

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA**

COMMON CAUSE, *et al.*,)
)
Plaintiffs,)
)
v.)
)
ROBERT A. RUCHO, in his official)
capacity as Chairman of the North)
Carolina Senate Redistricting)
Committee for the 2016 Extra Session)
and Co-Chairman of the Joint Select)
Committee on Congressional)
Redistricting, *et al.*,)
)
Defendants.)

CIVIL ACTION
No. 1:16-CV-1026-WO-JEP

THREE-JUDGE COURT

League of Women Voters of North)
Carolina, *et al.*,)
)
Plaintiffs,)
)
v.)
)
Robert A. Rucho, in his official)
capacity as Chairman of the North)
Carolina Senate Redistricting)
Committee for the 2016 Extra Session)
and Co-Chairman of the 2016 Joint)
Select Committee on Congressional)
Redistricting, *et al.*,)
)
Defendants.)

CIVIL ACTION
No. 1:16-CV-1164-WO-JEP

THREE-JUDGE COURT

Declaration of Carter Wrenn

The undersigned being duly sworn deposes and says:

1. My name is Carter Wrenn. My office is located at 8305 Falls of Neuse Road, Suite 205, Raleigh, North Carolina 27615. I have personal knowledge of the matters set forth below.

2. Since the 1970s I have worked as a political consultant or advisor to campaigns. My experience includes directing five successful campaigns for Republican candidates for United States Senate. I have also been involved in three different elections for Republican presidential candidates and various other elections including congressional elections. I advised the successful Renee Ellmers (R) Campaign for the Second Congressional District in 2010 and since 2011 I have directed the campaign efforts of Congressman George Holding (R) who is currently running for reelection in the 2016 race for North Carolina's Second Congressional District.

3. Campaigns, in a way, are simple – they have one over-arching goal: To talk with voters about issues. Two factors can limit their ability to do that: Time and money. In Congressman Holding's Congressional District there are approximately 500,000 registered voters. To reach that many votes he needs to communicate messages on TV, radio, the Internet and half a dozen other ways. To do that he must raise money. Time also limits his ability to communicate. He can reach more voters, and talk about more issues, in six months than one month.

4. Each Congressional district has a unique electorate. Because members of Congress serve terms of only two years, fundraising for Congressman Holding's 2018 reelection started shortly after the 2016 General Election.

5. Polls help identify the issues that are important to the electorate of the district in which a member of Congress is running. We have taken and paid for three polls for Congressman Holding related to the 2018 General Election.

6. The court's order indicating it may enjoin elections under the 2016 version of the Second District essentially freezes Congressman Holding's campaign. We don't know the issues that will be important to the electorate in any new district that might be drawn by the court if it is different from the electorate for the 2016 Second Congressional District. We cannot communicate with – or poll – the new electorate until we know their identity.

7. We are only slightly more than two months before the 2018 General Election and we do not know the identity of Congressman Holding's electorate. Changing the district at this late date will severely prejudice our ability to communicate with the electorate of a new district about issues, legislation or policies.

8. For the 2018 cycle, Congressman Holding's campaign has already raised and spent approximately \$2.0 million. Approximately \$1.1 million has been spent communicating with voters about issues, which includes buying TV and radio time for ads, Digital and Social Media, mailings, polling and research.

9. All of the money we have raised was given to the campaign by individuals and political action committees who were supporting Congressman Holding's reelection efforts in the Second Congressional District. We have no idea whether these same contributors will support Congressman Holding in some other district drawn by the Court.

10. I have seen the district proposed by Dr. Chen to which he has assigned Congressman Holding. It removes 4 of 6 counties from Congressman Holding's district and adds new voters to the district in Wake and Johnston counties.

11. Any new district imposed at this late date by the Court will make it difficult, if not impossible, for Congressman Holding to raise enough money to effectively communicate his message to voters in any new district. This will be true for other congressional candidates as well. Should the Court impose new districts, more money will be raised and spent in many Congressional elections by Super PACs who have no limit on the amount of contributions they can accept. In contrast, candidate committees have strict limits on the amount of money they can accept from individuals or political action committees.

12. Imposing new districts at this late date will mean that most of the money contributed to the Holding campaign and spent by us to date will have been wasted. Further, imposing new districts at this late date will seriously prejudice both Congressman Holding and his supporters in their ability to identify issues that are important to the electorate in any new district and to explain Congressman Holding's positions on those issues to voters.


13. If the Court orders new districts at this late date, as a practical matter, the results in many elections will be determined not by candidates and their campaigns but by Super PACs. Congressional candidates will not be able to raise enough money to respond to attack ads because of contribution limits that apply to candidate committees – and not

Super PACs – and because of the unprecedented lack of time available to candidates to raise money and communicate their ideas in a brand new congressional district.

14. In my opinion, any order by the Court imposing new districts at this late date will impose a severe burden on the First Amendment rights of Congressman Holding, his supporters, and the candidates and supporters of all other congressional candidates running for reelection under the 2016 Congressional Plan.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing declaration is true and accurate to the best of my ability.

Executed this 30th day of August, 2018.



Carter Wrenn