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               IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
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                    FOR THE DISTRICT OF OREGON
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                           Eugene Division
    PEOPLE NOT POLITICIANS OF
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    OREGON, et al.,
                Plaintiff,
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                                      ) No. 6:20-cv-01053-MC
       VS.
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    BEVERLY CLARNO, Oregon
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    Secretary of State,
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                Defendant.
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                BE IT REMEMBERED THAT on the 10th day of July,
14
    2020, the above-entitled matter came on for hearing
    before the HONORABLE Michael J. McShane, District Court
15
16
    Judge.
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Page 3 1 **PROCEEDINGS** Friday, July 10, 2020, at 2:11 p.m. 2 3 THE COURT: Let's go on the record and I will 4 have the courtroom deputy call the case. 5 Now is the time set for Civil Case 6 COURT CLERK: 7 No. 20-1053, People Not Politicians of Oregon, et al., 8 versus Clarno for oral argument. 9 THE COURT: Let's have the parties please 10 introduce themselves. Let's start with the plaintiffs. 11 MR. ELZINGA: My name is Steve Elzinga on behalf 12 of People Not Politicians of Oregon, Common Cause, League of Women Voters of Oregon, NAACP of Eugene/Springfield, 13 14 Independent Party of Oregon, C Norman Turrill. 15 THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Elzinga. You will be doing all the argument on behalf of the plaintiffs today? 16 17 MR. ELZINGA: That is correct. 18 THE COURT: And for the defendants. 19 MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: This is Christina 20 Beatty-Walters for the Secretary of State. I am joined 21 today by Brian Marshall. And I plan to split up the 22 argument, with the Court's indulgence. And also with us, I wanted to mention that 23 24 Michelle Teed, the deputy director of elections is on the 25 phone, and also present by video, Summer Davis.

Page 4 1 THE COURT: Thank you, Ms. Beatty-Walters. Is there an intervenor on the line with us? 2 3 MR. BERMAN: Good afternoon, Your Honor. This is 4 Steven Berman on behalf of the intervenor amicus applicant, Our Oregon, Becca Uherbelau. And with me is 5 6 Lydia Anderson-Dana from my office. 7 And we will be splitting the argument. 8 Ms. Anderson-Dana will be arguing the motion to 9 intervene. I will be handling the merits, to the extent 10 we're allowed to appear. 11 Also with us is Becca Uherbelau, one of the 12 plaintiffs and one of the declarants. And another of the declarants is apparently somewhat frenetically trying to 13 14 figure out how to get on the video line right now, and 15 that's Ms. Kaufman. And I know the Court asked for witnesses to be available, and she's trying. 16 17 Unfortunately, Mr. Unger is unavailable this 18 afternoon, so we have Ms. Kaufman and Ms. Uherbelau for 19 any questions the Court may have. MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: It appears that the judge is 20 21 speaking, but we cannot hear anything the judge is 22 saying. My video has completely stopped. I see the judge's mouth moving, but that's all. 23

Beatty-Walters, can you hear me?

COURT CLERK: Counsel, are you hearing me now?

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MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Yes.

COURT CLERK: Your Honor, if you want to speak.

THE COURT: Can you hear me? Let's all be patient with the technology. I appreciate that piece of it. We will do our best, all of us. Please speak slowly. If at any time you cannot hear me, or any of the other parties who are speaking, please interrupt.

But please, for the sake of our court reporter, who isn't necessarily seeing you as you speak, please speak a little more slowly and a little louder.

I know the parties have probably prepared ways of addressing things. I would like to just jump into this, and I'd like to really start with the defendants in this case. There's a couple of things about your briefing.

First of all, you did cite a number of cases for the proposition that Federal Courts have denied signature gatherers relief in other jurisdictions, and that is true. But, you know, it shouldn't be my job to have to look up all of those cases only to find out that they were so factually distinguishable that they were not helpful to you.

There were two cases that you cited. Lyons versus City of Columbus, Thompson versus DeWine, but I mean, you are correct. The Federal Court denied relief to petition gatherers. But you failed to tell me in your

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own briefing that there were built-in exceptions in the governor's executive order for signature gatherers in those cases, so I felt like I spent an inordinate amount of time fact-checking your cases, when you should have brought those facts to my attention in your briefing.

I realize we're all in a rush, and sometimes when we're in a rush, we cite cases as blunt instruments. But I think they did very little to forward your argument. And I have to say I was up quite late last night having to fact-check your cites, because after reading the first one, I started not trusting the remainder.

You also spent a lot of ink on the facial validity of the laws surrounding signature gathering in Oregon. And that's not an issue. Everybody is in agreement that the Secretary of State has a significant government interest in enforcing the initiative laws as written. That's not an issue.

The issue is, is there something specific to these plaintiffs at this time that makes the laws and regulations unconstitutional as applied. So I understand the government has an interest in enforcing laws, but I guess my first question really involves that, the government's interest here in enforcing laws.

Oregon government has lost interest in enforcing quite a few laws during this period of time in response

1 to Covid 19. So let's just name a few of them, and they 2 center on people's rights. They center on people's 3 finances, they center on health and safety. residential eviction laws, they have been expended. 4 Commercial eviction laws have been expended. 5 6 for paying certain business taxes have been extended. 7 Registration and licensing requirements have been 8 extended by the Department of Motor Vehicles. trial rights have been modified by the Supreme Court. 9 10 Legal sentences have been completely commuted by the 11 Bar exam passage requirements was suspended governor. 12 Court rules have been suspended and modified this term. regarding personal appearances. Commercial motor vehicle 13 14 laws have been suspended. Our bottle bill in Oregon was 15 suspended for a period of time. I mean, for God's sake, 16 we were allowed to pump our own gas for a period of time. 17 And I was handed a plastic bag in Eugene, Oregon, at a 18 grocery store.

A lot of laws that we hold very, very dear to our hearts, including self-service -- not self-service, curb-side liquor was able to be served in Oregon. Some important; some not so important.

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But the question I have is, what is the Secretary of State's interest when we have here an initiative process that is core to the First Amendment. Is it the

defense position that this is not a First Amendment issue?

Now I can't hear you, Ms. Beatty-Walters.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: I am sorry, Your Honor. Going to have to be reminded of that.

This is Christina Beatty-Walters, for the record, and I think this is probably one we will want to split between myself and Mr. Marshall. But let me take first the question of what is Oregon's interest in enforcing the election laws.

This is a drastic remedy that the plaintiffs are asking for at the very last minute. They are asking the Court to enjoin provisions of the Oregon Constitution, not just Oregon Administrative Rules or Oregon statutes that provide for certain deadlines and requirements. They are asking for the Court to change the Constitution.

And those provisions of the Oregon Constitution they are asking for relief from were decided upon and put there by the citizens of Oregon themselves. So we think it's a rather drastic remedy.

And what is the State's interest? Well, Your Honor, the State's interest here is -- in particular the Secretary's interest, is ensuring a fair election and an efficient election.

THE COURT: But how can you do that if

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petitioners can't show up to petition the government?

That's the initial issue. It's not whether the length is fair. It's whether people's right to petition the government, which is held to be a core First Amendment right by the US Supreme Court, how does this impact that?

I mean, if nobody gets to participate in government, it doesn't matter what kind of an election you have.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Well, Your Honor, I am going to disagree with you that it is impossible to participate in government or petition government. It is absolutely true that the executive order entered by Governor Brown has curtailed some activities in Oregon. There's no question about that. But we cited those cases from Ohio to -- in contrast to the case from Michigan, for example, because we think the governor's executive order here are more like the Ohio order than they are like the Michigan order.

THE COURT: Well, in Ohio the governor made an exception for signature gatherers. Where is that exception in any Oregon executive order?

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: That's right, Your Honor. I can't cite to you a specific exemption, and that's correct. But the reason why we think that the executive order 20-12 and 20-25 are more like the Ohio and less

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like the Michigan is that they are structured completely differently.

Executive order 20-12 says that to the maximum extent possible, you should stay home. And to that end, here is what I am ordering. So this is how I am going to implement that, is what the governor said. And the way that she implemented that is to say, I am closing these specific types of businesses to -- because it's almost impossible to stay six feet away from each other when you are conducting these businesses -- closing these types of businesses if you can't stay six feet apart.

I am going to allow people to go out and recreate, because I am. She did. She let people go out and recreate and that was explicit and express in her order. She said to the extent you can, if you aren't in a different kind of business, like you work in an office, you can open if you can. So these were all reasonable restrictions that she put in place in light of the pandemic.

But none of them made it impossible to circulate petitions. People were still going out, even from the very first day of the very first executive order -- were still going out to the grocery store and to the pharmacy.

THE COURT: But certainly it is not impossibile.

The question is does it impose a First Amendment burden

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on the plaintiffs in this case, these rules. And is your answer simply no, because there were alternatives, that nobody believes are sufficient to gather the kinds of signatures needed? Or is it yes, it is a burden, and we're not obligated to do anything more.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: No, I have a couple of answers for that. First, and I put this in the brief, but we don't think the angle standard is the right standard here, because the two provisions that they are challenging, the signature and the deadline provision, aren't regulating. So we don't think the First Amendment legitimately applies here at all.

But I also get that that is a better argument probably for the 9th Circuit. And if you looked at Angle it's broad language -- I am sorry about that. I will try to speak a little more slowly since you are not able to read my lips.

So I was saying about Angle, if you look at the broad language of Angle, this case would fit within that broad language. But in order to have a severe burden, in order to be a severe burden on First Amendment rights, you have to have -- the 9th Circuit has said, you measure that by whether, in light of the entire scheme, reasonably diligent candidates can normally gain a place on the ballot.

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And Your Honor, we think the evidence shows here that the answer to that is yes. Certainly in past elections that's true, and I understand the plaintiffs aren't challenging these two provisions of the Oregon Constitution.

But even with respect to this current election, and this current year, there are two measures that qualified. And as the Court knows, it has -- it has declarations from the proponents of those measures. They were able to qualify and conduct in-person circulation.

THE COURT: But there's a couple of things about that. No. 2 -- No. 1, two isn't very many, is it? What is our average?

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: If we look at the declaration of Ms. Davis, and I think she has a chart in there, it's some -- less than half, certainly, that qualify -- that are approved to circulate, qualify. And in 2016 it was a quarter, and 2014 it was a fifth.

THE COURT: I am not interested in how many qualify. I am asking, on average, in a four-year presidential general election, how many ballot measures do we have before voters? Two strikes me as a very small number. In other words, I don't know if saying because two people made it, that helps your argument, if in past years 15 people made it through the process.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Well, Your Honor, there were four in 2016.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: And in 2012 there were seven. There's a chart in Ms. Davis's declaration on these four that provide some of that data. But, Your Honor, in light of the entire statutory scheme, is what the 9th Circuit has directed Courts to look at -- in light of the entire scheme, getting ballot access, can reasonably diligent candidates gain a place on the ballot, or can a measure gain a place on the ballot.

And here our argument is that the proponents of IP 7 started too late, and they didn't have the necessary plan in place. They didn't have the funding. They didn't have what they needed to have. So add to the pandemic and the governor's executive order relating to the pandemic, they didn't have what they needed to have in place to get to the finish line and qualify for the ballot.

THE COURT: I am not sure what you are basing that on when they had community forums as soon as possible in 2018. They had a road map in 2019. And they certainly had qualified the petition with sponsor signatures. And then there was hold ups that happened to some ballot measures and not others in terms of the title

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of the ballot measure. And my understanding is the intervenors challenged that, and that held it up further.

But they were looking to bring on signature gatherers as early as January of 2020 to begin gathering signatures in April of 2020. Now, if they are not prophets they could not have foreseen there would be a pandemic to disrupt that road map.

But I'm not seeing -- and I can certainly see other cases. I believe I have another case before me where it doesn't appear the signature gatherers or the petitioners have done much at all. They just want a free pass. But I am not sure where you are finding that there was no reasonable diligence to get this on the ballot. Even under the worst of circumstances they were able to get over 60,000 signatures. And they even attempted some fairly creative ways of using mail and other ways of getting signatures to the Secretary of State.

So they haven't been sitting on their hands certainly, and these are not amateur organizers. The League of Women Voters is a well-known nonprofit and well funded. So you make these blanket statements that they weren't diligent and not well funded, not exactly specifically sure where these facts are coming from.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: For those points I'm really relying on what the intervenor had brought forward.

COURT REPORTER: Wait a minute. Wait a minute.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: And this is

Ms. Beatty-Walters, for the record.

Your Honor, what I am relying on for those statements are the declarations that were submitted by the Intervenors.

But what we, in our papers, one the other facts that we relied on in other papers, and you are correct, Your Honor, that they had submitted evidence, the plaintiffs have, that they were in 2018, going out and spreading the word. But the interesting thing is that they waited until November of 2019, a full year later, to actually file the paperwork with the Secretary of State that would start the process to allow them to qualify for the ballot. And if they were -- you know, if this was as important as they are claiming, why didn't they start earlier?

So as part of the whole calculation of the Court -- if the Court is going to apply the Angle standard, as part of that the Court should look at the whole scheme, regulating the ballot access. And courts have done that, in fact. And because petitioner started too late in some situations, the Courts have found that there was not reasonable diligence. And I think that was Arizona case -- Arizona for Fair Elections and the Sinner

case.

THE COURT: How do you distinguish the Reclaim Idaho, Fair Maps Nevada, and Sawari Media, LLC.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Well, Your Honor, Sawari Media, the Michigan case, in that case -- I think all of these cases are different. Because the executive orders that were in operation in those states were very different. And in that case the Court found in the SawariMedia case, the Court found that the governor's executive order, Governor Whitmer, made it impossible to collect signatures.

That's not true here, Your Honor. It was not impossible to collect signatures. The Court found that the executive order in that case was the root cause of the inability to get the signatures. And we submit to you, Your Honor, that's just not true here.

The Reclaim Idaho -- oh, I am sorry.

THE COURT: Go head.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Similar, with the Reclaim Idaho case, the governor's order there required all individuals to self-isolate except for certain activities and there weren't any exceptions there. And that's not what Governor Brown's executive order says.

But also in the Reclaim Idaho the plaintiffs had collected, by the time -- had started the process earlier

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and by the time the governor's orders had issued they had collected more than half of the signatures that they needed. That wasn't true here, because the plaintiff didn't start as early as they could have.

And the evidence there shows that they were on track to meet the deadline. There isn't any such evidence here, Your Honor, to show that they were on track or they had a plan that would have allowed them to meet the deadline.

In the Fair Maps Nevada case the plaintiff had collected, already, a good portion of signatures. They had 10,000 signatures. And in that case, as well, the executive order ordered citizens to stay at home, and forbade gatherings outside of homes. That wasn't true here under Governor Brown's executive orders.

So really what it comes down to for those cases affecting -- the executive orders under those cases were very different. And I would be happy to walk through the executive orders in a little bit more detail if that would be helpful for the Court. The fact that the proponents of IP 34 and IP 44 were able to, and did, in fact, go out and collect in-person signatures demonstrates that it certainly wasn't impossible. And it wasn't the result of state action that the plaintiffs didn't conduct any in-person signature gathering.

THE COURT: Do you know how much -- the two petitions that passed, what percentage of their signatures were they able to obtain after the shutdown orders?

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: I don't know the answer to that, Your Honor. I don't know the answer to that, but I can certainly look it up while we're chatting.

Also -- I am sorry.

THE COURT: Give me just a moment. I am trying to finish up some notes.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Sure. All right.

THE COURT: All right. Go ahead. What else would you like to say?

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: I was going to say that
Mr. Blaszak, I believe that's how he pronounces his name.
He submitted a declaration on behalf of the plaintiffs.
It doesn't appear he's a campaign -- he says that he's a
person who runs campaigns like this, but it doesn't
appear that he was hired by the petitioner. He didn't
claim to have been hired by the petitioner, so he's just
coming in to opine.

And to the extent that he suggests that they could have made the deadline, it's speculative, Your Honor. He doesn't say that they could have, based on what he knows. He says if they had the funding, and if

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they had the plan, you know, they could have done it.

They could have raised 150,000, they could have obtained 150,000 signatures. And that's what he says in his final paragraph of his declaration.

Well, 150,000 isn't close to enough to have this measure qualify for the ballot. If you read Ms. Davis' declaration, she explains that the verification percentage of submissions is never as high as 99.5 percent, which is what it would have to be if Mr. Blaszak was correct, and they were able to submit 150,000 signatures by the deadline.

THE COURT: Okay. Let's -- I am going to wait on plaintiffs, if you don't mind. And let's talk to the proposed intervenors. Let's start with why should you intervene?

MS. ANDERSON-DANA: I am Lydia Anderson-Dana, and I am from Stoll Berne, and I am representing intervenors Our Oregon and Becca Uherbelau. Because we have a limited time and a lot of ground to cover, and the Court has our briefing, I am going to keep this short unless you have questions, or you would like further analysis.

THE COURT: Okay.

MS. ANDERSON-DANA: Essentially we have a different perspective and expertise to offer the Court from those of the parties, whether it's through

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intervenor or amicus status. We have an independent interest in participating in, and funding an opposition campaign as opposed to the State, which wants to facilitate fair electoral procedures.

THE COURT: That's a big problem with you as an intervenor is you are really -- I mean, you are not adding anything to the Court other than the opposition to the actual subject matter of the petition itself. I mean, as a result, I know what you are going to say, right. There's not a -- I mean, you have already been fighting them both in Court and in front of the Secretary of State; isn't that correct?.

MS. ANDERSON-DANA: Yes, Your Honor. And I think that's one of the reasons why, under the FRCP 2482 test, do you have standing as to intervene as a right, because we have separate interests that could be impaired by -- our ability to protect that interest could be impaired by the disposition of the Court in this matter. And because we have a separate perspective, we think that the existing parties will not adequately represent that interest.

THE COURT: Okay.

MS. ANDERSON-DANA: And to the extent our angle here is really to get evidence to the Court through declarations and testimony, whether we call those

matter.

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witnesses or the State does, or the Court does. And I also wanted to note in our briefing that neither party has taken a stance on the matter. So we're just asking the Court to grant our motion to intervene or alternatively grant us leave to appear amicus in the

THE COURT: I will let you appear amicus in the matter. I have reviewed your briefs and declarations. Is there anything more you wish to say on the merits? Not on the underlying -- merits of the underlying petition or initiative, obviously, but in regard to the First Amendment violations and whether some reasonable accommodations are required?

MS. ANDERSON-DANA: I will turn that over to Mr. Berman.

MR. BERMAN: Your Honor, this is Steven Berman.

Can the court reporter hear me okay?

THE COURT: Yes, thank you.

MR. BERMAN: Your Honor, there are a couple of legal issues and points that were in your talk with Ms. Beatty-Walters I would like to address for a moment. And then, again, we have Ms. Uherbelau available, as well as Ms. Kaufman. If the Court wants us to call them or put them on, we're happy to. They are available for your questions, for my questions, for plaintiff 's counsel's

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questions, or for the State's questions. The Court asked for them and we wanted to make sure they were here.

I think there are a couple of points that I would like to raise in response to the Court's discussion with Ms. Beatty-Walters. One issue -- I am going to jump around a little bit to try to keep this brief.

With the Fair Maps case, Your Honor, you asked how do you distinguish Fair Maps. Fair Maps and these other cases predominantly involve State laws or regulations that further burden the State's Constitutional rights. So in Fair Maps it was an Arizona law that required signature submissions well in advance of the Constitutional deadline. They weren't challenging the Constitutional deadline. And three different times in the Fair Maps opinion the Court said, We assumed that the defaults -- I am paraphrasing, we assume that the defaults will be the Constitutional deadline.

What the plaintiffs here are seeking is something different. What they are seeking to do is not state a rule or regulation to be abandoned. They didn't challenge the governor's stay-at-home order. They didn't challenge any of the State's signature production regulations or statutes.

What they are challenging is the actual Constitutional provisions, not only of the number of

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signatures that you need to amend the Constitution, but also the time at which you need to do those. And the State has an overriding interest in protecting the integrity of its Constitution, and in protecting the integrity of the --

THE COURT: I know that, but we're back to an as-applied challenge. And the Federal Courts have an overriding interest in protecting core First Amendment values, even if they are in conflict with State Constitutions. We do it all the time. We do it in the criminal law context, in the gay marriage context. I get it. You have an absolute right and interest in upholding your constitutional rules, the Constitution. I get it. But there are moments where it comes into conflict with the Federal Constitution, here the First Amendment.

And I am not hearing anybody on the defense side, or the intervenors, even acquiesce a little bit that there is a First Amendment here. Which is fine, if you are telling me it simply doesn't rise to that level, that's fine. But it seems -- it does have some burden on the right to petition the government if the Oregon Constitution cannot adapt under these remarkable circumstances.

MR. BERMAN: Your Honor, I would like to address that in two respects -- I guess, three. The first is,

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going back to it, you asked how do you distinguish this from Fair Maps. The way that you distinguish this case from Fair Maps is --

The Fair Maps Court -- I am just circling back, Your Honor. The Fair Maps Court said we are not being asked, and we're not providing relief from the provisions of the Nevada Constitution. We're simply providing relief from the statutory scheme, because that is what the plaintiffs are entitled to.

I think the second point, Your Honor, is -- and I am not taking the position that plaintiffs do not have a First Amendment right to petition their government. Of course they do. And I am not taking the position, Your Honor, that Covid 19 made it harder to collect signatures. I don't think that that would be a reasonable position to take.

The position that I am taking is the position that the 9th Circuit took, which is you have to look at the entirety of the circumstances and whether a reasonably diligent campaign could qualify. And here we know that two reasonably diligent campaigns qualified.

And respectfully to the Court, I do not believe the inquiry is how many measures qualified in past election cycles, because each election cycle is remarkably different. Each cycle has different issues,

different people that want to come to the Court, and different people who want to seek relief.

For example, it was widely reported in the newspaper a few months ago that there were going to be three environmental initiatives that were going to have signature collections commence. Except the timber interests and environmental interests reached a compromise, and that was actually just passed in the special legislative session.

So you would be in a situation where you have five initiative positions here instead of two. It just didn't happen that way, because those chief petitioners chose not to pursue the initiatives.

The use of the initiative system historically in Oregon has generally been declining, and it's important to draw a distinction between initiative petitions, referrals, and referendums. All of those are ballot measures. And often, if I look at my ballot when I get it I see Measure 102 to 108. In this session there are going to be two legislative referrals, and as well as the two measures that qualify.

And under the reasonable diligence standard the reason we spent so much time, and Ms. Davis spent so much time in her declaration, is the simple fact that this is a Constitutional amendment. It has a higher signature

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threshold. That signature threshold is based on the last gubernatorial election, which had a high voter turnout.

Our population is growing exponentially and people are exceedingly more interested in politics.

And the -- since, I believe, they went back to, I believe, 2000 or 2002, only two Constitutional amendments have qualified as filed and started the process as late as this initiative.

THE COURT: One in 2004, and the Federal Court struck it down as a violation of basic rights.

MR. BERMAN: No, I agree. But that was -- that was one of two that managed to qualify. All other attempts to qualify on a Constitutional amendment that have happened this late simply have not made it, because you have to start early.

The suggestion -- and I take some -- I took some suggestion -- the suggestion that a ballot title challenge, which is part of the standard process of getting a ballot -- of getting the initiative circulation, the suggestion that that is somehow improper or improper delay is simply not true. In fact, in this instance --

THE COURT: But --

MR. BERMAN: -- the ballot --

THE COURT: It's hard to interrupt on video. I'm

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not disagreeing with you there, Mr. Berman. It's perfectly appropriate. But the argument -- I mean, did the psilocybin referendum have a challenge to its title?

MR. BERMAN: They didn't. But, Your Honor --

THE COURT: That goes towards timing, and that goes towards when signatures -- I mean, these aren't prophets, right. Nobody knew a pandemic was coming. They had to get through certain procedures around the ballot measure title. And I realize part of that, there's a surprise. There's politics going on. And a delay from your client, benefits the delay in getting signatures.

But what I hear you telling me is irrespective of that, even if they started in February, they were not going to get enough signatures.

MR. BERMAN: And I think that's the evidence.

And when we went through -- and going back, and I know you have seen this in the papers, and the State has argued this as well. When I go back and look at Mr. Turrill's declaration I read it differently than the Court does. And that's not just because I am opposed to the measure, it's also because I'm deeply engaged in initiative politics. I have been doing this for years.

And when you look at Ms. Kaufman's and Ms. Uherbelau's and Mr. Unger's declarations, what they

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all say is there wasn't a plan here. They said they needed a paid signature circulation firm, but there wasn't a paid signature firm that was hired or contracted. They say they need to gather X number of signatures, I believe 230,000 to meet your 150,000 threshold, but they didn't have a plan in place. They did not register any paid circulators beyond the initial five, when they did their qualification signatures. They didn't have any money in the bank.

And if you read Mr. Turrill's declaration, what he says is we had a number of meetings and we talked about how we really should have gotten going on this stuff, but we never did. And under those circumstances both -- two of the resident experts who both qualified 34 and 35, as well as Ms. Uherbelau, she spent a lot of time monitoring these things, all say under these circumstances one would not qualify.

And respectfully, even with the First Amendment right implicated under Angle, that doesn't get them anywhere near the threshold they need to get to for the extraordinary relief that they are seeking.

World War I, 1919 flu pandemic, the Great

Depression, World War II, the civil unrest in the '60s,

the Great Recession were all significant impediments to

fund raising, to action, and to political activity. And

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people managed to circulate initiatives and qualify them in all of those times.

This June, full Phase 1 in Multnomah County, the proponents's of Multnomah County initiative 08 gathered and submitted over 30,000 signatures in four weeks. And that's just in one county. That is reasonable diligence, Your Honor. It is not reasonable diligence to simply do nothing, have some community meetings, not file your initiative petition until November. That's why it's No. 57 instead of No. 5, which was the first redistricting initiative that was filed this cycle. And they could have filed this in 2018 when they spoke to Mr. Unger about doing it, and they did not.

THE COURT: This is in your briefing. I remember this.

MR. BERMAN: I'm getting there. The reasonable diligence standard -- even if the First Amendment rights are implicated, the reasonable diligence standard here simply was not even close to being there.

THE COURT: Mr. Elzinga, I want to address primarily that issue. I think that's the turning point of this case in my mind. I do believe First Amendment concerns are implicated. The question is, are you likely to succeed on the merits? I think on your legal arguments, yes. But I am concerned about this issue of

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whether the campaign was ever really in a position to succeed in gathering the amount of signatures that were required for an amendment. This isn't just a referendum, but you are amending the Constitution.

It would be kind of similar if you graduated at the bottom two percent of your law class and, you know, you get to enter the Oregon Bar this year. That's not the rules here. You have to show that there was some diligence, and in some ways you would have to show you are kind of in that top percentile.

So if you could address that, I would appreciate it.

MR. ELZINGA: Thank you, Your Honor. This is Steve Elzinga on behalf of the plaintiffs. I agree with the Court -- sorry.

THE COURT: For some reason I am still looking at Mr. Berman. I don't know why Mr. Elzinga --

MR. ELZINGA: The reason for that, Your Honor, is I was having connection issues so I am doing video through my computer, but I'm doing audio through my phone. So it doesn't come up as speaker view. I apologize, Your Honor.

THE COURT: I see you now in the bottom right in a small corner. You are one of the Brady Bunch squares.

Oh, now you are here. Okay. We got you.

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MR. ELZINGA: So I agree with the Court that the reasonable diligence test is the key issue in this case. And I think it's important to think through the four main stages of an initiative process, and how that uniquely applies in this case. And then after I walk through those, I would appreciate the opportunity to call Mr. Ted Blaszak, who is our main expert on this issue with extensive experience. And my understanding is he's on the line and available to testify. I believe he can provide the best information for the Court on exactly why we are confident we would have qualified.

THE COURT: Stop for just a second. I heard you say his name, but could you say his name out loud again?

MR. ELZINGA: Ted Blaszak.

THE COURT: So you are declarant, right?

MR. ELZINGA: That's correct. Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you. Go ahead, please.

MR. ELZINGA: And I also have Mr. Turrill and Ms. Johnson on the line, as well, if they are needed for testimony.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. ELZINGA: So the four stages of the initiative process that this campaign has gone through, start with the first stage being the drafting and coalition building stage of the process. And the State

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and amicus spent a lot of time criticizing the campaign for waiting until the fall to file. And there's an easy explanation for that, is that this initiative deals with redistricting. It's a very complex topic. And the drafting of a plan to deal with that was complicated, especially because there is such a broad coalition here.

Your Honor, the coalition ranges from, you know, the Farm Bureau to the Progressive Party of Oregon. And not every member of the coalition was involved in drafting, but a large number of groups and individuals were involved in drafting, and it was being tweaked to adjust to those various government groups to make sure that all concerns were addressed before it was filed.

And the fact that the Supreme Court of Oregon quickly dismissed the challenge to the ballot title shows they did a good job in the drafting of the initiative. It was done in a way that enabled a clear ballot title to be drafted on the first try without any need for a Court intervention.

And they went through the preliminary signature process of getting between 1,000 and 2,000 signatures. They got 2,200 signatures, more than needed. They got through the ballot title appeal process, and had a ballot title approved by the Oregon Supreme Court at the end of March.

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And if the Court looks at historical precedent for qualification of initiatives that have similar circumstances, in every election cycle for the past decade an initiative that had a ballot title approved in March, April or even May, was able to qualify. And in fact --

THE COURT: Okay. But are all of those petitions, or are any of them Constitutional amendments?

MR. ELZINGA: Your Honor, not all of those were Constitutional amendments, and I do not remember off the top of my head how many of them -- I know there's at least one that was a Constitutional amendment from -- if you look at the chart, it's from the declaration of Summer Davis, which the State pointed you to earlier.

My recollection is that one of the -- no, I think two of the Constitutional measures were similarly situated. But I would have to go back and check. I am not 100 percent confident off the top of my head, Your Honor, and if I could check on that and get back to the Court on that while the Court is hearing other arguments, I would be happy to do that. And I will make a note to do that.

The point being, though, that if initiatives have been able to qualify, despite receiving ballot title approval that late in the cycle, and over a third of all

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initiatives began as Constitutional and statutory, in the last decade have qualified.

And since the year 2000, an average of 7.2 initiatives have qualified per cycle. Now, there's been some pretty wide variance. I think one cycle there was up to as many as 18 qualified, and another cycle it's been as low as four. But clearly there are fewer initiatives that qualify under the normal rules.

And so that's an important contextual situation. And what Mr. Blaszak will testify to is that there was no contract signed between him and the campaign, but there was an agreement and a proposal from him, specific proposal with a specific timeline, specific dollar amount, and they were ready to hit go as soon as the campaign was ready.

And so the problem was the campaign received approval of the ballot title at the end of March, and at that point the governor's executive order had gone into effect. And that prohibited people from coming within six feet of someone who is not a member of their household. That executive order removed the main forum for signature gathering, because there were no options for group events.

You couldn't stand outside of the Blazer game after the crowd comes out of the stadium like you used

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to. There was a stay-at-home requirement that required people to stay home to the maximum extent possible. Businesses were required to offer telecommuting options to their employees to the maximum extent possible. And I think that provision did not start in March. I think that came in a later executive order, possibly in May.

But the point being there was a number of significant State imposed regulations that made it, as a practical matter, impossible to qualify an initiative for the ballot despite the fact that the campaign had done extensive planning, despite the fact that the campaign had infrastructure in place. They were ready to hit go on a paid signature gathering team.

It had all costs broke out. They raised over \$600,000 and, yes, they needed to raise at least \$900,000 to qualify, but the problem is, as Mr. Turrill will testify if given the opportunity, once the governor's executive orders came into effect, it significantly hampered their fund raising from large donors who look at the situation and say, you are probably not going to qualify. So why would you get campaign donations in that situation? So they did everything they possibly could to get moving.

And I think it's important and very instructive to the Court in thinking about the information that

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amicus provided from Our Oregon. And the PNP campaign and their coalition do not dispute that Our Oregon has provided evidence that they are sophisticated, they are professional, they are experienced. They know how to qualify ballot measures. They are good at what they do. And, in fact, Ted Blaszak will testify, if allowed, that he believes Our Oregon is the single most sophisticated entity in terms of ballot measures in the State of Oregon.

But that's not the standard. The standard is not, are you the best initiative campaign ever. The standard is, are you a reasonably diligent campaign. And the initiative system itself is a process about the people of Oregon empowering average citizens, average people to participate in the process. And that's what this case is ultimately about. It's about people and it's about precedent. It's about people --

THE COURT: And I appreciate that part. But let's talk about some facts.

How many signatures have you actually gathered to date?

MR. ELZINGA: As of July 2nd they turned in 64,172. And there is no evidence in the record regarding signatures received this week, but if the Court will indulge, I can tell you that they received several

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hundred additional signatures this week in the mail, and are prepared to continue gathering.

THE COURT: So tell me, about when did that signature gathering begin? Was it all under the kind of cloud of Covid, we will call it, and what diligence did you perform in getting those 64,000 signatures? Because, I mean, it seems like a reasonable number to me to have gotten under the circumstances.

And I maybe didn't quite understand in your briefing, because we had a quick time frame here, how it was that you got those signatures. I knew you explained it, but can you walk me through how you were able to, under even the worst of circumstances, get the signatures, or were you able to get some of these signatures, the majority of them, before the worst of situations occurred?

MR. ELZINGA: Thank you, Your Honor. So the campaign, when it received approval for the ballot title, was in a very difficult predicament, because of all the governor's orders. So there was initially a pause, and quite frankly, a panic trying to figure out how do we move forward. And the chief petitioners on the line are able to testify today that the campaign was considering, are these orders going to be lifted in a week, in two weeks, in a month.

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And so they prepared a three pronged approach.

The first prong was hoping to be able to do in-person signature circulation starting up -- I believe it's April or May. And Mr. Turrill will be able to testify exactly when during that time it was.

And the second prong was to do an online web portal to allow people to download the petition and print the petition at home. Put it in an envelope, mail it back.

And the third prong, the most important prong for gathering those 64,000 signatures was a large mailing that was done to over 500,000 Oregonians that had instructions on how to sign a petition sheet. Trying to call out the fact that even if you are the only signer, you have to sign at the top, and you also have to sign a second time as the circulator. That's a confusing process for a lot of people who aren't familiar with the initiative system, so there were several thousand signatures that had to --

THE COURT: Let's back up on that. So if I got something in the mail it would have said, if you are interested in this petition, sign it, but you are also the circulator who is witnessing your own signature and you have to sign that? Is that what I am trying to --

MR. ELZINGA: Yes, Your Honor. That's the

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requirement. There used to be a provision that had been repealed in 2019, ironically -- well, I won't get into why it was repealed. But there used to be a provision that allowed a campaign to mail out a sheet that just had one signature spot on the sheet, and they could just sign once and turn it back in.

But that process was prevented by the legislature in 2019 when they said that such sheets could not be sent out as Our Oregon did actually a couple of cycles ago, they sent out thousands of those sheets. But they now had to be printed at home by an individual on their own computer, and certify they printed it at home. So that effectively prevented that from being used in mailings.

So that means signature gathering by mail effectively has to send out a normal petition sheet that requires both the signing at the top to say you want it on the ballot, and a signature at the bottom as the circulator.

THE COURT: Did the mailing give a phone number or a website to gather more information?

MR. ELZINGA: I believe it did, Your Honor, yes. And Ms. Johnson is on the line, and I think she'll testify to that because she helped put that mailing together. But the mailing had instructions on how to sign the sheet.

I actually received one myself, so I took a look at it.

THE COURT: Did you sign it?

MR. ELZINGA: Yes, Your Honor, I did. I signed it, my wife signed it, and we sent it back.

THE COURT: I don't mean to play devil's advocate, but 500,000 mailings went out, you got something less than the 60,000 signatures that you got.

Is there an argument that the voters weren't that interested in it, or do you think it was a matter of the process itself, the mailing process was never going to be that successful?

MR. ELZINGA: Your Honor, it's because of the process itself. The mail-in had a six percent -- I think over a six percent response rate, which is extraordinary compared to a normal response rate that I believe is lower than half a percent.

Our Oregon in their declaration talks about a mail-in they did where they got an 11 percent response rate, and Ted Blaszak is able to testify that his understanding is that that was likely a small mailing, that was a little more targeted. So you are going to get a larger response rate -- or higher response rate when it's targeted and a smaller mailing.

But when you are doing a general, broad mail-out

blast to 500,000 Oregonians, you are going to get a lower rate. And no one has submitted any evidence that any campaign has done anything like that before on that scale, that has had that level of response rate for signing initiative petitions, let alone for signing them and then signing them again as the circulator the second time.

THE COURT: I do want to hear briefly from your witnesses. Who would you like to have speak first?

MR. ELZINGA: Your Honor, I would appreciate Ted Blaszak first.

THE COURT: Mr. Blaszak, are you on the line?

### EDWARD LEWIS BLASZAK,

produced as a witness, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

THE WITNESS: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Please state your name and spell your first and last name for the court reporter.

THE WITNESS: Edward Lewis Blaszak the III, also known as Ted Blaszak. So B as in boy, L-A-S-Z-A-K.

THE COURT: Mr. Blaszak, what I really want you to focus on is what factors did you take into account to opine that this was a diligent campaign that had a reasonable chance of getting the number of signatures it

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needed in the time frame it had, absent the Covid virus restriction.

THE WITNESS: Well, I was hired by the campaign, and I helped run their signature validation and processing. My firm did that. So I was intimately aware with seeing the returns in the mail, the validity rate. The error rate, all of that.

So I was quite involved in the campaign. So I have that perspective of being on the ground. But the basis of my opinions is also upon qualifying several measures, including Constitutional measures in the State of Oregon -- and past clients have included Our Oregon and the Oregon Secretary of State's office that hired me personally, not my company, to -- that was when Governor Brown was Secretary of State, so that's my background.

 $\label{eq:continuous} \mbox{ And I have qualified several measures in the past } \\ \mbox{within this time frame. So I --} \\$ 

THE COURT: Measures for Constitutional amendments or simply legal change?

THE WITNESS: Both. Both Constitutional and statutory measures, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Which Constitutional amendments were you able to get the number of appropriate signatures in this kind of time frame?

THE WITNESS: Okay. Hold on, I will pull it up.

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Let's see, I have to double-check on this, but I believe the equal rights amendment, which I worked on in 2016, was Constitutional, and that would have been within the same time frame. Trying to find other Constitutional ones. Sorry, I am looking through a list of 20. Most of them -- and then there was the casino, that second time that I gathered signatures for it in 2018. And then --

THE COURT: So I guess the difficulty of asking this question is that -- Constitutional amendment requires more signatures. But a Constitutional amendment, you know, eight years ago could have required 80,000 and today we're requiring over 140,000. So maybe a better question is what kind of numbers were you able to arrive at in terms of signatures in a similar time frame?

THE WITNESS: I believe from my notes I can say that the casino measure that I qualified that was Constitutional in 2016 required 138,000 valid, which would be pretty much 10 or 11,000 less than this year's requirement.

THE COURT: You are telling me you did that in the same time frame as here?

THE WITNESS: Yeah. I mean, the typical time frame for me is to gather signatures February, March, but I frequently have started gathering on campaigns as late

as April.

THE COURT: Okay. What else would you like to tell me.

THE WITNESS: Okay. Thanks for asking. A few things. One is the rate of return, the 65,000. There was an additional 10 percent signatures about 6,500 signatures that we had to mail back to voters because they were confused by the Byzantine practice of having to sign as a circulator and a petitioner themselves, and they were just quite confused by that. So the response rate was actually higher, if not for the errors.

Also, I have worked on this campaign for this coalition group in the past, although it was a long time ago. And they were able to -- and I worked for them in their volunteer signature gathering efforts and they were able to gather in the past like 20 or 30,000 signatures easily.

And this time the volunteer signatures came in at closer to 4,000. And I think that -- and that's clearly just because of the pandemic. That's the other thing I wanted to say. The pandemic unquestionably, undeniably dampened, prohibited, inhibited, made signature gathering very, very difficult. I don't know why you can pretend that --

THE COURT: Mr. Blaszak, that's not the issue I

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need you to talk about. It was the reasonable diligence and whether it was sufficient for me to find that it's reasonable to believe that they are irreparably harmed because there's at least reason to believe they would have made the ballot here.

THE WITNESS: Oh, well, I had sent them a proposal and several revised proposals as circumstances changed, and the latest proposals I was sending them were in late March where I detailed exactly how we would gather the signatures and how the approach would be, and how much it would cost.

And as the pandemic was breaking out, it was clear we needed to move away from sidewalk gathering or the more traditional approach. But earlier this year I had given them a full proposal and full plan that they, speaking with our consultant, had tacitly agreed to and it was just a matter of waiting to pull the trigger.

So I was fully prepared. I had a full detailed plan, and they had -- were given the price of how much it would cost, and they felt that they could do it. It was 900,000. So there was a plan in place.

THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. Mr. Elzinga, do you have any questions of your witness? I will allow each side to a ask a couple of questions if there's something you feel needs to be highlighted.

### DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. ELZINGA:

Q Mr. Blaszak, could you talk briefly about the normal rate of gathering signatures as you scale up the signature gathering, and then plateau, and what you expect to gather per week, et cetera.

A Sure. So a normal signature gathering campaign has a little bit of an arc, a curve. And this is particularly true of paid-per-hour campaigns that I run. Where the first week you will gather 1 to 3,000. Then the second week you are coming in at 4 to 6,000. And then the third week you are getting at nine.

And then usually after that in Oregon on statewide, I quickly get to the level of about 15,000 a week. And depending upon the urgency, I can ramp that up or dial it down. If you dial it down, you have more efficiency in your hours and labor activity. So you want to keep it low if you have time. But if you don't have time, you can expand.

I certainly have done it in the past, and there's been several campaigns where late in the spring I have gathered over 20,000 signatures a week.

Q Mr. Blaszak, one more question for you. When you -- when you had the initiative that didn't qualify on

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casinos, can you talk about why you think that initiative is different than this initiative for qualification purposes?

A Oh, well, so on the casino measure in 2014 I ran two petitions, companion petitions, and one of them qualified and one of them barely did not, and that was because of duplicate signatures. But the quantity of signatures was sufficient. Certainly one of them qualified.

The second time I gathered signatures, both of them in 2016, both of them qualified and that was one Constitutional and one statutory. But that was an unpopular petition compared to gerrymandering, and the subject matter really does matter.

If it's a confusing issue that you have to spend a lot of time explaining to voters, and that dampens your signatures per hour. But I felt this would be very popular, and I focus group tested it with several people, and I got a very good response.

So I feel that this is a good petition to circulate, and would have a decent amount of signatures per hour, which would be better than the casino by far.

MR. ELZINGA: That's all I have for now.

THE COURT: Ms. Beatty-Walters or Mr. Marshall, do you have any questions you would like to pose to Mr. Blaszak?

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Your Honor, I have a little trouble with the mouse. I am going to kick it over to Mr. Marshall for questions, if you wouldn't mind.

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## CROSS EXAMINATION

6 BY MR. MARSHALL:

- Q Mr. Blaszak, what is the basis of your estimate of 20,000 per week?
- 9 A I did it for -- I got 20,000 a week when I was doing 10 the legal marijuana petition, when I was doing the ERA
- 11 petition. And also there was an environmental petition,
- 12 Oregon Wildlife and Parks, that came to me at the last
- 13 minute, and in ten days I got 60,000 signatures. So my
- 14 basis? I have done it.
- 15 Q How many signature gatherers did you have?
- 16 A 100.
- 17 Q Was that the top speed in the ramp-up process, as you
- 18 | referred to it?
- 19 A I would say that the most amount of signatures I have
- 20 ever gathered in a week in Oregon would be a little -- I
- 21 think it's as much as 25,000, but that would be a peak
- 22 | week performance. That takes a few weeks to build up to.
- 23 Q And the early weeks are more in the category of 1 to
- 24 2,000, you said?
- 25 A I would say -- well, it depends on how much pressure

I have on me in terms of deadlines. I would say you can think about it as like 2 to 3,000 the first week, 4 to 6,000 the second week, and close to 9,000 on the third week. And during the third week is when you really jump up.

And my approach is I open up offices, multiple offices, statewide. But I start with one office in Portland, and I open another office in Eugene, and that's why I am able to gather quick growth.

- Q Have you ever been involved in a campaign that qualified a Constitutional amendment for the Oregon ballot that started circulation in April of the election year or later?
- A Yes, that's what I said earlier. Especially I told you that that casino ballot measure that I did in 2016 would have been on that time frame. And also I just referred to the Oregon Parks and Wildlife linking park funding to the lottery fund. I did -- like I said, that was 60,000 signatures in ten days so --
- 20 Q Sir, I apologize. Are you done?
- 21 A -- that was statutory.

- I am sorry. Go ahead.
  - Q Focus in on my question. Have you ever been involved in a campaign that qualified a measure for the Oregon ballot that would amend the Oregon Constitution, that

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began circulating in April of the election year or later?

THE COURT: Mr. Marshall, both of us asked him that question and he answered it yes.

MR. MARSHALL: The answer, I believe, is going to be no, because he just said it was statutory. He just corrected himself and said it's statutory.

THE WITNESS: Okay. In 2016 I qualified a Constitutional ballot measure to allow casinos to operate in Oregon that was very, very close to this time frame. It may have started in late March. It didn't start any earlier.

MR. MARSHALL: Okay. Thank you.

THE COURT: Okay. Thank you, Mr. Blaszak.

Mr. Elzinga, any other witnesses you wish to have address the Court?

MR. BERMAN: Your Honor, this is Mr. Berman. May I have the opportunity to ask Mr. Blaszak a couple of questions?

THE COURT: You are amicus counsel. I did not allow an intervention. So I have read your amicus briefs and your amicus declarations.

MR. BERMAN: Would the Court permit us to subsequently submit the Secretary of State's records on initiative 36, ballot measure 82, which I believe is the 2016 measure Mr. Blaszak was referring to that occurred

Page 51 1 in 2012 where circulation began in February. THE COURT: Yes, I will take your statement that 2 3 that is the case. We are still talking about reasonable diligence, not absolute. 4 5 Any further witnesses, Mr. Elzinga? MR. ELZINGA: Your Honor, if I could -- may I ask 6 7 one more question of Mr. Blaszak? 8 9 DIRECT EXAMINATION CONTINUING BY MR. ELZINGA: 10 11 As I mentioned earlier, you testified to this and I 12 want to make sure it's on the record. Mr. Blaszak, how would you characterize Our 13 Oregon's sophistication related to initiatives processes? 14 15 They are brilliant. They are very good. They are 16 the best in the state. They are an excellent organization that clearly understands the ballot measure 17 18 process. They came to exist for this reason, and they 19 have been functioning -- I was there when they formed. 20 was part of their early days. Yeah, they are great. Are 21 you kidding me? 22 MR. ELZINGA: Thank you. THE COURT: Okay. Any further witnesses? 23 MR. ELZINGA: Your Honor, I would like to call 24 Mr. Turrill. 25

Page 52 1 THE COURT: I am sorry, Mr. --Mr. Turrill, the chief petitioner 2 MR. ELZINGA: 3 in this case. THE COURT: Are you there online with us? 4 5 THE WITNESS: Yes, Your Honor. 6 THE COURT: All right. 7 NORMAN TURRILL, 8 produced as a witness, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows: 9 10 THE COURT: State and spell your first and last 11 name for us. 12 THE WITNESS: Yes. Norman Turrill, N-O-R-M-A-N, last name T-U-R-R-I-L-L. And it's pronounced "Turrill" 13 14 that rhymes with "pearl" if the Court would be helped by 15 that. 16 THE COURT: Thank you. All right. Mr. Turrill, what would you like to tell me about 17 18 the campaign in terms of its diligence, and if, in a 19 perfect world, starting the signature gathering would 20 have been successful at the beginning of April. 21 THE WITNESS: So first of all, Your Honor, we 22 were delayed continually by the efforts of our opponents at a couple of different points. And the dynamics of a 23 24 coalition are such that we have to attract people to the 25 issue by adjusting the issue, so the drafting itself took

1 quite awhile. And it's a very complicated issue.

2 Redistricting, I think, is maybe one of the most

3 complicated. And I think we can claim that we don't have

the best proposal for a redistricting process, but we can

claim that the process that we came out with in the long

drafting process is better than what the legislature does

7 now.

As far as the diligence in the campaign, we did everything we could to get ready to do the campaign when we were permitted to by the Secretary of State.

There's an additional step, by the way, after the State Supreme Court validated the ballot measure title, and that is, the Secretary of State has to then prepare templates. And there's a little negotiation that goes on between the campaign and the Secretary of State as to exactly what is on those templates, and that took the additional week or two.

We were ready to hire Mr. Blaszak with a prepared contract, and we were ready to pull the trigger on that back in March, but we didn't get the permission to circulate until early April. The campaign then really went into a period of consternation, because three things happened. One, because of the governor's orders there's a lot of fund raising that dried up temporarily, because the people who might have given us large contributions

essentially didn't think we could do it.

I remember talking to one person that was capable of getting us a six figure donation, and she said that she really didn't think we could do it, come back after we made the ballot. We did extensive fund raising anyway. We were very successful getting individual contributions early on, and contributions from League of Women Voters put in some \$30,000 altogether. Common Cause put in \$140,000, as I recall. And so the fund raising did happen, but it happened at a slower pace.

The other thing is that our volunteers sort of dried up, as well. We had expected to do a component of volunteer street petitioning, and the demographics of the League of Women Voters, and to some extent, Common Cause, the principal grass roots organizations, they really were unwilling to get out into the streets, at least at first. There were a couple of groups that finally did get out in the -- late May and -- excuse me, late June and early July, but those were exceptions to the rule.

Many of our members are between 60 and 90 years old. They are just in the vulnerable groups that are vulnerable to the pandemic, and many were unwilling to even consider it. I, myself, am 77 years old, and have done extensive signature gathering in the past, collecting thousands of signatures on different

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petitions, and I am in the vulnerable group because of my age, and I am also diabetic.

Another member simply refused, because she was also in the vulnerable group and her partner was a diabetic, and she didn't want to be able to bring the pandemic to her home. So that was another factor.

And then the third thing that was -- even if we could have gotten out on the street, there was nobody else on the street to petition, especially early on. There's no big venues of sporting events. There wasn't large crowds of people that were going to work through, say, the Beaverton Transit Center where we have traditionally collected signatures.

THE COURT: Tell me about where else you have traditionally gone to get signatures.

THE WITNESS: County fairs, for example, or big gatherings of people. The governor's orders prohibited anybody over 250 at first, and then 25, as I recall, later.

THE COURT: I understand the impacts of Covid.

What I am trying to get at is what you had in place. If I understand right, you know, by the time you were ready to gather signatures things were already closing down, or was there any period of time where you had hired -- you had a plan of signature gatherers to go out.

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THE WITNESS: We had a plan to do signature gathering in March, and as soon as the pandemic set in we pivoted to the three-prong plan that Mr. Elzinga described earlier, principally the direct mail campaign.

THE COURT: Can you tell me about how large your coalition is? I hear coalition, I think of a lot of groups. Can you tell me how many partners are involved in this coalition, how many members they have, whether they were financially supporting you, whether they were willing to give you a volunteer support, the demographics of just in -- across Oregon or in particular areas?

THE WITNESS: We have a very large coalition that really spans the whole political spectrum. The League was one of the principle organizations in this, the League of Women Voters of Oregon. Common Cause of Oregon, the Farm Bureau of Oregon, Taxpayers Association of Oregon, Oregon Taxpayer Association, the AARP, American University of Women, OSPIRG, the Independent Party of Oregon, the Progressive Party of Oregon, some Chambers of Commerce were supportive. There's a whole flock of individuals that covered the political spectrum, as well.

There was well-demonstrated support for this proposal, and I have no doubt that if we had had the chance, we could have gotten the signatures that we were

going to be required to qualify for the ballot. And if we did get it on the ballot, I am quite sure the voters would pass it.

We did some polling early on that showed the viability of the issue, and we tested some messages in what we would have in the ultimate campaign. All of that looked very good compared to other previous efforts that I had been involved in.

As far as how fast we could gather the signatures, in my experience, I actually grew up in Washington State and Seattle, and I remember a ballot measure in Washington State that started a month before the deadline and gathered 400,000 signatures very rapidly because the issue was very popular. So it is doable. We were optimistic that we could do it. We just didn't have the opportunity to do that.

THE COURT: Okay. Mr. Elzinga, any other questions for Mr. Turrill?

MR. ELZINGA: Yes, Your Honor.

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. ELZINGA:

- Q How much money did the campaign raise overall?
- A We raised about \$600,000 to the end. The campaign
- 25 | fund raising actually picked up once we started signature

- 1 gathering, and we think we could have gotten everything
- 2 | we needed if we had not been delayed.
- 3 Q And Mr. Blaszak said earlier that he quoted you, I
- 4 think, around \$900,000 for doing the full paid initiative
- 5 petition circulation. Can you --
- 6 A I am confident we could have raised that.
- 7 Q And what makes you confident that you could have
- 8 raised that?
- 9 A Because we were delayed -- the impact of the pandemic
- 10 was that our fund raising dried up temporarily, and we
- 11 | could have raised another \$300,000 during that period, I
- 12 think.
- 13 Q What did you budget to raise in the campaign?
- 14 A One million dollars for the signature gathering part
- 15 of the campaign.
- 16 Q Did you assume you were going to hit your budget?
- 17 A Yes.
- 18 Q Did you have a plan in place to hit your budget from
- 19 the fund raising perspective?
- 20 A Yes, we hired a professional fund raiser, Lori
- 21 Hardwood, was her name. And she was on track to raise
- 22 that kind of budget. And as I said, we were sort of shut
- 23 down for a month or so.
- 24 Q Is there anything else you think is important to
- 25 | share with the Court?

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A Well, I think the Court understands the personal nature of signature gathering, and why individuals would be hesitant to go out and do that kind of personal signature gathering. It requires somebody to stop a stranger on the street, be within a conversation distance of them, hand them a clipboard and a pen that may be contaminated, and have a brief conversation, at least with them in a close conversational distance.

And that was just not possible, and that's how traditional petitioning occurs, and we had to pivot to the mail and electronic means for collecting signatures. And given how many signatures we actually collected, I think we were phenomenally successful in demonstrating the viability of the issue among the voters, and they quickly understand the problem of redistricting and gerrymandering, especially with the various court cases that have occurred around the country, including the United States Supreme Court.

There was a lot of attention paid to the problem of gerrymandering, and voters in Oregon are very astute and got the message very quickly and would readily have signed it.

Q So the big question is, if it were not for the pandemic and related health orders, would you have qualified for the ballot?

Page 60 Absolutely, in my opinion. 1 Α MR. ELZINGA: That's all I have, Your Honor. 2 3 THE COURT: Mr. Marshall, do you have any questions for Mr. Turrill? 4 MR. MARSHALL: Yes, Your Honor. 5 6 7 CROSS EXAMINATION BY MR. MARSHALL: 8 9 Mr. Turrill, do you have your declaration in front of you, by chance? 10 11 Α Maybe. 12 If not, I can point you to the timeline and maybe you 13 can remember. 14 I have a draft of it, anyway. Go ahead. Paragraph 9 of that declaration talks about the 15 meaning of the EC, which I take to be Executive Committee 16 on the petition? 17 18 Α Yes. 19 At that point, you didn't expect there to be -- you 20 didn't know of the Covid issue being of the magnitude as 21 it is; is that right? 22 That's just when the first order from the governor 23 came out, yeah. And we imagined that it would last for a 24 month or so, or a few weeks. We had no idea that it 25 would last for the whole period of signature gathering

- 1 | that we had left.
- 2 Q So your declaration moves to the -- the next
- 3 paragraph talks about the executive order on March 8th.
- 4 | So at that March 3rd executive committee meeting, how
- 5 | many staff were on staff for the petition campaign?
- 6 A We had -- well, one and a half staff at that point.
- 7 Q Paragraph 9 details a number of forums, but it
- 8 doesn't say how many people were going to be hired in the
- 9 next several weeks. Why is that?
- 10 A We had the plan in place to hire the signature
- 11 gatherers through Mr. Blaszak's company, and that had
- 12 always been the plan at that point.
- 13 Q Was Mr. Blaszak one of the one and a half?
- 14 A No.
- 15 Q Okay. How many ballot measures that seek
- 16 | Constitutional amendments has League of Women Voters been
- 17 | a part of the coalition to put on the ballot in Oregon?
- 18 A How many ballot measures?
- 19 Q I am sorry. How many Constitutional amendments, is
- 20 | what I meant to say. I apologize.
- 21 A I can't answer for sure, but I think the ballot
- 22 | measure to institute all-mail voting was a Constitutional
- 23 | measure, and the League of Women Voters was the principal
- 24 on that. It was about 1990 something. That was before I
- 25 entered the state, though.

- 1 Q And since then, the League of Women Voters hasn't
- 2 been part of the coalition that has successfully
- 3 | qualified a Constitutional amendment?
- 4 A That's correct, to my knowledge. But we have been
- 5 involved in other ballot measures, even through --
- 6 together with Our Oregon, we worked together on the
- 7 | ballot measure, I believe it was No. 49, in which one of
- 8 the league members was actually their poster woman for
- 9 I the TV ads.
- 10 Q What -- do you know how many of the 54,000 signatures
- 11 | you have collected are valid signatures?
- 12 A Yes. We have an estimate, anyway. Our process when
- 13 | we received the mail was to open the envelopes, and then
- 14 validate as far as we could, all of the signatures by
- 15 looking them up in the voter registration database. And
- 16 of the ones that were mailed back from our mailing and
- 17 the electronic efforts, there was something like
- 18 | 98 percent that were probably valid. We couldn't
- 19 validate their signatures as such, but we did validate
- 20 their names and addresses. So it was a very high
- 21 percentage.

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- MR. MARSHALL: No further questions.
- 23 THE COURT: Thank you.
- 24 Mr. Elzinga, anybody else that is going to add
- 25 | any additional information?

Page 63 MR. ELZINGA: Yes, I would like to call 1 Ms. Johnson, please. 2 3 THE COURT: Ms. Johnson, are you on the line? THE WITNESS: I am thank you. 4 5 CANDALYNN JOHNSON, 6 7 produced as a witness, having been first duly sworn, 8 was examined and testified as follows: 9 THE COURT: Could you please state your first and 10 last name, and spell them? 11 THE WITNESS: My name is Candalynn Johnson, and 12 it's spelled C-A-N-D-A-L-Y-N-N, Johnson. 13 THE COURT: With no T? 14 THE WITNESS: No T. 15 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you, Ms. Johnson. 16 can you tell me about the campaign and why you believe 17 reasonable diligence was being exercised, such that but for the Covid cloud, you would have achieved the 18 19 signature gathering goals? 20 THE WITNESS: The campaign really focused at the 21 beginning of making sure that we had supporters across 22 the state. It really needed to be multi-partisan. needed to be large. We needed to get the word out across 23 Oregon that this is an issue. And we did that education 24 25 across the state very early, because it was a complicated

issue a lot of voters had a lot of questions on. It's not a hot issue, it's not a sexy issue.

And so it took a lot of voter education, and a lot of talking to voters about what even is redistricting, how is gerrymandering even done in Oregon. And so what I would say is that a lot of my responsibility was that voter education and the coalition building.

So I was the one that was presenting to potential coalition members, members like the Polk County Democrats who wanted someone from the campaign to come and present to their group, because they had a lot of questions about this complex measure. And I actually had to go several times to their meetings, because after having a presentation they would have even more questions before their board would approve it.

And different organizations who ended up endorsing our measure, they had a lot of leadership that needed campaign -- campaign questions answered, too.

Along with folks who signed up as an individual.

So there were a few questions that I wanted to either clarify or answer for the Court. One is that just individuals, we had over 600 folks who signed to endorse the campaign. Not sign the measure, but saying they endorse on our website. We also have had several of

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those who said we could publicly list their organizations, and we list quite a few of our coalition members.

But there are actually quite a few that I was not able to connect with that probably would have endorsed if I was able to actually speak to their groups in person. And I actually have a whole list of really, really awesome public events that would have reached a lot of groups in Oregon that are usually very involved that I just wasn't able to due to the pandemic, and due to lack of access and ability to use teleconferencing communication.

And some of those examples I can actually bring up. So I had in March through May, I had a public forum in Gold Beach that was cancelled, I had a public forum in Eugene that was sponsored by the -- co-sponsored by the NAACP that was canceled. I had a presentation with the Marion County Dems canceled. I had a presentation with PSU students that was canceled.

And then the biggest event that we had that we had been spending probably a couple of months planning, that we were really excited for was that the California Independent Redistricting Commissioners were going to come up and do a week-long tour across the state where they could talk to voters about how this Independent

Redistricting Commission works in California. And we were expecting this to be really huge that ended up being canceled.

Some of those events throughout that week, one was going to be at the Capitol with a Q and A with really involved folks, able to ask those California commissioners questions. We had a program that was scheduled in Portland with -- facilitated by Commissioner Hardesty. We had another program that was scheduled in Eugene.

And so that's just some examples of some of the outreach that is essential, I think, to a grass roots campaign that just didn't happen because of the pandemic and because of the orders.

THE COURT: Thank you. Mr. Elzinga any questions?

### DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. ELZINGA:

Q As you think about what type of campaign the People Not Politicians campaign was, how would you characterize it on the spectrum of on the one hand, highly professional, and on the other hand, highly volunteer and grass roots. Where on that spectrum would you say that campaign was?

A I would actually classify it as a volunteer grass

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roots coalition. I think we had folks on the coalition that had a lot of professional experience, but the majority of the people in the leadership came from really big grass roots organizations that are all volunteer like the League of Women Voters. Those are all volunteers. The Common Cause is a lot of volunteers.

So part of the issue that we had was that when Covid happened and there was an order saying unless it's absolutely necessary, please stay at home, a lot of our volunteers were in at-risk populations. And even when some places did end up opening up to Phase 1, they really really felt like it was detrimental to their health to come out and support us.

So they were very limited in what they were able to do to be able to gather signatures for us, because they had to prioritize the safety and health of the people around them.

Q Ms. Johnson, based on your intimate knowledge of the campaign and its planning and what got canceled, what would have happened, et cetera, do you believe that the campaign would have qualified for the ballot if Covid 19 and related health orders had not come along?

A I definitely think it would have. Part of the reason why I think the Covid really hurt us was that every time we thought, okay, this is the new state of being, this is

where we can move forward, it kept changing the timeline.

We were so unsure of when certain counties were going to open, what was going to be allowed, what would be those restrictions, and we had to create contingency plan after contingency plan, and that kept on having to change.

Because you can't just say tomorrow I am going to have 100 people in some area go out and do this. They have to have training. They have to have all of this contact tracing, all of these things. And every county had completely different requirements. And so that involved so much planning and so much safety, and we really wanted to prioritize the safety of all of our supporters. We wanted to make sure people knew that we prioritized their safety on the campaign. And we love this issue.

And so having to have to keep going back to that timeline really limited our ability to be able to really bring out a large on-the-streets effort, even if we thought we could safely, just due to the fact that every county would have been so different.

- Q Can you talk briefly about the process of the mail campaign that gathered most of the 60,000 signatures, and how that was put together and what happened?
- 25 A Right. Yeah.

THE COURT: Hold on a second. I think I have a enough testimony on that, Mr. Elzinga.

THE WITNESS: One thing I did want to clarify for the Court, though, is the number 500,000. So the house -- those were actually households. So we mailed 500,000 households. The number of voters that those households had in them was approximately 1.3 million. I did want to clarify that for the Court.

THE COURT: I am not sure if that helps you or hurts you.

THE WITNESS: I like being honest, so --

THE COURT: All right. Mr. Marshall, any questions for --

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: That one is me, Your Honor.

This is Christina Beatty-Walters for the Secretary of

State. I would like to ask a few questions.

# CROSS EXAMINATION

BY MS. BEATTY-WALTERS:

- Q Ms. Johnson, you testified that and explained in your declaration that your original -- what you originally did is to go out and gather support, and to talk to people starting in 2018; is that right?
- 24 A Uh-huh, correct.
  - Q But it wasn't until November of 2019 that the

- campaign submitted the petition to the Secretary of State, so more than a year later, right?
- 3 A That it was filed, correct.
- 4 Q Why did it take so long?

A Well, the reason for that was because not only did we have to finish drafting the proposal, and this is a very legally complex proposal, but the other reason -- can you all still hear me because everyone is frozen.

THE COURT: Yes.

THE WITNESS: Wanted to make sure. So this is a very legally complex proposal. But the other thing is before we filed, we wanted to make sure that we were telling Oregonians that this is a multi-partisan measure that had multi-partisan support. So that involved actually making sure that organizations across the political spectrum had input -- final input in that process. So we had several, several moments in the drafting where more organizations were brought in that represented different communities in Oregon that didn't have a chance to be in that initial drafting that needed to be a part of that in order for us to finally file going forward.

COURT CLERK: This is Paul with the Court. If you are having difficulty with the video, if you refresh your browser all of the images should unfreeze.

Page 71 THE WITNESS: Okay. As long as that won't 1 2 hurt --3 THE COURT: Or you will disappear. THE WITNESS: Disappeared. There you are. 4 Am I 5 back -- there's something on my screen. Okay. 6 what --7 BY MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: How were those meetings and 8 the coalition members you were talking to -- how was that 9 going to translate to signatures, because meeting with 10 people doesn't result in actual signatures on your 11 measure, right? 12 I think it does, because no one is going to sign a measure or tell their supporters or their members to sign 13 14 a measure if they don't agree with your policy. So in 15 order to get people to help you get signatures, they have 16 to say that they support this complex policy that I 17 usually would have to have multiple meetings to get them 18 to finally understand it, and be able to say they support 19 or not support it. 20 So if you don't even know what this seven page 21 measure is all about, and you haven't had a chance to have it explained to you, you are not going to ask 22 23 someone to sign it. 24 So how many signatures resulted in the year plus of 25 meetings you did around the state?

We weren't allowed to gather signatures at that time, because it wasn't filed. We had to wait until that 2 3

moment the Secretary of State said you are allowed to gather the signatures to gather the signatures.

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I understand that, but once you got that, how did that -- all of that work that you did to lead up to the filing, how did that translate into signatures?

Right. Yeah. So all of those members of the coalition were then able to, during Covid -- usually they would have brought all of their volunteers out. have been that volunteer effort that goes along with a paid signature gathering effort that supplements some of that signature gathering that happens in a campaign.

So for instance, the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, the Independent Party of Oregon, and some of our other coalition members, instead of bringing people out on the streets, they were sending e-mails to their members, printing out petitions for folks and mailing it to them, and finding other ways that they were able to send the petitions to them in a safe manner due to the fact that we couldn't do a huge volunteer mobilization on the streets.

So you also mentioned that there were meetings that got cancelled even as early as early March, because -and I think you said just a little bit ago that people

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were concerned about their safety. Would you agree with me that there were -- that people were taking precautions for themselves more than they were worried or thinking about or looking at executive orders? Would you agree with me that it was the pandemic and not the executive orders that caused a lot of your meetings to cancel? I would not. And reason for that is the meetings that I mentioned, the forums, those were scheduled after the executive stay-at-home order. So the Coos Bay forum, the Eugene forum, those were actually scheduled after the -- I believe the date was March 17th and March 12th, that's when those forums were scheduled. And they were canceled because of the stay-at-home order. And because it would have violated the people gathering. And I believe there was also an age requirement, too, that said if you are above this certain age and at risk, it's even a lower amount able to gather.

And so a lot of the -- a lot of the league members who were in the at-risk group and were recommended to not have groups of over ten just completely canceled all of their meetings.

Q Okay. Let me switch gears a little bit. So the campaign decided not to collect signatures in person, right? At some point decided not to do that?

A Correct. Or at least not to have it be a part of our

- 1 infrastructure. We didn't say no. If a volunteer came
- 2 | up and said, I would like to, with all of these safety
- 3 things that I can prove I am doing, but we didn't push
- 4 out that effort as a part of our infrastructures.
- 5 Q And you didn't end up hiring anyone to conduct paid
- 6 signature gathering, right?
- 7 A Correct.
- 8 Q You are aware, aren't you, that there were actually
- 9 folks out there, signature gatherers, on the streets
- 10 gathering signatures for a variety of measures, right,
- 11 | during the last couple of months?
- 12 A I am aware of that, yeah.
- 13 Q And you're asking, the plaintiffs in this case are
- 14 asking for relief that includes extra time and a lower
- 15 | signature requirement. So why is it that you think that
- 16 | now something has changed that will enable you to
- 17 | collect -- if you were unable to do any in-person
- 18 circulating, why do you suddenly think you can do it now?
- 19 A I think that part of the reason why I think we could
- 20 do it now is because some of the counties that when we
- 21 were doing the signature gathering, were still barely
- 22 | entering Phase 2, are finally starting to enter phases
- 23 where people are really starting to figure out how they
- 24 can go out and do things safely.

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And we do -- and towards the end of the campaign

- 1 | we did have more volunteers reach us and say, I am going
- 2 to go out and collect signatures in person. And we were
- 3 able to start doing that volunteer effort. And I think
- 4 | that we could really push that out in our infrastructure,
- 5 and hire paid signature gathering if we were given more
- 6 | time now that the restrictions are less stringent.
- 7 Q So you do know that most of the state -- the vast
- 8 majority of the state has been in Phase 1 since May 15th,
- 9 | right? Are you aware of that?
- 10 A Yeah. So I know that -- so I was in Salem and I know
- 11 | that we weren't allowed to go into Phase 2 until -- what
- 12 was it, like mid May is when we were finally said that we
- 13 | could go into Phase 2. And I know that a lot of other
- 14 | counties were not allowed to go into Phase 2 until after
- 15 May.
- 16 Q But under Phase 1 and Phase 2, and at baseline, are
- 17 | you aware that it would have been reasonable and could
- 18 happen that a signature gatherer could set up a card
- 19 table, stand six feet back, have the measure on the card
- 20 | table outside the grocery store, and ask people passing
- 21 by coming in and out of the grocery store or pharmacy to
- 22 | sign the measure. Are you aware that that was possible?
- THE COURT: Hold it, Ms. Johnson.
- 24 THE WITNESS: It's two different things.
- 25 THE COURT: Stop. I wanted to hear evidence.

Page 76 This is argument, and really we are expecting the witness 1 to make our arguments with her. And we can also argue 2 3 about the fact that the numbers are going up and nobody should have to die over signature gathering. I am having 4 her testify about the diligence of the campaign. 5 MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Understood, Your Honor. 6 7 That's all I have, then. 8 THE COURT: Does -- Ms. Beatty-Walters are you planning on calling a witness with regard to the 9 10 diligence piece? MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Yes, Your Honor. We would 11 12 actually like to call Elizabeth Kaufman. THE COURT: Ms. Kaufman, are you on the line? 13 Do we have Ms. Kaufman on the line? 14 15 MR. BERMAN: This is Mr. Berman. 16 THE COURT: Okay. We can hear you. Is that Ms. Kaufman? 17 18 MS. KAUFMAN: Yes, it is. I am talking on the 19 phone, so I'm going to close the meeting. 20 21 ELIZABETH KAUFMAN, 22 produced as a witness, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows: 23 24 THE WITNESS: Yes. 25 THE COURT: Okay. And if you could please state

Page 77 your first and last name, and spell them for our court 1 2 reporter. 3 THE WITNESS: Elizabeth, old fashioned way, E-L-I-Z-A-B-E-T-H. And my last name is Kaufman, 4 5 K-A-U-F-M-A-N. THE COURT: So I would like the testimony to not 6 7 be repetitious to any prior declaration, but maybe in 8 response to the testimony that we have just heard. 9 Mr. Marshall or Ms. Beatty-Waters. 10 MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Beatty-Walters, Your Honor. 11 Can I have the witness explain what her 12 qualifications are and her professional background, just for the Court's benefit? 13 14 THE COURT: Yes. 15 THE WITNESS: I am a community and campaign organizer. I have worked on ballot measure campaigns, 16 17 dozens of them, local and state levels in Oregon, and a 18 few other states since 1986. And in the last six years I 19 have directed three initiative campaigns that have 20 qualified for the ballot. 21 22 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: 23

Q And you directed a declaration, just to be clear in this matter, submitted by the proposed intervenors in

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- 1 this case, correct?
- 2 A I did. I am the campaign director for IP 44. This
- 3 is an independent campaign. We're not connected with Our
- 4 Oregon or Grow Oregon or any statewide existing
- 5 coalition.
- 6 Q Okay. That was going to be my question. Thank you.
- 7 So you had a chance -- have you been listening to
- 8 | the entire hearing today?
- 9 A I have.
- 10 Q And have you had a chance to read the declarations
- 11 | that have been submitted by the plaintiffs in this
- 12 | matter?
- 13 A Yes, I have.
- 14 Q Okay. Do you have an opinion as to whether the IP 57
- 15 could have qualified for the ballot, absent the pandemic?
- 16 A You know, I have to say after reading the
- 17 declarations and witnessing the efforts by 57 over the
- 18 | last few months to qualify, I see no evidence of how they
- 19 | would have qualified. Part of that is because I know
- 20 what we did in comparison, and part of it is that in
- 21 their declaration I saw kind of a timeline of events as
- 22 they transpired. I saw things that occurred in the
- 23 | political calendar, but I saw nothing that was a detailed
- 24 | week-by-week plan with goals and backup for goals if they
- 25 | weren't achieved.

You know, drafting a measure and qualifying it are two completely different things. It takes a great plan with contingencies for obstacles that always occur in these, and I didn't see that in here. I should mention that I saw no lack of resources and no lack of politically experienced people involved. There is considerable money coming from the Oregon business community, and very conservative interests, and very conservative politically affiliated consultants involved in IP 57.

But I saw no plan and no behavior of how they could have made it. Especially if they claim they couldn't raise the money.

Q What would --

A I should add that in the past -- I am sorry to interrupt you, but in the past we have started too late, as I would characterize the date that the initiative was filed for IP 57. And even with a rigorous plan and a ballot title challenge we barely made it to the ballot for just a statutory measure, and there was no Covid.

So I don't see how a campaign can start too late, have inadequate planning and resources, and qualify for a Constitutional measure.

Q Can you talk for a minute about what you think -just before Covid hit here in Oregon, what do you think

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they should have had ready to go, or been under way in their planning? What should they have had in place?

A Well, I can tell you what we had in place. You know, our key supporters committed from the beginning to make it to the ballot, no matter what. There was no kind of, let's see what happens. Our key supporters were aware of the budget they needed to get there, and we had an add-on budget. Which almost every serious campaign would have, just in case of obstacles in the collection process. We weren't going to leave anything to chance.

And that's how a ballot measure qualifies. So we saw the shutdown looming in late February, so we made a plan. And we made a plan, similar, that was several prongs. But part of it was how are we going to operate without in-person signature gathering, and part of it was just as soon as we think we can get in-person signature gathering back out there, how do we crank that up? And how do we do all of those things in multiple ways with experiments, so we could try something, see if it worked, if it had a good enough rate of return or good enough production of signatures, and if it didn't, try something else.

And it's interesting because we -- I mean, I could go through all of the myriad ways that we collected the signatures during Covid. I don't know if that's

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appropriate. Including, I want to point out, that we were out on the street again on May 15th -- actually, we waited two days. May 15th was the first day for Phase 1, and we were out two days later in three counties; Central Oregon Bend, Deschutes County, Jackson County, and Lane County collecting.

And we did it with a small team, and we experimented in a couple of ways. We did some public places, we did some door-to-door, and we even tried door-to-door after having tapped an epidemiologist to help us write a health and safety protocol and establish a system during Covid of how we were going to do in-person signature gathering, we tested door-to-door with people in a lot of PPE, with extenders, or you might call them like extenders for giving baskets in church.

We had individually wrapped pens. We tested people that we were going to be coming through their neighborhood, and allowed them to opt out if they didn't want us to come to their door. We did not stop at any door of anyone over 60 years old, and we were able to collect quite a few signatures that way. And as more counties opened, we started to gather in other in-person circumstances. So we were ready when it was time to go back out to the doors.

Q And did you -- so there was in-person signatures

Page 82 gathering for IP -- it was IP 44 that you were on the 1 2 campaign for? Yes. 3 4 So you had in-person signature gathering. Were you trying -- at the very end of the time period for 5 gathering signatures, were you trying to gather as many 6 7 as you possibly could during that time? 8 Α Yes. Yes. 9 How many did you need to gather, and did you make 10 that goal? Well, it's a tough question. You need 112,020 to 11 12 qualify for a statutory measure. If you have 70 or 80 percent validity, you have to get close to 150,000. We 13 14 didn't -- kind of never know, and because of the virus we 15 didn't know about the duplicate rate, and what our viability really was. So we ended up submitting about 16 170,000 signatures just to be sure. 17 18 MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: That's all the questions I 19 have. THE COURT: Mr. Elzinga. 20 21 Mr. Elzinga, do we have you? 22 MR. ELZINGA: I am sorry. I forgot mute. Μy 23 apologies. CROSS EXAMINATION 24 25 BY MR. ELZINGA:

- 1 | Q Did IP 44 have anyone challenge its ballot title?
- 2 A We did not, but I have been involved with a ballot
- 3 | measure that has had a ballot title challenge, and that's
- 4 no excuse for a bad plan. You have to know that's going
- 5 to happen. You have to know you are going to need enough
- 6 money --
- 7 THE COURT: Can we just answer the question,
- 8 please?
- 9 THE WITNESS: I am sorry.
- 10 THE COURT: I am not sure what was so funny
- 11 there, but go ahead. Next question.
- 12 Q BY MR. ELZINGA: How many signatures did IP 44 gather
- 13 prior to the pandemic?
- $14 \mid A \quad Approximately 100,000.$
- 15 Q And how many were gathered after the pandemic
- 16 | started?
- 17 A Well, between the pandemic starting and the date we
- 18 | submitted the signatures, our final batch on July 2nd, we
- 19 | submitted an additional 70,000.
- 20 THE COURT: So almost the same amount as were
- 21 | submitted by the petitioners here. Am I getting that
- 22 | correct, Ms. Johnson?
- THE WITNESS: It's Kaufman, and apparently, yes.
- 24 THE COURT: So were they diligent or not?
- 25 THE WITNESS: Well --

THE COURT: They got the same number as you, and you are telling me they are doing something wrong that isn't diligent during a pandemic, period.

THE WITNESS: Let me answer it this way --

THE COURT: I want you to answer it, "yes" or "no"?

No.

7 THE WITNESS:

THE COURT: No, they weren't diligent, although they got the same number of signatures that you received in the same time period during the pandemic?

THE WITNESS: I think what you are asking me is if I had been in their circumstances, would I have been able to gather more than that. And I believe that under my direction, yes. I didn't need to collect any more than 70,000 more. We stopped. We took our foot off the gas in the second week of June, because we were done.

THE COURT: Okay.

Q BY MR. ELZINGA: During the portion of the signature gathering during the pandemic, how many signatures did you gather by mail?

A I can't really -- I am going to -- approximately 15,000. I would say somewhere between 12 and 20, and our rate of return on the mailing was, in fact, between 11 and 12 percent. And I should mention that's because we did such an intensive chase of those. We called people

- 1 | incessantly. We e-mailed them. We texted them.
- 2 Q So how many total -- how many total mail-ins did you
- 3 | send out?
- 4 A How many pieces of mail or --
- 5 Q Yes.
- 6 A Between the mail and the electronic download, so we
- 7 did cold and warm mailers. So we did -- we mailed to a
- 8 population of voters, similar to 57, that was -- we
- 9 started with a test of about 10,000 and then we sent to
- 10 | an additional 50,000. And then we also mailed to people
- 11 who had been asked to download the petition
- 12 electronically, either by the campaign or one of the
- 13 partner organizations, and if the person had no printer,
- 14 | we also mailed them a packet --
- 15 Q So of the 50,000 --
- 16 A -- so that would be another several thousand.
- 17 So I would say we mailed a total of 60,000.
- 18 Q Okav. So of the --
- 19 A And we stopped mailing them, and we stopped mailing
- 20 | because we knew we were planning to go back out in
- 21 person. If we had not been able to go back out in
- 22 person, we would have continued the mail.
- 23 Q Okay. So of the approximately 60,000 mailings, is
- 24 | that to 60,000 individual people, or would that include
- 25 | households that had more than one potential voter that

Page 86 you are reaching more than 60,000 people? 1 Oh, I am sure many homes had more than one voter. 2 3 () Okay. 4 MR. ELZINGA: That's all the questions I have. 5 THE COURT: Thank you. Any additional witnesses from the defense? 6 7 MR. MARSHALL: Yes, Your Honor. The defense 8 would like to call Summer Davis. THE COURT: Ms. Davis, are you on the line? 9 10 THE WITNESS: I am. 11 SUMMER DAVIS, 12 produced as a witness, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows: 13 14 THE WITNESS: I do. 15 THE COURT: If you could go ahead and spell your first and last name for the reporter. 16 17 THE WITNESS: Summer, like the season, 18 S-U-M-M-E-R. And my last name is Davis, D-A-V-I-S. 19 And if you can't hear me, please let me know. Ι 20 am supposed to wear this mask while in the building. 21 THE COURT: We can hear you fine. Thank you. 22 MR. MARSHALL: Your Honor, if I can seek your clarification. I assume that you only want to hear a 23 question that relates to the likelihood that IP 57 would 24 25 be qualified for the ballot, but for Covid 19?

Page 87 1 THE COURT: Right. And, you know, I think that's -- that's the same question is, was there 2 reasonable diligence being pursued? I mean, and I think 3 those two questions are kind of intertwined. 4 MR. MARSHALL: I understand. Ms. Davis could 5 6 testify on some administrability issues, but I understand 7 she's not being asked to do so. 8 THE COURT: Correct. 9 10 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. MARSHALL: 11 12 Ms. Davis, do you have your declaration and exhibits Q in front of you? 13 14 Yes. 15 Could you turn to Exhibit B, page 1? Q 16 (Complies.) Α 17 It's the initiative No. 57, record of administrative Q 18 action. 19 I have it here. 20 First, I want to step back and ask you, how long have 21 you worked for the Secretary of State's office? 22 I have worked for the Secretary of State Elections Division since April 24, 2000. 23 24 Q And what is your role there? I am a lead worker over the initiative and referendum 25

- 1 process, as well as voter pamphlets, review of HAVA, and
- 2 | conduct of elections, among other things.
- 3 Q Do you happen to track the length of time it takes
- 4 | for the Oregon Supreme Court to decide ballot title
- 5 challenges?
- 6 A I do.
- 7 Q Can you look at page 1 of Exhibit B that shows that
- 8 the certified ballot title appeal deadline was
- 9 February 13th, and the amended ballot title opinion came
- 10 down on March 26, 2020?
- 11 A Yes.
- 12 Q Is that a shorter or longer time than is typical?
- 13 A That is fairly short.
- 14 Q Can you turn the page to page 2?
- 15 A (Complies.) Okay.
- 16 Q Page 2 says, On March 27th a judgment was received
- 17 | from the Supreme Court.
- What happens in the process between then and the
- 19 approval to circulate for a petitioner?
- 20 A We are directed by statute to create templates for
- 21 the chief petitioners to use to gather their signatures.
- 22 | So once we receive a final ballot title from the Court or
- 23 | the ballot title challenge time period expires, we create
- 24 | cover and signature sheets to send to the chief
- 25 | petitioners so that they can create their signature

- sheets exactly as they intend to circulate in order toseek approval to circulate.
- 3 Q In the instance of IP 57, how long did it take -- how
- 4 many business days did it take for the Secretary of State
- 5 to issue those templates?
- 6 A March 27th was a Friday. We submitted or sent to
- 7 | chief petitioners their templates that following Monday,
- 8 March 30th.
- 9 Q What is the next step in the process?
- 10 A They would need to copy their cover and signature
- 11 | sheets back-to-back and submit them to us for approval to
- 12 circulate. And if they had not yet opened their campaign
- 13 account, they would need to file that paperwork and open
- 14 up a dedicated bank account.
- 15 Q When were those steps completed for IP 57 and a
- 16 | submission made?
- 17 A There were two submissions made for IP 57. After,
- 18 | they had asked that we include a mailing return address
- 19 on the form, and we did so on the cover sheet. The first
- 20 | submission happened on the 7th, and they did not -- they
- 21 | neglected to submit to us cover and signature sheets on
- 22 | white paper. Statute requires that signature sheets used
- 23 by paid signature gatherers be a different color than
- 24 | those that are used by volunteers. And we have
- 25 | designated that white paper is to be used for volunteers.

On April 7th they only submitted those sheets to be used by paid circulators. On April 8th they came back and submitted both sheets, white and colored. And we approved them on the 9th.

- Q Can you look at paragraph 9 of your declaration?
- 6 A Yes.

Q You list there the two ballot measures in the last 20 years, Constitutional initiatives in the last 20 years that started later. Do you recall anything in particular about measure 85 in 20-12, Protect Oregon's Priority 3,

which was approved on April 17, 2012?

validity rate once it did qualify.

A That particular measure had a large number of paid circulators. And that was -- it was constant. So it wasn't just a static registration of circulators. It was starting from the get-go, constant registration to maintain a high number of circulators. That is what I recall about that one. That, and it had a very low

THE COURT: Do you know who the -- who was paid to gather the paid signatures? Was that the case

Mr. Blaszak was talking about?

THE WITNESS: It's one of them, yes.

THE COURT: So Mr. Blaszak was the organization -- his organization was the one that got the signatures?

THE WITNESS: I believe so, yes.

THE COURT: All right.

3 Q BY MR. MARSHALL: With respect to -- how does the

Secretary of State's office know how many paid

circulators there would be?

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A Under statute anyone who is being paid to gather signatures is required to register with our office. We maintain a list by petition of those individuals who have successfully registered as a paid circulator.

To register, an individual needs to complete paperwork. Chief petitioners have to -- or their authorized agents have to acknowledge that this person is authorized to act on their behalf, and a background check has to be completed, as well as a photograph submitted.

Q And with respect to measure 36 in 2004,

Constitutional definition of marriage approved May 21,

2004, do you remember anything in particular about that

signature gathering effort?

A I remember quite a bit about that signature gathering effort. It was primarily volunteer, done very, very quickly after, I believe, Multnomah County had begun to issue marriage licenses to same sex individuals without any corresponding change to the law.

So people were very passionate about the issue, and the primary signature gathering effort, from what I

recall, happened in churches. They submitted almost twice the number of signatures that were required, and they had a higher validity rate.

MR. MARSHALL: No further questions.

THE COURT: Mr. Elzinga, do you have any questions?

MR. ELZINGA: Yes, Your Honor.

## CROSS EXAMINATION

BY MR. ELZINGA:

Q Ms. Davis, you mentioned earlier that the ballot title process for IP 57 was relatively short. In your experience, does the ballot title process get faster the further into an initiative cycle the ballot title process occurs?

A That is not something that I have actually done the analysis -- looked at the analytics about. I have not done that. My experience tends more to think about different Supreme Court justices, and how they move things through. So for example, when I first started it could take 18 months to get a ballot title back from the Oregon Supreme Court. And so that is how I think of things, as opposed to do I notice that things move quicker the further into the cycle that we go.

I also know that in 2018 there were some

- 1 | initiative petitions that still had ballot title
- 2 challenges at the Supreme Court when the cycle ended.
- 3 Q Weren't those ballot title challenges that were in
- 4 | the Supreme Court when it ended -- weren't those the ones
- 5 where the firearms regulation that were filed -- filed,
- 6 | not just started the ballot title process, but actually
- 7 | filed in the spring of the election year?
- 8 A Unfortunately, that is a piece of information that
- 9 escapes me. I do not recall.
- 10 Q Do you have in front of you Exhibit G to your
- 11 | declaration?
- 12 A Which one is that?
- 13 Q That e-mail chain between you and Ms. Teed?
- 14 A I got it.
- 15 Q I just want to make sure I am reading this right. So
- 16 looks like page 1 there's an e-mail from Ms. Teed to you
- 17 on May 7th where she said, I am very sorry. A very
- 18 important clarification needed in my earlier response,
- 19 not that signature gathering is prohibited, but in-person
- 20 signature gathering would be.
- 21 Did I read that correctly?
- 22 A Uh-huh.
- 23 Q And so then if you go up, your response to her that
- 24 day, the second sentence -- Well, I will just -- can you
- 25 | just go ahead and read that first paragraph?

A I don't think that would have come from anyone at our office. We don't have the authority to say whether any activity is permissible or not allowed under the governor's orders. Only she can do that.

Q Okay. And then later in the paragraph, in the second paragraph, it looks like the third line down you wrote, She mandated we stay home to the maximum extent possible, but I don't see any definition of what maximum extent possible means. To be very, very clear, I am not saying go out and circulate and you will be fine.

Did I read that correctly?

12 A Yes, you did.

MR. ELZINGA: No further questions.

THE COURT: I have a disconnected question you may or may not be able to answer, and that is, are there other petitions pending this cycle in front of the Secretary of State where signatures have been forwarded, either before or after the deadline, and they have not met the signature threshold? In other words, are there any other petitioners out there, other than this plaintiff, who has attempted to qualify a ballot measure that is short on its goals?

THE WITNESS: I would say, yes. But I don't have the exact number of those that have attempted to register or have successfully registered paid circulators. But

there are other petitions that have gone through the process and have been approved to circulate, so --

THE COURT: But the circulation period, we're done with the circulation period now?

THE WITNESS: Correct.

THE COURT: Has anybody sent you, Hey, here's 20,000 signatures. We think we should qualify because of Covid issues?

THE WITNESS: No, no one has sent us signatures.

No one has attempted to file signatures beyond IP 34, IP

44, and IP 57.

THE COURT: Thank you. That's helpful. All right.

For the defendants, any additional witnesses?

MR. MARSHALL: No, we don't have any further witnesses to call.

THE COURT: Okay. All right. I guess I have a couple of questions primarily of the defendants, whether it's Ms. Beatty-Walters or Mr. Marshall. Here's what I don't want to do is decide I am going to grant relief and make things worse for everybody. Which I can see doing, the minute the courts step into something like this, right, I could all of a sudden I could do what the Idaho judge partially did, which was, I believe said, Well, you can either accept the number of petitions and put it on

the ballot, or allow additional time with electronic signatures.

It seems to me, what is the reality of that kind of relief? A short period of time accepting electronic signatures without any rule making in place to know what that looks like, or has there been at least some inquiry by the Secretary of State what that might look like?

MR. MARSHALL: Your Honor, I don't have a ranked

order of the Secretary's preferences for different types of relief. We have put in quite a bit that explains why the relief, in particular, of moving the signature submission deadline to August 17th causes practical difficulties with a number of other election deadlines. I don't -- I know the Secretary would oppose relief that would allow electronic signatures to be gathered for a variety of reasons.

THE COURT: Do you know what relief the Idaho Secretary of State chose?

MR. MARSHALL: The only relief they chose was -they chose to go to the 9th Circuit. They refused to
choose between the options presented to them by the
District Court. I believe the District Court ordered the
signature relief and an extension of the deadline
effectively from the time that the relief was requested,
specifically, of the Secretary of State and effectively

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about the same amount of time. I am working from memory about what precisely that case held. And that amount of time would allow for electronic signature gathering. The District Court used that as the less drastic of the options between providing that relief or ordering the measure be placed on the ballot, which were the two options provided to the defendant in Idaho.

THE COURT: Mr. Elzinga, I mean, what relief are you realistically hoping for that is not going to put the Secretary of State's office into a complete tail spin trying to accommodate you an extension of time, signature gathering still in a time period that is remarkably limited, and may well even get more limited than our current Phase 1, Phase 2.

Our numbers are going up in almost every county.

There's been a delay of Phase 2 in Multnomah, Washington, and Clackamas County.

What are you asking the Court to do? The idea of formulating an electronic signature process seems like it could backfire on all of us, because I don't know how you could get such an extensive process in place in such a short time. And then there are the other deadline issues around the voters pamphlet, around commentary into the voters pamphlet, and just getting you on the ballot let alone what the 9th Circuit is going to do in August.

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I am not the final say in this. They are going to have a decision in August that would impact this case. So what is it you want me to do if I am to grant relief?

MR. ELZINGA: We believe that the most commonsense plan for relief at this point, which balances the Secretary's needs with that of the initiative is to reduce the signature threshold. And we believe the Court should follow the decision in the SawariMedia, LLC, versus Whitmer from Michigan, which was upheld by the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals. And that that is the most appropriate relief, because a reduction in the signature threshold did not create any logistical issues for the Secretary.

On the contrary, it actually helps the Secretary with validation of those signatures when the threshold is lower. And the rationale that the State presents for having an arbitrary number of 149,000 is just that, arbitrary. The policy behind the number is the idea that you have to have sufficient public support in order to get a place on the Oregon ballot.

And we believe that the campaign's herculean efforts under the circumstances of Covid, more than demonstrates that it has satisfied that threshold. And so we believe that the Court should follow the 6th Circuit and order a reduced threshold of signatures.

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And the Secretary of State right now, since they have already certified the other two initiatives, and there are no other initiatives pending, they have the ability to begin the first stage of the signature verification process Monday if the Court were to order it. And we have the signature boxes, they have been segregated when they were turned in, 64,000. And they are in a separate location that is not accessible to the campaign, and we are prepared to bring them back to the Secretary of State's office on Monday.

In addition, in order to preserve the evidence of what was turned in on July 2nd, the signature deadline, we provided a flash drive with digital scans of every petition sheet that was submitted on July 2nd. And we offered that to the Elections Division and they declined to take it, but the Department of Justice did take a copy. They were very clear that they were not accepting it on behalf of the Secretary for any waiver issues, and we were not waiving any arguments. But it was for evidence preservation. And they do have that copy, so that can be confirmed exactly what signatures were submitted on July 2nd.

Additionally, my law firm had another flash drive with those same scans of all the petition sheets in our firm's safe. I do not have access to that safe. I have

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never had access to that safe. And under written direction from my managing partner, I am not allowed to have access to that safe for the duration of this litigation. So there are two separate, securely stored digital copies of all of those signature sheets, in addition to the signature sheets themselves.

THE COURT: But back to my question, specifically, what are you asking in terms of reducing the amount of signatures to what?

MR. ELZINGA: Yes, Your Honor. We're looking for a reduction in two parts. First, we believe that the Constitution's referendum threshold, which is 4 percent instead of 8 percent is a reasonable threshold to use. And it's actually very interesting that a referendum only has 90 days under the law to gather signatures and it's done in a compressed timeline. So we believe that the reasonable substitute, given the significant change in the state regulations on petition gathering for this case, that also mirrors what the Court in Michigan did, which is a 50 percent reduction.

In addition, we would ask for one further adjustment beyond that, which is we would ask for an adjustment to use the base line from the 2018 election cycle in terms of the base line for the 2020 election cycle. And the reason for that is that the 2018 governor

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election was the second highest turnout election in Oregon State history. And it surpassed even the amazing turnout when President Obama was elected, and other presidential election years -- all but one.

And so the State's interest in pointing to the threshold calculation that applies in 2020 really is untethered from any interest in establishing that the signature threshold shows that there was significant public support for the measure, and that's essentially the case when you have an initiative, as here, where the proponents of the initiative have established a broad coalition of everyone from the Progressive Party of Oregon to the Taxpayer's Association.

THE COURT: You are giving me a closing argument. You have all of that in your submissions. Okay. So you have talked about a 50 percent reduction of the gubernatorial election of what year again?

MR. ELZINGA: Using the same -- the same requirement as a referendum was required in 2018. And that is in our briefing, that number would be 58,789 signatures.

THE COURT: So that is the threshold you want me to set it at, 58,789. And walk me through it. That's based on what?

MR. ELZINGA: Yes, Your Honor, that's based on

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4 percent rate multiplied by the voter turnout -- sorry, the total votes cast in the 2014 governor's election.

And that was the threshold that was used for the 2016 election cycle, and the 2018 election cycle. So we're asking you to back up one cycle and reduce the number by 50 percent.

THE COURT: But without any extension of signature gathering?

MR. ELZINGA: Your Honor, we also request extension of signature gathering, and we understand the incredible importance of not creating a backlog with all of the election deadline dates. And it's very important that we don't do anything that can interfere with the deadline to send ballots to overseas voters. That deadline is in September. The key deadline coming up is for voter's pamphlet submissions, which I believe is August 25th is the deadline.

So that's why we are requesting an extension until August 17th. And in our reply brief, if the Court chooses to allow that to come in, we will see the last section, we did analysis of the Secretary of State's verification of one of the initiatives this cycle. So you can see the actual impact under Covid 19 circumstances.

And the Elections Division does live streaming of

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all the signature verification. They are incredibly transparent. And we commend them for that transparency. And that allows the Court, if you want, to go back and check our work. But we looked at every video of signature verification over the entire process of that initiative. We totaled up the total number of video hours that were spent on signature verification, and if you look at that, you can see that the total number of hours -- a number of the working days there are only five hours spent on verification, or three hours or something like that.

So if you use a more focused effort of seven hours a day, which we do not believe is unreasonable, that significantly cuts the number of days it would have required the Elections Division to verify one of the cycles. The total time was 39 hours, 37 minutes and 7 seconds. And during that time if you look at the videos, you will see that the Elections Division had between zero and four staff working.

We didn't watch all of the videos. We did not watch all 39 hours. We skimmed every 20 minutes or 30 minutes, looking at what is going on. And it appear s to -- under the circumstances from looking at those videos, that there were significant portions of those 39 hours that there was not a full contingent of four

staff members there. Sometimes there were zero, sometimes there were one, two, three, or four.

So if the Elections Division not only did a focused seven hours a day, per business day, work on this, but also add -- which would result in six business days for verification. If they had four staff working the entire time, instead of fluctuating between zero and four, we believe that could probably speed up the process by a day or two, getting it down to approximately four business days.

If they had done that for IP 44 -- and we recognize every verification is different. IP 57 will be different than IB 44. But I will note if the Court reduces the signature threshold, especially if it reduces it to the threshold we requested, then they will be verifying a significantly lower number of signatures until we would expect that they would at least be able to meet that six-business day length of time that they did when they had far more signatures to verify -- 163,000 signatures they verified in that period of time. So we believe that six business days is incredibly reasonable.

And so then backing up from the August 25th deadline for submitting voter's pamphlet statements, it's in the State's interest that the public have an opportunity to know whether the initiative has qualified

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or not prior to that deadline, so they know whether they need to submit statements for the voter's pamphlet.

We believe the court order will -- if the Court sides with petitioners, will provide public notice that they should begin drafting those. So we think, you know, working a week back, or a few days back should be sufficient if people know that it's been verified at least three or four days before the deadline.

If they already know that this is in the works, I am sure Our Oregon will probably begin drafting the opposition statements as soon as the Court enters its order. And so we're confident that that serves the public process.

And the other logistical issue raised by the State was the Financial Estimate Committee and the Explanatory Statement Committees, which that process is going on now. And I would just point out to the Court that if the Court looks at the 2018, the 2018 records, one of the petitions in that cycle was verified very close to the end of the verification window. I think it was towards the end of July 8th. Most of the work had already been done for that initiative even before it was verified whether it was going to qualify for the ballot or not.

So there's really no burden on the secretary to

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do the physical analysis or the explanatory statements process starting now, even before they know for sure whether this initiative will qualify for the ballot. It's been done before in the last election cycle. And, you know, the petitioners have already named their two members to the Explanatory Statement Committee, and the Secretary of State has declined to name two members in opposition, but I am sure Our Oregon could provide a couple of suggestions so we could get that going, so there's really no burden to the State.

THE COURT: When is the 9th Circuit hearing oral argument on the Idaho case?

MR. ELZINGA: I can pull that up. Opening brief is due July 17th, answering brief July 29th, optional reply is August 3rd. They will provide no extensions, and the Court shall place this case on the calendar for August 2020. They have not set an exact time, but sometime in August, early August, I expect.

THE COURT: That could change everything.

Defense position on the proposal by the plaintiff in regard to the remedy?

MR. MARSHALL: So I want to start by saying that remedy here is injurious to the State's interest for the simple fact of it going outside of the process to amend the Oregon Constitution. But I understand that the Court

understands that.

In terms of the -- in terms of the administrability concerns, and the Secretary -- that the Secretary of State has with extending the deadline of August 17th, first I want to point out that out of anything the State does, there's still the attack on opposing campaign in terms of the uncertainty.

But I understand that that is, you know, there are -- there's ways to address those concerns that Mr. Elzinga has suggested.

In terms of the State's official processes, there's expected deadlines to consider in the run-up that are totally unrelated to when signature verification begins. So that's the financial estimate, the Explanatory Statement Committee. We agree that those could move forward. I think that the quality of that process may be impacted by the uncertainty, because there's public comments involved. But those can go forward now.

In terms of the voter's pamphlet, in particular, the August 25th deadline is pretty inconsistent with the August 17th submission of signatures in order to be able to say that you have an endorser, you have to prove that this person has authorized that endorsement to make sure that the voters pamphlet is actually accurate. And I

think it will be very difficult for third parties to collect those in the context of uncertainty.

But this going to the signature verification piece, we strongly dispute the relevance of this YouTube analysis about this live streaming. So for the first reason is that it only looks at IP 44. It doesn't look at IP 34.

If you look at paragraph 31 of the Davis declaration, she notes that IP 44 took 12 days to verify. That's hands-on working on it. IP 34 took 27 days. So more than twice as long.

THE COURT: But you agree if the plaintiffs are to deliver the 64,000 signatures that they currently have, that process can begin now.

MR. MARSHALL: If the Court orders -- I will try to articulate this as clearly as possible. It's articulated more clearly in note 26 of -- note 26, page 31 of our brief. If the Court orders a reduction in the signature verification -- sorry, the signature threshold, the signature verification could go forward now.

If they are under that threshold, under the Secretary of State's administrative rules and sampling methodology, the only ones that they have built and have figured out with a statistician is actually valid in terms of the comparison between the duplicates and

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triplicates and so on and so forth, that they have not validated that process below -- if you turn in partial submissions that are below the threshold. So it could start now if that happened.

And a couple of more points on YouTube videos, that there were technical outages, so not even everything that was attempted to stream actually streamed.

And the second point is that some steps of the verification process were omitted from those videos intentionally; that includes organizing the petition and approving the data entry process. Those were not stages where a signature could be rejected. So I just dispute the relevance of that.

I think the Court should rely on paragraph 31, as well as paragraph 29 of the Davis declaration in explaining why no two signatures that are alike -- no two signature verification processes are alike.

In addition to those concerns, Ms. Davis' -paragraph 2 of Ms. Davis' declaration explains that she
has responsibility for preparing the voters pamphlet.
She also has responsibility for preparing what the ballot
looks like. She is the head of the signature
verification team. So if Mr. Elzinga thought that people
were attending to too many other responsibilities during
this period, I think that's going to be even a bigger

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concern should we try to attempt this in mid August under Court order.

THE COURT: Well, Mr. Elzinga, he's working with a law firm where they bring on large groups of people, and I know State government has it limitations.

MR. MARSHALL: I can explain why, if that would be helpful, about why temp workers do not engage in this.

THE COURT: No, I can surmise why. I have notes all over in front of me. I want to -- I don't know -- I would like to get you a preliminary order today, with a written opinion next week. I think we're running out of time no matter what decision is made.

So what I would like to do is take a five-minute recess and maybe a little longer, put my notes together, and see if I can adequately put a preliminary order together from the bench so that people can be directed on where to go next. I think that piece is important. So we will be in recess for a little bit.

Thank you, folks.

(Brief recess taken from 5:01 p.m. to 5:13 p.m.)

THE COURT: It looks like we have everyone. All right. So what I would like to do with this issue today is a preliminary order. It is just that. We will do a -- a written opinion will follow. I hope to get it out

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middle of next week, or we will try to get some work done over the weekend and get it done and to you as quickly as possible. The written opinion will supersede anything I say today, but I think it will be generally consistent with my ruling right now.

So -- and I will go slowly because my notes are a little disconnected here. I am looking at a number of different notes as I make this ruling. I want to start by thanking all of the parties. I know there was a lot of work that had to be done very quickly, and I think everyone responded very well, very professionally. I appreciate all the work that has been done --

MR. BERMAN: Your Honor, I apologize. This is Mr. Berman. I can't hear you right now.

THE COURT: Let's make sure we have you on -- can you hear me now? Mr. Berman, can you hear me now?

COURT CLERK: Mr. Berman, can you hear now? Can the other parties hear me?

Mr. Berman, are you not able to hear? Can you hear?

THE COURT: Can we put up a sign.

COURT CLERK: Could one of the other parties ask

Mr. Berman if, perhaps, they can hear him, or he can hear
you?

MR. ELZINGA: Mr. Berman. This is Steve Elzinga.

Are you able to hear me?

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Steve, can you hear me?

MR. ELZINGA: This is Steve Elzinga.

THE COURT: I think we're hearing Mr. Berman. He cannot hear us.

MS. ANDERSON-DANA: This is Lydia Anderson-Dana.

I can go try to find him and give him the call-in number.

THE COURT: That would be great. I think he might be trying to call in now on his phone.

Can you hear me, Mr. Berman?

MR. BERMAN: I can hear now.

THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Berman. I was just thanking all of the parties, including yourself, for all the work that went in in a very short time frame to get this matter to me.

It's an interesting issue. I really wish for all parties on an issue like this, I would have a long period of time to understand and discern the nuances, of which there are many. But I also think that what you folks need right now, quickly, is an opinion so I will give a preliminary order right now, followed by a written opinion. The written opinion will be controlling over anything that I say in the preliminary order.

So plaintiffs are a coalition of what they describe as government reform organizations seeking to

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place an initiative before Oregon voters on the November 2020 ballot that would amend the State Constitution to create an Independent Redistricting Commission. Such a commission would be in contrast to the redistricting scheme that is sometimes referred to as gerrymandering.

To qualify their initiative for the November ballot, the plaintiffs are required to submit a certain number of signatures collected from registered Oregon voters to the Secretary of State, Bev Clarno, the defendant in this case by July 2nd, 2020. That date obviously has come and gone, because today is the 10th.

As described in the Secretary of State's initiative and referendum manual, quote, The initiative and referendum process is a method of direct democracy that allows people to propose laws or amendments to the Constitution or to adopt or reject a bill passed by the legislature, closed quote.

In many ways this form of direct democracy Casey was the model for other states when Oregon voters passed initiative referendum process in 1902, creating what became referred to as "the Oregon system."

At that time Oregonians have been active participants in a Democratic process that touches every aspect of life within our state. These include, and there's a big list, but here are some of the issues

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within our lives that are impacted by the initiative process: Women's suffrage; prohibition; compulsory education; hunting; environmental protections; the death penalty, multiple times, has been put before the voters; LGBQT rights and discrimination; taxation; voter recall; the eight-hour workday; freight rates; wages; women jurors; suffrage; and the housing rights for people of color; jury trials and the composition of the jurors; victim's rights; gambling; tobacco; timber; health and safety; transportation; daylight savings time; compulsory retirement for judges -- that's one of my favorites; housing; nuclear power; marriage; physician assisted suicide; and marijuana legalization.

What makes Oregon unique, for better or worse, is its robust relationship with direct democracy. The initiative processes is core to our First Amendment freedoms in Oregon under the 1st and 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution. Direct democracy, of course, requires participation of the electorate. Before a petition can be placed on the ballot, its advocates must obtain and submit to the Secretary of State the signatures of voters who are in favor of the ballot four months before a general election, in numbers equal to 8 percent of ballots cast in the most recent gubernatorial race. And the 8 percent applies

specifically to amendments to the Oregon Constitution, which this case is, as opposed to a referendum for a statute which is 4 percent.

Plaintiffs, through the declaration of Ted Blaszak, present evidence that they had the resources, the energy, and the funding and ability to qualify for the November ballot if they had begun traditional signature gathering at the beginning of April. I will speak more to their efforts in just a little bit.

Plaintiff's submit that the impact of Covid 19 and the governor's executive orders in response to the slowing of the virus have created a situation in which they cannot comply with the deadlines and requirements of the initiative process. The traditional public forums at which they reasonably anticipated gathering signatures have disappeared, in part, for the reasonable safety measures taken by the governor, and in part from the very real fear people have of the pandemic around them.

As a result, they argue the signature requirements in Oregon law -- as a result, they argue that the signature requirements in Oregon State law restrict their First Amendment right to petition the government when applied to these plaintiffs in this unique set of circumstances. They ask the Federal Court to enjoin the Secretary of State from enforcing portions

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of the Oregon Constitution laws and Administrative Rules, quote, requiring the submission of at least 149,360 signatures by July 2nd, 2020, in order to place plaintiff's initiative on the 2020 general election ballot, closed quote. That is coming out of the motion for the TRO at page 2.

For their part the defendants argue that the initiative requirements serve an important government interest, that the virus and not the government is responsible for what has occurred to the plaintiff's initiative efforts, and in hindsight the plaintiffs should have anticipated for emergencies and started collecting signatures much earlier.

Perhaps more compelling they argue that the plaintiff, by not bringing the suit sooner, has placed an undue burden on the government with regard to its ability to meet the timelines necessary to get the initiative properly verified, submitted to the voter's pamphlet for comment, and placed on the November ballot.

Finally, no less compelling, they offer a declaration of their own experts that even under the best of circumstances, the plaintiffs were not going to qualify their initiative for the November ballot. The Secretary of State certainly has a vital interest in regulating the petition process. And here I am citing

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Purcell versus Gonzalez, 549 US 1, page 4, 2006 decision.

It is also important that Federal courts not take it upon themselves to rewrite State election rules, particularly on the eve of an election. Here, I am citing Republican National Committee versus the Democratic National Committee, 140 Supreme Court, 1205, 2020 decision.

But when these rules collide with unprecedented conditions that burden First Amendment access to the ballot box, their application must temper in favor of the Constitution, because the right to petition the government is at the core of First Amendment protection. And this includes the right of initiative. And here I am citing City of Cuyahoga Falls versus Buckeye Community Help Fund. The current signature requirements found in Oregon law are unconstitutional as applied to these specific plaintiffs, seeking to engage in direct democracy under these most unusual times.

I am finding that plaintiffs are likely to succeed on the merits. They have established that their First Amendment rights have been compromised by the necessary steps the governor had to take to keep people home. I note that other governors have specifically exempted signature gathering from their executive orders. That did not occur here.

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I am further finding that the plaintiffs here, unlike other organizations that might think they will automatically qualify for the ballot, exercised reasonable diligence throughout this process. Plaintiffs are a coalition of well-organized and well-funded nonprofit and business organizations who are familiar with the initiative process.

They had an organized and viable road map to qualify their petition. They raised over \$600,000 in funding. They had 600 endorsements. They had groundwork laid for an initiative that was in place well before the petition process. They had held a series of forums in 0regon as early as 2018. They drafted the initiative in 2019. They began recruiting signature gatherers in early 2020.

Early delays in signature gathering were attributed both to political challenges to the petition language, something that is not considered unusual or life threatening in this process. But despite the insurmountable setbacks they faced gathering signatures, once the stay-at-home order went out, they continued to seek creative ways to gather the necessary signatures. Significantly during that time they were able to gather 60,000 signatures.

Now, perhaps they should have hired a different

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campaign manager or campaign workers who could have gotten more, but the issue isn't did they -- are they the best at what they do? Is it the best run campaign? The legal issue is, were they reasonably diligent. And I am finding that they were based on the record before me.

This is not a plaintiff whose attempts at qualification for the ballot were merely speculative. I say this because, specifically, my belief if there are any other potential petitioners seeking relief, they would have to make a similar showing of reasonable diligence as the plaintiffs have here.

I don't believe that's the case. I don't believe there's some floodgate of possible petitioners who want their petition on the ballot, because they haven't had the same kind of organizational expertise, funding, and planning that the petitioners have here.

I am also finding that the defendant's failure to provide some type of accommodation to the signature gathering process has caused irreparable harm to the plaintiffs. I note that Courts have denied relief to similar plaintiffs in states that exempted signature gathering from similar stay-at-home type orders, or where large gatherings were curtailed for only a short time. That is not the case here.

This case looks much more like the Idaho and

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Nevada cases where the courts have stepped in and said the First Amendment requires some accommodation for the petitioners, for the plaintiffs, by the Secretary of State.

So I am granting relief to the plaintiffs. The difficulty is making the relief viable. I do think I want to borrow a page from the Idaho Trial Court and give the Secretary of State some leeway in decision-making. I realize that if we -- if I simply extend the time frame and reduce the number of signatures, as requested by the plaintiff, that that will result in some burden on the Secretary of State's office in terms of timeline, in terms of manpower.

So I am ordering one of two things. I am ordering the Secretary of State to simply place the petition on the November 2020 ballot, finding that the 60 some -- 64,000 signatures obtained by the plaintiffs do show a voter interest in this petition under this set of circumstances.

In the alternative, I am going to adopt the request of the plaintiffs, that the Secretary of State -- the plaintiffs are allowed to present a signature count of 58,789, using -- and I realize all of these are somewhat random formulas. But going back to the prior gubernatorial cycles that were used in 2014, 2016, and

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2018, and using a 4 percent, or 50 percent reduction in the amount of signatures, that would require 58,789 valid signatures with a deadline date of August 17th.

As part of that order -- and I will ask the plaintiffs and the defendants to maybe work out some of these details -- but I would order the plaintiffs to turn over the signatures that they have thus far gathered, 64,000 roughly, so that verification process can begin. And then they -- over the course of the next number of weeks until August 17th, they submit on a weekly basis all of the signatures that are being collected from this date forward, or really from July 2nd forward, and get those to the Secretary of State's office on a weekly basis so that the verification process can be ongoing, rather than waiting until the August 17th deadline that I am setting for the plaintiffs.

So just to clarify, I am ordering the Secretary of State to do one of two things. One is simple. I mean, it's -- and I realize it may not be palatable, but it's simply put the petition on the ballot for November 2020. The other is to reduce to 58,789 valid signature s -- 58,789 valid signatures with a deadline of August 17th.

The Court will not entertain a motion to stay this. We need to move forward. Certainly I understand

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there would be an appeal, and it may be that you can get this case connected with the Idaho case before the 9th Circuit, and certainly any decision out of the 9th Circuit may well impact this decision today. And it may call for a motion for reconsideration. So that's where we are.

Any questions about how -- I would like the Secretary of State's office to notify the Court and the plaintiff how they wish to proceed under the order by 5:00 on Monday. Is that reasonable? I don't know.

MR. MARSHALL: I can state, I do not know the schedule of the relevant decision makers in terms of the relief in the alternative. I can say that we can attempt to notify, and certainly give an interim update of that.

I want to make one question clarified with the Court. There's a pending challenge in State Court, unrelated to the requirement to qualify, in terms of the number of signatures and the deadline to submit them. We are -- the Secretary is vigorously defending that case and has submitted a substantial opposition to Ms. Uherbelau's challenge to that state. However, it is still pending in Marion Circuit Court.

Am I correct in understanding that the -- if the Secretary chooses the first option, the Court is not intending to enjoin other challenges to this ballot

measure on other grounds?

THE COURT: That's absolutely correct. And certainly if a State Court invalidates the petition, you would file a motion for reconsideration and -- well, it wouldn't be a motion for reconsideration. I think at that point my order would become moot, and it would be vacated. Certainly if the 9th Circuit makes a decision that impacts the decision I make here today, we will reconvene for a reconsideration immediately, and enter whatever orders we need to to remedy what the 9th Circuit may do.

 $\label{eq:MR.MARSHALL:} \textbf{I} \ \textbf{think} \ \textbf{I} \ \textbf{--} \ \textbf{I} \ \textbf{am} \ \textbf{sorry}, \ \textbf{Your}$  Honor.

THE COURT: No.

MR. MARSHALL: I think I understand the order.

Ms. Beatty-Walters may have other questions.

THE COURT: Okay.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: No, Your Honor. I understand that you are not going to entertain a motion to stay, so that is taken care of.

THE COURT: I don't mean to cut off what would be a reasonable request, but for the kind of timelines that I'm putting you under, it just does not seem reasonable -- I will accept the fact that you are right now moving for a stay, and I am denying it. And we can

put that on the record, if you want to protect that piece.

MS. BEATTY-WALTERS: Thank you. I appreciate that.

THE COURT: We will put that in the way of a minute order, and then certainly do whatever you need to do with the 9th Circuit to try to reverse me. It doesn't hurt my feelings.

So I guess I would like the parties to confer late Monday. If it becomes impractical for the decision makers on the defense side to make a decision about the alternative order, I would like you just to agree on another time frame of an additional 24 or 48 hours.

But if I were the plaintiffs, you are ordered to get those signatures to the Secretary of State's office. I would get those to them sooner than later, and I would begin your signature gathering process, such as it is, to go forward.

I want to thank everybody. I will try my hardest to get my written opinion out so you have an appealable decision, but we will enter a preliminary order. It's past 5:00, and my guess is they will -- it will be entered into the ECF early Monday morning --

We will do a minute order tonight, I am told.

Thank you, everybody. I appreciate your time.

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             MR. MARSHALL: Thank you, Your Honor.
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             MR. ELZINGA: Thank you, Your Honor.
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                            Thank you, Your Honor.
             MR. BERMAN:
             COURT CLERK: This Court is adjourned, and we
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    will disconnect now.
                         (Proceedings concluded at
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        STATE OF OREGON
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                 I, Deborah L. Cook, RPR, Certified Shorthand
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    Reporter in and for the State of Oregon, hereby certify
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    that at said time and place I reported in stenotype all
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    testimony adduced and other oral proceedings had in the
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    foregoing hearing; that thereafter my notes were
    transcribed by computer-aided transcription by me
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    personally; and that the foregoing transcript contains a
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    full, true and correct record of such testimony adduced
    and other oral proceedings had, and of the whole thereof.
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                Witness my hand and seal at Dundee, Oregon,
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    this 18th day of July, 2020.
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    /s/ Deborah L. Cook, RPR, CSR
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    DEBORAH L. COOK, RPR
    Certified Shorthand Reporter
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    OREGON CSR #04-0389
    CALIFORNIA CSR #12886
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