TENNESSEANS FOR SENSIBLE ELEC. LAWS

VS.

TN BUR. OF ETHICS & CAMPAIGN FI., et al.

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

September 26, 2018





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1	IN THE CHANCERY COURT OF DAVIDSON COUNTY
2	STATE OF TENNESSEE
3	TENNESSEANS FOR SENSIBLE ELECTION LAWS,
4	Plaintiff,
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6	18-821-II
7	TENNESSEE BUREAU OF ETHICS AND CAMPAIGN
8	FINANCE and DAVIDSON COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY
9	GENERALS,
10	Defendants.
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15	BE IT REMEMBERED that the above-captioned cause came on for hearing, on
16	this, the 26th day of September, 2018 before Chancellor Ellen Hobbs Lyle, when and where the
17	following proceedings were had, to wit:
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22	Elite Reporting Services
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4	APPEARANCES	
5		
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7		
8	For the Plaintiff:	
9	MR. DANIEL HORWITZ and MR. JAMES HOLLIN	09:08:04
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14	*	
15		
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2	(WHEREUPON, the following proceedings	
3	came before the Court to be heard, as follows:)	
4		09:07:11
5	THE COURT: Good morning.	09:07:17
6	MS. KLEINFELTER: Good morning, Your	09:07:18
7	Honor.	09:07:20
8	THE COURT: We are here this morning	09:07:20
9	on a limited bench trial that had been	09:07:23
10	convened, scheduled by the Court. The Court	09:07:32
11	has received four motions in limine that were	09:07:34
12	filed by the plaintiff, and so we're going to	09:07:37
13	start with arguments on those.	09:07:40
14	And let me ask the plaintiff if you	09:07:43
15	will, please, present all your motions in	09:07:46
16	limine and then let me have the State respond	09:07:49
17	to all of those and then we'll have a reply.	09:07:58
18	Thank you.	09:08:01
19	MR. HORWITZ: Morning, Your Honor.	09:08:01
20	THE COURT: Good morning.	09:08:02
21	MR. HORWITZ: Daniel Horwitz on	09:08:03
22	behalf of the plaintiff, with my co-counsel	09:08:07
23	Jamie Hollin.	09:08:10
24	Plaintiff's first motion in limine	09:08:12
25	has to do with non-compliance with the Court's	09:08:12

order that the defendants disclose witnesses 7 09:08:13 2 with a brief description as to what the 09:08:16 3 defendants expect the witnesses will testify 09:08:18 about at trial. 09:08:20 4 The defendants disclosed one witness. 5 09:08:22 6 Mr. Rawlins. They did not comply with the 09:08:25 7 requirement that they provide a brief 09:08:27 description as to what Mr. Rawlins would 09:08:29 8 9 testify about at trial. As a result of 09:08:32 10 non-compliance with this Court's order, I 09:08:35 respectfully ask that this Court exclude his 09:08:38 11 09:08:43 12 testimony. 13 Plaintiff's second motion in limine 09:08:43 09:08:46 14 is based on hearsay. Witnesses cannot testify by affidavit; must be subject to 15 09:08:50 16 cross-examination. Hearsay is an out-of-court 09:08:54 statement used for the truth of the matter 17 09:08:57 asserted. It does not matter whether it is 09:08:59 18 19 sworn or not. The important thing is that it 09:09:01 20 is out of court and not subject to 09:09:03 21 cross-examination. 09:09:11 The defendants have asked for several 22 09:09:11 witnesses not disclosed as witnesses to be 23 09:09:12 24 permitted to testify by affidavit. We 09:09:12

respectfully submit that they should be

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excluded from being able to testify by affidavit under rule of evidence 801c.

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Plaintiff's third motion in limine is a conditional relevance objection. Your Honor, the crux of this case is going to come down to whether or not the statutes that have been challenged are narrowly tailored to achieve their purpose. There are approximately two dozen exhibits, many of which concern matters that occurred recently well after the statute went into effect.

And regardless of the interest they support, I respectfully submit, Your Honor, they are not relevant unless and until the defendants are able to demonstrate that the statutes are narrowly tailored to their purpose.

The fourth motion in limine was filed yesterday, Your Honor. We had asked for disclosure of the exhibits that defendants were planning to introduce in this trial. Local rules require that disclosure be 72 hours in advance. By Monday evening we requested those exhibits. They were not forthcoming until yesterday afternoon, I believe at about

09:09:18 09:09:21 09:09:24 09:09:29 09:09:32 09:09:35 09:09:38 09:09:42 09:09:46 09:09:48 09:09:51 09:09:52 09:09:54 09:09:57 09:10:00 09:10:01 09:10:06 09:10:07 09:10:11 09:10:13 09:10:16

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2 o'clock, 2:30 p.m.

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I'm not trying to be unreasonable,
Your Honor. I'm happy to withdraw that motion
if there is some reason why those exhibits had
to be provided for the first time on the eve of
trial, not in compliance with local rules. If
there was some basis for that, we'll withdraw
the objection, but I'm certainly not aware of
any.

Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Let me ask you this question. And if you want to wait until you've heard from the State and answer the question and the reply, you may do so.

If the Court were to grant the motions in limine, then that would eliminate any proof in the record, and under that -- under that outcome, then the Court would be required to rule in the plaintiff's favor because there is no evidence.

On appeal when this is reviewed, it's a matter of discretion on these motions in limine. And so, you're taking quite a risk if the Court grants the motions in limine that an appellate court would take a different view of

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1	that and say, No, that was not a proper	09:11:48
2	exercise of discretion.	09:11:50
3	So the alternative would be for you	09:11:55
4	to seek a continuance. If the Court granted	09:11:58
5	that, then the matter would not go up before	09:12:00
6	the November election. And I know it was	09:12:05
7	important to your client to have this matter	09:12:07
8	determined in this court prior to the November	09:12:09
9	election, and that was part of the rationale	09:12:12
10	for proceeding with an expedited hearing, which	09:12:17
11	the State had agreed to.	09:12:21
12	So I put this choice to you, because	09:12:24
13	it's really a decision for you to make on	09:12:29
14	behalf of your client whether you want to	09:12:32
15	proceed with the motions in limine. If the	09:12:33
16	Court grants them, then you run the risk of a	09:12:36
17	remand on appeal. Or do you want a continuance	09:12:39
18	in the case?	09:12:42
19	MR. HORWITZ: Your Honor, if you're	09:12:43
20	amenable to it, I have a a different	09:12:44
21	potential solution here.	09:12:47
22	THE COURT: And I'm not necessarily	09:12:49
23	looking for solutions.	09:12:51
24	MR. HORWITZ: Sure.	09:12:52
25	THE COURT: I just want to be very	09:12:52

1	clear of what the risk is.	09:12:54
2	Proceed, Mr. Horwitz.	09:12:57
3	MR. HORWITZ: I understand.	09:12:57
4	THE COURT: I know that you had	09:12:58
5	filed a summary judgment, and the reason that	09:13:00
6	the Court did not proceed with the summary	09:13:03
7	judgment is I think that's even more of a risk	09:13:05
8	on appeal, because there were no statements of	09:13:08
9	undisputed material fact. A rushed-up summary	09:13:10
10	judgment is probably more or less	09:13:15
11	informative to a court of appeal than what	09:13:18
12	we're doing here, which is convening a limited	09:13:21
13	bench trial and motions in limine, et cetera.	09:13:25
14	So that's why the Court did not go that route.	09:13:28
15	So, yeah, go ahead.	09:13:32
16	MR. HORWITZ: Your Honor, we would	09:13:34
17	like to proceed with the motions in limine, but	09:13:35
18	I would ask that this Court permit the State	09:13:38
19	to make an offer of proof as to what they	09:13:41
20	intended to introduce. It's our position that	09:13:43
21	if this trial moved forward, they won't have	09:13:47
22	sufficient evidence to overcome the standard	09:13:50
23	anyway. But we do ask those motions in limine	09:13:52
24	be granted.	09:13:55
25	I respectfully submit, Your Honor,	09:13:56

1 that this will not prejudice the defendants. 09:13:59 2 It, in fact, just restores them to the position 09:14:01 3 that they previously took, which is that they 09:14:03 don't need evidence and they don't have to 09:14:05 4 introduce evidence and they wouldn't be 5 09:14:07 introducing evidence. 6 09:14:09 7 So I do not want to continue this. 09:14:10 We still do want to proceed on an expedited 09:14:11 8 basis, but we ask that those motions in limine 9 09:14:14 10 be granted and, again, that the State be 09:14:18 11 allowed to make an offer of proof and allow us 09:14:21 12 to proceed today. 09:14:23 13 THE COURT: And the Court had thought 09:14:24 about that, that if the motions in limine were 14 09:14:25 15 granted, that the State should be permitted to 09:14:26 make an offer of proof and how that would 16 09:14:29 17 proceed. 09:14:31 I do not listen to offers of proof. 18 09:14:33 You-all would stay in the courtroom. 19 09:14:37 20 would present their matters and put it on the 09:14:39 21 record for the court reporter. So that's how 09:14:42 we would handle that. 22 09:14:44 But they -- I think, looks like we 23 09:14:45 have a notebook up here, so they do have --24 09:14:46 this could be filed in the record. And then 25 09:14:50

1	any questions they wanted to ask of their	09:14:52
2	witness and any cross-examination could	09:14:53
3	proceed.	09:14:56
4	All right. Anything further in	09:14:57
5	response to that question?	09:14:59
6	MR. HORWITZ: Just very briefly, Your	09:15:00
7	Honor, I wanted to clarify. The plaintiff did	09:15:02
8	file a statement of undisputed material facts	09:15:04
9	submitted with motion for summary judgment. I	09:15:08
10	understand that probably doesn't affect	09:15:08
11	anything, but if this Court hadn't seen it I	09:15:09
12	wanted to mention it.	09:15:13
13	THE COURT: I did see that, but the	09:15:14
14	time to respond is the problem.	09:15:16
15	MR. HORWITZ: Yes, ma'am.	09:15:19
16	THE COURT: It would have been on an	09:15:19
17	expedited basis. And then if they they have	09:15:20
18	the opportunity to submit statements of	09:15:20
19	undisputed material fact in response, and there	09:15:23
20	just would not be enough time to do that. We'd	09:15:26
21	have to compress it so much.	09:15:28
22	MR. HORWITZ: I understand and I	09:15:31
23	agree.	09:15:32
24	THE COURT: Thank you. All right, at	09:15:33
25	this time the Court will hear the State's	09:15:37

1 response to the motions in limine. 09:15:41 2 MS. KLEINFELTER: Thank you, Your 09:15:43 3 Honor. Janet Kleinfelter with the Attorney 09:15:44 General's Office here on behalf of the 09:15:49 4 5 defendant. Your Honor. 09:15:50 And, Your Honor, in your question to 09:15:52 6 7 counsel, plaintiff's counsel has identified and 09:15:53 specifically comes from, that the Court of 09:15:55 8 9 Appeals identified in the case of Duran and 09:15:58 Honda Motor American, Inc. The cite for that 09:16:01 10 case is 271 Southwest 3rd, 178. That's a 2008 09:16:03 11 decision. 09:16:06 12 And in that case the Court said that 09:16:06 13 09:16:09 a motion in limine is not the proper vehicle to 14 15 use to attempt to preclude a claim or a 09:16:12 16 defense. A motion in limine should not be used 09:16:15 to, quote, Choke off a party's entire claim or 09:16:18 17 18 defense. Rather, the purpose of a motion in 09:16:22 19 limine is to enable a Court prior to trial to 09:16:25 exclude anticipated evidence that would be 09:16:29 20 09:16:31 21 clearly inadmissible for any purpose at trial. 22 And, Your Honor, when you apply that 09:16:35 standard to the four motions in limine which 23 09:16:37 plaintiff has filed, they don't meet that 09:16:39 24

standard in any form or fashion.

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09:16:41

With respect to the first motion in limine, the entire basis for excluding the testimony of Mr. Rawlins is the assertion that our identification of Mr. Rawlins did not provide a brief description as to what he was expected to testify. Mr. Rawlins was specifically identified as the Executive Director of the Registry of Election Finance. I think it's -- it's safe to say that's pretty obvious as to what he was going to testify is the actions of the Registry of Election Finance.

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Regardless, plaintiff had that information since September 14th, Your Honor, and waited until the 21st to even raise it as an issue as to why that testimony should be excluded.

With respect to the second motion in limine to exclude the testimony of witnesses by affidavit, Your Honor, there the problem with that is, once again, counsel had that information as of September 14th. As this Court noted in its order, if counsel felt the need to inquire about testimony of witnesses, they could have asked for a continuance in

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order to depose those witnesses. No such request has been made. No request is being made today.

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And, Your Honor, with respect to at least two of the witnesses, because of the expedited basis of this trial, there was no way that we could have these witnesses available Two of the witnesses are more than a hundred miles outside -- one of the witnesses is in California at the moment. Another witness is located in Hardeman County, which is 170 miles from Davidson County. Two more of the witnesses are administrators of election for -- one for Davidson County, the other one for Montgomery County. Your Honor, they are extremely busy at this moment preparing for the November elections. One of the other witnesses was just elected vice-mayor. In addition, he has a full-time job.

We were not able to insure that those witnesses were going to be able to be available for this trial given the expedited basis. Your Honor, we would have made them available, however, had counsel requested the opportunity to depose them and asked for a continuance. We

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would have made them available for depositions. 09:18:59 2 That request never came. 09:19:01 3 With respect to the third motion, 09:19:04 Your Honor, the third motion says that the 09:19:06 4 5 basis for excluding, conditionally excluding 09:19:08 6 irrelevant exhibits, Your Honor, first of all, 09:19:12 7 I think it's the Court that decides whether or 09:19:15 not a particular exhibit is relevant, not 09:19:18 8 9 opposing counsel. 09:19:20 But regardless, the basis that they 09:19:23 10 provide for excluding it is because it's 09:19:25 11 inadequately described. And the example they 09:19:28 12 give is the legislative history from the 99th 09:19:31 13 Session of the Tennessee General Assembly for 09:19:35 14 House Bill 89 and Senate Bill 79. 15 09:19:38 16 Your Honor, I don't know how else to 09:19:40 17 describe legislative history. The legislative 09:19:42 history is the history -- it's the recorded 18 09:19:45 19 history of what the legislature did. I'm not 09:19:47 sure how else to describe that. And if counsel 09:19:50 20 is not aware of what the legislative history 09:19:59 21 2.2 is. I'm not sure if there's a definition out 09:20:02 23 there to provide them. 09:20:05 24 But regardless, Your Honor, I don't 09:20:06

think there's any basis for excluding all of

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the exhibits simply because counsel believes that they're not relevant to the issue.

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The final motion, Your Honor, with respect to excluding an exchange of exhibits, so if we're going to play the game of the local rules, Your Honor, and argue that our exhibits should be excluded because we didn't comply with the local rule, well, counsel's motion doesn't comply with the local rule, because Local Rule 30 says that that motion in limine is supposed to be filed five days before the trial.

But we're not going to play that game, Your Honor. The simple matter of the fact is that all of the exhibits, the documentary exhibits that we listed on September 14th and provided to counsel on September 14th are public records that could have been obtained at any time by plaintiff's counsel without obtaining them from us. We provided specific sites to where newspaper articles could be found. To the extent that they could not be downloaded off the internet, they were available at the State library and archives. They were all public records.

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1 With respect to the affidavits, Your Honor, we were still in the process of getting executed affidavits, and two of the affidavits were not actually executed until vesterday. went ahead and actually provided those affidavits to plaintiff's counsel, even though we were not required to do so under the local rules. The simple matter of fact is, Your Honor, counsel wants to exclude all of our evidence because they happen to believe that we

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have to demonstrate that it's narrowly That's the issue still for the Court tailored. to determine based upon the pre-trial briefs, what's the appropriate standard of review.

But their position is that unless we demonstrate that it's narrowly tailored, the Court should exclude all of our evidence. Your Honor, that kind of begs the question, how do you demonstrate that something is narrowly tailored without the evidence? That's exactly what the Court said in its previous order. That's why this Court ordered an evidentiary hearing.

We would respectfully request that

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1	the Court deny all of the motions in limine.	09:22:09
2	We fully expect if the motions were granted	09:22:11
3	that we would find ourselves back here in a	09:22:14
4	couple of months after the Court of Appeals	09:22:17
5	reverses and remands. Thank you.	09:22:18
6	THE COURT: Thank you. Anything	09:22:21
7	else?	09:22:23
8	MR. HORWITZ: Very briefly, Your	09:22:24
9	Honor.	09:22:25
10	As to the first motion in limine,	09:22:26
11	this is not about inquiring into his testimony.	09:22:29
12	It's simply about fair notice, Your Honor. I	09:22:35
13	would respectfully submit this Court has	09:22:37
14	significant discretion to control the evidence	09:22:40
15	that gets admitted, and non-compliance with	09:22:41
16	this Court's orders is a legitimate basis for	09:22:44
17	excluding evidence.	09:22:49
18	As to the hearsay affidavits, Your	09:22:51
19	Honor, I also submit that not deposing a	09:22:53
20	witness does not entitle the defendants to	09:22:56
21	introduce hearsay. The rules of evidence apply	09:22:59
22	whether or not the plaintiff wanted to depose	09:23:03
23	witnesses or not.	09:23:06
24	As for waiting to raise this	09:23:08
25	objection, it was raised within seven days of	09:23:10

1 the disclosures being made, and I believe the 09:23:12 fact that I was out of town during this 2 09:23:16 3 process was previously introduced into the 09:23:18 record. 09:23:22 Legislative history, Your Honor, can 5 09:23:23 6 include many, many, many things: committee 09:23:26 7 reports, floor statements, committee 09:23:29 statements, newspaper articles from the time. 09:23:31 8 There is a vast quantity of information that 9 09:23:33 10 can be shoehorned into the category of 09:23:36 11 legislative history. Simply saying we're going 09:23:41 12 to introduce legislative history does not 09:23:43 13 provide fair notice. 09:23:47 14 More importantly, that's not the 09:23:47 15 basis for the objection anyway. The objection 09:23:48 is a conditional relevance objection. Assuming 16 09:23:51 17 for the sake of argument that the interests 09:23:56 that they have alleged are compelling, the 18 09:23:58 19 problem is they are still not narrowly 09:23:59 20 tailored. And failing to be able to 09:24:03 demonstrate that fact makes the balance of the 2.1 09:24:06 evidence irrelevant. 22 09:24:09 23 As to whether yesterday's motion in 09:24:10 limine should have been filed five days ago, I 24 09:24:14 25 respectfully submit they were not in violation 09:24:15

1 five days ago. The local rule provides that 09:24:17 the exhibits need to be disclosed within 2 09:24:19 3 72 hours; that period came and went. Monday we 09:24:22 4 asked for them; came and went. They weren't 09:24:25 provided until late yesterday afternoon. 09:24:27 5 As for the fact that these are public 09:24:30 6 7 records, Your Honor, they are not. 09:24:32 09:24:34 affidavits are not public records. There was 8 9 no way for me to be able to get access to those 09:24:36 10 absent the defendants providing them. And if 09:24:39 they had a -- had difficulty getting their 09:24:42 11 12 witnesses to this trial, that was their 09:24:45 09:24:47 13 obligation, not mine. This is their burden of proof, not the plaintiff's. 09:24:50 14 15 If their witnesses were unavailable, 09:24:53 16 they could have asked to move this trial date. 09:24:56 17 They did not. They simply are attempting to 09:24:58 18 get their witnesses to testify by affidavit. 09:24:59 That is not permitted under the rules of 19 09:25:02 evidence. 20 09:25:03 21 I submit that these motions in limine 09:25:04 09:25:06 2.2 should be granted. I would not be opposed to this Court holding a determination as to those 09:25:08 23 24 motions in abeyance pending the trial that 09:25:11

proceeds today for purpose of expediting this.

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09:25:14

1	Thank you.	09:25:17
2	THE COURT: Is there any proof that	09:25:17
3	the if the Court granted the motions in	09:25:19
4	limine, then is there any proof that the	09:25:21
5	plaintiff has to offer in this case?	09:25:24
6	MR. HORWITZ: It was my	09:25:27
7	understanding, Your Honor, that this limited	09:25:28
8	bench trial was noticed on the defendants'	09:25:30
9	defenses.	09:25:33
10	THE COURT: Yes.	09:25:33
11	MR. HORWITZ: So that's why we're	09:25:35
12	here today. No, Your Honor.	09:25:37
13	THE COURT: All right. Thank you.	09:25:38
14	Anything else, General Kleinfelter?	09:25:40
15	MS. KLEINFELTER: No, Your Honor.	09:25:43
16	THE COURT: The Court grants the	09:25:49
17	motions in limine for the reasons stated in the	09:25:51
18	plaintiff's oral arguments and in their	09:25:55
19	briefing, including but not limited to, that	09:25:59
20	the State failed to comply with measures that	09:26:02
21	this Court had put in its order to regulate and	09:26:07
22	provide structure and fair notice when we were	09:26:10
23	having a bench trial on an expedited basis.	09:26:15
24	The Court was careful and thoughtful	09:26:20
25	in crafting regulations so that the trial of	09:26:24

this case would be fair, even though it was expedited, and the State has not complied with the Court's order. The State did not provide a description of the testimony that would be given by its witness.

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of its order that if there were difficulties or problems complying with the deadlines, that relief should be sought from the Court, and the Court anticipated or acknowledged that that was a possibility. The State never came forward and asked for any additional time or measures in which to put their evidence on before the Court, other than the limited bench trial that the Court had set up. These are in addition to the reasons that are stated by the plaintiff in their oral argument and their briefing.

The Court concludes that the way
that the State has proceeded, it has the
effect of a trial by ambush, and it doesn't
provide an opportunity for the other side to
defend against the proof that the plaintiff
seeks -- that the defendant, the State, seeks
to offer.

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So for all of these reasons, the

Court grants the motions in limine. The Court

directs plaintiff's counsel to prepare the

order granting the motions in limine and submit

that stating the Court's reasoning. And to the

extent that it's not all in there, I will add

to it, but use what you stated in oral

arguments and in your briefing and then what

you've heard the Court state on the record here

today. If it's not exactly like I want it,

then I will change it up.

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The reason I'm having you prepare the order is that the Court has a number of matters this week, and for us to get the order done in time it would be next week or week after before I could do it.

Where that leaves us with respect to the case is that having granted the motions in limine, the State has insufficient facts of record to withstand the plaintiff's claim, and so judgment is granted in favor of the plaintiff, and the plaintiff shall prepare the order of judgment on that as well and submit it to the Court.

In terms of the State, of course,

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1 there is the three-day holding period that we 09:29:05 2 have in the clerk and master's office. And to 09:29:07 3 the extent that the State disagrees with the 09:29:12 orders that have been submitted, they may 4 09:29:14 5 submit an opposing or competing order. 09:29:16 6 As to preparing a record on appeal, 09:29:18 7 I'm going to have Mr. Seamon mark the notebook 09:29:22 that General Kleinfelter had provided before 09:29:27 9 today's proceedings for identification only. 09:29:31 10 So that will be in the record. And then if 09:29:35 there is any offer of proof that the State 11 09:29:38 seeks to make with their witness, they may do 12 09:29:43 so in the courtroom here with the court 09:29:46 13 14 reporter and opposing counsel, and you-all may 09:29:49 15 put that questioning on the record. 09:29:52 16 Let me ask if there are any questions 09:29:57 17 about the Court's ruling? 09:29:59 18 MS. KLEINFELTER: Yes, Your Honor. 09:30:02 19 The State intends to file a notice of appeal, 09:30:03 and we are we requesting a stay of the Court's 20 09:30:06 21 order. 09:30:08 2.2 Do I need to go ahead and file that 09:30:09 23 motion, or will the Court entertain an oral 09:30:11 motion? 24 09:30:13 25 THE COURT: You would need to file a 09:30:14

1	motion.	09:30:16
2	MS. KLEINFELTER: We'll get that	09:30:16
3	motion and notice filed today, Your Honor.	09:30:18
4	THE COURT: Okay. Any other	09:30:20
5	questions, General Kleinfelter, about the	09:30:22
6	Court's ruling? Any other questions?	09:30:26
7	MS. KLEINFELTER: Your Honor, do we	09:30:28
8	have the opportunity in making our offer of	09:30:29
9	proof of explaining the exhibits, because there	09:30:32
10	was going to be explanation provided when we	09:30:34
11	presented them in the record?	09:30:37
12	THE COURT: Absolutely. Put anything	09:30:39
13	on the record that you think you need to put on	09:30:41
14	there.	09:30:43
15	MS. KLEINFELTER: Thank you.	09:30:43
16	THE COURT: Any questions of	09:30:45
17	plaintiff?	09:30:47
18	MR. HORWITZ: Very briefly, Your	09:30:47
19	Honor.	09:30:49
20	Would it be permissible to integrate	09:30:49
21	the transcript of this proceeding into the	09:30:51
22	proposed order that is filed.	09:30:53
23	THE COURT: Yes. There are a couple	09:30:54
24	ways you can do it. Either you can prepare	09:30:57
25	the order and paraphrase what I've said, or you	09:30:59

1	can attach the transcript to the order and just	09:31:03
2	provide that it's incorporated by reference.	09:31:08
3	And if you need to put other	09:31:10
4	provisions in the order, you may do so, but	09:31:12
5	just attach the transcript. So any form is	09:31:15
6	fine as long as we get the substance of the	09:31:18
7	Court's ruling so it can be adequately reviewed	09:31:20
8	on appeal.	09:31:23
9	MR. HORWITZ: Thank you, Your Honor.	09:31:24
10	THE COURT: Any other questions? Any	09:31:25
11	other questions?	09:31:29
12	(No response.)	09:31:29
13	THE COURT: All right. At this time,	09:31:31
14	Mr. Seamon, I'm going to ask you to mark that.	09:31:33
15	(WHEREUPON, the above-mentioned	09:31:37
16	documents were marked for Identification only	
17	as Exhibit No. 1, Exhibit No. 2, Exhibit No. 3,	
18	Exhibit No. 4, Exhibit No. 5, Exhibit No. 6,	
19	Exhibit No. 7, Exhibit No. 8, Exhibit No. 9,	
20	Exhibit No. 10, Exhibit No. 11, Exhibit No. 12,	
21	Exhibit No. 13, Exhibit No. 14, Exhibit No. 15,	1
22	Exhibit No. 16, Exhibit No. 17, Exhibit No. 18,	
23	Exhibit No. 19, Exhibit No. 20, Exhibit No. 21,	
24	Exhibit No. 22, Exhibit No. 23, and Exhibit No.	
25	24.)	

1	THE COURT: And we will adjourn	09:31:37
2	court.	09:31:39
3	(WHEREUPON, court was adjourned at	
4	9:31 a.m.)	
5	* * *	
6	(WHEREUPON, the following is an offer	
7	of proof after the Court left the bench, as	
8	follows:)	
9		08:56:28
10	MS. GROOVER: The Court asked that	09:32:40
11	the State put on evidence of there being the	09:32:42
12	existence of corruption or its appearance, that	09:32:46
13	we could not rely purely on the assertion that	09:32:49
14	such corruption existed.	09:32:53
15	So we have submitted a number of	09:32:55
16	exhibits that demonstrate that this statute	09:32:57
17	came about not as a hypothetical situation, not	09:33:02
18	to address a hypothetical situation, but to	09:33:06
19	address something that was actually occurring	09:33:09
20	in the state of Tennessee that caused	09:33:10
21	corruption in its appearance. So these	09:33:14
22	exhibits will demonstrate that.	09:33:16
23	The very first exhibit is an article	09:33:17
24	written by Phil Williams for the Tennessean on	09:33:23
25	May 3rd, 1992, entitled "PACs Big Spenders When	09:33:31

It Comes to Congressional Races".

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And what this article covers is the extent to which Congressional races in Tennessee were being funded by PAC money, and it demonstrates that for some representatives they received as much as 35 percent or more of their funding from PACs. This demonstrates that prior to the passage of this legislation, there was concern about PAC money in elections amongst the public.

The next section of articles regards specific examples of PACs placing money -- of donating money into campaigns within the last 10 days prior to an election where it would not be reported until after an election. So these articles talk about a primary race for the Republican primary for the State Senate seat in District 32. It was a primary between Tom Leatherwood and Leonard Dunayant.

The first article was written by

Gail McKnight for the Tennessean, and it is
entitled "Voters Turn Out 2 West Tennessee

Lawmakers", and it was published on August 7th,
1992. And as the article itself states, this
was published the day after this primary

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election. 09:34:54 1 2 I will read just a small portion of 09:34:55 3 it. "Senator Leonard Dunavant, 09:34:58 Republican-Memphis, defeated in Senate District 09:35:03 4 5 32 by Tom Leatherwood of Bartlett and Rep. 09:35:05 Alvin King, R-Memphis, defeated by Henri E. 09:35:09 6 7 Brooks. Dunavant, who served three terms in 09:35:13 8 the House and ten terms in the Senate, 09:35:17 9 sponsored a state income tax for Governor Ned 09:35:20 09:35:24 10 McWherter's education reform plan. He dropped 11 his support of the tax last year, but the 09:35:27 12 effort apparently beat him politically. With 09:35:27 no Democrat in the offering, Leatherwood is 09:35:32 13 14 assured the Senate seat." 09:35:35 15 The next article comes two days later 09:35:37 16 from Larry Daughtry titled "Not Much to Cry Or 09:35:40 17 Crow About", also in the Tennessean. And it is 09:35:46 18 here two days after the election that the 09:35:49 19 public has now become aware of the significant 09:35:51 contributions made to Tom Leatherwood's 20 09:35:54 2.1 campaign by a PAC, and you'll see that Mr. 09:35:59 22 Daughtry references, "Tennessee's fat medical 09:36:06 23 establishment poured perhaps as much as to 09:36:11 \$20,000 into the campaign of Dunavant's 09:36:14 24

opponent, Tom Leatherwood." And Mr. Daughtry

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is saying "perhaps as much", because the disclosures have still not come out.

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Then an article from October 25th,

1992, after the disclosures have been made

public, an article by Duren Cheek titled

"Naifeh Wants State Income Tax, Opponent Says",

finally has the figure of \$24,000 that was

contributed to Tom Leatherwood's campaign. So

two months after the election we finally have a

report in the newspaper of how much money was

actually spent.

We also have the campaign financial disclosure report filed by Tom Leatherwood in the 1992 Republican primary election. We have the preprimary reports, as well as the post primary reports, and the post primary reports are what showed the contributions that were made in those last 10 days.

And what they reveal is that this

PAC, the Independent Medicine PAC, which as the
previous article explained is the PAC for the

Tennessee Medical Association, expended over
\$14,000 in the last 10 days of the election for
Tom Underwood, and those were not disclosed
until after the election.

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1 The next article that we have is 09:37:39 2 written by Duren Cheek titled "Lawmakers 09:37:45 3 Relying on PAC Money". It's from the 09:37:49 09:37:51 4 Tennessean, and it was published on August 5 13th, 1994. 09:37:55 And on the second page of this 09:37:56 6 7 article, there is a box at the lower left-hand 09:37:57 09:38:03 8 corner titled "Mostly PAC Incumbents", and it 9 lists 48 State lawmakers who received more than 09:38:06 half of their campaign contributions from PACs. 09:38:10 10 09:38:15 11 So, again, we see a concern about the amount of 12 PAC money being contributed to State 09:38:16 legislators. 09:38:20 13 The next article is from January 09:38:21 14 15 10th, 1995, also from the Tennessean, written 09:38:24 16 by Duren Cheek and Larry Daughtry titled 09:38:28 17 "General Assembly to Focus on Ethics". 09:38:31 18 In the second column, "Representative 09:38:34 19 Matt Kisber, Democrat-Jackson, expected to be 09:38:38 09:38:42 reappointed today to chair the House Ethics 20 09:38:46 21 Committee, said he's angry that some lobbying 22 groups are boasting of their power at the 09:38:50 23 ballot box. 'There have been some special 09:38:54 interests which have bragged about the role 09:38:57 24

their large contributions have played in

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1 determining outcomes of some races, ' said 09:38:59 Kisber. 'I'm not going to name names.' 09:39:02 3 Kisber apparently referred to claims 09:39:05 in an internal newsletter of the Tennessee 09:39:07 Medical Association, the doctor's lobby, that 5 09:39:12 its contributions tilted several legislative 6 09:39:13 7 races last year. The TMA gave \$128,000 to 09:39:18 political candidates in the first three 09:39:23 8 9 quarters of 1994. Final figures are not 09:39:26 10 available." 09:39:26 So we have the exact same PAC who 11 09:39:31 12 contributed to the Leatherwood campaign 09:39:33 boasting in an internal newsletter how their 13 09:39:36 contributions tilted elections. 14 09:39:39 The next article is also from the 15 09:39:45 16 Tennessean. It was published June 19th, 1995, 09:39:49 17 and it is written by Duren Cheek, titled 09:39:53 "Ethics Bills Bring Confusion". This article 18 09:39:57 19 was published the month after this bill was 09:39:59 20 passed. 09:40:03 21 And on the second page of this 09:40:05 article in the center of the article there is a 09:40:06 22 23 portion titled, "What the New Ethics 09:40:10 24 Legislation Says." And on the last question in 09:40:13 the first column, the question is, 09:40:16 25

"Historically PACs have contributed large sums just before an election that aren't reported until after the election. Voters therefore do not know who is contributing. Are those stealth contributions prohibited?"

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The next exhibit that we have are portions of the legislative history from the 99th Session of the Tennessee General Assembly for House bill 89 and Senate bill 79. I will read the third portion that is provided in this exhibit, and this is a quote from Representative Kisber who was the sponsor of this bill.

Representative Kisber said, I think that that the concern that's been raised on this issue is one of what I as a candidate, and I'm sure many of you as a candidates, have had to address at the home front. When you're running and you file a disclosure seven days before the election covering the period up through 10 days before the election, it's baring yourself. You disclose everything you've received and everything you've spent, and the public before they go vote has an opportunity to see who has contributed and what

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those political action committees have given, and if there's been in the last few days of an election talk about campaign finance it's usually about what PACs have given, and how much they've given, and why have they given to a candidate.

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Well, in a matter of public policy to prevent large amounts of money being put into a campaign in the last few days and evade the disclosure prior to an election in order that the public has the opportunity to see what PACs have given and how much they've given before they go to vote, this provision was discussed and unanimously adopted by the members of the Conference Committee. The members of the Conference Committee believed it was good public policy. In light of the interest in reform, in light of the interest in campaign finance, and in light of the interest and concern of where campaign money comes from, that before someone goes to vote they have a right to know, they have an opportunity to know who is funding that campaign, and this provision helps to strengthen that."

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We also have an affidavit from Matt

1	Kisber who was the representative at the time	09:42:41
2	who sponsored the house bill.	09:42:43
3	MR. HORWITZ: Object to hearsay on	09:42:46
4	the record.	09:42:48
5	MS. KLEINFELTER: This is an offer of	09:42:51
6	proof. You already made your objection.	09:42:53
7	MR. HORWITZ: I'm noting that if this	09:42:54
8	were introduced, I would object to hearsay.	09:42:56
9	And that's a standing objection to each	09:42:59
10	affidavit.	09:43:01
11	MS. GROOVER: This affidavit, again,	09:43:03
12	supports the notion that the statute was	09:43:04
13	passed to address specific incidences of PACs	09:43:06
14	making donations in the last 10 days before an	09:43:12
15	election that would not be disclosed to the	09:43:15
16	public until after the election.	09:43:18
17	There are several articles after	09:43:20
18	this that are current articles or recent	09:43:24
19	articles that demonstrate that PAC money in	09:43:28
20	elections and where a candidate receives their	09:43:31
21	money from is still an issue of public concern.	09:43:33
22	These are numerous articles from the	09:43:37
23	Nashville Scene, the Tennessean, and	09:43:41
24	Knoxblogs.com, and each of them discusses, you	09:43:46
25	know, that reporters have pulled campaign	09:43:53

1 disclosures and are reporting on those 09:43:56 disclosures because it is still an issue of 2 09:43:58 concern to the public. 09:44:01 3 The final article in this set is an 09:44:02 4 article from The Atlantic by Elaine Godfrey 09:44:06 5 titled "Why So Many Democratic Candidates are 09:44:11 6 7 Dissing Corporate PACs". 09:44:15 This article discusses, because there 09:44:17 8 is such a concern among voters of corruption or 09:44:19 9 its appearance and there even being PAC 09:44:24 10 contributions, that many candidates are 09:44:28 11 refusing such contributions to avoid that 09:44:29 12 13 appearance. 09:44:32 The next exhibit is an affidavit from 09:44:33 14 Richard H. Williams. He is the Chairman of the 09:44:36 15 16 Board for Common Cause Tennessee. Common Cause 09:44:39 17 Tennessee is a non-profit organization 09:44:42 18 dedicated to strengthening public participation 09:44:46 09:44:47 19 in government and assuring transparency in 09:44:50 20 government in elections. And Mr. Williams speaks to his 09:44:51 21 experience in that role for the last over 09:44:53 22 40 years and his -- his belief and observation 09:44:56 23 of the concern that voters have about PAC money 09:45:01 24

being contributed to politicians.

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09:45:05

1	The next exhibit is an affidavit from	09:45:08
2	Jim Schulman, the Vice-Mayor of Nashville and	09:45:10
3	Davidson County. In his affidavit he explains	09:45:15
4	how a candidate plans and budgets for their	09:45:18
5	campaign and how any mailings or literature or	09:45:21
6	ads are planned before the 10-day period	09:45:26
7	leading up to the election.	09:45:29
8	The next exhibits are a series of	09:45:33
9	articles and a public report that deal with the	09:45:36
10	lack of broadband availability statewide.	09:45:39
11	First is an article written by	09:45:44
12	Michael Edward Miller for Nashville Public	09:45:46
13	Radio titled "Some Tennessee Residents Lack	09:45:51
14	Broadband. Could TVA Become Their New ISP?"	09:45:53
15	The next is an article written by	09:45:55
16	Alexander Willis for Brentwood Home Page titled	09:45:58
17	"Fire Station Used Hot Spots, 'Welcome Back to	09:46:02
18	1997', DSL Before the World Broadband	09:46:04
19	Initiative."	09:46:08
20	The next is an article written by	09:46:10
21	Kelly Fisher for the Tennessean titled "Forum	09:46:11
22	Aims to Pinpoint Broadband Options, Internet	09:46:16
23	Expansion for Rural Cheatham Residents."	09:46:16
24	And then the last is a public report	09:46:19
25	from the Tennessee Advisory Commission on	09:46:21

Intergovernmental Relations titled "Broadband Internet Deployment, Availability, and Adoption in Tennessee." And this report details the statistics about where broadband is and isn't available throughout the state of Tennessee.

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affidavits from Administrators of Elections.

The first is from Amber Moore, who is the

Administrator of Elections -- of Elections in

Hardeman County. And this affidavit simply

explains what a voter would have to do to be

able to obtain these financial disclosures from

the Hardeman County Election Commission. It

states these are not available electronically,

and that if an individual wishes to receive

these disclosures, they have to show up at the

Election Commission.

The next is an affidavit from Jeff Roberts, who is the Administrator of Elections for the Davidson County Election Commission.

Davidson -- he states that Davidson County does have an electronic filing system. However, once a candidate submits their filing to this system, there's a 48-hour lag time before it is available for viewing by the public.

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1	And the final affidavit is from	09:47:45
2	Aletta West, who is the Administrator of	09:47:48
3	Elections in Montgomery County. And she states	09:47:52
4	they do not have electronic filing available in	09:47:55
5	Montgomery County, and that members of the	09:47:59
6	public who wish to access the disclosures must	09:48:01
7	appear in person and fill out a public request	09:48:05
8	form to access the document.	09:48:07
9	That is the end of our exhibits.	09:48:12
10	(Conference between co-counsel.)	09:48:20
11	MS. GROOVER: Yes, and we have a	09:48:20
12	witness to call. I'd like to call Drew	09:48:21
13	Rawlins.	09:48:26
14	MR. HORWITZ: Is that your only	09:48:28
15	witness?	09:48:29
16	MS. GROOVER: Yes.	09:48:31
17	///	
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1 DREW RAWLINS, 2 was called as a witness, being duly sworn after 3 the testimony that all testimony given was true and accurate, testified as follows: 5 6 7 DIRECT EXAMINATION OUESTIONS BY MS. GROOVER: 09:48:46 8 Good morning, Mr. Rawlins. 09:48:46 9 0. 09:48:50 10 A. Morning. 11 Would you state your name for the 09:48:51 Ο. 12 record? 09:48:52 Drew Rawlins. 13 Α. 09:48:52 09:48:54 14 Are you currently employed? 0. Yes. I'm the Executive Director of the 09:48:55 15 Bureau of Ethics and Campaign Finance. 09:49:00 16 17 09:49:01 And how long have you held that 0. 18 position? 09:49:03 Since 2000. 09:49:04 19 A. And can you tell me a little bit about 09:49:04 20 0. 21 what the Bureau of Ethics and Campaign Finance 09:49:06 22 is? 09:49:08 It's really -- it's kind of made up 23 09:49:08 A. Yes.

of two divisions, the Registry of Election

Finance and the Tennessee Ethics Commission.

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1	The Registry of Election Finance side	09:49:17
2	deals with the campaign finance statutes,	09:49:18
3	including the disclosure laws, the amendments	09:49:19
4	laws, several rules and statutes.	09:49:22
5	And then on the Ethics Commission side,	09:49:24
6	they enforce the lobbying statues and the State	09:49:26
7	election limitation statutes.	09:49:32
8	Q. How long have you been with the Bureau?	09:49:33
9	A. Since July of 1990.	09:49:34
10	Q. And what position did you hold before	09:49:36
11	becoming the executive director?	09:49:39
12	A. When I began work in 1990, I was the	09:49:40
13	audit manager. In 1997, I became the assistant	09:49:43
14	director. And then, as I said earlier, I	09:49:47
15	became the director in 2000.	09:49:51
16	Q. And how long had the Bureau existed prior	09:49:52
17	to you starting there?	09:49:55
18	A. The what was then known as the	09:49:56
19	Registry of Elections Finance was created by	09:49:59
20	the '89 legislature. They actually went into	09:50:03
21	operation, I believe, about February of 1990.	09:50:06
22	Again, just to kind of take us through	09:50:08
23	the point, the Tennessee Ethics Commission was	09:50:09
24	created in 2006, it was combined with the	09:50:12
25	Registry of Election Finance in 2009, and the	09:50:14

		1
1	Bureau of Ethics and Campaign Finance was	09:50:17
2	created in 2009 I believe was the combining of	09:50:18
3	those two agencies.	09:50:22
4	Q. Will you describe what your job	09:50:24
5	responsibilities are as executive director?	09:50:26
6	A. Basically running the day-to-day	09:50:29
7	operations; supervising staff; answering	09:50:30
8	questions of policy; enforcing the statutes	09:50:32
9	that we mentioned that are enforced by our	09:50:34
10	office. Providing information to our boards	09:50:36
11	so that they have civil penalty authority and	09:50:37
12	the ultimate say and enforcement upon the	09:50:41
13	statutes. So I advise them and give them any	09:50:44
14	information from the daily activity of the	09:50:46
15	office.	09:50:47
16	Q. And as you know, we're here today because	09:50:47
17	the plaintiff is challenging Tennessee Code	09:50:51
18	Annotated 2-10-117.	09:50:54
19	Are you familiar with this statute?	09:50:57
20	A. Yes.	09:50:59
21	Q. And what does it say?	09:51:00
22	A. Basically it says that a PAC cannot make	09:51:01
23	a contribution, that there's a blackout period	09:51:04
24	on PAC contributions from the end of the	09:51:07
25	pre-election report until election day.	09:51:10

Q.	And is this a statute that the Registry	09:51:11
enfor	ces?	09:51:14
A.	Yes.	09:51:14
Q.	To your knowledge, when was this statute	09:51:16
passe	d?	09:51:18
Α.	It was passed in 1995, and became	09:51:19
effec	tive in 1996.	09:51:23
Q.	And to your knowledge, was it part of a	09:51:24
large	r bill?	09:51:26
A.	Yes.	09:51:26
Q.	And was this bill called the Campaign	09:51:26
Contr	ibution Limits Act?	09:51:29
A.	Yes.	09:51:32
Q.	Do you recall anything about what	09:51:33
promp	ted the legislature to pass the law?	09:51:35
A.	There was a discussion at the time about	09:51:37
discl	osure, about limits. There was a concern	09:51:41
about	the amount of money in politics in	09:51:43
elect	ions, per se, and about the disclosure of	09:51:47
those	to the public.	09:51:50
	And I I think I think based on my	09:51:51
knowl	edge and based on what I had heard at the	09:51:54
time	there was a concern about those things,	09:51:57
and t	hey were trying to put together a package	09:51:58
that	would give more disclosure, limit the	09:52:00
	enfor A. Q. passe A. effect Q. large A. Q. Contr A. Q. promp A. discl about elect those knowl time and t	enforces? A. Yes. Q. To your knowledge, when was this statute passed? A. It was passed in 1995, and became effective in 1996. Q. And to your knowledge, was it part of a larger bill? A. Yes. Q. And was this bill called the Campaign Contribution Limits Act? A. Yes. Q. Do you recall anything about what prompted the legislature to pass the law? A. There was a discussion at the time about disclosure, about limits. There was a concern about the amount of money in politics in elections, per se, and about the disclosure of those to the public.

		1
1	amount of money, and provide information before	09:52:04
2	the election.	09:52:06
3	Q. Do you remember anything about a primary	09:52:07
4	that took place in 1992 between Leonard	09:52:09
5	Dunivant and Tom Underwood?	09:52:13
6	A. I vaguely have I know you mentioned	09:52:15
7	that as an exhibit, and basically what you	09:52:16
8	stated is what I I remember. I remember	09:52:18
9	there was some contributions made right before	09:52:21
10	the election, and there was that were not	09:52:24
11	disclosed obviously before the election,	09:52:27
12	because they weren't required to be disclosed	09:52:29
13	at that time.	09:52:32
14	Q. Do you remember there being controversy	09:52:32
15	about that?	09:52:35
16	A. I I remember there being discussions	09:52:35
17	about that and what effect that had on the	09:52:37
18	election. Was there what could they do to	09:52:39
19	prevent that if they felt that there was an	09:52:41
20	issue; what they could do to rectify that	09:52:42
21	situation.	09:52:46
22	Q. Could you talk a little bit about the	09:52:46
23	Campaign Contribution Limits Act and what it	09:52:48
24	does?	09:52:50
25	A. Yes, it well, first off, it	09:52:50

1	established limits on contributions from	09:52:52
2	individuals and PACs to candidates, depending	09:52:55
3	on what office you were running for. It	09:52:58
4	created the blackout period. It set up a	09:53:00
5	structure also of disclosure reports that tied	09:53:04
6	to election dates. It added to the number of	09:53:04
7	disclosure reports that candidates and PACs	09:53:07
8	were required to file. It changed the	09:53:10
9	reporting periods so that they matched up with	09:53:12
10	the blackout period that was also created	09:53:14
11	during that time period.	09:53:17
12	Q. Can you explain your understanding of the	09:53:18
13	definition of a PAC?	09:53:21
14	A. Yes. A PAC generically well, let me	09:53:23
15	say this, in the statute it's referred to as a	09:53:26
16	multi-candidate committee. Everybody else in	09:53:35
17	the free world calls it a PAC, but we chose to	09:53:30
18	use the words multi-candidate committee.	09:53:34
19	It's defined as a political campaign	09:53:36
20	committee that makes expenditures to support	09:53:36
21	two or more candidates or two or more	09:53:38
22	referendums.	09:53:40
23	If you dial it down another step, the	09:53:40
24	political campaign committee is defined	09:53:43
25	basically as an organization of people, a	09:53:45

1	corporation, any group that makes expenditures	09:53:48
2	to support candidates or referendum of over a	09:53:52
3	thousand dollars in a calendar year.	09:53:56
4	Q. Can you explain to me your understanding	09:53:58
5	of what a contribution is?	09:54:00
6	A. Yes. Contribution is basically money or	09:54:02
7	anything of value that someone uses to	09:54:05
8	influence an election or referendum.	09:54:08
9	Q. And is there anything expressly exempted	09:54:10
10	from that definition?	09:54:14
11	A. Yeah, there's a there's a few things	09:54:15
12	that the statute exempts, such as volunteering	09:54:18
13	on your own time so you're not being paid to do	09:54:20
14	it. If you want to go knock on doors and	09:54:21
15	things like that as a volunteer, that's not a	09:54:24
16	contribution.	09:54:26
17	News articles, TV reports, editorials are	09:54:27
18	not campaign contributions. If you have a	09:54:30
19	fundraiser at your house for a campaign and	09:54:35
20	spend less than a hundred dollars, that's not a	09:54:36
21	campaign contribution. There's a couple other	09:54:36
22	small things. If you have a membership	09:54:37
23	organization and send a donation to that group,	09:54:40
24	it's not considered a contribution.	09:54:43
25	Q. And what is your understanding of the	09:54:45

		l
1	definition of an independent expenditure?	09:54:47
2	A. An independent expenditure is an	09:54:50
3	expenditure made by a person or a group that is	09:54:53
4	totally independent of the candidate or their	09:54:57
5	campaign committee. And so, there's no	09:54:58
6	coordination between the candidate and their	09:54:59
7	campaign committee and the group or the	09:55:02
8	individual making that expenditure to support	09:55:02
9	or oppose a candidate.	09:55:05
10	Q. What are disclosure statements?	09:55:06
11	A. Disclosure statements are reports filed	09:55:08
12	by candidates and PACs disclosing their	09:55:10
13	contributions, expenditures, loans, obligations	09:55:15
14	of the campaign.	09:55:16
15	Q. And for those who have to file them,	09:55:18
16	where do they file them?	09:55:20
17	A. If you're a state candidate, you file	09:55:21
18	those disclosure reports with our office, the	09:55:23
19	Bureau of Ethics and Campaign Finance.	09:55:27
20	If you're a local candidate, you file	09:55:28
21	those with your County Election Commission.	09:55:29
22	Q. And for candidates filing with the	09:55:32
23	Bureau, how do they file them?	09:55:35
24	A. If they have over for candidates if	09:55:36
25	they have over a thousand dollars in activity	09:55:38

1	during a reporting period, they're required by	09:55:41
2	statute to file electronically; it's an online	09:55:43
3	filing system.	09:55:45
4	If they have less than a thousand dollars	09:55:46
5	of activity, they can file on paper, which is a	09:55:48
6	one-page report.	09:55:50
7	Q. How many statements must be filed in an	09:55:50
8	election cycle?	09:55:53
9	A. If you are in the Primary and General	09:55:54
10	Election, you file six reports during an	09:55:57
11	election year. You also may be required to	09:55:58
12	file additional reports prior to the election	09:56:01
13	year and after the election year if you have an	09:56:04
14	open campaign account.	09:56:06
15	Q. And when are each of those filed?	09:56:08
16	A. So, there's there's four quarterly	09:56:11
17	reports that basically run through and end in	09:56:12
18	regular order. The March 31st is due	09:56:15
19	April 10th; June runs the second quarter	09:56:17
20	report runs through June 30th and is due	09:56:20
21	July 10th; the third quarter report is	09:56:23
22	September 30th, due October 10th; the fourth	09:56:24
23	quarter runs through January 15th of the	09:56:27
24	following year, and is due at the end of	09:56:29
25	January.	09:56:32

1	The then inter-disbursed with	09:56:33
2	those are two, what we call, pre-election	09:56:38
3	reports: the pre-primary and the pre-general	09:56:41
4	report. Both of those are one through ten days	09:56:41
5	before the election. They start with the last	09:56:44
6	quarterly report before they're due. One is 10	09:56:47
7	days before the election, and are due in the	09:56:49
8	office 7 days before the election. So there's	09:56:50
9	a pre-primary and pre-general report for both	09:56:52
10	elections.	09:56:55
11	Q. And is there a time of day that those are	09:56:55
12	dues?	09:56:57
13	A. Basically for the state candidates they	09:56:57
14	would be I mean, they're due by midnight	09:57:00
15	basically, because if you file them	09:57:04
16	electronically they're time stamped with the	09:57:06
17	date, basically. So if you file before	09:57:09
18	midnight on the due date, you would have that	09:57:10
19	date. If you filed after midnight, it would	09:57:10
20	have the next day.	09:57:13
21	Locally they file on paper, so those are	09:57:14
22	due in they're due on the due date. It is	09:57:17
23	considered filed if they send if a	09:57:22
24	candidate sends those reports by paper	09:57:23
25	certified mail, they're considered filed the	09:57:26



1	day they're mailed, even if they're not	09:57:28
2	received by the County Election Commission	09:57:31
3	until a later date.	09:57:34
4	Q. Okay. If a candidate or PAC files a	09:57:35
5	disclosure on the Bureau's website, how soon	09:57:37
6	can those be viewed by the public?	09:57:41
7	A. They're they're immediately available,	09:57:43
8	even before we review them.	09:57:44
9	Q. If a candidate submits a report by paper	09:57:46
10	through the mail	09:57:50
11	A. Uh-huh.	09:57:51
12	Q are those later uploaded to the	09:57:52
13	website?	09:57:54
14	A. We type those in ourselves, yes. Once	09:57:54
15	upon receipt, we can type those into the system	09:57:58
16	so they can be viewed by the public.	09:58:00
17	Q. And about how long does it take to get	09:58:02
18	those typed in?	09:58:04
19	A. For the candidates it doesn't take long,	09:58:05
20	'cause if they file on paper it's very short,	09:58:05
21	only one page long. So we usually do it the	09:58:08
22	next business day. Again, sometimes it takes	09:58:10
23	several days to get to us, but once we get it	09:58:12
24	we can type it in that day.	09:58:15
25	Q. To your knowledge, do County Election	09:58:16

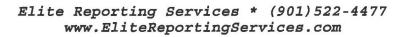
		ı				
1	Commissions have electronic filing?	09:58:25				
2	A. There are a few. I think there's six,	09:58:26				
3	five or six that have a electronic filing. So					
4	a few do have electronic filing. The rest are	09:58:33				
5	all paper.	09:58:35				
6	Q. And how many counties are there total in	09:58:36				
7	the state of Tennessee?	09:58:38				
8	A. 95.	09:58:38				
9	Q. What are the current contribution limits	09:58:40				
10	for non-party PACs donating to a campaign?	09:58:42				
11	A. 7800 these are per election, so you	09:58:46				
12	can give this amount for primary and general.	09:58:49				
13	\$7,800 for local candidates, and for state rep	09:58:52				
14	candidates it's 11,800 for state Senate	09:58:56				
15	candidates and all statewide candidates, such	09:59:00				
16	as governor.	09:59:01				
17	Q. And will you explain to me your	09:59:03				
18	understanding of the Safe Harbor Provision?	09:59:04				
19	A. Yes. There is a provision in the statute	09:59:08				
20	that states that if you receive a contribution	09:59:10				
21	that's over the limits, that you have 60 days	09:59:13				
22	from receipt of that contribution to refund	09:59:16				
23	that contribution and you are not in violation	09:59:19				
24	of the statute.	09:59:22				
25	Q. If this nine-day blackout period that's	09:59:23				

1	being contested here today was declared	09:59:26				
2	unconstitutional, could a PAC evade the					
3	contribution limits?					
4	A. I think just as an example, if if a	09:59:33				
5	PAC made a contribution to that to a	09:59:36				
6	candidate during that nine-day, what is now a	09:59:39				
7	blackout period, and then refunded that	09:59:41				
8	contribution at some time before the next	09:59:44				
9	reporting period, then the candidate would not	09:59:47				
10	be required to disclose that contribution and	09:59:50				
11	we would never know that it really occurred.	09:59:54				
12	Q. Are you aware of the Registry ever	09:59:56				
13	assessing a penalty against a PAC for violation	09:59:59				
14	of the nine-day blackout?	10:00:03				
15	A. I'm not aware of one.	10:00:05				
16	Q. Are you aware of any complaints ever	10:00:06				
17	being filed against a PAC in violation of the	10:00:08				
18	nine-day blackout period?	10:00:11				
19	A. We had one that I'm aware of that was	10:00:12				
20	that was filed against a PAC for a couple	10:00:15				
21	reasons, but it included violation of the	10:00:18				
22	potential violation of the blackout period.					
23	Q. Do you remember what PAC that was?	10:00:23				
24	A. Standing for Children. That was the	10:00:24				
25	organization; the PAC was actually a PAC	10:00:28				

1	called Stand PAC, and it was another PAC called	10:00:32			
2	Stand PAC Individual Expenditure Committee, but				
3	they were affiliated PACs. They were basically				
4	the same PAC, but they were organized	10:00:38			
5	separately.	10:00:41			
6	Q. I'm handing you Exhibit 10 to plaintiff's	10:00:41			
7	complaint. Do you recognize this document?	10:00:44			
8	A. Yes.	10:00:56			
9	Q. And can you tell me what this document	10:00:56			
10	is?	10:00:58			
11	A. This is what we would call a show-cause	10:00:58			
12	notice issued to Stand PAC for Tennessee and	10:01:03			
13	Stand For Children, Inc., and to four Davidson	10:01:05			
14	County candidates for the potential violation	10:01:08			
15	of campaign finance laws.				
16	Q. And if you go to the very last page, is	10:01:13			
17	that your signature?	10:01:16			
18	A. Yes.	10:01:17			
19	Q. And is this an accurate copy of that	10:01:17			
20	letter?	10:01:22			
21	A. Yes.	10:01:22			
22	Q. What happened with this complaint?	10:01:22			
23	A. The complaint, after show-cause notice	10:01:26			
24	was issued, the Registry of Election Finance	10:01:30			
25	held a hearing and dismissed the complaint. No	10:01:32			

	1		
action was taken against any of the parties.	10:01:34		
Q. Thank you.			
MS. GROOVER: I don't have anything			
further.	10:01:40		
	10:01:40		
CROSS EXAMINATION	10:01:40		
QUESTIONS BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:01:47		
Q. Good morning, Mr. Rawlins. My name is	10:01:47		
Daniel Horwitz, and I represent the plaintiff	10:01:57		
in this matter.	10:01:59		
Sir, I think we can all appreciate the	10:02:00		
value of campaign finance disclosure laws	10:02:03		
currently, but Tennessee code 2-10-117 isn't	10:02:07		
actually a disclosure law, is it?	10:02:11		
MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection to this	10:02:15		
witness of you're asking a legal question.	10:02:16		
This witness is only here to testify to facts.	10:02:19		
THE WITNESS: It's it's part of	10:02:24		
the disclosure statutes. As far as being a	10:02:27		
required disclosure, it does not require	10:02:32		
discloser.	10:02:35		
BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:02:36		
Q. It does not require anyone to disclose	10:02:36		
anything, does it?	10:02:38		
A. Correct.	10:02:39		
	Q. Thank you. MS. GROOVER: I don't have anything further. CROSS EXAMINATION QUESTIONS BY MR. HORWITZ: Q. Good morning, Mr. Rawlins. My name is Daniel Horwitz, and I represent the plaintiff in this matter. Sir, I think we can all appreciate the value of campaign finance disclosure laws currently, but Tennessee code 2-10-117 isn't actually a disclosure law, is it? MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection to this witness of you're asking a legal question. This witness is only here to testify to facts. THE WITNESS: It's it's part of the disclosure statutes. As far as being a required disclosure, it does not require discloser. BY MR. HORWITZ: Q. It does not require anyone to disclose anything, does it?		

1	Q. Instead, it's a restriction of certain	10:02:39					
2	speaker's ability to make contributions before						
3	an election; isn't that right?						
4	A. Yes. It limits it prohibits	10:02:47					
5	contributions for that nine-day period.	10:02:52					
6	Q. So rather than promoting disclosure as a	10:02:53					
7	remedy, in other words, more speech, instead it	10:02:56					
8	insures that 10 days before an election there	10:02:59					
9	are no direct contributions from certain	10:03:02					
10	speakers to disclose at all; is that right?	10:03:05					
11	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. That is	10:03:08					
12	not what the statute says.	10:03:09					
13	THE WITNESS: Again, it it	10:03:11					
14	prohibits PACs from making contributions during	10:03:12					
15	that nine-day period.	10:03:14					
16	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:03:16					
17	Q. In other words, the remedy is not	10:03:16					
18	disclosure? It is just less speech in the	10:03:18					
19	political marketplace, correct?	10:03:20					
20	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection again.	10:03:22					
21	You're asking for this witness to provide a	10:03:23					
22	legal conclusion. This witness is not an	10:03:26					
23	attorney. He is not here providing legal	10:03:28					
24	testimony. He is only testifying to the	10:03:29					
25	facts.	10:03:32					



1	THE WITNESS: I mean, I don't know					
2	how to answer that question.					
3	BY MR. HORWITZ:					
4	Q. Is the effect of this statute fewer	10:03:39				
5	contributions?	10:03:42				
6	A. To be honest with you, I don't know,	10:03:44				
7	because they can make a contribution before	10:03:47				
8	the blackout period or after the blackout	10:03:48				
9	period. So, again, I don't know if that it	10:03:50				
10	prohibits during that nine-day period, but	10:03:53				
11	over the course of an election I do not know	10:03:55				
12	if it lessens the number of overall	10:03:57				
13	contributions.	10:03:59				
14	Q. Is the effect of the statute a shortened	10:04:00				
15	time period in which contributions can be	10:04:02				
16	made?	10:04:04				
17	A. Yes.	10:04:05				
18	Q. The first area I'd like to explore with	10:04:05				
19	you is whether 2-10-117 actually promotes	10:04:09				
20	pre-election disclosure.	10:04:16				
21	So first, let's just make something very	10:04:19				
22	clear. 2-10-117 does not apply to all	10:04:21				
23	political speakers, does it?	10:04:24				
24	A. It applies well, what you call a PAC.	10:04:26				
25	Q. For example, it does not apply to	10:04:29				

individuals; am I right?	10:04:30
A. Correct.	10:04:31
Q. It doesn't apply to committees controlled	10:04:32
by a political party on the national level	10:04:36
either; is that right?	10:04:39
A. Correct.	10:04:40
Q. It doesn't apply to committees controlled	10:04:41
by a political party on the state level either;	10:04:43
is that correct?	10:04:45
A. Correct.	10:04:45
Q. It doesn't apply to committees controlled	10:04:46
by a political party on the local level either;	10:04:49
is that correct?	10:04:52
A. Correct.	10:04:53
Q. It also doesn't apply to the Tennessee	10:04:54
Senate Republican Caucus; isn't that right?	10:04:55
A. Correct.	10:04:59
Q. It also doesn't apply to the Tennessee	10:04:59
Senate Democrat Caucus; isn't that right?	10:05:03
A. Yes.	10:05:05
Q. It also doesn't apply to the Tennessee	10:05:06
House Republican Caucus; isn't that right?	10:05:07
A. Yes.	10:05:10
Q. It also doesn't apply to the Tennessee	10:05:10
House Democratic Caucus; isn't that right?	10:05:13
	A. Correct. Q. It doesn't apply to committees controlled by a political party on the national level either; is that right? A. Correct. Q. It doesn't apply to committees controlled by a political party on the state level either; is that correct? A. Correct. Q. It doesn't apply to committees controlled by a political party on the local level either; is that correct? A. Correct. Q. It doesn't apply to committees controlled by a political party on the local level either; is that correct? A. Correct. Q. It also doesn't apply to the Tennessee Senate Republican Caucus; isn't that right? A. Correct. Q. It also doesn't apply to the Tennessee Senate Democrat Caucus; isn't that right? A. Yes. Q. It also doesn't apply to the Tennessee House Republican Caucus; isn't that right? A. Yes. Q. It also doesn't apply to the Tennessee

1	A. Yes.	10:05:17
2	Q. So all of those speakers are exempt, but	10:05:17
3	2-10- is still 2-10-117 is really about	10:05:22
4	pre-election disclosure, right?	10:05:27
5	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. Again,	10:05:29
6	you're asking this client this witness to	10:05:30
7	provide a legal analysis of this statute. If	10:05:32
8	you're going to continue to ask him to provide	10:05:35
9	a legal analysis, this is a standing objection.	10:05:38
10	If you're asking him factual	10:05:41
11	questions, he is competent to testify. Again,	10:05:43
12	though, if you're going to ask for legal	10:05:46
13	analysis, this witness is not competent to	10:05:48
14	provide that testimony.	10:05:51
15	MR. HORWITZ: Standing objection is	10:05:52
16	noted for the record.	10:05:54
17	You can answer.	10:05:55
18	MS. KLEINFELTER: If you are able to	10:05:55
19	provide a legal answer.	10:05:56
20	THE WITNESS: Again, it prohibits	10:05:59
21	contributions being made during that nine-day	10:06:01
22	period.	10:06:04
23	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:06:04
24	Q. Sir, I'm putting a finding from the	10:06:05
25	defendants in this matter up on the screen that	10:06:09

1	deals with the purported basis for the	10:06:11	
2	statute's speaker preference.	10:06:15	
3	MS. KLEINFELTER: Can you provide a	10:06:19	
4	copy to the witness?	10:06:21	
5	MR. HORWITZ: I'll be happy to do	10:06:22	
6	that.	10:06:24	
7	THE WITNESS: Yeah.	10:06:24	
8	MR. HORWITZ: I'm going to hand the	10:06:27	
9	witness up a document.	10:06:28	
10	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:06:30	
11	Q. Will you please read the first	10:06:30	
12	highlighted statement, sir?	10:06:43	
13	A. Yes.	10:06:45	
14	"It is entirely unclear which candidates	10:06:45	
15	will receive support from any given	10:06:48	
16	non-political party PAC."	10:06:51	
17	Q. Do you agree with that statement?	10:06:53	
18	A. (Witness reviews document.)	10:06:56	
19	I I mean, I guess before they give a	10:06:58	
20	contribution, yes, it would be unclear what PAC	10:07:03	
21	the candidate would receive a contribution		
22	from.	10:07:09	
23	Q. Would you please read the second	10:07:09	
24	highlighted statement?	10:07:11	
25	A. "If non-political party PACs were allowed	10:07:12	

		ı				
1	to make direct contributions during the nine	10:07:14				
2	days before an election, then the voters would					
3	be denied an accurate portrait of a candidate's					
4	support before they're required to cast their	10:07:22				
5	votes."	10:07:26				
6	Q. Do you also agree with that statement?	10:07:26				
7	A. (Witness reviews document.)	10:07:29				
8	Yeah. Yes, they would not know. If	10:07:34				
9	if they were if PACs were allowed to make	10:07:37				
10	contributions during that nine-day blackout	10:07:40				
11	period, those contributions would not be public	10:07:43				
12	before the election day.	10:07:45				
13	Q. So that's you're position, and later in	10:07:46				
14	this proceeding it's not going to change; is	10:07:47				
15	that right?					
16	A. Yeah. Well, I mean, I think again	10:07:50				
17	that's what this yes.	10:07:52				
18	Q. I'm going to take the document back.	10:07:53				
19	For the moment let's restrict our	10:08:11				
20	conversations to the universe of non-political	10:08:13				
21	party PACs, okay, the ones that we just	10:08:18				
22	discussed.					
23	A. Yes.	10:08:21				
24	Q. Okay. Mr. Rawlins, what is the rate of	10:08:21				
25	corruption among non-political party PACs?	10:08:25				

		l				
1	A. I have no idea.	10:08:29				
2	Q. And when a new non-political party PAC is	10:08:29				
3	formed, are you able to predict in advance					
4	whether it will pose a risk of corruption?	10:08:36				
5	A. No.	10:08:39				
6	Q. From one non-political party PAC to	10:08:39				
7	another, you aren't able to predict whose	10:08:47				
8	contributions need to be restricted due to a	10:08:51				
9	risk of corruption, so the safe thing to do is	10:08:54				
10	just to restrict all of their contributions 10	10:08:57				
11	days before an election; is that right?	10:09:00				
12	A. That was the legislature's decision.	10:09:01				
13	Q. Mr. Rawlins, does 2-10-117 actually	10:09:04				
14	prohibit all non-political party PACs from	10:09:07				
15	making direct contributions 10 days before an	10:09:11				
16	election?	10:09:14				
17	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. That's	10:09:15				
18	not what the statute says.	10:09:16				
19	MR. HORWITZ: It's the question.	10:09:18				
20	MS. KLEINFELTER: I think it has been	10:09:18				
21	established by this witness that the statute	10:09:20				
22	prohibits contributions nine days before an	10:09:22				
23	election by non-political party PACs.	10:09:26				
24	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:09:32				
25	Q. Sir, does 2-10-117 prohibit political	10:09:33				
		4				

1	campaign committees from making direct				
2	contributions nine or ten days before an				
3	elect	election?			
4	A.	Non-party and non yes.	10:09:42		
5	Q.	All of them?	10:09:46		
6	Α.	It does not prohibit independent	10:09:48		
7	exper	nditures, if you consider that.	10:09:52		
8	Q.	That's not what I'm asking, sir.	10:09:54		
9		I'm asking if all non-party PACs are	10:09:56		
10	prohi	ibited from making contributions during	10:09:59		
11	this	period?	10:10:02		
12	A.	Yes.	10:10:03		
13	Q.	Sir, does 2-10-117 prohibit political	10:10:04		
14	campa	aign committees, not multi-candidate	10:10:11		
15	political campaign committees, just the		10:10:14		
16	political campaign committees from making				
17	direc	ct contributions during this restricted	10:10:16		
18	perio	od before an election?	10:10:19		
19	Α.	No.	10:10:23		
20	Q.	It does not, does it?	10:10:24		
21	A.	No.	10:10:28		
22	Q.	It only applies to multi-candidate	10:10:28		
23	polit	cical campaign committees?	10:10:31		
24	A.	Correct.	10:10:33		
25	Q.	Do you remember the statements I had you	10:10:34		

		1
1	read earlier?	10:10:39
2	A. Uh-huh.	10:10:40
3	Q. Do you remember telling me that you can't	10:10:41
4	predict whether non-political party PACs pose a	10:10:44
5	risk of corruption?	10:10:49
6	A. Uh-huh.	10:10:49
7	Q. Do you remember telling me that you	10:10:50
8	can't distinguish between non-political party	10:10:52
9	PACs?	10:10:55
10	A. Yes.	10:10:56
11	Q. But this statute doesn't apply	10:10:56
12	universally to non-political party PACs, does	10:11:00
13	it?	10:11:03
14	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. First	10:11:03
15	of all, your whole line of questioning is	10:11:04
16	premised upon a definition that is incorrect.	10:11:07
17	This witness testified that a PAC is a	10:11:10
18	multi-candidate political campaign committee.	10:11:13
19	If you are trying to assume or if you	10:11:16
20	are trying to equate multi-candidate political	10:11:18
21	campaign committees with political campaign	10:11:21
22	committees, you need to make that clear to this	10:11:23
23	witness, because this witness has specifically	10:11:24
24	testified that the definition of a PAC is a	10:11:26
25	multi-candidate political campaign committee.	10:11:29

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	1	MR. HORWITZ: Objection is noted.	10:11:32
	2	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:11:32
	3	Q. I'm establishing that this statute does	10:11:33
	4	not apply to political campaign committees; is	10:11:36
	5	that correct?	10:11:39
	6	A. It applies to a specific category of	10:11:40
	7	political campaign committees, because	10:11:43
	8	muti-candidate committees are political	10:11:44
	9	campaign committees. So it applies to a	10:11:46
	10	specific category of political campaign	10:11:48
	11	committees.	10:11:48
	12	Q. Is it fair to say that some non-partisan	10:11:50
	13	PACs can make contributions before an election	10:11:53
	14	and other non-partisan PACs cannot?	10:11:55
	15	A. No.	10:11:58
	16	MS. KLEINFELTER: Can you please	10:11:58
	17	clarify as to whether or not you're referring	10:12:00
	18	to a multi-candidate or a single or just a	10:12:01
	19	political campaign committee, because those are	10:12:04
1	20	two different things.	10:12:04
	21	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:12:06
	22	Q. Okay. The point is, multi-candidate	10:12:06
	23	committees are restricted by the statute;	10:12:11
1	24	political campaign committees are not? Is that	10:12:14
	25	right?	10:12:16
	- 1		1

1	A. Again, multi-campaign committees are	10:12:16
2	political campaign committees, so some	10:12:21
3	political campaign committees are prohibit	10:12:23
4	are prohibited from making campaign	10:12:24
5	contributions during the nine-day period	10:12:26
6	Q. But not all the	10:12:28
7	A but not all political campaign	10:12:29
8	committees.	10:12:30
9	Q. Just to be clear, not all political	10:12:30
10	campaign committees?	10:12:33
11	A. Correct.	10:12:34
12	Q. So there's another pretty vast and	10:12:35
13	important group that's completely exempt from	10:12:37
14	2-10-117, isn't there?	10:12:41
15	A. There are groups that are excluded, but I	10:12:44
16	don't know that's	10:12:47
17	Q. I'm talking about political campaign	10:12:48
18	committees. We call them political campaign	10:12:50
19	committees.	10:12:56
20	A. There well, again, there's not	10:12:56
21	political campaign if you have basically	10:12:56
22	in Tennessee you have two types of political	10:12:57
23	campaign committees that make up 99.9 percent	10:13:00
24	of political campaign committees. You have	10:13:02
25	multi-candidate committees and single candidate	10:13:03

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1	committees.	10:13:07
2	Single candidate candidate committees	10:13:05
3	are the candidates' political campaign	10:13:07
4	committees. Multi-candidate campaign	10:13:10
5	committees are what everybody refers to as	10:13:11
6	PACs. So I don't know that there's a vast	10:13:14
7	amount of political campaign committees that	10:13:17
8	can make contributions to that.	10:13:20
9	As you have stated, there are the	10:13:22
10	party what I originally refer to as the	10:13:23
11	party PACs that can make contribution during	10:13:27
12	that nine-day period.	10:13:30
13	Q. Sir, was your testimony a moment ago that	10:13:31
14	political campaigns are just the candidates'	10:13:32
15	committees?	10:13:33
16	A. No. I said political campaign committees	10:13:33
17	are made up of two specific types, 99.9	10:13:37
18	percent. The multi-candidate committees,	10:13:41
19	'cause they are political campaign committees;	10:13:43
20	and single candidate committees, which are also	10:13:45
21	political campaign committees.	10:13:47
22	Q. I'm just going to hand you the statute so	10:13:48
23	we can read the definition of political	10:13:50
24	campaign committee into the record.	10:13:53
25	A. I've got it in front of me if you want me	10:13:54

to.	10:13:56
Q. What is the definition of a political	10:13:57
campaign committee?	10:14:01
A. There's at 2-10-112 has two pieces to it:	10:14:01
"A) any corporation or any other organization	10:14:06
making expenditures, except as provided in	10:14:09
subdivision 4 to support or oppose the measure;	10:14:11
or B) any committee, club, corporation,	10:14:13
association, or other groups of persons which	10:14:17
receives contributions or make expenditures to	10:14:20
support or oppose any candidate for public	10:14:22
office or measure during the calendar year in	10:14:24
an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000."	10:14:27
Q. Anyone who satisfies that definition is	10:14:31
not subject to the statute, are they?	10:14:34
A. Is not subject to?	10:14:36
Q. 2-10-117?	10:14:40
A. No, that's not correct. Because a multi-	10:14:43
campaign committee is a political campaign	10:14:47
committee. It is by definition.	10:14:50
Q. I am talking specifically about PACs that	10:14:51
do not qualify as multi-candidate political	10:14:54
campaign committees and that only qualify as	10:14:58
political campaign committees under the	10:15:00
definition you just provided.	10:15:03
	Q. What is the definition of a political campaign committee? A. There's at 2-10-112 has two pieces to it: "A) any corporation or any other organization making expenditures, except as provided in subdivision 4 to support or oppose the measure; or B) any committee, club, corporation, association, or other groups of persons which receives contributions or make expenditures to support or oppose any candidate for public office or measure during the calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000." Q. Anyone who satisfies that definition is not subject to the statute, are they? A. Is not subject to? Q. 2-10-117? A. No, that's not correct. Because a multicampaign committee is a political campaign committee. It is by definition. Q. I am talking specifically about PACs that do not qualify as multi-candidate political campaign committees and that only qualify as political campaign committees and that only qualify as

		l .
1	A. Well, listen, I'm I'm trying to answer	10:15:04
2	your question, but to be honest with you,	10:15:05
3	you're mixing the word PAC with multi-candidate	10:15:07
4	committee. They're one in the same in	10:15:11
5	Tennessee. A PAC that the election law refers	10:15:12
6	to is a multi-candidate committee in Tennessee.	10:15:15
7	Q. My question is not about multi-candidate	10:15:16
8	political campaign committees. My question is	10:15:20
9	about political campaign committees under the	10:15:23
10	definition you just provided.	10:15:23
11	A. Right.	10:15:24
12	Q. Anyone who satisfies merely the	10:15:25
13	definition of political campaign committee is	10:15:30
14	not restricted by 2-10-117, are they?	10:15:30
15	A. Some that are I think that's	10:15:33
16	incorrect. I think some a multi-candidate	10:15:37
17	committee by definition is a political campaign	10:15:40
18	committee, so they would be restricted.	10:15:43
19	Q. I'm going to clarify this again.	10:15:44
20	Can I'm sorry. Organizations that	10:15:46
21	qualify as political campaign committees but do	10:15:49
22	not qualify as multi-campaign committees	10:15:53
23	A. You added in "qualify". Yes, that is	10:15:56
24	correct.	10:15:58
25	Q. Anyone who merely satisfies the	10:15:58

definition of political campaign committee, not multi-candidate campaign committee, merely political campaign committee is not subject to the statute, are they? A. I've answered that. That was the same question again.	10:16:00 10:16:06 10:16:06 10:16:08 10:16:08
political campaign committee is not subject to the statute, are they? A. I've answered that. That was the same	10:16:06 10:16:08
the statute, are they? A. I've answered that. That was the same	10:16:08
A. I've answered that. That was the same	
	10:16:08
question again.	
	10:16:12
Q. And what was your answer to that	10:16:13
question?	10:16:14
A. If a a group that does not qualify as	10:16:14
a multi-candidate committee but qualifies as a	10:16:19
political campaign committee as an other type	10:16:22
of political campaign committee is not subject	10:16:25
to 2-10-117.	10:16:27
Q. Whether they are non-partisan or not;	10:16:29
isn't that right?	10:16:32
A. Correct.	10:16:33
Q. In other words, 2-10-117 doesn't just	10:16:33
treat partisan versus non-partisan speakers	10:16:51
differently? It also treats speakers	10:16:54
differently within the universe of non-partisan	10:16:57
PACs; is that correct?	10:17:01
MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. Same	10:17:02
objection. Calling for a legal analysis.	10:17:03
THE WITNESS: I don't know how to	10:17:07
answer that, 'cause you're using the word "PAC"	10:17:09
	question? A. If a a group that does not qualify as a multi-candidate committee but qualifies as a political campaign committee as an other type of political campaign committee is not subject to 2-10-117. Q. Whether they are non-partisan or not; isn't that right? A. Correct. Q. In other words, 2-10-117 doesn't just treat partisan versus non-partisan speakers differently? It also treats speakers differently within the universe of non-partisan PACs; is that correct? MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. Same objection. Calling for a legal analysis. THE WITNESS: I don't know how to

		1
1	again, and that is not in our statute. It	10:17:12
2	becomes difficult to answer these questions.	10:17:14
3	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:17:16
4	Q. Respectfully, sir, I don't recall you	10:17:17
5	having this confusion when I asked you if you	10:17:25
6	would read the statement, it is entirely	10:17:28
7	unclear which candidates will receive support	10:17:31
8	from any given non-political party PAC?	10:17:33
9	A. Correct. But again, it's a different	10:17:37
10	context. We generically refer to PACs as	10:17:40
11	multi-campaign committees in the office,	10:17:43
12	because everyone else every other state,	10:17:45
13	including pretty much the Federal Government,	10:17:47
14	refers to them as PACs.	10:17:49
15	If you refer to them as multi-candidate	10:17:50
16	committees on a day-to-day basis, most people	10:17:53
17	have no idea what you're speaking of. And so,	10:17:55
18	when you mix in a question of PAC and	10:17:57
19	multi-campaign committee, political campaign	10:18:00
20	committee, it's difficult for me to answer the	10:18:02
21	question correct, or what I feel is correct.	10:18:04
22	I'm not trying to be difficult, but I	10:18:07
23	want to make sure I answer the questions	10:18:08
24	correctly.	10:18:11
25	Q. Let's move to a different topic.	10:18:11

1	Mr. Rawlins, will you tell the Court, or	10:18:13
2	the record in this case, all the methods by	10:18:17
3	which County Election Commissions can receive	10:18:20
4	documents in Tennessee?	10:18:23
5	A. Are we not for every document they	10:18:24
6	receive. But, I mean, are we speaking	10:18:31
7	specifically about campaign financial	10:18:33
8	disclosure documents?	10:18:35
9	Q. Any document, any formal documents	10:18:36
10	submitted to the Commission.	10:18:38
11	A. State ask your question again? I'm	10:18:39
12	sorry.	10:18:41
13	Q. Will you tell the Court or the record all	10:18:41
14	of the methods by which County Election	10:18:44
15	Commissions can receive documents?	10:18:47
16	A. Again, I don't know. All we deal with is	10:18:49
17	campaign finance documents. Many County	10:18:53
18	Election Commissions lets you give I mean,	10:18:56
19	they receive petitions and things like that	10:18:58
20	that we have no we don't work with that and	10:19:00
21	don't enforce those statutes.	10:19:02
22	As far as campaign finance goes, the	10:19:05
23	majority of the counties receive campaign	10:19:07
24	financial disclosure reports from the treasurer	10:19:09
		l

forms filed by paper. There are a few counties

10:19:11

1	as have been mentioned previously, I believe	10:19:14
2	it's six, that do have an electronic filing	10:19:16
3	system for campaign financial disclosure	10:19:19
4	reports.	10:19:20
5	Q. It includes mail?	10:19:20
6	A. Yes.	10:19:21
7	Q. Hand delivery?	10:19:22
8	A. Yes.	10:19:23
9	Q. Telegram?	10:19:23
10	A. Yes.	10:19:25
11	Q. But not e-mail, right?	10:19:26
12	A. They can receive it by e-mail, but they	10:19:29
13	do have to receive an original copy.	10:19:33
14	Q. Would it be infeasible for every County	10:19:35
15	Election Commission be required to accept	10:19:39
16	filings by e-mail?	10:19:42
17	A. That's a legislative decision.	10:19:43
18	Q. You don't know the answer?	10:19:45
19	A. I don't really have an answer. I mean,	10:19:46
20	we require original signature on documents, and	10:19:48
21	I believe the counties do too. So that would	10:19:52
22	be that would be one reason not to accept an	10:19:53
23	e-mail as a final document.	10:19:56
24	Q. I'm asking whether you know if it's	10:19:57
25	infeasible for every County Election Commission	10:19:59

to	10:20:03
A. I don't know. I assume every County	10:20:03
Election Commission has an e-mail account. But	10:20:05
again, I don't think it's infeasible, but I	10:20:07
I can't speak for every County Election	10:20:11
Commission.	10:20:12
Q. Sir, I'm going to hand you a document.	10:20:12
This is Tennessee Code Annotated section	10:20:13
2-6-202. I'll put it on the screen and give	10:20:15
you a separate copy. 2-6-202.	10:20:19
Mr. Rawlins, will you please read to the	10:20:34
Court or the record the highlighted portion?	10:20:38
MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. I don't	10:20:41
believe you've established that this witness	10:20:42
has any knowledge with respect to the absentee	10:20:44
voting statutes. And so, before you ask him	10:20:49
any questions, I think you need to establish	10:20:51
that he has knowledge and is competent to	10:20:52
testify with respect to absentee ballots and	10:20:54
voting by absentee ballot.	10:20:58
MR. HORWITZ: Objection noted.	10:21:01
BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:21:01
Q. The question was, will you please read to	10:21:02
the Court the highlighted portion of the	10:21:03
statute?	10:21:04
	Election Commission has an e-mail account. But again, I don't think it's infeasible, but I I can't speak for every County Election Commission. Q. Sir, I'm going to hand you a document. This is Tennessee Code Annotated section 2-6-202. I'll put it on the screen and give you a separate copy. 2-6-202. Mr. Rawlins, will you please read to the Court or the record the highlighted portion? MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. I don't believe you've established that this witness has any knowledge with respect to the absentee voting statutes. And so, before you ask him any questions, I think you need to establish that he has knowledge and is competent to testify with respect to absentee ballots and voting by absentee ballot. MR. HORWITZ: Objection noted. BY MR. HORWITZ: Q. The question was, will you please read to the Court the highlighted portion of the

1	A. "A voter may also request from the County	10:21:04
2	Election Commission Office an application to	10:21:08
3	vote absentee. A voter may not have to be	10:21:11
4	present and submit an application to vote by	10:21:11
5	mail, facsimile transmission, or e-mail with an	10:21:12
6	attached document that includes a scanned	10:21:16
7	signature. For a voter to use a facsimile	10:21:18
8	transmission, an Election Commission shall have	10:21:21
9	a facsimile machine physically located in the	10:21:23
10	Election Commission Office."	10:21:29
11	Q. Do you agree that the statute requires	10:21:29
12	County Election Commissions to accept e-mail'd	10:21:31
13	applications for absentee ballots?	10:21:32
14	A. Yes.	10:21:35
15	Q. Would you agree that the statute requires	10:21:35
16	County Election Commissions to have a fax	10:21:38
17	machine physically located in the Election	10:21:41
18	Commission Office?	10:21:43
19	A. Yes.	10:21:43
20	Q. Mr. Rawlins, would you agree that	10:21:44
21	candidates are capable of reporting campaign	10:21:50
22	contributions within one business day?	10:21:54
23	A. They're capable, yes.	10:21:59
24	Q. Would mandating next business day fax	10:22:01
25	filing of campaign disclosures be infeasible in	10:22:06

		I
1	Tennessee?	10:22:10
2	A. I can't if we're including the State	10:22:13
3	and the County Election Commissions, I can't	10:22:16
4	really speak to that. I know some County	10:22:18
5	Election Commissions only have one employee,	10:22:20
6	so I can't speak to their office functionality.	10:22:23
7	As far as it being feasible, could they	10:22:26
8	receive through telegrams, e-mails, yes. But	10:22:26
9	again, processing those, I can't really speak	10:22:28
10	for the County Election Commissions.	10:22:31
11	Q. Would mandating next business day	10:22:32
12	disclosure of campaign contributions by hand	10:22:36
13	delivery be infeasible in Tennessee?	10:22:37
14	A. If we're talking all offices, yes, I	10:22:41
15	believe it would be, could be because of the	10:22:44
16	size of the state and the size of some	10:22:45
17	counties.	10:22:47
18	Q. Would mandating next business day	10:22:47
19	disclosure of campaign contributions by	10:22:50
20	overnight mail delivery be infeasible in	10:22:51
21	Tennessee?	10:22:54
22	A. No.	10:22:54
23	Q. Would or wouldn't?	10:22:55
24	A. No, it would not be infeasible.	10:22:58
25	Q. So it would be feasible?	10:22:58

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		1
1	A. It would be feasible. I I may have	10:23:01
2	misunderstood your question.	10:23:04
3	Q. Indeed, there are already circumstances	10:23:04
4	when Tennessee law requires next business day	10:23:07
5	disclosure of campaign contributions, aren't	10:23:12
6	there?	10:23:15
7	A. Yes.	10:23:15
8	Q. Mr. Rawlins, I'm handing you a copy of	10:23:16
9	Tennessee Code section 2-10-105(h). Please	10:23:19
10	take whatever time you need to review it.	10:23:24
11	A. (Witness reviews document.)	10:23:48
12	Q. If you would, please tell the Court and	10:23:49
13	the record what this provision requires?	10:23:50
14	A. This is the provision that requires a	10:23:52
15	person to file contributions, large	10:23:56
16	contributions well, let me rephrase that.	10:24:01
17	It requires a candidate to file reports	10:24:05
18	disclosing large contributions received during	10:24:08
19	a specific time period.	10:24:11
20	Q. What's the time period?	10:24:12
21	A. Basically, the blackout period. The 10	10:24:13
22	days before the election, nine days before the	10:24:16
23	election.	10:24:18
24	Q. And how quickly do these contributions	10:24:18
25	have to be disclosed?	10:24:22

1	A. I believe it's within 24 hours. Again,	10:24:23
2	I'll be honest with you, we haven't had one	10:24:27
3	filed in so many years that I think it's I	10:24:29
4	would not know, to be honest with you.	10:24:36
5	Q. Tell me what (h)(2) says?	10:24:36
6	A. The next business day, yes.	10:24:39
7	Q. And the Registry provides guidance on	10:24:41
8	compliance with the statute, does it not?	10:24:45
9	A. Yes.	10:24:47
10	Q. The Registry, do you agree, even created	10:24:47
11	a special form for compliance with this	10:24:50
12	statute, does it not?	10:24:53
13	A. Yes.	10:24:54
14	Q. Tell me if the form looks like this, and	10:24:55
15	I'll hand you a copy.	10:25:00
16	A. (Witness reviews document.)	10:25:13
17	Yes. Yes, this looks like the form.	10:25:14
18	Q. Would you please read the highlighted	10:25:17
19	portion?	10:25:20
20	A. "This form may be used by candidate,	10:25:20
21	single candidate political campaign committees	10:25:23
22	and single measure political campaign	10:25:26
23	committees to report major contributions or	10:25:27
24	loans during the final days of a campaign as	10:25:30
25	required by TCA 2-10-105(h). Such	10:25:32

25

1	contributions and loans must be reported if	10:25:35
2	they're received	
3	THE REPORTER: I need you to slow	
4	down and raise you voice up a little bit, too.	
5	THE WITNESS: I'm sorry. I'm	
6	speaking too fast. Do you want me to start	
7	over again?	
8	THE REPORTER: Please. Thank you.	
9	THE WITNESS: "This form must be used	10:25:47
10	by candidates, single candidate political	10:25:48
11	campaign committees, and single measure	10:25:52
12	political campaign committees to report major	10:25:55
13	contributions or loans during the final days of	10:25:57
14	a campaign as required by TCA 2-10-105(h).	10:26:00
15	Such contributions or loans must be reported if	10:26:06
16	they are received during the period beginning	10:26:10
17	at midnight of the 10 days prior to an election	10:26:11
18	in which the candidate or committee are	10:26:14
19	involved and extending through midnight of such	10:26:17
20	election day."	10:26:20
21	Q. And this is the Registry's form; is it	10:26:20
22	not?	10:26:25
23	A. Yes, sir.	10:26:25
24	MR. HORWITZ: I'd like to introduce	10:26:32
25	this as a rebuttal exhibit, statement against	10:26:33

1	interest and a statement of a party component.	10:26:36
2	MS. KLEINFELTER: Excuse me, I'm	10:26:45
3	going to object to that, because it was not	10:26:45
4	listed in their exhibit list, and it was not	10:26:48
5	listed as an exhibit on the defendant's witness	10:26:50
6	list.	10:26:54
7	According to the Court's order, any	10:26:54
8	exhibits that either party intended to	10:26:56
9	introduce were supposed to have been disclosed	10:27:00
10	by the defendants on September 14th and by the	10:27:03
11	plaintiff on September 21st. And, of course,	10:27:05
12	as plaintiff have pointed out pursuant to the	10:27:08
13	local rules, those exhibits were supposed to	10:27:11
14	have been exchanged at least 72 hours before	10:27:13
15	the trial.	10:27:16
16	This witness was never this	10:27:17
17	exhibit was never disclosed. The fact that	10:27:19
18	counsel has identified it as a rebuttal exhibit	10:27:22
19	is not distinguished anywhere in any of the	10:27:25
20	Court's order or reflected in the Court's	10:27:30
21	order.	10:27:33
22	So we object to the admission of this	10:27:33
23	evidence, this exhibit into the record.	10:27:35
24	MR. HORWITZ: Just going to state for	10:27:42
25	the record, the exhibits that would have been	10:27:44

introduced as rebuttal exhibits were unknown 1 10:27:47 until the substance of Mr. Rawlins' testimony 10:27:54 was known. That testimony was not disclosed. 10:27:57 3 And I state that regardless of the 10:27:59 4 admission of this document as an exhibit, the 5 10:28:01 6 witness has testified that it is a statement of 10:28:04 7 the Registry, which is a defendant in this 10:28:08 matter, and the content of that statement which 10:28:10 8 10:28:14 9 has already been introduced into the record is 10 admissible. 10:28:17 11 MS. KLEINFELTER: Again, we state the 10:28:17 12 objection. It was not disclosed. The Court's 10:28:20 order requiring the parties to list their 10:28:23 13 exhibits did not distinguish between exhibits 10:28:25 14 in your case in chief -- case in chief or in 15 10:28:27 16 rebuttal exhibits. 10:28:30 17 And so, to the extent that defendants 10:28:32 10:28:35 18 -- plaintiffs did not disclose this or any 19 other exhibit that they planned to introduce, 10:28:38 20 it should be -- it should be excluded for the 10:28:41 same reasons that defendants' exhibits were 21 10:28:44 10:28:47 22 excluded. BY MR. HORWITZ: 23 10:28:51 24 Mr. Rawlins, you provide guidance on 10:28:51 0. compliance with the statutes, do you not? 10:28:54 25

1	A. Yes, sir.	10:28:55
2	Q. I'm going to hand you a copy, and this is	10:28:56
3	small print, for which I apologize.	10:29:08
4	Would you please read what Question 11	10:29:26
5	says, and then the answer that the Bureau of	10:29:30
6	Ethics and Campaign Finance provides?	10:29:34
7	MS. KLEINFELTER: Could you ask the	10:29:35
8	witness to identify what this document is.	10:29:37
9	MR. HORWITZ: I'm sorry, you're	10:29:39
10	right.	10:29:39
11	MS. KLEINFELTER: It's not visible on	10:29:39
12	the screen.	10:29:41
13	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:29:42
14	Q. What does this document look like to	10:29:42
15	you?	10:29:44
16	A. It appears to be a printout from our	10:29:44
17	from the Registry of Election Finance web page,	10:29:46
18	"Candidate Frequently Asked Questions".	10:29:50
19	Q. And can you please read Question 11 and	10:29:52
20	the answer?	10:29:55
21	A. "Are candidates required to file a report	10:29:56
22	in the final days of an election?"	10:29:59
23	I'll be very honest with you, I'm not	10:30:01
24	sure I can read this or not. (Witness reviews	10:30:04
25	document.)	10:30:08

1	"Interim report: An interim report is	10:30:08
2	required by" for, I'm sorry "is required	10:30:13
3	for major contributions during the final days	10:30:15
4	before an election. Such a report must be	10:30:18
5	filed by a candidate, or a single candidate	10:30:21
6	political campaign committee, by state public	10:30:24
7	office, or single measure committee in a in	10:30:27
8	a referendum. Receives a contribution or loan	10:30:34
9	for more than \$5,000 from a single source in	10:30:41
10	the period beginning at midnight the 10th day	10:30:44
11	prior to any election and ending through the	10:30:47
12	day of the election.	10:30:54
13	Such a report also is due if a candidate	10:30:55
14	or single candidate committee for local public	10:30:58
15	office or single measure committee noted in a	10:31:02
16	involved" I'm sorry "involved in a	10:31:06
17	local referendum receives a contribution or	10:31:08
18	loan for more than \$2,500 during the campaign	10:31:12
19	period."	10:31:16
20	And it references TCA 2-10-105	10:31:17
21	(inaudible)	10:31:17
22	THE REPORTER: I'm sorry?	10:31:17
23	THE WITNESS: It references TCA	10:31:17
24	2-10-105, I think (1)(a). And then there's a	10:31:26
25	separate	10:31:31

1	Do you want that last paragraph.	10:31:32
2	BY MR. HÖRWITZ:	10:31:35
3	Q. Could that last could that last	10:31:35
4	statute be TCA 2-10-105(h)(1)(a) ?	10:31:38
5	A. Yes.	10:31:45
6	Q. Does the last sentence say, "Such reports	10:31:46
7	must be filed by the end of the next business	10:31:48
8	day following the day on which the contribution	10:31:50
9	was received. The interim report must be filed	10:31:53
10	by telegram, fax machine, hand delivery, or	10:31:56
11	overnight delivery," and cites TCA section	10:32:00
12	2-10-105(h)(2)?	10:32:04
13	A. Yes.	10:32:06
14	Q. For purposes of cleaning up the record,	10:32:07
15	plaintiff will strike Exhibit 1 previously	10:32:12
16	introduced and will rely instead only on the	10:32:17
17	witness's summary of the contents of that form	10:32:21
18	which he testified was a form of the defendant	10:32:28
19	Registry.	10:32:33
20	One more question about this previous	10:32:42
21	documented.	10:32:44
22	A. Uh-huh.	10:32:44
23	Q. Is this a public record?	10:32:45
24	A. Yes.	10:32:47
25	Q. Did the Registry have access to this	10:32:47

1	document before this trial?	10:32:55
2	A. Yes.	10:32:57
3	Q. Because it's your document, right?	10:32:59
4	A. Yes. It's on our website.	10:33:01
5	MR. HORWITZ: Did that resolve your	10:33:14
6	objection?	10:33:16
7	MS. KLEINFELTER: No, because it was	10:33:17
8	not disclosed.	10:33:18
9	MR. HORWITZ: It's been stricken.	10:33:19
10	MS. KLEINFELTER: I don't care.	10:33:21
11	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:33:21
12	Q. If candidates were required to disclose	10:33:41
13	all contributions received by multi-candidate	10:33:43
14	PACs within the 10 days before an election	10:33:47
15	within a business day of receiving them, would	10:33:51
16	the Registry have difficulty providing similar	10:33:54
17	guidance?	10:33:57
18	A. When you say "provide similar guidance"	10:34:03
19	on that	10:34:06
20	Q. Guide	10:34:06
21	A. I mean, yes, that form could be used or a	10:34:07
22	form similar to that can be used.	10:34:09
23	Q. A similar form can be created?	10:34:10
24	A. Yes.	10:34:12
25	Q. A similar FAQ can be created?	10:34:12
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1	A. Yes.	10:34:16
2	Q. Let's just try this again.	10:34:19
3	Mr. Rawlins, do candidates for political	10:34:22
4	office in Tennessee generally have to file	10:34:25
5	campaign finance reports during election	10:34:27
6	years?	10:34:30
7	A. Yes.	10:34:30
8	Q. For the convenience of the Court and the	10:34:30
9	record, we're talking about TCA section	10:34:35
10	2-10-105(c); is that right?	10:34:38
11	A. Yes.	10:34:40
12	Q. And how long before election day is the	10:34:41
13	final candidate report filed?	10:34:45
14	A. The pre-election reports ten days before	10:34:47
15	the election are due seven days before the	10:34:51
16	election.	10:34:53
17	Q. Is there any reason that that period has	10:34:54
18	to be 10 days and why the reporting date has to	10:34:57
19	be seven days?	10:35:02
20	A. That was the that was determined by	10:35:03
21	the legislature.	10:35:07
22	Q. Let me ask a different question. Could	10:35:08
23	the legislature make it nine days?	10:35:11
24	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. Calls	10:35:13
25	for speculation.	10:35:14

1	THE WITNESS: Not to be flippant, but	10:35:17
2	the legislature can pass any statute they feel	10:35:19
3	necessary, I guess, or that you know, within	10:35:23
4	the law.	10:35:26
5	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:35:26
6	Q. Make it eight days?	10:35:27
7	A. Yes.	10:35:28
8	Q. Seven?	10:35:29
9	A. Yes.	10:35:30
10	Q. Six?	10:35:31
11	A. Yes.	10:35:32
12	Q. Five?	10:35:32
13	A. Yes.	10:35:33
14	Q. Four?	10:35:34
15	A. Yes.	10:35:34
16	Q. Three?	10:35:35
17	A. Yes.	10:35:36
18	Q. Two?	10:35:36
19	A. Yes.	10:35:37
20	Q. One?	10:35:38
21	A. Yes.	10:35:39
22	Q. Sir, if candidates had to file campaign	10:35:39
23	finance reports the day before election day,	10:35:44
24	would you agree that there would no longer be	10:35:46
25	any concern about Tennessee's voters being	10:35:49

1		l .
1	uninformed about PAC contributions before	10:35:52
2	election day?	10:35:56
3	A. I think there could be an issue,	10:35:57
4	especially at the local level, if contributions	10:35:58
5	ran through the day before an election, and	10:36:03
6	even at the state level, because we get	10:36:07
7	currently we get three days to file those	10:36:09
8	report. So the report wouldn't normally be due	10:36:12
9	until after the election.	10:36:14
10	So I think there would be difficulty in	10:36:15
11	saying that if a candidate received a	10:36:16
12	contribution the day before the election and	10:36:18
13	the report was due that day, it would probably	10:36:21
14	be a difficult scenario getting it filed.	10:36:24
15	Q. What about the next business day?	10:36:27
16	A. Can you rephrase that? I mean, if you	10:36:29
17	said if you said this report is due on	10:36:34
18	election day? I'm sorry?	10:36:36
19	Q. We just discussed the statute where next	10:36:38
20	business day disclosure is already required,	10:36:40
21	did we not?	10:36:43
22	A. Yes.	10:36:44
23	Q. Is there any reason why that same statute	10:36:44
24	could not apply to multi-candidate PAC	10:36:47
25	contributions?	10:36:51

1	A. No.	10:36:52
2	Q. Couple more topics to cover.	10:36:52
3	Mr. Rawlins, if a multi-candidate PAC	10:37:00
4	makes a \$50 contribution to a candidate, is the	10:37:07
5	candidate obligated to report the source of	10:37:11
6	that contribution on a campaign finance	10:37:14
7	report?	10:37:16
8	A. If that's the only contribution they	10:37:16
9	receive during that reporting period from that	10:37:19
10	PAC, they do not have to, what we call, itemize	10:37:22
11	that contribution. In other words, they have	10:37:24
12	to report it as a lump sum. Do not have to	10:37:26
13	report the actual source on the report.	10:37:26
14	Q. And the reason for that is because	10:37:28
15	Tennessee Code Annotated section	10:37:33
16	2-10-107(a)(2)(a)(1), and I'll hand you a copy	10:37:37
17	in a moment, only mandates disclosure of	10:37:41
18	contributions of more than \$100; is that	10:37:44
19	right?	10:37:47
20	A. It only mandates itemization of	10:37:47
21	contributions over \$100.	10:37:50
22	Q. I'm going to hand you the actual	10:37:51
23	statute.	10:37:55
24	A. Okay.	10:37:55
25	Q. When you say itemized contributions,	10:38:03

1	you're talking about the source, right?	10:38:06
2	A. Right. And just to clarify, an itemized	10:38:07
3	contribution requires the source; the address;	10:38:09
4	if it's an individual, the occupation; the	10:38:13
5	amount; and the date.	10:38:16
6	Q. So just the question again	10:38:17
7	A. Yes, sir.	10:38:18
8	Q if a multi-candidate political	10:38:19
9	campaign committee makes a \$50 contribution,	10:38:22
10	the candidate receiving that contribution is	10:38:27
11	not obligated to disclose them as a source; am	10:38:30
12	I right?	10:38:33
13	A. They are not correct. Yes, they are	10:38:33
14	not required to disclose the name of the	10:38:34
15	contributor.	10:38:38
16	Q. Fair to say that there's no circumstance	10:38:39
17	in which contributions of less than a hundred	10:38:40
18	dollars in the aggregate are obligated to be	10:38:44
19	disclosed; is that right?	10:38:46
20	A. Correct.	10:38:48
21	Q. But 2-10-117 doesn't permit low-dollar	10:38:49
22	contributions 10 days before an election, does	10:39:03
23	it?	10:39:06
24	A. No. Not not multi-candidate	10:39:06
25	committees.	10:39:09
	• · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

1	Q. So the disclosure of low-dollar	10:39:10
2	contributions from multi-candidate campaign	10:39:12
3	committees is never even required at all?	10:39:17
4	Prohibiting low-dollar contributions 10 days	10:39:24
5	before an election doesn't actually provide any	10:39:27
6	disclosure with respect to contributions under	10:39:31
7	\$100, does it?	10:39:35
8	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. It	10:39:36
9	calls for legal analysis or legal conclusion	10:39:36
10	that this witness is not competent to testify	10:39:37
11	to.	10:39:38
12	THE WITNESS: Again, I can't really	10:39:41
13	state that. That's what the legislature chose	10:39:42
14	to disclose.	10:39:46
15	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:39:48
16	Q. Mr. Rawlins, do candidates ever fail to	10:39:49
17	file their required campaign disclosure reports	10:39:53
18	on time?	10:39:56
19	A. Yes.	10:39:57
20	Q. To the best of your knowledge, does the	10:39:57
21	Registry always initiate enforcement actions	10:40:01
22	against candidates who fail to file timely	10:40:08
23	disclosure reports?	10:40:11
24	A. Yes. To the best of my knowledge, yes.	10:40:12
25	Q. Every single time somebody misses?	10:40:14

1	A. It every single time a candidate or a	10:40:17
2	PAC files late, it goes before the Registry of	10:40:20
3	Election Finance. They make a determination	10:40:25
4	whether to issue a show cause notice for that	10:40:27
5	late filing. And then again, some they don't	10:40:29
6	issue a show cause; some they do. And once	10:40:33
7	they do go to the	10:40:34
8	Q. I'm talking about the actual enforcement	10:40:36
9	action. So not just the show cause.	10:40:38
10	A. Not every PAC is not every	10:40:40
11	multi-candidate committee or candidate is	10:40:43
12	assessed a civil penalty if they file late.	10:40:45
13	Q. They don't even pursue civil penalties	10:40:48
14	against every candidate that misses a	10:40:52
15	disclosure deadline; is that correct?	10:40:55
16	A. Correct.	10:40:56
17	Q. And when candidates are fined for	10:40:57
18	campaign finance disclosure violations, does	10:41:05
19	the Registry always collect those fines?	10:41:08
20	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. We are	10:41:10
21	going way beyond the scope of this witness's	10:41:12
22	testimony in direct examination. I don't	10:41:15
23	believe there was ever any discussion about the	10:41:17
24	imposition of civil penalties for the failure	10:41:20
25	to disclose campaign financial disclosure	10:41:23

1 10:41:26 reports or to file. 2 MR. HORWITZ: For the record, this 10:41:26 witness was disclosed as a rebuttal witness. 10:41:27 3 The basis or the scope of the examination of 10:41:29 4 5 this witness was disclosed in advance. 10:41:34 6 MS. KLEINFELTER: Actually, this 10:41:36 7 witness in your disclosure on your witness 10:41:40 8 exhibit list has the same deficiencies that 10:41:43 9 supposedly the defendants' disclosure had in 10:41:48 10 that you did not disclose the scope of what you 10:41:51 sought to -- that you'd have this witness 10:41:54 11 12 testify to as a rebuttal witness. 10:41:58 You simply identified that you would 10:42:00 13 chose -- you would call -- chose to call any 10:42:02 14 15 witness that was identified on the defendants' 10:42:05 16 witness list, but you did not specify or 10:42:08 17 provide that brief description of what this 10:42:11 18 witness would testify to as a rebuttal 10:42:13 witness. 10:42:16 19 20 MR. HORWITZ: For the record, 10:42:17 counsel's characterization is inaccurate. 21 10:42:19 22 substance of the scope of rebuttal was 10:42:22 described in compliance with the order, and I 10:42:24 23 24 note for the record this objection has never 10:42:27 been raised. 25 10:42:31

1	MS. KLEINFELTER: You have not called	10:42:33
2	him as a rebuttal witness. He is still on	10:42:35
3	cross-examination.	10:42:38
4	MR. HORWITZ: Would you like me to	10:42:42
5	relieve him and then recall him as a rebuttal	10:42:44
6	witness?	10:42:46
7	MS. KLEINFELTER: No, because we need	10:42:46
8	to do a redirect.	10:42:52
9	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:42:53
10	Q. You can answer the question.	10:42:54
11	When candidates are fined for campaign	10:42:56
12	finance disclosure violations, does the	10:42:58
13	Registry always collect those fines?	10:43:00
14	A. If the Registry assesses a civil penalty,	10:43:02
15	the if the civil penalty is not paid in a	10:43:05
16	certain amount of time, they are turned over to	10:43:08
17	the State Attorney General's Office, collection	10:43:10
18	office for collection. In addition, candidates	10:43:13
19	are ineligible to qualify if they have an	10:43:15
20	outstanding civil penalty.	10:43:18
21	Q. Do they always collect those fines?	10:43:19
22	A. No, not always.	10:43:21
23	Q. If I represented to you that the Registry	10:43:22
24	only collected 21 percent of the fines levied	10:43:24
25	since 2010, would that be accurate?	10:43:29

		1
1	A. I have no idea. I would say it's	10:43:31
2	probably accurate, but I don't have no idea of	10:43:33
3	the top of my head.	10:43:36
4	Q. If I represented to you that in 2016 just	10:43:36
5	7 percent of the nearly \$217,000 in penalties	10:43:38
6	assessed by the Registry and Ethics Commission	10:43:43
7	have been paid, would that be inaccurate?	10:43:45
8	A. Again, I	10:43:47
9	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. This is	10:43:48
10	totally irrelevant to the issue of whether	10:43:49
11	2-10-117 is unconstitutional in violation of	10:43:51
12	the plaintiff's First Amendment right. The	10:43:55
13	amount of civil penalties that the Registry has	10:43:58
14	collected, civil penalties assessed against	10:44:01
15	candidates, is totally irrelevant to the issue.	10:44:05
16	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:44:05
17	Q. You can answer the question.	10:44:09
18	A. Again, I don't know off the top of my	10:44:11
19	head. And that I will say that that number	10:44:12
20	changes daily.	10:44:16
21	Q. I've put an article up on the screen from	10:44:25
22	the Tennessean.	10:44:27
23	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection.	10:44:28
24	MR. HORWITZ: It's not an exhibit.	10:44:29
25	MS. KLEINFELTER: If it's not an	10:44:30

		1
1	exhibit, then how come it has not been	10:44:32
2	authenticated?	10:44:35
3	MR. HORWITZ: The witness is quoted	10:44:36
4	in the article.	10:44:38
5	BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:44:39
6	Q. Sound familiar to you?	10:44:41
7	A. I'm sure I've seen it. I don't read all	10:44:44
8	the articles that I'm in, that they quote me	10:44:48
9	in.	10:44:50
10	Q. I'm going to hand you a copy.	10:44:51
11	Was your testimony you don't remember	10:45:20
12	being quoted in this article?	10:45:22
13	A. No, that was not my testimony. My	10:45:23
14	testimony was that I do not read every article	10:45:26
15	that I'm quoted in.	10:45:28
16	Q. Take a moment to read it just to refresh	10:45:29
17	your recollection.	10:45:31
18	A. (Witness reviews document.)	10:45:32
19	MS. KLEINFELTER: Standing objection	10:45:40
20	to this line of questioning in that it is	10:45:41
21	totally irrelevant to what we are here before	10:45:43
22	the Court for.	10:45:46
23	THE WITNESS: (Witness reviews	10:45:50
24	document.)	10:45:58
25	MS. KLEINFELTER: And I would say if	10:45:58

the Court was present, Mr. Horwitz, you would	10:46:00
have to demonstrate to the Court how this line	10:46:03
of questioning is relevant to the fundamental	10:46:06
issue before the Court, which is the	10:46:08
constitutionality of 2-10-117.	10:46:10
MR. HORWITZ: I'll represent for the	10:46:13
record this is relevant because the Registry	10:46:14
does not uniformly pursue fines that are levied	10:46:16
for disclosure violations. It	10:46:21
MS. KLEINFELTER: Based upon a	10:46:24
newspaper article.	10:46:26
BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:46:27
Q. Sir, will you turn to the third page of	10:46:28
that article?	10:46:29
A. Uh-huh.	10:46:30
Q. Will you read the part that says	10:46:31
"Source", please, at the very bottom?	10:46:33
A. The Bureau of Ethics and Campaign Finance	10:46:37
as of May.	10:46:39
Q. Sir, if I told you that the Registry	10:46:44
issued \$172,000 sorry, \$172,275 had	10:46:49
withdraw the question.	10:46:57
You see the chart at the bottom of this	10:47:00
article?	10:47:04
A. Yes.	10:47:04
	have to demonstrate to the Court how this line of questioning is relevant to the fundamental issue before the Court, which is the constitutionality of 2-10-117. MR. HORWITZ: I'll represent for the record this is relevant because the Registry does not uniformly pursue fines that are levied for disclosure violations. It MS. KLEINFELTER: Based upon a newspaper article. BY MR. HORWITZ: Q. Sir, will you turn to the third page of that article? A. Uh-huh. Q. Will you read the part that says "Source", please, at the very bottom? A. The Bureau of Ethics and Campaign Finance as of May. Q. Sir, if I told you that the Registry issued \$172,000 sorry, \$172,275 had withdraw the question. You see the chart at the bottom of this article?

		1
1	Q. Can you read it, please.	10:47:04
2	A. Unpaid penalties held by political and	10:47:08
3	PAC committees. Year 2016, \$172,275 by the	10:47:13
4	Registry of Election Finance; 29,325 by the	10:47:21
5	Ethics Commission.	10:47:23
6	2015, \$3,300 by the Registry of Election	10:47:24
7	Finance; \$14,550 by the Ethics Commission.	10:47:28
8	2014, \$16,550 by the Registry of Election	10:47:32
9	Finance; 14,600 by the Ethics Commission.	10:47:39
10	2013, 70,275 by the Registry of Election	10:47:41
11	Finance; 32,125 by the Ethics Commission.	10:47:47
12	2012, \$33,225 by the Registry of Election	10:47:50
13	Finance; \$12,955 by the Ethics Commission.	10:47:56
14	2011, \$350 by the Registry of Election	10:48:02
15	Finance; \$10,725 by the Ethics Commission.	10:48:05
16	2010, 60,150 by the Registry of Election	10:48:09
17	Finance; 104,100 by the Ethics Commission.	10:48:14
18	Total 356,125 by the Registry of Election	10:48:18
19	Finance; 218,380 by the Ethics Commission.	10:48:23
20	Q. These are unpaid penalties, are they not?	10:48:27
21	A. They were at the time, yes.	10:48:30
22	Q. Mr. Rawlins, I'm handing you a copy of	10:48:32
23	Tennessee Code Annotated 2-10-121. Can you	10:48:46
24	tell the Court and the record what this	10:49:10
25	provision provides?	10:49:12

1	A. This is the registration fee paid for by	10:49:14	
2	the PACs, \$100 registration fee paid by PACs		
3	each year.		
4	Q. Would you agree that this provision	10:49:25	
5	applies only to multi-candidate political	10:49:27	
6	campaign committees?	10:49:29	
7	A. Yes.	10:49:31	
8	Q. Would you please read the last sentence	10:49:31	
9	of this provision?	10:49:33	
10	A. "This section small not apply to any	10:49:33	
11	statewide political party that's defined in	10:49:36	
12	2-1-104 of section 4 for subsidiaries of a		
13	political party."	10:49:43	
14	Q. Based on that, then	10:49:44	
15	MS. KLEINFELTER: Objection. You	10:49:44	
16	know, I just bothered to look at the witness	10:49:46	
17	list and your disclosure, and you specifically	10:49:49	
18	state that it is only for the purposes of	10:49:52	
19	establishing the next day disclosures feasible	10:49:55	
20	under Tennessee law. It doesn't go beyond	10:49:58	
21	that.	10:50:02	
22	I don't see where any of the previous	10:50:02	
23	testimony is relevant to that issue of the	10:50:03	
24	feasibility of next day disclosure.	10:50:08	
25	MR. HORWITZ: Disclosure is in the	10:50:11	

	1	
record. We can fight about it later.	10:50:12	
MS. KLEINFELTER: Just a standing	10:50:14	
objection, then, to anything as as rebuttal	10:50:16	
testimony from this witness that is beyond the	10:50:20	
issue of demonstrating the feasibility of next	10:50:24	
day disclosure.	10:50:28	
BY MR. HORWITZ:	10:50:31	
Q. Would you agree that this provision does	10:50:32	
not apply to political parties or its	10:50:34	
subsidiaries?	10:50:37	
A. Yes.	10:50:38	
Q. Would you agree this provision does not	10:50:39	
apply to standard political campaign	10:50:41	
committees, just multi-candidate political	10:50:44	
campaign committees?		
A. It just applies to multi-candidate	10:50:47	
campaign committees.		
Q. Approximately how much revenue is	10:50:48	
generated by this provision?	10:50:51	
A. Again, I'm going to approximate, because	10:50:53	
I don't know off the top of my head. Probably		
it's a hundred dollar fee. Probably		
somewhere between 45,000 and 50,000 annually.		
Q. Is there any reason why the General	10:51:05	
Assembly did not appropriate that revenue from	10:51:08	
	MS. KLEINFELTER: Just a standing objection, then, to anything as as rebuttal testimony from this witness that is beyond the issue of demonstrating the feasibility of next day disclosure. BY MR. HORWITZ: Q. Would you agree that this provision does not apply to political parties or its subsidiaries? A. Yes. Q. Would you agree this provision does not apply to standard political campaign committees, just multi-candidate political campaign committees? A. It just applies to multi-candidate campaign committees. Q. Approximately how much revenue is generated by this provision? A. Again, I'm going to approximate, because I don't know off the top of my head. Probably somewhere between 45,000 and 50,000 annually. Q. Is there any reason why the General	

1	another source?		
2	A. I couldn't answer that.	10:51:11	
3	Q. Is there any reason why the General	10:51:12	
4	Assembly wouldn't subject political parties and	10:51:12	
5	their subsidiaries to this hundred dollar	10:51:16	
6	annual assessment?		
7	A. Again, I can't answer that.	10:51:18	
8	Q. Thank you, sir.	10:51:20	
9	MR. HORWITZ: I have no additional	10:51:30	
10	questions.		
11		10:51:32	
12	REDIRECT EXAMINATION	10:51:32	
13	QUESTIONS BY MS. KLEINFELTER:	10:51:32	
14	Q. Mr. Rawlins, since counsel has	10:51:33	
15	completely confused the issue with respect to	10:51:37	
16	multi-candidate political campaign committees,	10:51:41	
17	political campaign committees, and PACs, let's	10:51:44	
18	do a little clarification here.	10:51:47	
19	So, a political campaign committee is	10:51:49	
20	defined as what under the statute?	10:51:52	
21	A. Political campaign committee is a group	10:51:54	
22	of people, corporation, an organization, an	10:51:58	
23	association of people that spends over a	10:52:02	
24	thousand dollars in a calendar year to support	10:52:04	
25	or oppose candidates or referendum. And also,	10:52:07	



there's there's another section that also	10:52:11
states that it includes any corporation that	10:52:12
spends money to support or oppose a referendum.	10:52:14
Q. And what is the definition of a multi-	10:52:19
candidate multi-candidate political campaign	10:52:22
committee?	10:52:24
A. A multi-candidate political campaign	10:52:24
committee is a political campaign committee	10:52:27
that supports two or more candidates or two or	10:52:29
more referendums.	10:52:32
Q. And you testified that you have been	10:52:33
employed by the Registry of Election Finance	10:52:36
since July since July of 1990; is that	10:52:39
correct?	10:52:41
A. Yes, ma'am.	10:52:41
Q. Okay. So you have been involved with	10:52:42
these statutes and with the disclosure reports	10:52:48
filed by political campaign committees and	10:52:52
multi-candidate political campaign committees	10:52:56
for approximately 28 years; is that correct?	10:52:59
A. That's correct.	10:53:01
Q. Okay. So in your 28 years of	10:53:01
experience, how many political campaign	10:53:09
committees are there or have there been that	10:53:18
were not a candidate political campaign	10:53:20
	states that it includes any corporation that spends money to support or oppose a referendum. Q. And what is the definition of a multi- candidate multi-candidate political campaign committee? A. A multi-candidate political campaign committee is a political campaign committee that supports two or more candidates or two or more referendums. Q. And you testified that you have been employed by the Registry of Election Finance since July since July of 1990; is that correct? A. Yes, ma'am. Q. Okay. So you have been involved with these statutes and with the disclosure reports filed by political campaign committees and multi-candidate political campaign committees for approximately 28 years; is that correct? A. That's correct. Q. Okay. So in your 28 years of experience, how many political campaign committees are there or have there been that

1 committee or a multi-candidate political 10:53:24 2 campaign committee? 10:53:27 3 Α. Very, very few. We've had a few 10:53:29 4 referendum committees, and maybe -- and I'm 10:53:34 5 stretching here, maybe one or two probably 10:53:41 6 defined as single candidate committees, but 10:53:44 7 they were not actually the candidate's single 10:53:47 8 candidate committee, if that makes sense. 10:53:51 9 In other words, someone else had formed a 10:53:51 10 committee to support that single candidate, but 10:53:53 they were still, by definition, single 11 10:53:55 12 candidate committees, but they weren't the 10:53:57 13 candidate's political campaign committee, if 10:53:58 14 that makes sense. 10:54:01 10:54:02 15 But very, very few. I mean, almost none. 16 If you take the referendum committees, what we 10:54:06 17 -- what we call a single measure committee, we 10:54:08 18 have what we call single measure committees 10:54:10 19 that report -- support or oppose one 10:54:11 2.0 referendum. They're political campaign 10:54:15 committees, but they're not multi-candidate 21 10:54:17 22 committees and they're not a single candidate 10:54:18 23 committees. 10:54:20 24 Q. So in your 28 years of experience, when 10:54:20 we refer to a political campaign committee, 25 10:54:25



1	it's either going to be the candidate campaign	10:54:30
2	committee? For example, the candidate	10:54:34
3	campaign committee that plaintiff's co-counsel	10:54:36
4	probably created when he ran for Metro Council	10:54:39
5	back a number of years, several years ago,	10:54:43
6	correct?	10:54:46
7	A. Correct. Correct. We would call that a	10:54:46
8	single candidate committee. And I think to	10:54:52
9	answer your question but to answer your	10:54:54
10	question, and I think to clarify, 99 I think	10:54:55
11	as I stated, 99.99 probably percent of	10:54:58
12	political campaign committees that file just in	10:55:02
13	our office, and I think it's probably 100	10:55:05
14	percent for local office, are either single	10:55:07
15	candidate committees, being the candidate's	10:55:10
16	campaign committee; a multi-candidate	10:55:11
17	committee; or in limited source, a very limited	10:55:14
18	amount, a referendum committee.	10:55:16
19	Q. And I believe you testified that when	10:55:18
20	candidates and PACs file their disclosure	10:55:23
21	reports well, candidates and candidate	10:55:27
22	political campaign committees and	10:55:30
23	multi-candidate political campaign committees	10:55:31
24	that file their disclosure reports either with	10:55:35
25	the Registry or with their local Election	10:55:38

1	Commission, you require an original signature	10:55:40	
2	on that document; is that correct?	10:55:41	
3	A. That's correct.	10:55:43	
4	Q. So if I e-mail my disclosure report to	10:55:43	
5	the Davidson County Election Commission, that	10:55:48	
6	is not going to be accepted because it does not		
7	contain an original signature?	10:55:53	
8	A. Correct. Well, and to clarify, we would	10:55:55	
9	allow them to e-mail it as long as they follow	10:56:00	
10	it up with the original signature report,	10:56:02	
11	because we have to have the signature report,	10:56:05	
12	the original signature report.	10:56:07	
13	Q. And if I were to fax it to the Davidson	10:56:09	
14	County Election Commission, that would not	10:56:11	
15	contain an original signature?	10:56:15	
16	A. Correct.	10:56:17	
17	Q. And I believe counsel asked you about the	10:56:17	
18	provision of 2-10-105(h)(2), and that is the	10:56:23	
19	section that dealt with contributions that are	10:56:28	
20	received, large contributions received during	10:56:30	
21	the time period after the last disclosure	10:56:33	
22	report was due, correct?	10:56:37	
23	A. Correct.	10:56:38	
24	Q. And the testimony was, is that if it was	10:56:38	
25	for a candidate for state office and the amount	10:56:42	

			1	
1	of the contribution was more than \$5,000, it			
2	had to be disclosed; is that correct?			
3	A.	Correct.	10:56:50	
4	Q.	And if it was a candidate for local	10:56:50	
5	offic	office and it was more than \$2,500		
6	A.	Yes.	10:56:54	
7	Q.	that needed to be disclosed?	10:56:55	
8	A.	Yes.	10:56:57	
9	Q.	And these are contributions from	10:56:58	
10	committees, correct?		10:57:00	
11	A.	Contributions from persons.	10:57:01	
12	Q.	Are you sure?	10:57:04	
13	A.	Uh-huh.	10:57:05	
14	Q.	Do you need to look at the statute	10:57:05	
15	again?		10:57:08	
16	A.	(No response.)	10:57:11	
17	Q.	Would you like to look at the statute?	10:57:12	
18	A.	(Shrugged shoulders.)	10:57:16	
19	Q.	In (h)(1)(a)?	10:57:23	
20	A.	(Witness reviews document.)	10:57:28	
21		The candidates are filing reports.	10:57:31	
22	Q.	Right. The candidate files the report	10:57:32	
23	and accepted and it says, "Has received and			
24	accepted a contribution from or transfer of			
25	funds during such period, and the date of			

1	receipt of each contribution in excess of the			
2	following amounts."			
3	So if it's a committee if it's a			
4	committee participating in the election of the	10:57:53		
5	candidate for any state public office. So it's			
6	the committee that's actually filing the			
7	report; is that correct?			
8	A. Right. Yes.	10:58:04		
9	Q. It's not the candidate that's filing the	10:58:05		
10	report?			
11	A. No.	10:58:07		
12	Q. It's the committee that's filing the	10:58:07		
13	report. Is that going to be a single candidate			
14	committee that we're referring to there?			
15	A. (Witness reviews document.)	10:58:20		
16	The candidate, yes. The candidate is	10:58:25		
17	filing the report of the contribution received,			
18	the single candidate committee.			
19	Q. The single candidate committee for the	10:58:33		
20	candidate			
21	A. Yes.	10:58:36		
22	Q is filing the report	10:58:37		
23	A. Yes.	10:58:38		
24	Q if they receive a contribution in	10:58:38		
25	excess of \$5,000	10:58:41		

1	Α.	Yes.	10:58:42	
2	Q.	for state office, and in excess of	10:58:42	
3	\$2,500 for local office?			
4	Α.	Yes.	10:58:47	
5	Q.	Let me ask you this, do you know what the	10:58:48	
6	limit	t, the contribution limit is for	10:58:50	
7	indiv	individuals for local public office?		
8	A.	\$1,500 per election.	10:58:53	
9	Q.	So this wouldn't even apply, then, to	10:58:55	
10	contr	ributions from unless it was in excess	10:58:58	
11	of the limits; is that correct?		10:59:01	
12	A.	Right, yes. Correct.	10:59:02	
13	Q.	It wouldn't apply to contributions from	10:59:04	
14	individuals to local public office?		10:59:07	
15	Α.	Correct.	10:59:08	
16	Q.	And what is the limit for individuals to	10:59:09	
17	contribute to a candidate for state public		10:59:12	
18	office?		10:59:15	
19	A.	Well, for legislature it's \$15,000; for	10:59:15	
20	governor it's \$4,000.		10:59:22	
21	Q.	In your 28 well, let's see, this has	10:59:26	
22	not been in existence actually, it probably		10:59:31	
23	has.		10:59:35	
24	A.	I think it has.	10:59:35	
25	Q.	In your experience, in your 28 years of	10:59:36	
11			4	

		1
1	experience, how often have you received the	10:59:37
2	disclosure reports that are contemplated by	10:59:42
3	2-10-105(h)(1)(a)?	10:59:46
4	A. I'll be honest, I can't remember the last	10:59:49
5	time we received one.	10:59:51
6	Q. And in your 28 years of experience, how	10:59:53
7	often have you received complaints that someone	10:59:56
8	failed to file one of these forms or to	10:59:58
9	disclose a contribution that was received	11:00:01
10	during this time period and that was in excess	11:00:05
11	of the amounts listed in the statute?	11:00:08
12	A. To the best of my knowledge, we've never	11:00:10
13	received a complaint concerning this section.	11:00:12
14	Q. I think counsel asked you about if if	11:00:16
15	a candidate received a \$50 contribution from a	11:00:21
16	multi-candidate political campaign committee,	11:00:26
17	were they required to disclose that on their	11:00:29
18	disclosure report.	11:00:31
19	And your testimony was that if it was \$50	11:00:32
20	and it was the only contribution received from	11:00:34
21	that political multi-candidate political	11:00:36
22	campaign committee, they were not required to	11:00:40
23	itemize it	11:00:43
24	A. Correct.	11:00:43
25	Q right?	11:00:44

But is that candidate required does	11:00:45
that \$50 contribution, can the candidates just	11:00:46
ignore that they got that \$50 contribution, or	11:00:51
do they have to keep that information for other	11:00:55
purposes?	11:00:58
A. They they have to disclose the one as	11:00:58
an amount, as a contribution. They also have	11:01:01
to in their records know the source of that	11:01:04
contribution in case that individual or PAC or	11:01:07
multi-candidate committee gives additional	11:01:10
contributions to make sure they don't go over	11:01:13
the limit on that report.	11:01:15
Q. All right. And that's the limit	11:01:16
there's a PAC limit, an individual PAC limit,	11:01:16
correct?	11:01:20
A. Correct.	11:01:20
Q. Is there also an aggregate limit for	11:01:20
candidates?	11:01:23
A. Yes.	11:01:23
Q. And what is that aggregate limit?	11:01:24
A. Let me see. For the aggregate PAC limit	11:01:26
for everything except statewide elections, it's	11:01:30
\$118,100 per election.	11:01:35
Q. And for statewide election, what's the	11:01:37
limit?	11:01:40
	that \$50 contribution, can the candidates just ignore that they got that \$50 contribution, or do they have to keep that information for other purposes? A. They they have to disclose the one as an amount, as a contribution. They also have to in their records know the source of that contribution in case that individual or PAC or multi-candidate committee gives additional contributions to make sure they don't go over the limit on that report. Q. All right. And that's the limit there's a PAC limit, an individual PAC limit, correct? A. Correct. Q. Is there also an aggregate limit for candidates? A. Yes. Q. And what is that aggregate limit? A. Let me see. For the aggregate PAC limit for everything except statewide elections, it's \$118,100 per election. Q. And for statewide election, what's the

1	A. And for statewide elections it is	11:01:40
2	there's actually not a statewide election. It	11:01:43
3	is based on a a PAC candidate 50 percent.	11:01:46
4	You can't receive more than 50 percent of your	11:01:50
5	contributions from PACs.	11:01:52
6	MS. KLEINFELTER: No further	11:02:17
7	questions.	11:02:18
8	MR. HORWITZ: I have no further	11:02:22
9	questions, either.	11:02:23
10	I do want to make one note for the	11:02:24
11	record. Counsel previously had an exchange	11:02:26
12	regarding disclosure of this witness's	11:02:30
13	testimony. I respectfully submit that the	11:02:33
14	disclosure that was claimed was incomplete.	11:02:36
15	I state for the record that	11:02:40
16	plaintiff's disclosure states that plaintiff	11:02:43
17	may call as necessary any witnesses called by	11:02:45
18	defendants if necessary for rebuttal and for	11:02:48
19	the purpose of establishing that next day	11:02:51
20	disclosure is feasible under Tennessee law	11:02:55
21	and this is where the emphasis goes that the	11:02:58
22	challenged statutes are not narrowly tailored	11:03:01
23	to achieve the purposes that the defendants	11:03:05
24	have advanced.	11:03:07
25	I move the admission of the party's	11:03:10

1	pleadings without objection.	11:03:12
2	MS. KLEINFELTER: They're already	11:03:14
3	part of the record, so there's no need to move	11:03:16
4	to make the pleadings part of the record.	11:03:18
5	MR. HORWITZ: Without objection,	11:03:21
6	then.	11:03:23
7	I'm handing the pleadings to the	11:03:55
8	court reporter to have them marked.	11:03:57
9	MS. KLEINFELTER: Actually, we do	11:03:59
10	object. There is no purpose, no reason for	11:04:00
11	putting them in the record. They're already	11:04:02
12	part of the Court record that would go up on	11:04:04
13	appeal. So we object to having them being made	11:04:06
14	part of this transcript.	11:04:09
15	(Off-the-record discussion.)	11:04:59
16	(WHEREUPON, documents were marked as	11:04:59
17	Exhibit No. 25 and Exhibit No. 26.)	11:04:59
18	MR. HORWITZ: And just note for the	11:05:00
19	record that pleadings are evidence. They're	11:05:01
20	conclusive judicial admissions, and the answer	11:05:05
21	is a statement by party opponent.	11:05:08
22	I do have a couple clarifying	11:05:11
23	questions for the Judge. I realize that we	11:05:14
24	didn't	11:05:16
25	MS. KLEINFELTER: Nope, she's already	11:05:16

		1
1	gone.	11:05:17
2	MR. HORWITZ: Well, I'm going to go	11:05:17
3	get her anyway. You're welcome to stay.	11:05:19
4	MS. KLEINFELTER: Nope. If you want	11:05:21
5	those clarifying answers, you need to ask the	11:05:22
6	Judge at a later time.	11:05:25
7	MR. HORWITZ: I respectfully submit	11:05:27
8	that this proceeding is not over until all the	11:05:29
9	issues have been adjudicated. You're going to	11:05:32
10	get kickback on the basis this isn't ripe yet.	11:05:34
11	But I'm going to get the Judge to	11:05:39
12	stay, and I'll ask the court reporter to stay.	11:05:41
13	MS. KLEINFELTER: I believe the Judge	11:05:45
14	asked if you had any further questions before	11:05:47
15	she left the bench and adjourned the Court.	11:05:48
16	(Short break.)	11:08:30
17	(WHEREUPON, the Court resumed the	11:08:30
18	Bench, with proceedings continuing as follows:)	11:10:34
19	THE COURT: Have you-all completed	11:10:34
20	your offer of proof?	11:10:36
21	MS. KLEINFELTER: With one exception	11:10:37
22	that because your clerk was not here, the	11:10:39
23	witness was not sworn in. So we need to I	11:10:42
24	guess swear him in after the fact.	11:10:45
25	THE COURT: Okay. The court reporter	11:10:48

1	could have done that, though.	1
2	THE REPORTER: Your Honor, I	-
3	apologize. I didn't think about it until after	
4	they had begun, because normally the clerk	
5	would swear the witness in in court.	
6	THE COURT: Okay. If you would come	11:10:57
7	forward, sir. Let me say that we're going to	11:10:58
8	have the court officer administer the oath.	11:11:01
9	And do you after you've taken the oath, I'm	11:11:06
10	going to ask you some questions	11:11:08
11	THE WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.	11:11:10
12	THE COURT: about whether that	11:11:11
13	applies to the testimony you provided. Thank	11:11:12
14	you so much.	11:11:14
15	(Witness sworn in retroactively.)	11:11:20
16	THE COURT: Okay. You have provided	11:11:22
17	testimony in an offer of proof where the	11:11:23
18	attorneys asked you questions here in the	11:11:26
19	courtroom.	11:11:28
20	THE WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.	11:11:28
21	THE COURT: We have just administered	11:11:29
22	the oath to you. Do you understand that that	11:11:31
23	oath applied to the statements that you	11:11:34
24	provided here today in your testimony?	11:11:36
25	THE WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.	11:11:39

1	THE COURT: And did you tell the	11:11:40
2	truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the	11:11:42
3	truth in compliance with the oath that you've	11:11:44
4	just taken?	11:11:46
5	THE WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.	11:11:47
6	THE COURT: Okay. All right. Thank	11:11:48
7	you, sir.	11:11:49
8	What else?	11:11:51
9	MR. HORWITZ: Thank you. Your Honor,	11:11:53
10	just a couple of clarifying questions.	11:11:54
11	The Court had asked the plaintiff to	11:11:56
12	prepare an order of judgment in this matter.	11:11:57
13	It occurred to me after you left that we did	11:12:01
14	not apportion costs. I just want this to be a	11:12:04
15	final order to enable the State to be able to	11:12:06
16	appeal.	11:12:08
17	THE COURT: Yes, let me speak to	11:12:09
18	that. Costs will be tasked to the plaintiff	11:12:10
19	to the defendants.	11:12:14
20	Now, you had a request to recover	11:12:15
21	attorney's fees. Normally how that's handled	11:12:17
22	is under local rule 5 point, I believe it's 05.	11:12:19
23	You file an application to recover your	11:12:25
24	attorney's fees and state the amount with the	11:12:29
25	backup documentation. And then once we receive	11:12:31

1 that, the Court will notify the State of the 11:12:36 2 time in which to file their opposition. 11:12:38 then you would have the opportunity to reply, 11:12:41 3 4 and the Court would determine on the papers. 11:12:43 I have had some cases where counsel 5 11:12:47 6 have agreed to hold that in abeyance until an 11:12:50 7 I don't recommend that. I've appeal is taken. 11:12:55 8 also had problems with that on appeal. It's 11:13:00 9 better to send everything up. 11:13:02 10 So I would recommend the -- just 11:13:04 11 proceeding and us going on and assessing 11:13:09 12 attorney's fees, but if the parties can reach 11:13:12 an agreement on that and the Court would accede 11:13:14 1.3 to it. 11:13:17 14 15 MR. HORWITZ: I quess the only 11:13:18 16 difficulty is, and I understand the State wants 11:13:19 17 to appeal promptly, petitions for attorney's 11:13:21 fees have to be verified by affidavit with 18 11:13:23 exhibits related to similar -- fees assessed in 19 11:13:26 20 other cases, and it's a fairly extensive 11:13:27 2.1 process. 11:13:30 22 We certainly can try to reach an 11:13:31 agreement, but I don't want -- I don't want the 23 11:13:34 24 State to feel like we're delaying their ability 11:13:36 25 to appeal. So I guess --11:13:39

		1
1	MS. KLEINFELTER: Well, Your Honor,	11:13:42
2	we have 30 days to file a notice of appeal.	11:13:43
3	The Court's order is not final until that 30	11:13:46
4	days has run. So I don't believe the plaintiff	11:13:49
5	can act upon the Court's order until it does	11:13:51
6	become final.	11:13:54
7	And of course if we file that notice	11:13:55
8	of appeal and the request for a stay, because	11:13:57
9	the essence of your Court's order is enjoining	11:13:59
10	the State from enforcing the provisions of the	11:14:01
11	statute and finding the statute	11:14:04
12	unconstitutional.	11:14:08
13	You know, if counsel is not able to	11:14:08
14	get their motion filed and resolved within that	11:14:11
15	30 day time period, we're willing to discuss	11:14:13
16	it, but certainly counsel could get that done	11:14:16
17	within the 30 days that we have.	11:14:18
18	THE COURT: If the Court were to	11:14:20
19	require the application with the attorney's	11:14:23
20	fees to be filed by October 12th, would you be	11:14:25
21	able to do that?	11:14:28
22	MR. HORWITZ: Yes, Your Honor.	11:14:29
23	THE COURT: All right. And then the	11:14:30
24	State can file any response to that by	11:14:32
25	October 19th.	11:14:38

		l
1	MS. KLEINFELTER: We only get a week,	11:14:40
2	Your Honor? Because unfortunately my	11:14:42
3	co-counsel is going to be out during a good	11:14:44
4	portion of that time period.	11:14:48
5	THE COURT: How much time do you	11:14:49
6	need?	11:14:50
7	MS. KLEINFELTER: If we can have 'til	11:14:51
8	the middle of the following week, Your Honor.	11:14:53
9	THE COURT: Sure. Until	11:14:55
10	October 24th?	11:14:58
11	MS. KLEINFELTER: Yes.	11:14:58
12	THE COURT: And then the Court will	11:14:58
13	rule following that on the papers.	11:15:00
14	What other?	11:15:02
15	MR. HORWITZ: Your Honor, that was	11:15:03
16	the first one.	11:15:04
17	The second was, I realize this was a	11:15:05
18	fact-based trial here. I didn't want to	11:15:08
19	presume I didn't know the parties had a	11:15:10
20	dispute over the standard of review. I didn't	11:15:13
21	want to presume that this Court agreed with my	11:15:13
22	position rather than the State's, so I was	11:15:15
23	wondering if this Court would permit me to file	11:15:17
24	the judgment as to the facts of this matter,	11:15:20
25	and then this Court would issue an opinion	11:15:22

1	based on those facts?	11:15:24
2	THE COURT: Yes. Yes. Because there	11:15:25
3	are other matters that we put together, and Mr.	11:15:27
4	Seamon and I will look into the record that	11:15:30
5	we're going to add to the order concerning the	11:15:31
6	motions in limine. So just submit to the Court	11:15:32
7	that portion of it, and we'll fill it in.	11:15:35
8	MS. KLEINFELTER: And, Your Honor, is	11:15:38
9	the Court's order granting the judgment also	11:15:39
10	and enjoining the State, does that also apply	11:15:44
11	to the District Attorney General?	11:15:48
12	THE COURT: How we're going to handle	11:15:53
13	the District Attorney General is the plaintiff	11:15:54
14	had suggested in its papers that that be	11:15:58
15	dismissed without prejudice. And then	11:16:01
16	depending on what occurs on appeal, then it	11:16:04
17	could be re-filed if necessary. I think that's	11:16:07
18	the best way to proceed, instead of a rule	11:16:11
19	54.02.	11:16:16
20	So if you will put in the order that	11:16:16
21	it's that it's dismissed, the claim as to	11:16:18
22	the Attorney General is dismissed without	11:16:21
23	prejudice.	11:16:24
24	MR. HORWITZ: I will do that.	11:16:24
25	THE COURT: District Attorney	11:16:26

1	General, excuse me.	11:16:28
2	MR. HORWITZ: Understand.	11:16:28
3	THE COURT: Yeah.	11:16:30
4	MR. HORWITZ: Just a couple remaining	11:16:30
5	things.	11:16:33
6	I wanted this Court's permission to	11:16:33
7	file the transcript of the first hearing into	11:16:35
8	the record. There's the ability to get the	11:16:38
9	audio/video of it, and I can have that	11:16:44
10	transcribed and filed.	11:16:47
11	THE COURT: Are you talking about,	11:16:48
12	you think there was a recording in this Court?	11:16:49
13	MR. HORWITZ: Yes.	11:16:52
14	THE COURT: We do not record	11:16:52
15	proceedings. We don't have the recording.	11:16:54
16	Did you have a court reporter?	11:16:57
17	MR. HORWITZ: We did not.	11:16:58
18	THE COURT: Okay. All right. Then	11:16:58
19	we don't have that.	11:17:00
20	Was there a particular matter that	11:17:01
21	you needed on that that's not in the Court	11:17:02
22	order?	11:17:05
23	MR. HORWITZ: Yes, the basis for that	11:17:05
24	request was going to be that initially this	11:17:07
25	matter was submitted without evidence anyway.	11:17:09

1	That was the defendants' initial position. And	11:17:12
2	any claim of prejudice after they've already	11:17:15
3	been relieved of that, what I consider a	11:17:18
4	waiver, would be important for purposes of	11:17:23
5	appeal.	11:17:25
6	THE COURT: Isn't that apparent on	11:17:26
7	the record without the transcript?	11:17:27
8	MR. HORWITZ: I thought so, Your	11:17:31
9	Honor, but there's never been a formal finding	11:17:32
10	as to that fact. It was implied in previous	11:17:35
11	orders, but I would be more comfortable with	11:17:38
12	that acknowledgment being ordered someplace.	11:17:41
13	THE COURT: In the order that you	11:17:45
14	prepare, propose that and let me see exactly	11:17:46
15	what it is that you're seeking. I don't know	11:17:49
16	if I can enter that or not. I'll have to see	11:17:52
17	what the text reads like, but put it in the	11:17:55
18	proposed order.	11:17:58
19	What else?	11:18:00
20	MR. HORWITZ: Last question was	11:18:02
21	whether costs include the cost of this	11:18:05
22	transcript, whether discretionary costs are	11:18:08
23	included?	11:18:14
24	THE COURT: You will need to file a	11:18:14
25	motion to recover discretionary costs.	11:18:16

11:18:19 7 MR. HORWITZ: So even though the transcript of the Court's initial order is 11:18:21 2 going to be integrated --11:18:24 3 4 THE COURT: The way it would work is 11:18:26 court costs that are the billable costs are 11:18:28 5 6 passed to the State. Any costs that you seek 11:18:31 7 to recover for transcripts, you will need to 11:18:33 file a motion to recover discretionary costs 11:18:37 8 9 under the rule. I've forgotten the exact rule 11:18:40 number now. And then the State will have an 10 11:18:43 11:18:45 11 opportunity to reply to that, to respond to So we'll put it on the motion docket, so 11:18:48 12 that. 13 go on and get that filed. 11:18:51 11:18:52 14 MR. HORWITZ: For everyone's 15 convenience, would you have any objection if I 11:18:53 include that in the attorney's fee 11:18:55 16 17 attestation? 11:18:58 18 THE COURT: You may do so. The Court 11:18:59 grants that, yes. And when I say I grant that, 11:19:01 19 20 the Court gives you leave to file the motion 11:19:07 for discretionary costs along with application 11:19:09 2.1 to recover the attorney's fees, and the same 11:19:12 22 time limits will apply for the State to 11:19:15 23 respond, and the Court will rule on the 11:19:18 24 11:19:21 25 papers.

		1
1	MR. HORWITZ: Thank you, Your Honor,	11:19:22
2	that's all I have.	11:19:23
3	THE COURT: Are there any matters	11:19:24
4	that the State needs clarified? Anything,	11:19:26
5	General Kleinfelter?	11:19:31
6	MS. KLEINFELTER: No, as long as we	11:19:33
7	get the opportunity to respond to this this	11:19:34
8	request for the Court to make a finding on some	11:19:37
9	sort of waiver of something given that was not	11:19:42
10	an issue that was ever actually presented to	11:19:44
11	the Court at the prior hearing, and I don't	11:19:47
12	know if the Court ever made a definitive	11:19:49
13	ruling. As long as we get the opportunity to	11:19:52
14	respond to whatever language is put in the	11:19:54
15	order.	11:19:56
16	THE COURT: The way that the State	11:19:56
17	will be provided an opportunity to respond is	11:19:57
18	under our local rule	11:20:00
19	MS. KLEINFELTER: Right.	11:20:02
20	THE COURT: when they file their	11:20:03
21	order, we hold the order for three days and a	11:20:04
22	competing or opposing order may be filed. And	11:20:07
23	if there is opposition or objection, the State	11:20:11
24	may state it during that time that you file	11:20:13
25	that report.	11:20:17

1						
1	All right. Thank you very much.					
2	Mr. Seamon, if you would adjourn the court,					
3	please.					
4	(WHEREUPON, the hearing was concluded					
5	at 11:20 a.m.)					
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REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE

STATE OF TENNESSEE

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COUNTY OF WILLIAMSON

I, Roy M. Curry, Jr., court reporter, with offices in Franklin, Tennessee, hereby certify that I reported the foregoing hearing in the matter of Tennesseans for Sensible Election Laws vs. Tennessee Bureau of Ethics, et al., by machine shorthand to the best of my skills and abilities, and thereafter the same was reduced to typewritten form by me. not related to any of the parties named herein, nor related to their counsel, and have no interest, financial or otherwise, in the outcome of the proceedings.

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Registered Professional Reporter

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Certified Reporting Instructor

Certified Court Reporter, and

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State of Tennessee At Large

My Commission Expires: 6/26/2021 LCR #202 - Expires: 6/30/2020

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