for the wealthy and big corporations³
- Took money from special interests and then voted to hide campaign contributions⁴

- Voted for tax loopholes for the wealthy and big corporations³
- Took money from special interests and then voted to hide campaign contributions⁴

Don't let special interests choose your next State Rep. Early voting begins October 9.

¹"13 allegations of candidate petition signature forgery forwarded for possible criminal charges" *Arizona Mirror* 4/25/24 | ²SCR1040, 2024 | ³HB2003, 2023 & SB1184, 2023 | ⁴SB1048, 2023



1001 North Central Avenue, Suite 404
Phoenix, Arizona 85004

January 17, 2025

Via Email (ccec@azcleaselections.gov)

Thomas M. Collins
Citizens Clean Elections Commission
1110 W. Washington Street, Suite 250
Phoenix, AZ 85007

RE: MUR 24-08 – Response to Complaint

Dear Mr. Collins:

This firm represents Opportunity Arizona and writes in response to the notice of MUR 24-08, received December 19, 2024, and its accompanying complaint (the “Complaint”). The contents of this response are verified by Ben Scheel, Executive Director of Opportunity Arizona.

The Commission should take no further action on the Complaint, which alleges that Opportunity Arizona failed to report original source donors as required by the Voters’ Right to Know Act (“VRKA”) and to include the appropriate disclaimer on printed materials. The Complaint is wrong on both counts—Opportunity Arizona’s reports and disclaimers complied with the requirements of the VRKA and the Commission’s rules and guidance.

I. Opportunity Arizona Had No Original Source Donors to Report.

The Complaint alleges that Opportunity Arizona failed “to disclose the original source of funding through mandated VRKA reports.” In fact, Opportunity Arizona filed various VRKA reports that are publicly available and contain the required donor information. Ariz. Sec. of State, *Voters Right to Know Act (VRKA) Reporting* <https://azsos.gov/elections/campaign-finance/vrka-reporting>.

In its reports, Opportunity Arizona was required to disclose intermediary donors and “each donor of original monies who contributed, directly or indirectly, more than \$5,000 of traceable monies . . . for campaign media spending during the election cycle” to Opportunity Arizona. A.R.S. § 16-973(A)(6). But Opportunity

Arizona’s donors (all intermediary entities)¹ informed Opportunity Arizona that their contributions were not comprised of any original source donors over the \$5,000 disclosure threshold. Therefore, Opportunity Arizona was not required to report any original source donors. *See* R2-20-813(A) (“A person . . . may rely on records provided to the person as documentation of a transaction related to campaign media spending if the records are provided by an independent person who controls the monies involved in the transaction”).

II. The Disclaimer on Opportunity Arizona’s Mailers Complies with the Commission’s Guidance.

Opportunity Arizona formatted the disclaimers on the mailers at issue in the Complaint in accordance with the Commission’s rules, which require “[p]ublic communications by covered persons shall state the names of the top three donors who directly or indirectly made the three largest contributions of original monies in excess of \$5,000 for the election cycle and who have not opted out.” R2-20-805(B).

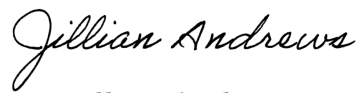
The Commission interpreted this rule in its Advisory Opinion 2024-06 and instructed Covered Persons to require *only* the names of original donors, even in the case where there are none that qualify for disclosure. AO 2024-06 explains that “the best reading [of] A.R.S. § 16-974(C) is that the disclosure reaches the original source of donations over the threshold of the VRKA even if that leaves intermediaries undisclosed on public communications.” Thus, in a situation where an intermediary entity has no original donors over \$5,000, neither the intermediary nor any original donor will appear on the disclaimer. *See* AO 2024-06 at 10.

¹ While Opportunity Arizona’s initial VRKA filing inadvertently lists League of Conservation Voters (“LCV”) as a donor of original monies, LCV should be listed as an intermediary donor because the reported contribution was not business income or other original monies of LCV.

Thomas M. Collins
January 17, 2025
Page 3

Please let me know if I can provide any further information regarding Opportunity Arizona or the allegations in the Complaint.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jillian Andrews".

Jillian Andrews

VERIFICATION

State of Arizona

County of Maricopa

I, Ben Scheel, state that I am Executive Director of Opportunity Arizona. I have read the foregoing response and know the contents thereof to be true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Ben Scheel
Ben Scheel

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 17 day of January, 2025.

Malachi Rodriguez
Notary Public Name

Malachi Rodriguez
Notary Public Signature



My Commission Expires: 03/09/2025