UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA

FORT LAUDERDALE DIVISION

CASE NO. 16-61511-CIV-WJZ

CAROL WILDING, ET AL.,

Plaintiffs, . Fort Lauderdale, Florida

. April 25, 2017

v. . 1:24 p.m.

DNC SERVICES CORP, d/b/a, .
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL .
COMMITTEE, ET AL., .

.

Defendants. .

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Transcript of Motion Hearing had before the Honorable William J. Zloch,
United States District Judge.

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Proceedings recorded by mechanical stenography, transcript produced by computer.

## **APPEARANCES:**

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1	TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 2017, 1:24 P.M.
2	(The Judge entered the courtroom)
3	THE COURT: Good afternoon. Please be seated.
4	Calling Case Number 16-61511-Civil.
5	Counsel, would you note your appearances?
6	MR. BECK: Good morning, your Honor. Jared Beck on
7	behalf of the plaintiffs.
8	MR. O'BRIEN: Your Honor, Cullin O'Brien on behalf of
9	the plaintiffs.
10	MR. HERNANDEZ: Your Honor, Antonio Hernandez on
11	behalf of the plaintiffs.
12	MS. VIRUES: Beverly Virues on behalf of the
13	plaintiffs.
14	THE COURT: Good afternoon.
15	MR. SPIVA: Good afternoon, your Honor. Bruce Spiva
16	on behalf of the defendants.
17	MR. CARAMANICA: And, your Honor, Mark Caramanica on
18	behalf of the defendants.
19	THE COURT: Good afternoon.
20	We're here this afternoon for or upon the motion to
21	dismiss filed by the defense.
22	I have, obviously, questions for both sides. And what
23	I'd like to do is, as we cover various technical issues, such
24	as standing, the pleadings, class action allegations, and so
25	forth, rather than hear from just one side, as we go through

with individual questions, I'll hear from the defense, I'll 1 2 hear from the plaintiff on that particular issue. All right. 3 And, again, these are technical issues that we will be dealing 4 with. But let me just give a brief description of the case 5 at this point. The plaintiffs brought this suit as a putative 6 7 class action against Defendants DNC Services Corp. and Deborah Wassermann Schultz. According to their first-amended 8 9 complaint, that is, Docket Entry Number 8, the plaintiffs are, quote, "residents of 45 states and the District of Columbia." 10 They seek to represent three distinct classes: 11 12 One, all people or entities who contributed to the DNC 13 from January 1, 2015, through July 13, 2016, referred to as the "DNC Donor Class." 14 15 Two, all people or entities who contributed to the 16 Bernie Sanders campaign from January 1, 2015, through July 13, 17 2016, known as the "Sanders Donor Class." And, three, all registered members of the Democratic 18 Party, known as the "Democratic Party Class." 19 20 This case arises generally from the DNC's alleged bias in favor of Hillary Clinton during the 2015-2016 Democratic 21 22 Presidential Primary, as well as the DNC's handling of donor 23 information, which was attacked by an online hacker. 24 Plaintiffs bring six causes of action, each germane to 25 particular proposed classes.

Count 1, fraud by the DNC Donor Class and the Sanders 1 2. Donor Class. Count 2, negligent misrepresentation by the DNC Donor 3 Class and the Sanders Donor Class. 4 5 Three, violation of Section 28-3904 of the District of 6 Columbia code by the DNC Donor Class and the Sanders Donor 7 Class. Count 4, unjust enrichment by the DNC Donor Class. 8 9 Count 5, breach of fiduciary duty by the Democratic Party Class. 10 11 And Count 6, negligence by the DNC Donor Class. 12 The defendants have moved to dismiss the first-amended complaint, Docket Entry Number 8. The defendants' arguments 13 14 fall generally under three umbrellas. 15 First, the defendants argue that plaintiffs lack standing to bring their claims. Next, the defendants argue 16 17 that the first-amended complaint fails to state a claim. 18 third, the defendants argue that the class action allegations 19 should be stricken. 20 Now, with that general description of the pleadings at this stage -- well, let me do it this way. Are there any 21 22 opening remarks that the defense would like to give? And then 23 I'll hear from the plaintiff as well. And then I'll go into my 24 questions. 25 MR. SPIVA: Your Honor, I was prepared to give some

opening remarks, but if you would prefer to just ask questions, 1 2 I'm also happy to do it that way. Well, go ahead. You can give your -- take 3 THE COURT: 4 your time. We have the whole afternoon. 5 MR. SPIVA: Okay. And mindful of what your Honor said about wanting to 6 7 take, you know, the issues kind of one at a time, maybe I'll cover the -- I'll start with the issue of standing and whether 8 9 the Court has subject-matter jurisdiction first. Because, of 10 course, if we are correct that there is no subject -- no standing and no subject-matter jurisdiction, then the entire 11 12 complaint -- all of the claims should be dismissed, your Honor. 13 THE COURT: So you were gonna go into your arguments. Yes. Well, why don't I do this. 14 MR. SPIVA: 15 don't I -- I'll give you just some very brief overview opening statement, and then I'll sit down, and the other side can do 16 17 the same. And then we can --18 THE COURT: Then I'll begin with my questions. 19 MR. SPIVA: Okay. 20 THE COURT: Because we'll cover all of these technical 21 points. 22 MR. SPIVA: Sure. That makes sense, your Honor. 23 All right. THE COURT: Your Honor, just briefly, this is really 24 MR. SPIVA: 25 an action that was brought as a political weapon against the

DNC and its former chairperson, Congresswoman Debbie Wassermann Schultz. And it really threatens some serious First Amendment injury to the defendants, because the crux of the plaintiffs' claims here are that the DNC and Congresswoman Schultz purportedly breached an internal rule of the party in saying on the one hand that the party would remain neutral between the two candidates and on the other hand not doing that behind the scenes. That's the allegation.

2.

And I think really what runs through all of these questions, your Honor, the questions that the Court would have to address to resolve that claim that really demonstrate why there is no subject-matter jurisdiction, why this can't be resolved as a class action, and why there's a failure to state a claim, and that is, your Honor, the Court would have to resolve such issues as what was the meaning of the Democratic Party's internal rule and how should it be enforced.

THE COURT: You're talking about the DNC's charter now.

MR. SPIVA: Yes, their bylaws, which is where this purported obligation arises to remain neutral as between the candidates.

THE COURT: Article V, Section 4.

MR. SPIVA: Correct, your Honor.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

MR. SPIVA: And the Court would have to basically tell

the party that it couldn't change that rule, even though it's a discretionary rule that it didn't need to adopt to begin with.

2.

The Court would have to find that these individuals were induced to give money to Representative Sanders -- sorry -- Senator Sanders on the basis that there would be this neutrality that there purportedly was not, and that they wouldn't have -- they relied on that, and that they wouldn't have given that money otherwise.

And same with DNC members. The Court would have to define who is a member of the Democratic Party nationwide. There is no national registration for either of the major parties. And so, this Court would have to determine what it means to be a Democrat and then determine whether the class that the Court defined was injured in some way by the allegations.

I think through each of these questions, your Honor -and there are more -- they are not justiciable, because they
are political questions that courts have repeatedly said
they -- that they are not the province of the civil courts.
It's not redressable, because if the Court were to seek to
answer those questions and impose burdens upon the party, it
would violate the First Amendment rights of the party for free
association. And so it's not redressable.

And, really, I think there's an impossible showing of causation. I mean the Court would have to find that people who

fervently supported Bernie Sanders and who purportedly didn't know that this favoritism was going on would have not given to Mr. Sanders, to Senator Sanders, if they had known that there was this purported favoritism.

And, of course, there are lots of other underlying factual determinations that this Court would have to make in terms of whether there was such favoritism, and how it affected the race, that also raise similar types of questions that really are without -- it's outside the province of the Court.

I think this really runs through all of these issues, your Honor. I think it also shows why this can't be determined on a class basis, because every single person who was determined to be a member of one of these three subclasses would need to be deposed and would need to testify at trial about issues such as reliance.

And so, I think those questions really, your Honor, are at the heart of why this case should be dismissed for lack of subject-matter jurisdiction, why there's a failure to state a claim, and why the class action allegations should be stricken.

Thank you.

THE COURT: Thank you, Counsel.

MR. BECK: Thank you, your Honor.

THE COURT: Good afternoon.

MR. BECK: Good afternoon.

And thank you, Counsel.

Your Honor, we've been accused just now of wielding a political weapon. We've been accused of posing a threat to the First Amendment. But, in fact, the First Amendment is not absolute, and the Supreme Court recognizes that again and again. And, in fact, the First Amendment yields on many occasions to more ancient common-law rights that precede even the founding of this republic.

Freedom of speech and freedom of association are very, very important, but we also have a right not to be defrauded.

We also have a right not to be taken advantage of by a fiduciary. We have a right not to be deceived. There's no exception to those rights just because the fraudulent speech or the fraudulent conduct involved takes place in a political context. But that's what the defendants want you to conclude in this case. But if you concluded that, your Honor, you would be in direct contravention of what the Supreme Court has said time and again.

Virginia State Board of Pharmacy, quote:

"Untruthful speech, commercial or otherwise, has never been protected for its own sake."

The famous *Gertz* opinion, one of the seminal First Amendment cases, quote:

"There is no constitutional value in false statements of fact. Neither the intentional lie nor

the careless error materially advances society's interest in uninhibited, robust, and wide-open debate on public issues."

And more recently in *Madigan vs. Illinois*, a 2006 opinion from the Supreme Court, the Court held:

2.

"Consistent with our precedent and the First

Amendment, states may maintain fraud actions when

fundraisers make false or misleading representations

designed to deceive donors about how their donations

are used."

I think it's very clear that there is no real First Amendment issue involved here, simply because we are talking about speech which occurred in the political context. The First Amendment or the common-law admits no exception to the rights not to be defrauded, not to be deceived, just because speech was involved. That's very central to our system of justice.

And as to standing, which is the means by which a litigant enters court, standing here is a very, very basic question -- or a very basic issue. And I think it's readily decided in this case, because we are talking primarily about the loss of money. And federal courts have recognized again and again that loss of money is a valid injury to confer Article III standing.

Just because that money was paid as part of a

political process, again, we get back to the First Amendment, we get back to all those cases that the Supreme Court has decided. There's no protection of fraudulent speech that comes under the rubric of freedom of speech or freedom of association.

This is not a case about enforcing political promises. They want you to think that, I believe, because they want to paint this case in a line of cases that have been filed throughout the years where candidates may make political promises, and then disappointed voters bring lawsuits to enforce those promises or seek damages in one form or another. But that's not what this case is about. We're not talking about campaign rhetoric. We're not talking about a campaign platform of any kind.

What we're talking about here is the very core of what our democracy runs on, the very basis for our democracy, which is the conduct of free and fair elections. That's the basis, that's the bedrock on which the claims of this case take off, because the election -- the elections -- as American history has developed, the conduct of those elections, for better or worse, has come under the domain of the two major political parties in this country.

And in our case, in getting into the allegations of our case, what we are alleging and what we are very, I think, clearly alleging and specifically alleging in this complaint is

that people paid money in reliance on the understanding that the primary elections for the Democratic nominee -- nominating process in 2016 were fair and impartial. And that's not just a bedrock assumption that we would assume just by virtue of the fact that we live in a democracy, and we assume that our elections are run in a fair and impartial manner. But that's what the Democratic National Committee's own charter says. It says it in black and white. And they can't deny that.

THE COURT: Let me just interrupt you.

MR. BECK: Oh, sure.

2.

THE COURT: And I apologize. This is not your problem.

MR. BECK: Okay.

THE COURT: But for those of you who are here as spectators -- and there's at least one individual and maybe two -- you are distracting the Court with your show of exuberance in support of counsel's arguments. You might as well be doing somersaults or backflips in support of counsel's argument. So, you are distracting me. So, if you want to help the side that you're here to support, let me listen to the lawyer, and please stop distracting me.

Counsel, go right ahead.

MR. BECK: Thank you, your Honor.

I was talking about the charter, because I was making the point that we're not just talking about a bedrock

assumption of what it means to live in a democracy and what formed the bedrock understanding of the plaintiffs in this lawsuit, but it's also in the charter itself, which --

THE COURT: Article IV -- or -- excuse me -- Article V, Section 4.

MR. BECK: Correct.

Which requires the DNC and its chairperson to act in an even and impartial manner with respect to the presidential nominating process.

THE COURT: Which is in paragraph 159 of your first-amended complaint.

MR. BECK: Correct.

And not only is it in the charter, but it was stated over and over again in the media by the Democratic National Committee's employees, including Congresswoman Wassermann Schultz, that they were, in fact, acting in compliance with the charter. And they said it again and again, and we've cited several instances of that in the case.

So, getting back to the question of standing, when you have money -- in this case, it's in the form of political donations, but, again, I don't think the political context makes any difference -- but when you have money that's paid in reliance on a false understanding and a false -- or a false belief that is created by the defendant, then you have all of the elements of Article III satisfied.

You have an injury in fact. You have a causal connection, because the money, which is the injury in fact -- and there's no denying the case law on that -- the money was paid in reliance on the false understanding. And then in terms of judicial redress, the principal relief we're asking for in this case is damages.

So, I think -- personally I think standing is -- in spite of the defendants' efforts to muddy the waters and try to turn this into -- and try to paint us with a political brush, like we're, you know, fighting some political battle, which is just totally not true, you know, I think standing's an easy question.

We may represent people that gave to Bernie Sanders, but that doesn't mean that this has -- and -- this lawsuit has any connection whatsoever to the political campaign that Bernie Sanders fought in 2016, which is now over. And in terms of the relief we're seeking, the principal relief we're seeking is damages.

Now, in terms of the complaint and in terms of the allegations of the complaint, and specifically what the DNC did wrong, I just think the context of when this complaint was drafted is important. We drafted this complaint and filed it in June of 2016, which was before the DNC primary -- or the DNC convention occurred in July. And, at the time, the evidence that we had access to consisted of this set of documents that

your Honor referenced in your prefatory remarks that were released by a figure named Guccifer 2.0.

2.

And the core document that was released by that individual on that website purports to be an internal DNC memorandum, which outlines a strategy for advancing Hillary Clinton to the nomination of the Democratic Party before the primaries had even really gotten off the ground. And this was at a time -- you know, Bernie Sanders I believe had announced for about a month before this particular memo came out. But we think that's clear evidence of what the DNC's intent was throughout the primary process. It was to leverage their connections with the media in order to advance Hillary Clinton's candidacy at the expense of everybody else.

Subsequent to this memorandum being released into the public by Guccifer 2.0, many more documents have come into the public domain. We have a wealth of information that was released by WikiLeaks that comes from e-mails from officials of the DNC, as well as the Hillary Clinton campaign, which really, I think, flesh out and fill in the detail of this really seminal internal document that Guccifer released and which is pled in our complaint.

These additional leaks have shown that DNC officials participated in creating and disseminating media narratives to undermine Bernie Sanders and advance Hillary Clinton.

It shows former DNC Chair Donna Brazile giving debate

questions in advance to Hillary Clinton during the primaries.

It shows the DNC at one point changing its donor policies specifically to favor Hillary Clinton.

It shows the scheduling of debates to favor Hillary Clinton over Bernie Sanders.

It shows, in general, the DNC pouring its considerable resources and relationships into propelling Hillary Clinton to the nomination.

It shows the creation of an aura of inevitability of Hillary Clinton's candidacy that the DNC pushed into the media and, essentially, in our view, crushed the Bernie Sanders campaign.

It shows the DNC coordinating and taking direction from Hillary Clinton's campaign operatives, making hiring decisions based on what Hillary Clinton's campaign was telling them, picking sides in the disputes between the candidates.

I mean, there's one famous example of an alleged chair-throwing incident in Nevada, where instead of acting in an even and impartial manner, Debbie Wassermann Schultz immediately sided with the Hillary Clinton campaign.

And all of this, you know, comes out of documents that have been released into the public domain subsequent to the drafting of this complaint, based on the Guccifer 2.0 leaks.

But we're not even getting into at this point -- we're not even getting into the question of widespread reports of

irregularities at polling locations in various states relating to the actual voting in the primary. There's widespread reports of voting machine irregularities, voter suppression, strange purging of the rolls.

I mean, your Honor, I think when all of this is seen together, it's really hard to deny that the DNC was not acting in accordance with its own charter and not acting in accordance with its role and, quite frankly, its duty as a custodian of this country's democracy. But, again, this is not a case about abstract political principles.

This is a case -- and I have to make this point again and again, because I think this really gets back to the technical issues that your Honor identified at the outset, which is that we have standing here because there was payment of money in reliance on a false understanding that was created by these defendants.

And I do want to say that I think we have a second basis for standing that goes beyond money. And I don't want to forget this, but there's a whole line of cases which talks about the invasion of established common-law rights as a valid basis for standing. And I don't want to lose sight of that, because I don't think money is the only basis for standing. I think this especially -- is of special relevance for the Democratic Party Class, and specifically the breach of fiduciary duty count, which doesn't necessarily rely on the

payment of money.

Now, they've said in their opening remarks, essentially, that there's no such thing as the Democratic Party, or we can't ascertain who's in the Democratic Party. I mean, to me, you know, that's -- that -- I think that would be a surprising proposition to most people in this country. I think we can figure out who's a democrat and who's not. But I think those are factual issues anyway.

Perhaps those -- you know, perhaps they have arguments that can be made at a summary judgment stage or something, but here we're talking about the pleadings, we're talking about what we've alleged, and I think we've pled enough to state a valid breach of fiduciary duty claim. The D.C. law that we've cited I think is, uhm -- recognizes a sufficiently flexible definition of what a fiduciary duty means in order to encompass the relationship between a party or the head of a party and its members.

In fact, there's a whole line of cases -- and I know it's not the D.C. cases, it's New York cases -- but under New York fiduciary law, a whole line of cases which recognize such a duty. So, I don't really think it's a stretch at all to say that, number one, there is a Democratic Party; and, number two, that the party owes a fiduciary duty to its members. And if the party's not -- and if the party doesn't owe such a duty to its members, then who does it owe a duty to?

Well, you know, I think in some ways that's what this case may be about.

I just want to finish up with a few points, and then I know your Honor has a number of questions, so I want to make sure to leave sufficient time for that.

I think the argument under Rule 12(g)(2) that the defendants have waived their right to bring a 12(b)(6) motion is a strong argument. I recognize that there's some tension in the case law on that. By no means does it seem to be a settled question. But the rule does specifically have an exemption for challenges to subject-matter jurisdiction, which I think makes sense, given what subject-matter jurisdiction entails. But it -- I think it's (sic) very specifically says that if you bring a motion under 12(b), and then you bring a subsequent motion, unless you bring the arguments in the first motion, you've waived them.

And they filed a motion to dismiss based on service of process. They could have stated those arguments at that time. They chose not to. I think under the plain reading of Rule 12(g)(2), they've waived everything except their challenge to subject-matter jurisdiction.

I think they have -- they take the position that we haven't pled enough in our complaint to -- we haven't pled our claims for fraud and negligent misrepresentation with sufficient specificity. I think we've gone into very

considerable detail about the public statements of the DNC, the content of its charter. And I think we very specifically pled that what the folks who are serving as plaintiffs in this case did in reliance on those representations, which is that they paid donations to a political campaign in some cases, or to the DNC in others, it's certainly been sufficient to put the DNC on notice of what the claims against them are. I don't think they have any mystery about what our theory of the case is. So, I think we've satisfied the pleading requirements.

We have specific allegations there related to

Congresswoman Wassermann Schultz, specifically what she said in
the media, what her role is in the organization, and, uhm, I
think -- and her title is referenced in the charter. So I
don't think it's any mystery as to what the allegations are
against her personally.

A couple final points. The CPPA, which is the D.C. consumer statute that we've pled as one of the claims, I do think that the statute is worded in a broad enough fashion to cover the claims in this case. Its whole purpose is to protect consumers of goods and services. And many of, if not the vast majority of the Bernie donor class (sic), are people that used an online or service or application called ActBlue, which charges a 3.95 percent processing fee in connection with every donation. So, that's a service.

Now, we haven't sued ActBlue. But I don't think we

need privity under the D.C. cases that I've looked at and which we've cited to the Court. I think that the -- well, a couple of those cases specifically say that anyone involved in the chain of supply is appropriate as a defendant in an action under that statute. And the DNC and its chairwoman were the entity and the person responsible that this election was going to be fair and evenhanded -- or the primary process was going to be fair and evenhanded, as they promise in their charters.

So, I think that under the statute, and bearing in mind that it's a broad consumer statute, I think we have a viable claim, and we've pled a claim there.

And, finally, I just want to close with a couple words on the negligence claim. Because the negligence claim specifically related to the data breach and the loss of the donors' data. Again, there is a difference of opinion in the case law specifically on this issue. We recognize that the Ninth Circuit and the Seventh Circuit have taken the position that the data doesn't actually have to be misused in order to have a valid claim based on a defendant's loss of private data. The Third Circuit has taken the other view.

I personally think that the Ninth Circuit and the Seventh Circuit have the issue right. And I think that the DNC's own donors were harmed the moment their sensitive personal data was released into the public domain, because the DNC failed to take sufficient steps to protect it.

So, I think that covers all the issues that I wanted 1 2 to address in my opening statement. And I'll be happy to 3 answer any questions the Court has. 4 THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Counsel. 5 Well, let me start with the defense. And I've got some questions regarding the operation of the DNC. 6 7 What does the DNC do as the head of the Democratic Party? 8 9 I mean, the DNC coordinates with state and MR. SPIVA: local parties. It supports the activities of candidates, 10 11 democratic candidates. It has a role in the presidential 12 primary process in terms of coordinating those elections. Ιt 13 is -- essentially provides leadership for -- in support of electing democratic candidates up and down the ballot 14 15 nationwide. 16 What type of involvement does the DNC have 17 in primaries at the state level? The -- it -- the DNC -- those are 18 MR. SPIVA: primarily dealt with by state parties, state and local party 19 20 committees, your Honor. There's some coordination between the 21 DNC and those parties. The DNC also obviously runs the 22 convention, the nominating convention, and there are certain 23 rules about how delegates get seated and the like. But as a 24 general matter, does not run the state-level primaries, if that 25 gets to your Honor's question.

THE COURT: Does the DNC help to fund the state 1 2. primaries? Uhm, you mean literally, the mechanics of 3 MR. SPIVA: 4 the primaries, your Honor, the actual holding of the election, 5 the primary election? THE COURT: Does the DNC, with the money that it 6 7 raises, use some of that money to help fund the states put on their individual state primaries? 8 9 MR. SPIVA: I don't believe so, your Honor. 10 But you don't know. THE COURT: I'm 90 percent on that, your Honor, but I 11 MR. SPIVA: 12 don't believe that's the case. I believe that's generally 13 state funded. In my experience -- and I have had experience with a number of these -- the funds for actually having the 14 15 election is -- they're state funds. 16 THE COURT: Well, you've said several times that the 17 DNC helps coordinate. What do you mean by that? 18 MR. SPIVA: Well, the DNC sometimes works to sponsor 19 debates and then get out a general democratic message, offers 20 certain data services to candidates for the presidency, for instance, and for other offices as well. It collects data 21 22 about voting behavior and other kinds of data. It obviously 23 raises money. So, those are some of the activities that I was 24 alluding to. 25 THE COURT: And what type of involvement does the DNC

1	have with the state democratic parties?
2	MR. SPIVA: It coordinates with state democratic
3	parties to try to help elect democratic candidates really up
4	and down the ballot.
5	THE COURT: And does the DNC give its preference to
6	the state democratic parties as to any particular candidate?
7	MR. SPIVA: No, not in certainly not in the
8	presidential elections, they don't set forth a preference, no.
9	THE COURT: What about the primaries, the democratic
10	primaries?
11	MR. SPIVA: I'm sorry, I thought that was what you
12	were referring to, your Honor.
13	No, the DNC does not take sides in the state
14	primaries, presidential primaries.
15	THE COURT: What type of strategic support does the
16	DNC provide to the state democratic parties?
17	MR. SPIVA: Well, I mean I actually I don't know
18	I can't answer that in detail, your Honor, but, you know,
19	certainly support in terms of issues, you know, addressing
20	issues, I think funding support, and the like.
21	THE COURT: But I mean in light of the plaintiffs'
22	allegations, you see the thrust of my questions.
23	MR. SPIVA: I I'm actually I see the thrust,
24	your Honor, but I'm actually not sure where your Honor is going
25	with this line, to be honest. I'm sorry, I may just be

being --

THE COURT: Well, the plaintiff is alleging that the DNC, on its own -- and I'm gonna paraphrase -- but basically favored Hillary Clinton over Bernie Sanders. And so, I'm asking you, that preference that the plaintiff alleges about the DNC, did that work its way down to the democratic state primaries?

MR. SPIVA: Well, I mean our position, your Honor, is there was no such preference, and certainly there was no -- the Democratic National Committee did not, you know, tell the state parties that it supported one candidate over the other.

So, if that answers your question. I mean, of course, stepping back and kind of going to our subject-matter jurisdiction issue, I mean, the litany of things that counsel referred to, to suggest that there was this favoritism, I think clearly illustrates the types of issues that the courts really don't wade into as an Article III matter. I mean these are what -- I believe it was the Wymbs, the Republican State Executive Committee case in the Eleventh Circuit referred to as political squabbles that courts are -- you know, really can't take a position on.

And so here you have a charter that says you have to be -- where the party has adopted a principle of evenhandedness, and just to get the language exactly right, that they would be evenhanded and impartial, I believe, is the

exact language. And, you know, that's not self-defining, your Honor. I mean that's kind of like, you know, saying, Who's a Baptist? You know, I mean, for your Honor to wade into that, you would really have to -- whether the party was evenhanded or not, whether they gave each side equal debate time, and whether their hiring decisions reflected in some measure a bias towards Secretary Clinton, these are all issues that courts -- really would drag this Court right into the political squabbles, and really there'd be no way constitutionally to offer redress for -- even for what they are claiming.

THE COURT: So, are you suggesting that this is just part of the business, so to speak, that it's not unusual for, let's say, the DNC, the RNC to take sides with respect to any particular candidate and to support that candidate over another?

MR. SPIVA: Well, I'm not suggesting that that is par for the course, your Honor. But what I am suggesting is to have those kinds of allegations is the rough and tumble of politics. I mean, you know, certainly in the Wymbs case, if anything, that was a case which involved something that was maybe more concrete, where the issue was how the party decided who was gonna go to the convention as a delegate and who could speak for the party in the state, in Florida, in terms of how they selected delegates to the state party.

And, you know, there, there was a numeric component to

it, because it was -- the challenge was based on one person/one vote, and the district court in that case actually said, Well, you know, we should do this kind of like a Reynolds v. Sims, and it should be based on one republican/one vote. So, plausibly there, there's some kind of standard that maybe a Court could look to. And even there, the Eleventh Circuit said, No, that's internal party politics.

The party has the freedom of association to decide how it's gonna select its representatives to the convention and to the state party. And, as a matter of fact -- and that case was decided in the early '80s, the Republican Party in Florida was a minority party. So they said, Well, it might not make sense to the party to have one republican/one vote as a matter of committee representation, because we have to attract the votes of democrats.

And so -- but that's for the party to decide. The Court's not gonna get into that. Here, you have something far more inchoate, your Honor, which is this purported -- this claim that the party acted without evenhandedness and impartiality. That -- even to define what constitutes evenhandedness and impartiality really would already drag the Court well into a political question and a question of how the party runs its own affairs.

The party could have favored a candidate. I'll put it that way. Maybe that's a better way of answering your Honor's

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original question. Even if it were true, that's the business
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     of the party, and it's not justiciable.
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              THE COURT:
                          All right.
                                      Thank you, Counsel.
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              MR. SPIVA:
                          Thank you. And I'm happy to answer --
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              THE COURT:
                          Oh, no, I've got more questions.
              MR. SPIVA:
                          But on that issue --
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 7
              THE COURT:
                          I'm gonna give the plaintiff an
     opportunity.
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              MR. SPIVA:
                          Okay. Great.
                                         Thanks, your Honor.
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              Yeah, people sometimes say that the lawyers will be
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     more prepared than the judges they appear before. I think your
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     Honor has disproved that today. But I do want to address
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     whatever questions the Court has with respect to any of these
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     issues.
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              THE COURT: Well, we're gonna go through standing, and
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     the pleadings, and class actions allegations. Don't worry,
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     we're going to cover the full breadth of it.
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              MR. SPIVA:
                          Thank you, your Honor.
              THE COURT:
                          What does the plaintiff say on the
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20
     operational aspect of the DNC?
              MR. BECK: Well, your Honor, I'm shocked to hear that
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22
     we can't define what it means to be evenhanded and impartial.
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     If that were the case, we couldn't have courts. I mean, that's
24
     what courts do every day, is decide disputes in an evenhanded
25
     and impartial manner.
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So, to me, it's not a difficult question at all what it means to be evenhanded and impartial. It doesn't mean having to wade in to a political dispute about how the party conducts its affairs, because that's what the party represented in its charter, that's what the party represented over and over again in the media, that's, frankly, what I think is at the bedrock of what it means to live in a democratic society. I think that's why the Democratic National Committee has it in its charter, because if you don't have the organization that is responsible for organizing in this very large sense the nominating process for president, which entails multiple elections in every state of the union, if you're not evenhanded and impartial, then you don't have a democratic process. I think it's that simple.

And I think what it means is the Democratic National Committee should not be putting any resources into one candidate at the expense of another.

I think it means that it should not be assisting the media in crafting narratives that hurt one candidate at the expense of another.

I think it means that when there's a dispute that comes up in one of the primaries, say, in Nevada, where there are allegations of misbehavior during a primary or an event, I think it means that the DNC should not be picking sides and should be adjudicating those disputes in a fair and evenhanded

manner.

I think this is not a difficult thing at all to decide. I think the language speaks for itself in many ways. And so, again -- and I'll just say it again -- they keep citing cases where plaintiffs have brought grievances that are political in nature. And now they're starting to use this defense of justiciability, which, interestingly, I don't think that particular defense, as phrased, appeared anywhere in their papers. I may be missing something, but I don't see how this is a political question.

We're not asking this Court to infringe on the province of another branch of this government or to get involved in the conduct of Congress or the conduct of the Office of President. We're asking this Court to determine whether representations and omissions were false and misleading, and whether money was paid on the basis of those representations, whether folks were injured in a financial sense as a result of those representations, and whether duties to the class members were breached, including fiduciary duties.

I think those -- courts do those types of things all the time. There's nothing inherently political about those determinations. And I -- again, I think this gets back to this theme that they keep putting in front of the Court that there's some type of immunity that comes out of the First Amendment, because we're talking about politics and sort of anything goes

as far as political speech is concerned. I think that's kind of what their theory boils down to.

And I would just emphasize that, again, we are talking about the payment of money. And once money is involved, once people are paying money based on false understandings, clearly, there is standing, and I don't see the political question or a justiciability issue.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Counsel.

MR. BECK: Okay. Thank you.

THE COURT: All right. Let me ask the defense -- we're going to go into the issue of standing now at this point.

Let me ask counsel. If a person is fraudulently induced to donate to a charitable organization, does he have standing to sue the person who induced the donation?

MR. SPIVA: I think, your Honor, if the circumstance were such that the organization promised that it was going to abide by some general principle, and the donee -- or donor, rather, ultimately sued, because they said, Well, we don't think you're living up to that general principle, we don't think you're, you know, serving kids adequately, we think your program is -- the way you're running your program is not adequate, you know, you're not doing it well enough, that that -- that they would not have standing in that circumstance.

I think if somebody -- a charitable organization were to solicit funds and say, Hey, we're gonna spend this money on

after-school programs for kids, and the executive director actually put the money in their pocket and went down the street and bought a Mercedes-Benz, I think in that circumstance, they would have standing.

I think this circumstance is even one step further towards the no standing side of that, because here we're talking about a political party and political principles and debate. And that's an area where there's a wealth of doctrine and case law about how that -- just simply giving money does not give one standing to direct how the party conducts its affairs, or to complain about the outcomes, or whether or not the party is abiding by its own internal rules.

And I should say, your Honor, I just want to be clear, because I know it may sometimes sound like I am somehow suggesting that I think the party did not -- you know, the party's position is that it has not violated in the least this provision of its charter.

**THE COURT:** I understand.

MR. SPIVA: So I just want to get that out there. But to even determine -- to make that determination would require the Court to wade into this political thicket. And -- you know, which would invade its First Amendment interests, and also, I think, would raise issues -- standing issues along all three prongs of the standing test.

Causation. Did -- the thrust of plaintiffs'

allegations appears to be that some -- that one of the subclasses gave money to the Sanders campaign, because they thought the party was living up to this idea. They don't actually allege that any particular plaintiff, by the way, knew about this charter commitment or that they relied upon it in giving money to Sanders. But even if they had, showing the causation there, I think, is not something that can be done. And it's something that would require, again, the Court to wade into the political thicket.

Similarly, they purport to speak on behalf of this DNC Donor Class. Most, most of the class that they purport to speak on behalf of, you know, disagrees with them. And so, the Court would have to wade into that to establish causation. And it really can't -- it can't be done.

The other part of their injury here appears to be that Mr. Sanders -- Senator Sanders would have done better had the party supposedly been more evenhanded than it was.

Well, that -- there's all kinds of alternative factors for why Secretary Clinton actually got more votes in the end and won. And as everybody knows, Senator Sanders endorsed her and campaigned for her. And so, there's a causation problem. And there are other issues that we discuss in our brief -- I won't repeat them -- with causation.

There is certainly a redressability problem, which I think I've already covered in my previous remarks. I won't go

over that, again unless your Honor has other questions.

And then in terms of concrete injury, which was really the first prong, that, again, is problematic, because -- and this goes back to your Honor's question -- there is no right to -- just by virtue of making a donation, to enforce the parties' internal rules. And there's no right to not have your candidate disadvantaged or have another candidate advantaged. There's no contractual obligation here.

Nor is there a fiduciary obligation, although I know we're gonna get to that later. But there's -- it's not a situation where a promise has been made that is an enforceable promise. And I think that goes both to the concrete injury prong and the redressability prong.

THE COURT: And then one other question on the issue of standing for the defense. Is there a difference between a campaign promise made by a political candidate and a promise that pertains to the integrity of the primary process itself?

In other words, President George H.W. Bush's --

MR. SPIVA: "Read my lips."

THE COURT: -- promise -- "read my lips, no new taxes," and then he raised taxes. Well, he could not be sued for raising taxes. But with respect to the DNC charter, Article V, Section 4, is there a difference between the two?

MR. SPIVA: Not one -- there's obviously a difference in degree. I think your Honor -- I'm not gonna -- I don't want

to overreach and say that there's no difference. But I don't think there's a difference that's material in terms of how the Court should decide the question before it in terms of standing, in that this, again, goes to how the party runs itself, how it decides who it's going to associate with, how it decides how it's going to choose its standard bearer ultimately. In case after case, from O'Brien, to Wymbs, to Wisconsin v. LaFollette, Cousins v. Wigoda, the Supreme Court and other courts have affirmed the party's right to make that determination. Those are internal issues that the party gets to decide basically without interference from the courts.

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And the fact that money has -- I know that my distinguished colleague on the other side has several times said that, Well, money makes this different, and it really doesn't in this context. You know, again, if you had a charity where somebody said, Hey, I'm gonna take this money and use it for a specific purpose, X, and they pocketed it and stole the money, of course that's different. But here, where you have a party that's saying, We're gonna, you know, choose our standard bearer, and we're gonna follow these general rules of the road, which we are voluntarily deciding, we could have -- and we could have voluntarily decided that, Look, we're gonna go into back rooms like they used to and smoke cigars and pick the candidate that way. That's not the way it was done. But they could have. And that would have also been their right, and it

2 politics to answer those questions. 3 THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Counsel. 4 MR. SPIVA: Thank you, your Honor. THE COURT: Let me have the plaintiff respond to those 5 two questions of the defense. And then I have questions for 6 7 the plaintiff regarding standing, and I'll let the defense respond to those --8 9 MR. BECK: Okay. 10 THE COURT: -- to those answers. MR. BECK: 11 Uhm --12 THE COURT: First, your response to their answers. Yes. And I'll take the last part first, 13 MR. BECK: 14 which was the question your Honor had posed, is there -- and 15 I'm paraphrasing it, but is there a material difference between 16 a campaign promise, such as "read my lips, no new taxes," and 17 representations that are made in the DNC's own charter? 18 And, quite frankly, if what defendant -- or what the DNC has just said is true -- and I really hope it's not true, 19 20 but if what he said is true, then I think it's a really sad day 21 for democracy in this country. Because what essentially the 22 DNC has now stated in a court of law is that it believes that 23 there is no enforceable obligation to run the primary elections 24 of this country's democracy in a fair and impartial manner. 25 And if that's the case -- and I think counsel just

would drag the Court well into party politics, internal party

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said it himself -- then really, you know, the sky's the limit in terms of what the DNC and any party, for that matter, can do.

THE COURT: Can go around doing.

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MR. BECK: And I'm -- I hope that's not the case, but I don't think it is the case under the law. Because I think these are enforceable obligations. Because, again, money is involved, number one, payment of money based on false understandings that have been created by the defendants. That is textbook Article III standing, and the Supreme Court has settled that question. And it's settled that question in a context that's, I think, very close to the situation we have in the case pending before the Court.

And, specifically, I'm referring to

Madigan vs. Illinois -- or Illinois vs. Madigan, which was a

case about charitable fundraising and the state's right to

enforce laws against fraud and misrepresentation in the context

of solicitations of charitable contributions.

And I think this gets back to the Court's first question that was posed to counsel, which is, is there standing in this situation where false representations are made, and those representations or omissions cause people to donate money to a cause? In this case, not a political cause but a charitable cause.

And -- now, the Supreme Court says -- and I'm reading

from Illinois vs. Madigan at page -- starting at page 623:

2.

"Our decisions have repeatedly recognized the legitimacy of government efforts to enable donors to make informed choices about their charitable contributions."

And then it goes on further down:

"Just as government may seek to inform the public and prevent fraud through such disclosure requirements, so it may, quote, vigorously enforce antifraud laws to prohibit professional fundraisers from obtaining money on false pretenses or by making false statements."

Well, this is a case that involves political contributions as opposed to charitable contributions. But, again -- and I think I've discussed the reasons I think this is so, but I don't think that the political context of the speech involved here or the money that was paid makes any difference to the Court's analysis, whether that analysis is cast in terms of First Amendment grounds, because the First Amendment has always recognized a right not to be defrauded or to be deceived, because those are common-law rights that precede the First Amendment, and the First Amendment is a very important right, but it by no means protects the rights of any organization to make false representations.

And in this case, I think that besides the First

Amendment question, there's also implicit in Madigan and other 1 2 cases that we've cited in the briefs, that, of course, there is 3 standing when money is paid. That's the essence -- one of the 4 essences of Article III is that financial industry -- injury 5 gives rise to standing. I submit that there's a second line of cases which 6 7 also talks about invasion of common-law rights. I think that we have standing on behalf of all three of the classes based on 8 9 both of those principles. 10 And I know your Honor said --THE COURT: I have questions. 11 12 MR. BECK: -- you had questions. 13 THE COURT: All right. Thank you. 14 MR. BECK: So I'll be happy to take those. 15 THE COURT: With respect to the issue of standing on -- you stated earlier that the plaintiff is seeking damages. 16 17 Damages in the sense of return of the contributions or over and 18 above that? The basis for the economic damages 19 MR. BECK: Yes. 20 are the contributions themselves that were paid. 21 THE COURT: Okay. And what imminent future injury do 22 the plaintiffs allege? 23 MR. BECK: Well, I think that the imminent future 24 injury -- and this has -- sort of, I think, become apparent

perhaps in the course of today's hearing, but the imminent

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1 future injury is that elections occur on a cyclical basis. 2 so, unless the Court -- if we prove our claims, and unless the Court issues a remedy to prevent the --3 4 THE COURT: DNC. 5 MR. BECK: -- the DNC from engaging in this type of conduct in future elections, then there's nothing that's going 6 7 to be stopping them. Is it the donor plaintiffs' position that 8 THE COURT: 9 they would not have donated to the DNC or the Bernie Sanders campaign if they believed the statements described in paragraph 10 number 160 -- 1-6-0 -- of the first-amended complaint to be 11 12 false? 13 MR. BECK: Oh, thank you. 14 THE COURT: And if so, which allegations support that 15 position? 16 That is our position. MR. BECK: Yes. 17 allegations that support that position can be found in 18 paragraph 188, paragraph 195... yes, those are the two paragraphs where we allege reliance. 19 20 THE COURT: All right. What injury have the DNC donor 21 plaintiffs suffered as a result of the DNC's alleged negligence 22 as set forth in Count 6? 23 Our position as to Count 6, which is MR. BECK: Yes. 24 the data breach count, is that the release of the donor's 25 sensitive data into the public domain itself constitutes the

injury.

Now, we recognize that there's a circuit split on that issue. We think that the Ninth Circuit and Seventh Circuit cases that we cited in our brief, which agree that that's a sufficient allegation, we think that has the better reasoning. But there's also an opinion out of the Third Circuit, which takes the view that the -- you actually have to allege that the data's been misused, which we haven't alleged.

So -- and to my knowledge, the Eleventh Circuit has not come down on one side or the other on that issue.

THE COURT: All right. Then my last question for the plaintiff on the issue of standing is, how -- excuse me -- how have all registered members of the Democratic Party suffered a concrete and particularized injury as a result of the allegations in the first-amended complaint?

MR. BECK: Yes. So, this is, uhm, an issue that comes up specifically with respect to the breach of fiduciary duty count. And our -- what we rely on with respect to that count specifically is that the breach of a fiduciary duty to folks that join the Democratic Party, were registered members of the Democratic Party, but saw the party that they chose to affiliate with, they saw that party violate the terms of its own internal charter, that breach is itself a breach of a common-law right, a recognized common-law right that itself is sufficiently concrete and particularized to satisfy

1	Article III.
2	THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Counsel.
3	MR. BECK: Thank you.
4	THE COURT: Any other comments before I hear from the
5	defense?
6	MR. BECK: Not at this time, your Honor. Thank you.
7	THE COURT: All right. Thank you.
8	All right. What does the defense say in response to
9	those answers?
10	MR. SPIVA: Thank you, your Honor.
11	First, I just want to say because in response to my
12	hypothetical that the party could choose its nominees in a
13	smoke-filled room, I want to just reiterate that the party ran
14	the process fair and impartially, and does not do that and
15	doesn't plan to do that. But these, again, are political
16	choices that either party is free to make and are not
17	enforceable in a court of law.
18	In terms of I want to start from where the
19	gentleman on the other side left off, the
20	THE COURT: That was regarding the question of a
21	concrete or particularized injury.
22	MR. SPIVA: Yes, your Honor. And I think the last
23	question was, how have all members of the Democratic Party
24	suffered a concrete injury?

And there really isn't an allegation in the complaint

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that explains that. You know, in terms of the donor class, you know, clearly many of the people who they purport to represent agree with the DNC and support -- and continue to support it. With respect to the individuals who they are putative class representatives, they haven't actually alleged specific injury. They've just said that they donated money.

And although we are not relying on this for our standing argument, this kind of goes to plausibility. There are statements in the public by some of these class representatives that show that there was no reliance and no injury. Some of them even gave money in order to participate in this lawsuit.

And so, again, even if your Honor disregards that as being outside the pleadings, and your Honor can go outside the pleadings on a 12(b)(1) motion, but even if you disregard it, I think it just illustrates the implausibility that every single member of the Democratic Party has suffered a concrete injury.

In terms of the data breach, there is no allegation in the complaint, your Honor, that any of the named plaintiffs have actually even had their data breached, let alone that they've suffered an injury. And that is certainly required along with a plausible allegation of injury. And I would refer to the -- I believe it was the Case v. Miami -- your Honor's indulgence.

THE COURT: That's all right. Take your time. We

have all afternoon.

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MR. SPIVA: Okay.

Case v. Miami Beach Healthcare Group, a decision from this district, which we cite in our briefs, that you need to have not only an allegation that your data was actually breached, but that, you know, something was actually done with it.

And counsel referred to -- in response to your Honor's questions about whether the donors' position was that they would not have donated to the Sanders campaign or the DNC campaign if they knew or believed that the charter statements and the other public statements regarding neutrality were false, and counsel referred to paragraphs 188 and 195 of the first-amended complaint. These are broad, general claims of reliance. There are no specific allegations with respect to the named plaintiffs of even knowledge of these statements, let alone reliance. And like I said, there are statements out in the public domain that show that that is not plausible. fact, it's false. And, again, of course, I think illustrates that this can't be -- A, this case shouldn't proceed in any procedural form, but it certainly couldn't proceed as a class action.

Reliance is really the third rail of class actions, because you can't prove predominance. And even in terms of ascertainability, who's in the class, who's in these

subclasses, I think would pose an impossible task for the Court to do, and one that would require, really, in-depth inquiry into the parties', you know, files and membership and lists of voters, all these things that NAACP vs. Button and other cases have said the courts can't do that under the First Amendment. And it would require an invasion of Senator Sanders' campaign, frankly, to find out about how his supporters feel about this.

Counsel said that the plaintiffs are seeking an injunction to prevent the DNC from engaging in future conduct in future elections of this type. Again, very vague allegations of what the conduct at issue is. You know, no real answer to how a federal court can tell a party how it should conduct its affairs going forward.

And, by the way, your Honor asked whether the damages that were being sought were the return of the contributions.

That is the case, but they also seek punitive damages, exemplary damages. And so it's -- and the complaint actually says in order to make an example of them. And I would suggest, your Honor, that that is all the proof you need of the chilling of the First Amendment activities that this complaint seeks.

Just back to the -- whether money makes it different. Does the fact that money was given create standing for the failure to live up to a promise by the party, an alleged failure in the primary? Someone said, We're gonna build a wall, and Mexico is gonna pay for it during the primaries. If

their theory holds that money creates standing, the donation of 1 2 money, that means that anybody could sue President Trump or the 3 Trump campaign for statements that were made that -- where the 4 promise was not kept in the context of the primary. 5 I think I have covered everything that counsel covered in the last discussion. And so if your Honor has questions 6 7 about any of the other claims or anything else, I'm happy to 8 answer. 9 THE COURT: I have more questions, but not on that 10 point. 11 MR. SPIVA: Okay. 12 THE COURT: We're gonna go into the pleadings and then 13 into the class action allegations. But I think what we'll do is, to give the court 14 15 reporter a break, we'll take a short recess. And then we'll 16 come back and conclude with my questions into those areas, and 17 then any additional comments that either side wishes to bring 18 to the Court's attention. 19 MR. SPIVA: Great. Thank you, your Honor. 20 THE COURT: All right. Let's have everyone back in 21 here at, let's say, five after by the courtroom clock. 22 Court's in recess. 23 COURTROOM SECURITY OFFICER: All rise. 24 (The Judge exited the courtroom) 25 (Recess taken at 2:50 p.m. until 3:06 p.m.)

1 (The Judge entered the courtroom) 2 THE COURT: Please be seated. 3 We have two remaining areas to cover -- the pleadings 4 and then the class action allegations. And some of the 5 comments that you've already made will have already touched upon some of the questions that I'm going to ask, but I want to 6 7 ask them in any event so that we have a complete record. And for the defense. 8 9 MR. SPIVA: Okay. Having filed a previous Rule 12(b) motion, 10 THE COURT: does Rule 12(g) bar the defense from filing a successive 11 12 Rule 12(b) motion? 13 MR. SPIVA: No, your Honor, for a couple of reasons. 14 THE COURT: And take your time. There's no rush, 15 there's no rush. 16 MR. SPIVA: Okay. Thank you. 17 First of all, 12(g)(2), your Honor, Rule 12(g)(2), 18 which is the rule that plaintiffs cite for waiver here, doesn't apply to a 12(b)(1) motion. I think they concede that, the 19 20 subject-matter jurisdiction. 21 With respect to the 12(b)(6) motion, it actually 22 doesn't apply to that either. It -- you know, it refers to 23 12(b)(2) through (5). 24 And here, we asked for more time to raise 12(b)(6) 25 issues in the motion to quash that we filed, and the plaintiffs

raised no objection at that time that we would have waived the 12(b)(6) motion based on a failure to state a claim. And there's really, I think, no question that we could raise the same arguments in a 12(c) motion for judgment after the answer. And so, I think this would -- even if the rule did apply here, this would be one of those cases -- and I think one of the cases we cited was Carelogistics and some other cases in our brief -- where it really wouldn't make any sense. I mean it kind of cuts against the purpose of the rule, which is where you're trying to prevent piecemeal litigation of defenses. After the defendant loses one, they bring another.

That's not what has happened here, your Honor. You know, we weren't properly served. We offered to accept service of process. The plaintiffs refused to do that. And so we were forced to file the motion. We actually won the motion. They refiled. And here, you know, really, this is the first kind of, I think, first time at bat, if you will, your Honor, in terms of the 12(b)(6) merits-type issues.

And given that we could raise those in a 12(c) motion, it really doesn't seem like it would serve any kind of judicial efficiency interests to not consider those arguments if the Court gets to them. I mean, of course, our position is that because there's no subject-matter jurisdiction, the Court won't need to reach those issues.

THE COURT: If the Court concludes that Rule 12(g)

prevents the defense from making their failure to state a claim arguments in the motion to dismiss, does the defense anticipate that they will file a Rule 12(c) motion?

MR. SPIVA: Yes, your Honor. I mean assuming that the Court didn't dismiss everything based on the 12(1) -- 12(b)(1) portion of the motion.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you.

Any comments from the plaintiff? Take your time.

MR. BECK: Thank you, your Honor.

I think in response to the Court's questions on the effect of Rule 12(g)(2), I think for us it's really a simple question of what the rule states. And when you look at 12(g)(2), it -- the Court -- it clearly permits them to raise subject-matter jurisdiction in a successive motion under Rule 12, but it states that you may not raise other issues, including Rule 12(b)(6) issues, if you fail to raise those in your original motion.

I'm not sure why the defendant making a request for additional time to raise such issues in connection with its original motion would do anything to alter the plain language and the plain effect of the rule. I think the rule makes a lot of sense, and it gives the defendant an option, which it's already said it's planning to take -- avail itself of, should the Court -- were the Court find the rule to preclude them from raising these issues now, but it gives them an option to file a

motion for judgment on the pleadings, which is I think -- I think makes perfect sense.

These are very significant issues that have been placed in front of the Court. The law surrounding these issues is not uncomplex. And so, I think when you put so many big picture arguments in one motion at one time, and you're trying to argue subject-matter jurisdiction, and at the same time you're arguing failure to state a cause of action, at the same time you're arguing motion to strike class certification, you know, it makes -- it perhaps doesn't crystallize the issues as well as they could be.

So, if the defendants had wanted to bring these issues with the Rule 12 motion, they had every opportunity when they filed their motion to dismiss based on service of process. They failed to do so. The rule is very clear what happens in that circumstance. It allows them to raise subject-matter jurisdiction issues, but it doesn't allow them to raise 12(b)(6) issues. And it gives them an option to do so in the context of a motion for judgment on the pleadings. And based on what the rule says, we think that's what ought to happen.

Thank you.

THE COURT: All right. Let me ask the plaintiff, with respect to questions regarding the pleadings, as you've just stated, the plaintiffs contend that the defendants' failure to state a claim arguments are barred by Rule 12(g)'s

consolidation requirements.

If the defendants may simply raise these arguments again in a Rule 12(c) motion, what is the expedience of avoiding those issues now?

MR. BECK: Well, I don't think it's just a matter -- I don't know that expedience is the only consideration behind that rule. Certainly that's always a value and a consideration that ought to be taken into account in judicial labor. And we understand that.

But a motion for judgment on the pleadings is predicated on them answering to the allegations in the complaint. And so, should they go ahead and file a motion for judgment on the pleadings, as the rule specifically directs that they do, the Court will have a fundamentally different record in front of it. It will have not just the first-amended complaint, but it will also have, presumably, an answer and affirmative defenses.

And without knowing how the DNC and the congresswoman are going to answer the allegations in the complaint, I think it may be a little difficult to foresee how the issues might come up, differently in a judgment on the pleadings, but they certainly could. And because that's what the rule specifically refers to, I have to think that there's some intent behind how that rule's written to promote a value that's not just expediency, but having a fuller record in front of the Court,

when, in fact, the defendants could have raised those arguments 1 2. on their first motion, and they chose not to. THE COURT: If the Court proceeds to consider the 3 4 defense's failure to state a claim arguments, how would the 5 plaintiff be prejudiced at this time? MR. BECK: Well, I don't think that we would be 6 7 specifically prejudiced at this time. I think the only issue would be that the rule states what it states. But as to -- I 8 9 think we've -- I feel comfortable that we've briefed the issues 10 in a way that doesn't prejudice us and that we've had certainly a hearing today on the issues. So, I don't think we would take 11 12 the position that we're prejudiced. 13 THE COURT: All right. With respect to paragraph numbers 188 and 195 of your 14 15 first-amended complaint -- and, again, take your time --16 MR. BECK: Yeah. Yes, I've got them in front of me. 17 THE COURT: -- what factual allegations support the 18 legal conclusions set forth in those paragraphs --19 MR. BECK: Right. 20 THE COURT: -- that the plaintiffs relied on various 21 statements made by the defendants? 22 All right. So, in terms of the factual MR. BECK: 23 allegations that are incorporated into each of those counts --24 THE COURT: And, again -- and I apologize for 25 interrupting you -- but without reading them into the record.

We are all mindful of the Rule 9(b) pleading requirements.

MR. BECK: Understood.

THE COURT: Go ahead, Counsel.

MR. BECK: Understood, your Honor.

I think that the allegations that support reliance in this case are the only allegations in the complaint, which pertain to the plaintiffs, really the only activities in the complaint that they're alleged to have done, which is to have contributed money to a presidential campaign.

So, my first -- the first part of my response would be to direct the Court to paragraphs 2 through 109, which in each of those paragraphs, the plaintiff is named, their residence is given, and then the only activity that any of these plaintiffs is alleged to have done is stated, which is the contribution of a specified amount of money either to the Bernie Sanders campaign or to the DNC.

So, that can only be the activity that the plaintiffs undertook as part of the reliance element in those two counts, because it's their only activity in the complaint. And I think the only fair reading of the complaint is that those -- that is the activity.

In terms of what the plaintiffs relied on in paying those sums of money, I would direct the Court to the paragraphs starting with paragraph 159, which describes the DNC's charter and quotes it, and then goes on to describe the various

specific statements in the media that were made by various officials of the DNC, including the congresswoman, which repeat what the charter says in terms of the DNC's commitment by its own charter to running the process in a fair and evenhanded manner.

And, again, there are no other -- there is no other category of misrepresentations that's alleged in the complaint.

And we've also alleged that the deception occurred by way of omission.

So, we don't believe that we have to prove that any particular plaintiff relied on the specific statements cited, but because this was conduct occurring behind the scenes, not publicly disclosed by the DNC until their computers were accessed or information leaked out into the public domain, and it became known how the DNC was actually running the nominating process contrary to its charter, contrary to its public statements, that is a -- what we believe is an adequate -- to be an adequately alleged omission that the plaintiffs relied on.

In other words, the failure to state that the democratic process was not, in fact, democratic, but biased and predetermined from the beginning for Hillary Clinton over Bernie Sanders.

THE COURT: Where does the complaint allege that the defendants intended to gain as a result of their alleged fraud?

I think the first paragraph which alleges 1 MR. BECK: 2 that is paragraph 187, which is that the defendants intended that the false statements and omissions would induce the DNC 3 Donor Class plaintiffs and Sanders Donor Class plaintiffs to 4 5 rely on them. And that allegation is substantially repeated in 6 paragraph 194 under the negligent misrepresentation count. 7 I think we've also alleged that in connection with other counts what we've alleged in paragraph 204, that the 8 9 conduct was intentional, willful, wanton, and malicious. 10 We've done the same in paragraph 210 of the complaint under the unjust enrichment count. 11 12 We've also alleged substantially the same in 13 paragraph 216 for the breach of fiduciary duty count. THE COURT: You're saying that those paragraphs that 14 15 you have just referenced to the Court support the legal 16 conclusions in paragraphs 187 and 194. 17 MR. BECK: I think they do support those. I would also direct the Court back into the factual 18 19 corpus of the complaint. 20 THE COURT: Because that was gonna be my next question. Well, let me just ask --21 22 MR. BECK: Yes. 23 THE COURT: -- the question. 24 What factual allegations support the legal conclusions 25 in paragraph numbers 187 and 194 of the first-amended complaint

that the defendants intentionally induced plaintiffs to donate to the Sanders campaign and to the DNC?

MR. BECK: Right. I think that those allegations are supported starting at paragraph 161 and going on through paragraph 171. And these are getting to the issues and the allegations of what exactly the DNC did in violation of the charter and the commitment to neutrality.

And, essentially, these paragraphs set forth that the DNC was biased in favor of one candidate, that the DNC was devoted to supporting Clinton's candidacy over everybody else's candidacy, including Senator Sanders, and that the DNC actively concealed its bias from its own donors, as well as the donors to the Sanders campaign.

And I think the concealment comes from the public statements that were made by the congresswoman and other officials of the DNC, which created a media narrative that the DNC was following the terms of its charter, when, in fact, this was not the case.

And so, in terms of the allegations of, you know, whether -- the intentionality here, I think the intentionality is an inference from the fact of the support for Senator Clinton.

In other words, that the DNC was going to do... I'm sorry. The DNC was going to do whatever it could to advance and predetermine the nomination for Hillary Clinton, while at

the same time maintaining the fiction that it was operating in 1 2. a fair and evenhanded manner. If I could just take one moment and confer with 3 4 counsel? 5 THE COURT: Go right ahead. MR. BECK: Okay. Thank you. 6 7 THE COURT: Take your time. Feel free to do so. MR. BECK: 8 Thank you. 9 (Discussion had off the record between counsel) THE COURT: Take your time. 10 So, I think those allegations going to what 11 MR. BECK: 12 exactly the DNC was doing for the Hillary Clinton campaign 13 behind the scenes, how it was working with the Hillary Clinton campaign, this was all part of a preset strategy that was set 14 15 down in various internal documents that have come to light 16 through Guccifer, which, obviously, that's the basis for our 17 complaint. There have been leaks that have come out since the 18 complaint was put on file. But I think they all show the same 19 thing, which is an intentional, predetermined strategy to 20 advance Hillary Clinton's candidacy to the nomination. And in terms of satisfying the element of intent for 21 22 these claims, I think those allegations support that. 23 THE COURT: All right. Thank you. 24 My next question is: How is donating to a political

campaign considered a consumer transaction under the District

25

of Columbia law?

MR. BECK: Your Honor, the District of Columbia law in question is a broad consumer statute, which defines its terms in a very broad manner to protect individuals in the purchase of goods and services.

To quote one recent case from the D.C. Superior Court:

"The purpose of the D.C. Consumer Protection

Procedures Act is to protect consumers from a broad

spectrum of unscrupulous practices by merchant.

Therefore, the statute should be read broadly to

assure that the purposes are carried out."

Now, in terms of who may file suit under the CPPA, that is specified in the D.C. code at Section 28-3905, Sub (k), which defines "consumer" to include any person who, quote, "would purchase or receive consumer goods or services." And "goods or services" is defined to mean, quote, "any and all parts of the economic output of society at any stage or related or necessary point in the economic process." And it includes consumer credit, franchises, business opportunities, real estate transactions, and consumer services of all types. All types.

And that's found in Sections 28-3901, Sub (a)(2), and Section 28-3091, Sub (a), Sub (7) of the D.C. code.

So, the plaintiffs who made their donation payments through this company called ActBlue, which we've specifically

described in the complaint, those plaintiffs are -- do qualify as consumers, we believe, and we believe they're entitled to bring suit under the CPPA. Because, as we've alleged, ActBlue charges a 3.95 percent fee for processing services on each donation. So, in essence, when somebody donates through ActBlue, maybe they do it on their iPhone or their computer or what have you, they are paying this percentage fee for processing. And under the terms of the statute, that makes them consumers.

So, then the next question becomes, if the plaintiffs are consumers, who do they have a cause of action against? And I think that in their papers, the defendants take the position that you need to have privity -- some sort of privity of contract between the plaintiff and the defendant in order to support a cause of action under the statute. And I don't think the statute, in fact, has that requirement.

Obviously, we're not suing ActBlue. We're suing the DNC and Congressman Wassermann Schultz (sic), because those are the -- that's the entity and the person that were responsible for running these primary elections, leading the process from the top.

And when you look into the D.C. law on this issue -- and I'm specifically referring to the case we've cited in our brief -- *Calvetti vs. Antcliff* out of the District of Columbia Circuit, 2004, which states that:

"The CPPA liability extends to, quote, any person connected with the supply side of a consumer transaction."

2.

That's really quite broad language -- "any person connected." I would say that if the transaction is deemed to be the moment when the plaintiff donates a specified sum through ActBlue, either to the Sanders campaign or the DNC, and gets charged that 3.95 percent fee, making them a consumer, the entity that's running the election, which encompasses the candidate to which they're donating to, is a person connected with the supply side of the consumer transaction. Because they're essentially responsible for the ultimate -- it's not a product, it's not a commercial transaction, but it is the end result of the money that people are paying.

The supply is the political campaign. And the political campaign is ultimately under the auspices of this organization that purports to be fair and impartial.

So, I know that's sort of a long answer to a short question, but I think a fair reading of the statute allows us to plead a claim for those reasons.

THE COURT: And you may have just answered my next question, but what services have the DNC donors purchased from the DNC?

MR. BECK: Right. I wouldn't -- I would not say that they've purchased don -- services from the DNC. I would say

that the service that's being purchased is the processing fee that is being offered by ActBlue to consummate this political contribution transaction. So, there is -- I would not go so far as to say that there's a purchasing of services in the way that the statute means. But the fact that they haven't purchased services doesn't mean that the DNC and Debbie Wassermann Schultz are not persons connected with the supply side of the transaction. And for that reason, we think there's a valid cause of action under the statute.

THE COURT: My next question for the plaintiff is:
What is the DNC's "special relationship" with registered
members of the Democratic Party?

MR. BECK: Well, I think the "special relationship" comes down to the fact that this organization is the face of the leadership of the political party that these particular proposed plaintiffs, the Democratic Party Class have joined. That's the special relationship.

I think that the New York cases that we cited show that courts have no hesitation, at least in those cases, of finding that there's a responsibility owed from a party to its members, and it finds that this duty is sufficient to form a fiduciary duty. Admittedly, those are New York cases. They're decided under New York law.

I think it's premature to engage in choice of law analysis at this stage. I'm not sure that the record is fully

complete. But I do think that on the face of it, this is a D.C. corporation that's based in D.C. It would seem to me that D.C. law would apply to the question of whether a -- of what, if any, fiduciary duty is owed by the DNC to its members -- the leadership of the party to the party's members.

And the D.C. law on this question is, as just to quote Kemp vs. Eiland, which is a 2015 case from the District of Columbia circuit:

"District of Columbia law has deliberately left the definition of fiduciary relationship flexible so that the relationship may change to fit new circumstances in which a special relationship of trust may be properly implied."

In a situation like this, the trust, I think, is that folks have joined the Democratic Party believing that the Democratic Party is a custodian of a fair and impartial election process, as it states in the DNC's own charter and as the DNC has repeatedly -- or did repeatedly state in public, according to our complaint.

And I think pursuant to this particular definition of D.C. law, which I think applies here, because we're talking about a D.C. organization. This is the organization that's entrusted with the process. This is the organization that folks have registered based on the assumption that this is a democratic process that's being carried out. So, I mean, at

least at the pleading stage, it seems to me to be a clear case -- that we've alleged enough, just based on who the DNC is, who the members of the class are, to support the existence of a fiduciary relationship given the case law that we've cited.

THE COURT: And maybe you've already answered my next question, at least to a certain extent. But how is it that an entity can owe the same fiduciary duty to millions of people at the same time?

MR. BECK: Well, I think that actually -- it's perhaps not as unusual as it first sounds, when you think that in the context -- when you consider that in the context of private corporations in the commercial world, companies have duties to their shareholders, and that's a rather uncontroversial proposition. And there's a concept that when you become a shareholder of a company, you become part of an enterprise, and the folks at the top have a duty to you when they -- in terms of running the company.

And I mean in this case, I don't think it's that much of a stretch of an analogy. I mean this may be a different market we're talking about. We're not talking about economics, we're talking about politics. But, again, I think as the discussion has developed today, we strenuously take the position that just because we're talking about politics doesn't mean that the rights that exist at common law and under the

D.C. statute are vitiated.

And so I would say that, in answer to your question, in this case, we are talking about the political realm. But if the members of the Democratic Party are considered to be shareholders in that entity, in that political enterprise, then it seems perfectly reasonable that there would be a fiduciary duty to run the party according to what the charter itself says. That would not be unlike a situation one finds all the time with public corporations in the economic domain.

THE COURT: If registered democrats are actually members of state Democratic parties, not the DNC itself, how is it that the DNC owes those registered democrats a fiduciary duty?

MR. BECK: Again, I think this gets into some -perhaps some factual issues that aren't quite encompassed by
the complaint at this stage. But -- in terms of how the DNC
exercises its command over the party, and that command trickles
down through all the state parties.

It seems to me that exactly how that happens, I think we -- there was some discussion of it earlier between counsel for the DNC and your Honor relating to funding. But I think the DNC does much more than that. I think it -- at the end of the day, I don't think anyone is really under any illusion that the DNC runs the show in terms of the overall policy that the Democratic Party pursues at a national level. I mean in this

case, we're talking about a national election.

In terms of -- perhaps the best analogy is that a board of directors of a corporation owes a duty to the shareholders. The shareholders are members of a company.

They're not members of the board of directors. But it's the board of directors that's running the show, so the duty does run down, because that's who's calling the shots. And I think we've pled enough in this complaint to -- for one to reasonably infer that the DNC is, in fact, calling the shots when it comes to the Democratic Party, if that is defined to mean all of the constituent state Democratic parties.

THE COURT: And then my last question for the plaintiff is: What is Deborah Wassermann Schultz's connection with the data breach described in the first-amended complaint?

MR. BECK: With respect to that specific allegation and the claim associated with that allegation, our position is that the congresswoman is the -- at the time of the events alleged, was the leader of the DNC. It was up to her ultimately to implement policies that reasonably protected the information of the DNC's own donors. And by virtue of the data breaches occurring, she clearly failed in that responsibility.

THE COURT: All right, Counsel. Thank you very much.

MR. BECK: Thank you.

THE COURT: And I'll hear from the defense with respect to those questions and answers.

1 MR. SPIVA: All rightee.

2 THE COURT: Take your time.

MR. SPIVA: Thank you, your Honor. I'm just trying to find my place.

So, I'll start back at the beginning of your Honor's last line of questions. And I think the first one, your Honor asked what the factual support was for paragraphs 188 and 195 of the first-amended complaint, which set forth fraud and negligent misrepresentation allegations. And I think, quite rightly, your Honor noted that Rule 9(b) applies here, which is -- you know, requires a detailed pleading, particular pleading specificity. As one of the cases says, the who, the how, the what, the where, the when of the alleged fraud. And there's no allegation, really, with respect to any of these individual plaintiffs, your Honor, about, you know, who made a statement to them, how it defrauded them.

If you look through the paragraphs that counsel directed your Honor to, paragraphs 2 through 109, all it says is that these individual plaintiffs gave money and where they live. And it doesn't say that they received these statements, knew about these statements, relied upon these statements. And we know that with respect to many of them, it couldn't, consistent with Rule 11.

And that's a big deal, your Honor. It's not just a simple minor pleading defect. This is a fraud allegation.

And, as your Honor noted, there's a reason why Rule 9(b) requires specificity -- excuse me -- specificity.

And opposing counsel said that he didn't believe that they had to prove that a particular plaintiff relied on a specific statement. But that, in fact, is exactly what they would have to prove and I think, again, shows why this certainly couldn't work as a class action.

Your Honor asked where in the complaint did they allege -- did the plaintiffs allege that the defendants intended to gain as a result of the alleged fraud? And my response would be really nowhere, your Honor. The vague and generalized allegations in paragraphs 187 and 194 don't say that, that the defendants intended to gain by doing this.

And in terms of plausibility, your Honor, under the *Iqbal* and *Twombly* standards, some of this, frankly, just doesn't really make logical sense, I mean that the party tried to induce -- was -- favored Secretary Clinton and so induced many members of the party to give to Senator Sanders. It just doesn't -- that just doesn't make logical sense, your Honor. And there really isn't any allegation that defendants intended to gain as a result of the alleged fraud.

I think your Honor's next question was: How is donating to a political campaign a consumer transaction under the D.C. Consumer Procedure Protection Act (sic), an act which I have some familiarity with.

First of all, you know, as -- we quoted the language in our brief that the D.C. CPPA defines a consumer as "a person who, other than for purposes of resale, does or would purchase, lease, or receive consumer goods or services, including as a co-obligor or surety, or does or would otherwise provide the economic demand for a trade practice," clearly doesn't apply to donating money to a political campaign.

The act goes on to define a consumer good or service as something that "is used primarily for personal or household use." Clearly, donating, again, to a political campaign is not -- first of all, there is no service or good that is being purchased; and, second of all, certainly, even if one could somehow characterize it as a service being purchased, it's certainly not for household -- primarily for household or personal use.

In addition, plaintiffs tried to link this to

ActBlue's commission on donations. That also doesn't really
make any sense, your Honor. You know, ActBlue is not a

defendant here. Certainly the DNC and certainly

Congresswoman Wassermann Schultz is not a merchant under the

definitions of the act. And the fact that ActBlue charges a

commission doesn't convert either of them to a merchant, and

certainly you can't sue the defendants that are present in this

case for something that ActBlue -- it's unclear what -- but

ActBlue allegedly has done wrong.

And keeping in mind, of course, that the plaintiffs are seeking the return of all of the donations. They're not just asking for the commission that ActBlue charges. They're asking for a complete return of all of the donations.

So, this act just does not apply to the donations at issue here.

The other issue, your Honor -- and this kind of goes back to class certification -- is they're trying to apply this D.C. statute nationwide to anybody in the country, no matter what state they reside in. And that also is not proper to do.

It wouldn't take a complicated choice of law analysis to say you can't apply a local state law, even if there were a consumer transaction here or a merchant involved under the act, to consumers all over the country. We don't have consumers here, but if we did, that -- there's no basis to do that.

Your Honor asked: What services have the DNC donors purchased from the DNC? I think I just addressed that.

And then moving on to the fiduciary duty, your Honor asked: What is DNC's special relationship with the members of the party? And I would just note that the plaintiffs' position on what law applies here has kind of shifted. I mean at first, we -- the complaint doesn't really apprise the defendants of what law is being asserted here. I think we thought it was Florida law, and we addressed that in their briefing, and then in their response, I think they said it was D.C. law. And now

counsel said it's too early to do that kind of a choice of law analysis.

2.

But, regardless, the -- it would not be appropriate to find a fiduciary duty here. You know, it's kind of a misnomer even to speak in terms of members of the DNC. There is no national registration. Some states don't even have party registration. Many states, in fact. I mean Virginia, when you register to vote, you don't register as a democrat or a republican or whatever. So, as far as the party's concerned, they are trying to encourage people to vote for democratic candidates and to support democratic policies and values. But that's not a class of people that can be defined by the Court. And that changes with every election and possibly, and probably, more frequently than that.

That's not a situation that's akin to a shareholder of a corporation. It certainly can't, I think under, really, any state's law, be the basis of some kind of a special relationship of the type that would create a fiduciary obligation.

Counsel cited a D.C. Circuit case. I'll just briefly note that the D.C. Circuit actually is not the authoritative source for D.C. state law. D.C. is not a state, obviously, but there are local D.C. courts that actually are the authoritative source for what a fiduciary relationship would be under D.C. law, and the same would apply to the D.C. Consumer Procedure

Protection Act.

Your Honor asked: How can one entity owe fiduciary duty to millions at the same time? And I think -- you know, my earlier comments, I think, went to that. I really don't think it is possible, your Honor, with such a nebulous, changing relationship, to say that there's a fiduciary duty created between the party and people who believe in democratic -- you know, the values of the Democratic Party or who vote for democratic candidates.

And I would note, because counsel for the plaintiffs said many times, Well, it should be reasonable, I think this or that about the DNC, and I just want to note that it is the plaintiffs' burden here to establish that there is a fiduciary duty, and what the basis of that fiduciary duty would apply, and what law would the Court look to, to determine that. And if they can't do that, then they can't state a claim. And they haven't.

In all, I think what I just said would apply even more strongly to Congresswoman Deborah Wassermann Schultz. I keep forgetting to say each time that I'm speaking for both, your Honor, but I certainly am. And what reminded me of that is your Honor's next question is: What is Congresswoman Wassermann Schultz's connection to the data breach described in the complaint? And really there's no allegation of her connection to that data breach. She is mentioned in three

paragraphs of the complaint, none of which address a data breach, frankly, none of which could support any of the claims that have been brought against her.

counsel said that as the leader of the DNC, she's essentially responsible for what happened on her watch. But that would be a strict liability standard, your Honor, and that's certainly not the case with respect to a data breach or these types of tort claims, or contract claims, for that matter, that you could say that the head of an organization, or the CEO of a corporation, for that matter, is -- can be held liable for everything that happens within that organization or allegedly due to the actions of the organization, without specific allegations of what that person actually did to cause the alleged harm.

Thank you, your Honor.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you.

I have some questions for the defense.

MR. SPIVA: Okay.

THE COURT: We'll go into the class action allegations at this point.

With respect to the class action allegations, we'll keep in mind, obviously without reading them into the record, the threshold requirement that is required for the plaintiff to meet, and then assuming that the threshold is met, then Rule 23(a) and 23(b) come into play.

But with those requirements in mind, assuming that the Court rejects the defendants' standing arguments, why should the Court address the class issues now rather than waiting for a motion for class certification?

MR. SPIVA: Well, I think this is the appropriate time in this case, your Honor, for a few reasons. First, even to define really any of the three classes, but particular -- subclasses, but particularly with respect to the Democratic Party Class, your Honor, the Court would have to invade the party's associational rights and define what it means to actually be a member of the Democratic Party.

And that would also entail discovery that would invade the party's rights and the rights of the Sanders and the Clinton campaigns. Of course, the campaigns aren't themselves corporations, they're third parties. They're not parties to this litigation, but there would be discovery of both of those campaigns.

And all of this would invade the First Amendment. And I think it really highlights that the class really is not ascertainable, your Honor. And so, the Court should strike the allegations at this stage to save a huge amount of resources on behalf of both the parties and the Court in terms of fighting those motions and the discovery that would come with that.

In addition, there are problems with standing with respect to individual members of the putative class. And so,

even if your Honor rejects our overarching standing argument, we would still have the right, your Honor, to challenge each class member's standing. Did they rely on statements of the DNC? Did they even know about them? Would they have not given if they had known? Same with the Sanders subclass. Same with the third subclass.

And so, millions of people have no injury. And it would require both invasive, expensive, you know, thousands, if not millions, of essentially depositions and, of course, a minitrial on each individual standing alone. The same issues, I think, come up with respect to predominance and typicality and probably several other of the requirements under 23(b).

And so, we submit, your Honor, that now is the appropriate time to avoid that thicket, which would, I think, enmesh the Court in a lot of political issues, would invade the First Amendment interests of certainly the defendants here.

And at the end of the day, your Honor, this is a class that is not certifiable. It -- you know, the reliance -- and that's not the only problem, but reliance, again, is the third rail of class certification. And they can't prove that on a class-wide basis without individualized proof from every single class member, which destroys any usefulness of the class device here.

THE COURT: All right. And, again, understanding that if -- or assuming arguendo that the Court were to reject the

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defendants' standing arguments, if the Court strikes the class
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 2
     allegations, will the Court have jurisdiction over the claims
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     in the first-amended complaint?
              MR. SPIVA: So I'm assuming the Court has rejected our
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 5
     standing arguments, but struck the class allegations.
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              THE COURT:
                          Allegations.
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              MR. SPIVA:
                          I mean, there's --
              THE COURT:
                          Let's do it this way.
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              MR. SPIVA:
                          Okay.
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              THE COURT:
                          If I did what I suggested --
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              MR. SPIVA:
                          Right.
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              THE COURT:
                          -- the jurisdiction for the remaining
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     claims would be based on what?
              MR. SPIVA: Well, I would submit, your Honor, that
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     there would be no jurisdiction for all the reasons that there
16
     is no standing. The reason I'm having difficulty is, if I
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     assume you're rejecting the standing arguments with respect
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     to --
                          Well, would it be based on diversity?
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              THE COURT:
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              MR. SPIVA:
                          Oh, that is what plaintiffs have alleged,
     that there's diversity jurisdiction here.
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              THE COURT: So the question is: If I struck the class
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     allegations, would I still have jurisdiction over the claims in
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     the first-amended complaint?
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              MR. SPIVA:
                          And, again, I'm putting standing to one
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side. 1 2 THE COURT: Sure. 3 MR. SPIVA: My first answer would be no because of 4 standing. But -- but I -- I'm not sure, your Honor, and this 5 is the reason. I believe that what gets them into diversity with the class allegations is CAFA. And I'm not positive, 6 7 standing here at this moment -- I can check -- whether every single one of those putative class representatives lives 8 outside of Florida -- I'm sorry -- lives outside of D.C. 9 Because, of course, if one of the plaintiffs --10 THE COURT: Well, the DNC is registered in the 11 12 district. 13 MR. SPIVA: Right. Right. The District of Columbia. 14 THE COURT: And has its principal place of business in 15 the district. Right. To be clear, whether every single 16 17 one of the named plaintiffs -- putative named plaintiffs lives 18 outside of the District of Columbia. Because I believe that if there is one -- and I believe there is at least one -- that 19 20 lives in the District of Columbia, that would destroy complete 21 diversity, and the Court would not have jurisdiction. 22 THE COURT: All right. Go ahead. That's all right. 23 MR. SPIVA: Okay. 24 I've got a chart here somewhere. THE COURT: 25 And I can take a quick look when I next --MR. SPIVA:

THE COURT: No, that's all right. That's all right. 1 2 Your argument is that if one lives in the district, 3 the Court would not have diversity jurisdiction. That's all 4 right. 5 MR. SPIVA: That's right. THE COURT: 6 Okay. 7 MR. SPIVA: That's right, your Honor. The other thing that I -- I'm not sure they could meet 8 9 the amount in controversy, but I -- but I'm -- yeah, I'm not 10 sure that they could meet it even collectively. I mean there are a lot of -- maybe they could, because there are about a 11 12 hundred-some people on the list. But I'm -- but if one lives 13 in the District of Columbia, that would destroy complete 14 diversity. 15 THE COURT: All right. Thank you. Thank you, your Honor. 16 MR. SPIVA: 17 THE COURT: I'll hear from the plaintiff. 18 MR. BECK: Your Honor, on the issue of their motion as it pertains to the class action allegations, this is 19 20 alternative relief that they sought by way of their -- what they styled their motion to dismiss. And the last sentence of 21 22 the defendants' -- the first paragraph in their motion states, 23 quote: 24 "In the alternative, to the extent any portion of 25 the complaint survives, the Court should strike the

allegations which are facially unsustainable."

They don't cite a specific provision of Rule 12 in making that request to the Court. But the one provision of Rule 12 that deals with anything relating to a motion to strike or a request to strike allegations is 12(f).

And because of that, I think my first point on this line of questions from the Court is that I do believe we get back to 12(g)(2) and the argument that they've waived these arguments, for the same reason that we discussed in connection with their 12(b)(6) motion or the aspect of their motion relating to whether we state a cause of action. But I would add a proviso, and getting back to the Court's previous question when we were addressing 12(b)(6), the Court asked how would it prejudice us to decide those issues now, and our answer was, with respect to 12(b)(6), we don't suggest there is any prejudice.

I think the situation is somewhat different with respect to the class act allegations. I think that the 12(g)(2) still applies, but with the addition that there is prejudice to entertaining a motion to strike class action allegations at this stage, and that this prejudice has been articulated in the case law.

And we cited some cases, including cases from this district, Martorella vs. Deutsch Bank, which is a Southern District case from 2013, which states that the question of

class certification is generally not addressed on a motion to dismiss.

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There's also *Gill Samuel (phonetic)* from 2014 -- again, appearing on page 2 -- page 18 of our brief -- which holds that "an order on a motion to strike class action allegations would, by its very nature, carry more finality and less prospective flexibility than the typical order on a class -- on motion for class certification."

And for that reason, the Court deemed that these types of motions are contrary to the spirit of Rule 23, which allows for some flexibility, and also contemplates that there would have been an opportunity to conduct some discovery in connection with the class certification determination.

So, we would submit that based on -- again, based on 12(g)(2), based on the cases from this district, which disfavor ruling on a class certification motion -- or defer ruling on a motion to strike class certification allegations outside of a formal motion for class certification, we submit, then, in view of those two sources of authority, that it's premature to even consider the defendants' arguments at this time.

That said, just to quickly address some of the points they've made. They suggest that it's impossible for us to maintain a class action in this case, because we've pled reliance, and we've pled reliance on false statements. There's a whole line of cases that certify class actions in the context

of uniform omissions. And I think that ultimately this is a case that's more about omissions than specific statements of fact. Because as I think we've addressed more than a couple times throughout this hearing, the essence of the claims in this case is that folks made contributions to a political candidate and a political party's governing body, based on the assumption that the primary process was fair and evenhanded, and the true facts were concealed from them, because behind the scenes, the DNC was being anything but fair and evenhanded in connection with the primary.

So, in that sense, I think we have more than enough material for a uniform omissions theory of class certification. But, again, I submit that it's premature to even be discussing those issues at these stages.

And the Court asked the question about jurisdiction.

I recently dealt with that issue, but it was in the Ninth
Circuit. And if my recollection serves me well, the question
of jurisdiction is determined at the time that the complaint is
filed and makes the allegations that invoke CAFA jurisdiction,
which is what we've done in this case. So -- and this was in
the context of a Court then subsequently denying class
certification in a written order, and at the same time
recognizing that the case still had jurisdiction under CAFA in
that court, notwithstanding the class certification motion
having been denied.

So, if that principle also holds in the Eleventh Circuit, and I haven't looked at that issue, then I would submit that the Court still would have jurisdiction, regardless of where the particular plaintiffs live, because CAFA jurisdiction was properly invoked in the original complaint.

And, finally, there's a thread that runs throughout the defendants' arguments, which suggests that by conducting this as a class action, there will be rampant violations of people's rights to association, because they -- by virtue of how the classes are defined, they will be swept into a lawsuit that alleges claims which either they disagree with or for whatever reason, they may not want to have any part of it.

Rule 23, as this Court knows well, is a very -- it has -- is a very flexible rule that contains mechanisms for addressing just those types of issues that someone doesn't have to be dragged into a lawsuit that they want no part of. There are opt-out mechanisms. There are notification mechanisms. There are issues relating to how the class could be defined. There are issues relating to the formation of subclasses. In connection with some of the choice of law issues that we've discussed, those can be handled through those Rule 23 mechanisms. So I just don't think those are valid concerns that the defendant has raised.

But, again, I would stress that I really think that the Court would -- and the parties would benefit most by having

a chance to conduct discovery and fully brief a formal motion 1 2 for class certification before any of the issues that have been raised by defendant in connection with this aspect of their 3 4 motion are decided by the Court. 5 THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Counsel. Now, I have some questions for the plaintiffs 6 7 regarding the class action allegations. And you've answered one of them already, regarding what were to happen if the Court 8 9 were to strike the class allegations. 10 My next question -- well, actually, my first question for the plaintiff is: Are each of the plaintiffs diverse in 11 12 citizenship from each of the defendants? 13 MR. BECK: Your Honor, I'm just going to grab a copy 14 of the complaint. 15 THE COURT: No, no, take your time. Take your time. 16 And consult if you need to. 17 MR. BECK: If I may. 18 THE COURT: We're not going anywhere. (Discussion had off the record between counsel) 19 20 MR. SPIVA: I definitely don't mean to interrupt, your 21 Honor, but I actually have the answer to this now, if --22 THE COURT: Well, you can step over and talk with 23 counsel. I mean that's.... 24 MR. BECK: Sure. 25 (Discussion had off the record between counsel)

1	MR. BECK: Yes. Counsel has informed me and it is,
2	indeed, the case that paragraphs 55 and 87 are they're
3	related to plaintiffs who live in the district. So, those
4	plaintiffs would not be diverse, because I because the DNC
5	is a member or a resident of the district.
6	THE COURT: And where might the Court find the
7	allegation of citizenship for Deborah Wassermann Schultz?
8	(Discussion had off the record between counsel)
9	MR. BECK: Paragraph 154 is the paragraph which speaks
10	to the congresswoman and specifies that she maintains offices
11	in Pembroke Pines and the District of Columbia. However, I'm
12	looking at this now, and it doesn't appear to contain an
13	allegation relating to her.
14	THE COURT: Citizenship.
15	MR. BECK: Correct. I would agree with that.
16	THE COURT: That's fine. That's all right.
17	My next question for the plaintiff is: Are there
18	Bernie Sanders donors who would not have standing to
19	participate in this lawsuit?
20	MR. BECK: I can't think, as I sit here now, why any
21	Bernie Sanders donor would not have standing to participate.
22	THE COURT: All right. Would a Bernie Sanders
23	supporter who donated to Senator Sanders' campaign because of
24	the DNC's alleged bias have standing?
25	MR. BECK: A Bernie Sanders donor who donated to the

Bernie Sanders campaign.

THE COURT: Campaign.

MR. BECK: Yes, they would have standing -- to the Bernie Sanders campaign, yes, they would have standing -- oh, the question is, because of the DNC's alleged bias.

I think this gets into some issues in terms of how the defendant has framed our allegations, and, of course, they have this footnote in -- first of all, I don't see how a donor to the Bernie Sanders campaign could -- would be in a position to have the knowledge that the DNC was predetermining the outcome for Hillary Clinton in the way that the complaint alleges.

I think that certainly there was campaign rhetoric throughout the campaign. And I would not deny this, that there was a sense and a feeling, through the process, that it was unfair and that it was slanted.

That said, I think there were orders of magnitude at issue in this case, which take this out of the realm of -- you know, I just don't see how a Bernie Sanders campaign -- a Bernie Sanders donor would have the knowledge to know that the DNC had predetermined the result for Hillary Clinton, number one.

And, number two, it just doesn't make sense to me why somebody would participate in a political process by paying money into the process, when they knew that that process was rigged from the start, which is what we're alleging. I mean

1 that's what we're alleging in this complaint. 2 THE COURT: Sure. It just doesn't seem like a plausible 3 MR. BECK: 4 position to be in at the same time we're having this exchange 5 in the context of not having conducted discovery and just on 6 the basis of the four corners of a complaint, as I think is 7 called for given the motion that the defendants have filed. So, it -- I just don't know that -- I quess it's hard 8 9 to imagine that situation given the state of the record at this 10 point. (Discussion had off the record between counsel) 11 12 THE COURT: Are there DNC donors who would not have 13 standing to participate in this lawsuit? MR. BECK: Again, I think that -- I think, 14 15 fundamentally, people give money to candidates and can -- and 16 political parties, because they believe that we have a fair 17 democratic process. And I think that that's a baseline 18 assumption whenever a donation is made. I think if it's proven that the process is not what 19 20 people believe it to be, then I think we've alleged standing on the basis of a false understanding that's been created by the 21 22 defendants. 23 And so, again, I would think that all DNC donors have 24 standing, because I believe that people -- when people

participate in the process in this way, and they actually write

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a check to a party or to a candidate, they believe that the process is fundamentally fair and democratic.

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THE COURT: Would a person who donated to the DNC without reading the DNC's charter or hearing the statements described in paragraph 160 of the first-amended complaint have standing?

MR. BECK: Yes. I think that a person in that situation would have standing. I think -- again, I think that this is a case that ultimately and probably for many and many people in the classes, as we've defined them in this complaint, this is a case of omission and concealment of what was actually going on behind the scenes at the DNC. And so, I don't think a person necessarily has to read a news article where the DNC is specifically proclaiming its neutrality, or I don't think a person has to read the charter itself.

I think that there's a fundamental understanding in this country that's taught from a very early age, certainly I remember it, that we live in a democracy. And I think a fundamental part of what a democracy means is that elections are not conducted in this biased and predetermined way. And I think that everybody who seeks to participate in the political process, especially when they're going to the trouble of cutting a check to a candidate that they support or a party that they support, they believe that those candidates and entities are taking place in a process that is fair and

impartial, because they believe in a process that's democratic.

So, I don't think someone necessarily needs to read the articles we've cited or the charter to be in the class of people that have been defrauded or deceived or unjustly treated in terms of the unjust enrichment claim by the DNC's conduct.

THE COURT: Are there registered members of the

Democratic Party who would not have standing to participate in
this lawsuit? And maybe your last answer would be the same.

MR. BECK: Yeah, I think that's a similar answer to the previous question. I think, again, if there is, indeed, a fiduciary duty owed from the leadership of a party to the party's members, as we maintain in this case, then the DNC doesn't just abuse that relationship when it favors -- it doesn't just abuse its relationship with its members who are Bernie Sanders supporters, it abuses the relationship with all of its members, because it's ultimately not acting according to what its charter requires it to do and, I would submit, according to what its position in this society as a trustee of our democratic institutions requires it to do.

And so, I think in the long run, it hurts everybody in the party. And, you know, that may involve some factual issues that are not appropriately at issue before the Court right now. But I do think it's something that can be demonstrated.

THE COURT: If there are persons who meet the plaintiffs' proposed class definitions who would not have

standing, how could this Court certify the class?

MR. BECK: Well, I think -- again, I think that the definitions as we've set them forth in our complaint describe people who do have standing for the reasons discussed.

That said -- and, again, this is why I think in some ways these issues merit a full class certification process and discovery and briefing and so forth, as opposed to an alternative relief sought in a Rule 12 motion.

But that aside, I think that the rule, Rule 23 specifically, is flexible enough for courts to change class definitions, certify subclasses, and so forth. So, I think it's -- I don't think it would be the first time that a class -- you know, if that were to happen, if that determination were made, I don't think it would be the first time that a Court had determined that perhaps a class was overbroad or whatnot and needed to be refined. But, again, I think those determinations are best made in the course of a Rule 23 motion for class certification.

THE COURT: Is it possible to narrow the class definitions in such a way that class members are readily ascertainable by objective criteria while persons who do not have standing are excluded?

MR. BECK: Well, again, I don't think I'm -- I would concede the point that, as defined in the context of our allegations and claims, that anybody -- that any of these

plaintiffs don't have standing, or any of the people who would be compassed within the class definitions don't have standing. That said, if it's just a matter that -- of people -- I mean there are mechanisms by which people can opt out of class actions. And class definitions can also be revised throughout the course of a litigation and frequently are.

So, it seems to me that that could be a possibility as well. But, again, I don't think that there's anything about this particular class action that makes it any less susceptible to being managed by the flexible tools that are available under Rule 23 and at the Court's disposal. And, again, just because it happens to deal with politics as opposed to a securities class action or something that's more commonly seen in lawsuits.

THE COURT: Given the nature of plaintiffs' claims, will individualized issues predominate over common issues?

MR. BECK: I don't think that's the case -- I don't think that would be the case, your Honor. Again, and I think this gets back to the point that the predominant rung here is the defendants' acting behind the scenes to rig a primary process and not disclosing that to the public. And, in fact, making -- taking actions to conceal that from the public.

So because it's more an issue of what was concealed as opposed to what was specifically stated, to me, that has the badge of a uniform omissions case. And my understanding of the

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law in this district and the Eleventh Circuit is that cases,
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 2
     even fraud cases, can be certified when a pattern of uniform
     omissions is established. And that analysis I would think
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 4
    would apply to the fraud and negligent misrepresentation claims
 5
     that we've asserted.
              THE COURT: What law will the Court be applying with
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 7
    respect to Counts 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6?
             MR. BECK: Let me confer with counsel.
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              THE COURT: Go right ahead. Take your time.
10
    your time.
              (Discussion had off the record between counsel)
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              THE COURT: Take your time.
13
              (Discussion had off the record between counsel)
14
             MR. BECK: My cocounsel wanted me to correct something
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     that I stated to the Court earlier --
              THE COURT: That's all right. Go right ahead.
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17
             MR. BECK: -- in regards to the residence of Debbie
18
     Wassermann Schultz.
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              THE COURT: Citizenship.
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             MR. BECK: Yes, the citizenship. My impression is
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     that we had -- that was the only paragraph that we had
22
     referenced her. But my counsel's alerted me to the fact that
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     in paragraph 1, we specifically state that Deborah Wassermann
24
     Schultz resides in and is as congresswoman representing
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    portions of this district, meaning the Southern District of
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Florida. So, I think that is probably sufficient to establish her as a citizen of Florida.

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But to get to the question posed by the Court just now, which is what law should the Court apply to those specified counts? You know, our brief assumed Florida law or D.C. law. Again, I just -- I don't know that the record is well-developed enough to make a choice of law now. So certainly I don't think it was fully briefed in the papers.

And my understanding is that in the course of a class action, oftentimes subclasses are created which correspond to the various laws invoked specifically to the various plaintiffs based on their citizenship, if, in fact, that's a factor that determines the choice of law analysis. And I'm not sure, again, that that issue is really before the Court now.

We cited, I think, one case in our brief which suggested that courts ought to await a more fully developed factual record before engaging in those determinations. So, I guess at this stage, we would rest on the position in our briefs to assume that Florida or D.C. law applies to those counts, but without waiving any argument that other laws may not apply to those class members as well.

THE COURT: If my count is accurate, taking it -- that count coming from the first-amended complaint, assuming arguendo that the Court must apply 46 different jurisdictions' laws to this case, would a class action be manageable?

MR. BECK: I think there are cases that address that issue in the class certification analysis. And oftentimes it depends on the -- whether or not there are material differences in the various laws being applied such that manageability becomes a problem.

I guess without delving into the -- what may be the material differences for those counts -- and I don't know that there are any -- but, again, that's a -- you know, I think that's an issue that comes up on Rule 23 -- in the context of a Rule 23 motion. And I think, you know, in making that determination, the Court is probably best -- would benefit most from having full briefing and discovery on those specific issues as they relate to class certification.

THE COURT: And, again, assuming arguendo that the Court must apply 46 different jurisdictions' laws to this case, are there questions of law common to all members of each class?

MR. BECK: Yes, I do think that regardless of whether -- how many states' laws would ultimately apply, the issues of law -- I mean, it would surprise me that there is -- that if the law of fraud, the law of negligent misrepresentation, the law of unjust enrichment, the law of negligence as it applies to the data breach claim -- I mean it would surprise me if the elements of those laws varied so considerably from state to state that they presented issues that threatened commonality in a Rule 23 analysis.

But, again, I would state that I think we can -- I think that question would probably benefit most from a class certification brief that directly addressed those issues and analyzed whatever differences there are between the state laws at issue, because I don't know that there are material enough differences to create a manageability issue in this case.

THE COURT: And then, finally, what evidence do the plaintiffs anticipate discovery would yield regarding certification of each of the proposed classes?

MR. BECK: Well, I think that discovery in terms of the class certification issues would proceed -- I mean I think it would address each of the class 23 elements that we'd need to prove to prevail on a motion for class certification. So, I think we would be addressing issues of commonality, typicality, predominance, superiority, manageability, all of the standards issues. I think that we would be creating a -- obviously, I mean I wouldn't be surprised if the defendants would be conducting discovery of our class representatives -- usually they do something like that from their end. So I think that would be part of the process.

But from our end, we would be taking document discovery that we at this point anticipate would fill in the details of what we've already alleged in the complaint, which is that there was a systematic, unified, and overarching effort to work behind the scenes to advance Hillary Clinton's

1 candidacy to the nomination. And so, from the perspective of 2 commonality, from the perspective of whether any of those 3 common issues predominate in the analysis, which ultimately we would have to show on a Rule 23, those would be the issues that 4 5 would be addressed in the discovery process. THE COURT: All right, Counsel. Thank you very much. 6 7 I appreciate your answers. Thank you, your Honor. 8 MR. BECK: 9 All right. Let me hear from the defense. THE COURT: 10 MR. SPIVA: All rightee. Thank you, your Honor. 11 12 I'll just kind of quickly go through the questions. 13 THE COURT: Take your time. 14 MR. SPIVA: All right. 15 THE COURT: We're not going anywhere. So, I think you already got an answer to 16 MR. SPIVA: 17 the question about whether all the plaintiffs are diverse from 18 each defendant; they are not. And then, are there Bernie Sanders donors who would 19 20 not have standing, was I think the first question after that 21 your Honor asked. And clearly there are. I mean -- and 22 clearly the only way to find out would be to do an 23 individualized inquiry of each of them. Because here, where 24 we're talking about reliance, we're talking about knowledge,

we're talking about motive, not only the defendants' alleged

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motive, but the motive of these individuals. I mean, Bernie Sanders himself endorsed, voted for, campaigned for Hillary Clinton. And so, presumably, he donated to his own campaign, and I assume he wouldn't -- would not consider himself to be a member of this class. And there are other donors. There are millions of Bernie Sanders donors and voters who voted for Hillary Clinton. And so, those people would not have standing to bring this suit. They would have no injury.

There are many Bernie Sanders donors who gave because they thought the system was rigged, to use Donald Trump's phrase, or that it was an unfair system and they wouldn't have standing.

So, I think clearly there would. And the greater problem, your Honor, is that the only way to find out would be to invade -- you know, to query each one of them and invade their privacy and First Amendment rights and, on the other hand, invade the privacy -- rather, the First Amendment rights of the party. And we heard again and again --

THE COURT: Just slow down a little bit for the -MR. SPIVA: Sure.

We heard again and again that certain questions could be potentially resolved through discovery, and one can only imagine how burdensome this discovery would be. Counsel didn't actually specify what types of information that counsel thought he would discover. But, clearly, there's a contemplation of

going through the files of the DNC and trying to explore what the strategy and internal workings of the party was. Clearly, protected by the First Amendment.

And, of course, we would need to seek discovery of the Sanders campaign and the individuals who gave to
Senator Sanders and individuals who gave to the DNC, and they have a First Amendment right not to be questioned in that way.

So, to answer your Honor's second question, a Bernie Sanders supporter who donated to the campaign because of a perceived bias also would not have standing.

There was also a phrase that kind of pervaded counsel's last presentation about -- it's kind of shifted from the allegations in the complaint, which is that the DNC and Congresswoman Wassermann Schultz deviated from the bylaws in showing impartiality and evenhandedness to a focus on the results being predetermined.

There's really no allegation in the complaint that the results were predetermined, nor could there be. I mean millions more people voted for Secretary Clinton than voted for Senator Sanders. And those individuals certainly wouldn't have standing, even though they would fall within one of the subclasses that have been articulated.

And one of the answers to that question that your

Honor was given, was that it's not plausible that someone would

give to the Sanders campaign if they viewed the system as

rigged. But I think actually the opposite conclusion is more logical and certainly apparent, that you would to try to beat the system, if you viewed it as rigged.

Your Honor asked whether there are DNC donors who would not have standing. And, clearly, there would be. I mean, clearly, there are millions of people who voted for Secretary Clinton and gave to the DNC in both the primary and the general, and they would not have standing, because they haven't been injured. And they don't agree with the point of view of the plaintiffs in the lawsuit.

You asked whether a person who gave to the DNC without having read the DNC's charter were -- any of the allegations where the DNC was alleged to have made statements about neutrality, would that person have standing? Well, there couldn't be reliance if they didn't have any knowledge of the statement. So that person would also not have standing.

And then your Honor asked that if there are members of the plaintiffs' proposed classes that would not have standing, how can the Court certify the class? And, again, the answer was discovery, your Honor. But I think the answer is actually that really wouldn't be proper to certify a class where certain members of the proposed class don't have standing, and where the only way to determine whether they do is to actually, you know, take discovery from each individual.

And that's not gonna change. That's the thing. If

they're allowed to amend again, that is always going to be the case, that there are gonna be some people in these classes as proposed who do not have standing, and the only way to determine that is to ask them individually.

And that goes to the next question your Honor asked, which is potentially changing the class definitions. And I think counsel had said that it's not infrequent that class definitions get narrowed or defined, and that is not -- it's not that it doesn't ever happen, for sure, but at the same time, it's still the plaintiffs' burden to identify an ascertainable class, one that's manageable, that -- where common issues predominate. And none of that's the case here, your Honor.

And answering your Honor's next question, it really isn't possible to narrow these class definitions so that the class is ascertainable by objective criteria. All of the allegations in the complaint, and certainly all the statements made today, are shot through with subjective determinations, which can only be resolved through individualized discovery and trial.

There was an analogy to securities class actions, which I'd submit, your Honor, is wildly different from the political realm here with the First Amendment issues that we've -- that I talked about, where it's potentially the only place where you have a notion of fraud on the market, you know,

such that reliance can, in certain circumstances, be presumed totally different and inapplicable and an inapt analogy to this situation.

Your Honor asked whether individual issues would predominate over common issues. I think the answer is clearly yes. I've kind of covered that, so I won't go over that again.

Your Honor asked about choice of law, and what law the Court would apply to Counts 1, 2, 4, and 6.

THE COURT: Five.

MR. SPIVA: And five, thank you.

And -- that's the breach of fiduciary duty count, yes. I think that's not clear at this point.

And I think the answer that I heard, your Honor, was basically that the plaintiffs sued the defendants, but they're not gonna tell the defendants until later what law they're alleged to have violated. Because, of course, if you're not saying what state's fiduciary duty law they've alleged to have violated, or what state's unjust enrichment law, et cetera, then you're not even meeting the basic requirements under Rule 8. And, certainly, class certification is not the stage at which to decide what law applies to the claims that they're asserting. It destroys commonality; it destroys predominance.

And I don't think there's a case that I've ever seen -- and none has been cited -- where a Court has said that through the discovery process, a class with 46 states

represented could -- you know, through the discovery process, we could discover what law applies. That would be totally unmanageable, your Honor. And I submit it would have to be a violation of due process for the defendant to have to respond to that and the types of massive discovery that that would entail.

And it's really their burden to figure this out in advance and put it in their complaint. It's not something to be resolved either through class certification or through discovery.

Your Honor asked, assuming that the Court must apply the laws of 46 states, would the class action be manageable?

And I submit, your Honor, the question almost answers itself.

I mean, you know, no. It would be, I think, an impossible management problem. It would -- there'd be no commonality, no predominance.

And one of the answers was, it would surprise me if elements of these various causes of action varied so considerably as among states. But, again, this is the plaintiffs' burden to figure out at the outset. I mean that's very rare where a federal court is going to say, Well, we're gonna apply a nationwide standard of contract, breach of contract, for instance -- I'm just using that as an example -- because a breach is a breach wherever you are. That's very rare. But, certainly, at the very least, the plaintiffs have

to identify those causes of action for which the law doesn't vary significantly, and why they could meet the class certification standards, and why it would be manageable. It's not for the Court to assume or for the plaintiffs to assume and we get to it later. That's just not proper.

Your Honor asked what evidence did the plaintiffs anticipate discovery would yield regarding certification of each of the proposed classes. And I didn't really hear a definite answer other than anything going to the various Rule 23 elements, document discovery, which would fill in the details. And, again, that -- the only kind of document discovery that could even conceivably be relevant to the types of claims being made here would totally invade the province of the party's strategizing, their internal workings, and, similarly, Congresswoman Wassermann Schultz's First Amendment rights as well.

And so -- and I think, frankly, your Honor, even if that weren't an issue, there really isn't discovery that can fix these problems other than individualized discovery of every single plaintiff. And so, I don't think that that's an adequate answer to your Honor's question. I don't think there's discovery that can fix the problems with the complaint.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you.

Hold on for one second.

MR. SPIVA: Thank you.

(Discussion had off the record between the Court and court reporter)

THE COURT: I'm gonna give the defense five minutes for any additional comments, any clarification of any previous answer or response, and then I'll give five minutes to the plaintiff for the same.

MR. SPIVA: Thank you, your Honor.

I will endeavor and I will not repeat what I've said. But I think, starting with standing, this is a case where plaintiffs have not met their burden to show causation of harm here, that -- a particularized injury that is redressable by the Court, and that that really should end the lawsuit right there.

I think their state law claims, I guess I'll group them -- the ones that focus on issues such as fiduciary duty and the like, first, all suffer from the same problem, but also are defective on the pleadings and would be totally unmanageable in terms of a class certification.

And then I think what I would do, so as not to repeat, because I have made these arguments, but I just want to emphasize that there really is a body of case law here, I think, that supports the notion that this is really not the province of the courts. This is the rough -- what we've heard is the kind of thing -- you certainly heard on the Republican side, you know, President Trump alleged that the Republican

primary was rigged. He ended up getting more votes than the other primary members and ultimately at least got more electoral college votes and that's how our system works.

And so this is very common to have these kind of inter/intraparty squabbles about doctrine, about policy, about rules, about selection of delegates. And the courts have said from the O'Brien case to the LaFollette case, the Berg v. Obama case, which I think is very -- has some very close similarities to this one in terms of people saying they were duped by certain statements about what the party stood for, the Wymbs case in this circuit vs. the Republican State Executive

Committee, all of these cases I think come down to the same thing, that really these are matters for the parties. They are private associations. Yes, they play a big role in the election of the president of the United States. But they are still private associations. They still have a right to order their own affairs.

If someone's not happy with the party that they've been aligned with, their choice is to start another party, or to give to the other party, or to give to a candidate that they think will shake things up within the party.

But giving a donation gives no one the right to succeed, to have their candidate win an election. It doesn't give them the right to tell the party how to conduct its affairs or to, you know, rifle through the strategizing of the

party.

And I want to be clear, I know I've said this, but I, you know -- because this has become somewhat of a public case, that the defendants absolutely deny that there was any unfairness here or impartiality. But the allegations that have been made are very common in terms of political process. And the courts have been clear that that is a matter for the parties and for private associations, not for the courts.

And I think really that runs through -- that premise, that precedent really runs through all of our arguments, and that's the reason why there's no standing here, why there's a failure to state a claim, and so why this case should be dismissed with prejudice.

Thank you, your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you, Counsel.

MR. BECK: Thank you, your Honor. And I want to thank the Court for hearing us today.

Counsel mentioned a concept that's familiar in the context of securities actions known as fraud on the market.

And his suggestion was that this -- to paraphrase him -- that this case is -- invokes principles that are wildly different to fraud on the market cases that make that analogy inappropriate.

Well, I think that it's an extraordinarily appropriate analogy. We're talking about the political market here. This is fraud on the political market. The DNC, by virtue of how

the democracy of this country has developed over history, is one of two parties in a two-party democratic system that essentially has custody over the market for how candidates are chosen and elected and nominated and ultimately run in general elections.

And the shareholders in this case are not people that have purchased stock or purchased shares in a company, but they've bought into this political process, because at bottom, they believe in American democracy and that we live in a democratic system. And they bought into the process how? By donating their money to candidates. In this case, they've donated to Bernie Sanders' campaign. But this is how people participate in the political process these days aside from voting. And they've also registered as democrats, because that was the party that they chose to align themselves.

And in making those decisions and undertaking those actions, I submit that they're no different than people that purchase shares of stock believing that the company is a good investment. I see no reason that somebody would take their hard-earned money and throw it at a candidate in a democratic primary knowing full well that the outcome was predetermined.

And I know my friend on the other side takes issue with my use of the word "predetermined" to describe this election, but I think it's entirely inappropriate (sic), because it captures the state of where we are as a country

today, which is to say that when you have one of the two major political parties working hand in glove with all of the arrayed media outlets that are in the position of disseminating information to the American public, and they are engaged in a concerted effort to advance one candidate at the expense of the other candidates in the field, I submit that that outcome is nothing other than predetermined. And to say anything less is to undersell the power of politics and media in this country.

2.

It may be that we've reached a dire state of affairs in this country politically. When I heard counsel state that it would be more likely for somebody to donate to a candidate if they thought the process was rigged, that made me really sad, actually. I mean I'm somebody that's donated to political campaigns. I know a lot of people who have donated to political campaigns. And when I made those donations, I never suspected or believed that the process was rigged in the way that we allege that this process was rigged in the complaint.

If it's the case that an entity, the DNC, its chairperson can rig an election, and there's no remedy at law for people who've made financial contributions on the basis of what they've omitted to tell the public, well, I submit that that's a really dire road for this country to be on. But what gives me hope is that we have an ancient tradition of common law in this country that goes back even well before the founding of this republic and protects against fraud and

protects against deceit. And it makes no exception for people who are in the political realm. And it doesn't offer blanket immunity for people to make misrepresentations simply because those representations are made in the context of a political campaign.

THE COURT: One minute.

MR. BECK: And they've said that -- and, again, I think all of their arguments as to why -- against us having the right to conduct discovery fall back on this First Amendment argument, which I submit to the Court is a fiction.

And I just want to close with this. We're not seeking to undo the results of an election. We're not seeking -- we're not sitting here saying that Bernie Sanders should be the nominee, and there should be a do-over. We're not asking for relief like that. Our relief is confined to remedying the injuries that we've identified in this complaint, which are very concrete and tied to the payment of money and membership in a political party, and are not tied to any of these voter standing-type theories, which you see in all the cases, or many of the cases that they've cited, where a person tries to enforce a political promise or -- for instance, I think an example was given of a promise made by President Trump. None of that is remotely at issue here.

We're talking specifically about people who bought in to the political process by donating money, by registering as

If there is no possibility of judicial or legal 1 democrats. 2. relief for those individuals, then I submit that the prospects for democracy in this country are dark indeed. 3 4 Thank you, your Honor. 5 THE COURT: All right. Thank you very much. Well, I want to thank counsel for your responses to 6 7 the Court's questions. They've been very helpful. This is a very interesting case, to say the least. And counsel for the 8 9 plaintiffs spoke about whether or not our society -- these are 10 the Court's words, not his words, he did not use the word "society" -- but whether society is in a dire situation. 11 12 so I leave the lawyers with this. Democracy demands the truth 13 so people can make intelligent decisions. 14 Everyone have a safe trip back and I'll be putting 15 together an order based on the arguments presented here today. 16 I'll be candid with you, that's gonna take some time. 17 The legal issues are complex for the Court to consider and to 18 rule upon. So everyone have a safe trip back and everyone have a 19 20 great week. There being no further business, this session of the 21 22 court is adjourned. 23 Thank you, your Honor. MR. SPIVA: 24 THE COURT: Take care. 25 MR. BECK: Thank you, your Honor.

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              MR. O'BRIEN: Thank you, Judge.
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              THE COURT: Go ahead. Court's in recess.
 3
              (The Judge exited the courtroom)
 4
              (Proceedings concluded at 5:20 p.m.)
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      I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from
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      the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter.
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        /S/Francine C. Salopek
                                                 4-28-17
    Francine C. Salopek, RMR-CRR
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     Official Court Reporter
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•	<b>45 [1]</b> 4/10	Admittedly [1] 62/22
	<b>46 [4]</b> 92/24 93/15 100/25 101/12	adopt [1] 8/2
'80s [1] 28/11	5	adopted [1] 26/23
's [1] 51/25		advance [8] 16/12 16/24 17/1 57/24
//	<b>55 [1]</b> 84/2 <b>5:20 [1]</b> 110/4	58/20 94/25 101/8 107/5
/S/Francine [1] 110/23		advances [1] 11/1 advancing [1] 16/5
70/11ancine   1   110/20	6	advantage [1] 10/11
1	<b>601 [1]</b> 2/12	advantaged [1] 35/7
<b>1-6-0 [1]</b> 41/11	<b>623 [1]</b> 39/1	affairs [7] 28/23 30/4 33/11 46/13
<b>109 [2]</b> 54/11 67/18	<b>6541</b> [1] 2/6	104/17 104/25 107/9
<b>11</b> [1] 67/23	7	affected [1] 9/7
12 [40]	<u> </u>	affiliate [1] 42/22
<b>12485 [1]</b> 2/3	<b>769-5657/mjsfcs [1]</b> 2/16	affirmative [1] 52/17
<b>13 [2]</b> 4/13 4/16	8	affirmed [1] 36/9
137th [1] 2/3		after-school [1] 33/1
<b>154</b> [1] 84/9	<b>87 [1]</b> 84/2	<b>afternoon [9]</b> 3/3 3/14 3/15 3/19 3/20
<b>159 [2]</b> 14/10 54/24	9	6/4 9/24 9/25 45/1
16-61511-CIV-WJZ [1] 1/4	90 percent [1] 24/11	age [1] 87/17
<b>160 [2]</b> 41/11 87/5	954 [1] 2/16	agree [4] 42/4 44/3 84/15 98/9
<b>161</b> [1] 57/4 <b>17</b> [1] 110/23		akin [1] 71/15
17	A	AL [2] 1/5 1/9
18 [1]   80/4	abide [1] 32/17	alerted [1] 91/22 align [1] 106/15
<b>187 [4]</b> 56/2 56/16 56/25 68/12	abiding [1] 33/12	align [1]   106/15  aligned [1]   104/19
<b>188 [4]</b> 41/18 45/13 53/14 67/7	above [2] 40/18 110/21	allegation [16] 7/8 42/5 43/25 44/18
<b>194 [4]</b> 56/6 56/16 56/25 68/12	above-entitled [1] 110/21	44/22 45/5 56/5 66/15 66/16 67/14
<b>195 [4]</b> 41/18 45/13 53/14 67/7	absolute [1] 10/5	67/25 68/20 72/24 84/7 84/13 97/17
<b>1:24 [2]</b> 1/7 3/1	absolutely [1] 105/4	allegations [59]
2	abstract [1] 18/10	allege [8] 34/4 40/22 41/19 42/7 55/24
	abuse [2] 88/13 88/14	68/9 68/9 107/17
<b>2.0 [3]</b> 16/2 16/15 17/23	abuses [1] 88/15	alleged [33]
<b>2004 [1]</b> 60/25	accept [1] 49/13	allegedly [2] 69/25 73/12
2006 [1] 11/4	access [1] 15/25	alleges [4] 26/5 56/1 82/11 85/11
2013 [1] 79/25	accessed [1] 55/14	alleging [6] 12/24 12/25 12/25 26/2
<b>2014</b> [1] 80/3	accordance [2] 18/7 18/7	85/25 86/1
<b>2015 [3]</b> 4/13 4/16 63/7	according [5] 4/8 63/19 65/7 88/16	allow [1] 51/17
2015-2016 [1] 4/21	88/18   account [1]   52/8	allowed [1] 99/1
<b>2016 [6]</b> 4/13 4/17 4/21 13/3 15/16	accurate [1] 92/22	allows [3] 51/16 61/19 80/10
15/23   <b>2017 [2]</b>	accused [2] 10/2 10/3	alluding [1] 24/24
<b>204</b> [1] 56/8	act [10] 14/7 59/8 68/24 68/24 69/8	almost [1] 101/13
204 [1]   30/6   205 [1]   2/4	69/21 70/5 70/13 72/1 79/18	alone [3] 44/20 45/17 75/10
<b>205F [1]</b> 2/15	ActBlue [13] 21/22 21/25 59/25 60/3	alter [1] 50/20 alternative [4] 34/18 78/20 78/24 89/8
<b>210</b> [1] 56/10	60/6 60/17 61/7 62/2 69/18 69/21 69/24	although [2] 35/9 ///7
<b>216</b> [1] 56/13	69/25 70/3	amend [1] 99/1
21st [1] 2/6	ActBlue's [1] 69/17	amended [16] 4/8 5/12 5/17 14/11
<b>23 [15]</b> 73/25 73/25 75/12 80/10 82/13	acted [1] 28/19	41/11 42/15 45/14 52/15 53/15 56/25
82/21 89/9 89/18 90/11 93/9 93/10	acting [6] 14/16 17/18 18/6 18/7 88/16	66/14 67/8 76/3 76/24 87/5 92/23
93/25 94/12 95/4 102/10	90/20	Amendment [28]
<b>25 [2]</b> 1/7 3/1	action [32]	American [3] 12/19 106/9 107/4
<b>299</b> [1] 2/15	actions [10] 11/7 29/16 45/23 73/12	amount [3] 54/15 74/21 78/9
<b>2:50 [1]</b> 47/25	80/25 90/5 90/22 99/21 105/19 106/17	analogy [6] 64/20 66/2 99/21 100/2
3	actively [1] 57/11	105/22 105/24
3.95 percent [3] 21/23 60/4 61/8	activities [4] 23/10 24/23 46/20 54/7 activity [4] 54/13 54/17 54/19 54/21	analysis [10] 39/18 39/18 62/25 70/11
<b>3091 [1]</b> 59/23	add [1] 79/12	71/2 91/3 92/13 93/2 93/25 95/3
<b>33131 [1]</b> 2/10	addition [3] 69/16 74/24 79/19	analyzed [1] 94/4
	address [8] 7/11 23/2 29/12 73/1 74/3	ancient [2] 10/7 107/23
<b>33301</b> [1] 2/16	80/21 93/1 94/12	announced [1] 16/8 answer [26]
33308 [1] 2/7	addressed [6] 70/17 70/24 80/1 81/3	answer [26] 26/12 37/10 37/12 43/9
<b>33601 [1]</b> 2/13	94/3 95/5	66/25 95/7 97/23 101/13 101/17
<b>3901 [1]</b> 59/22	addressing [4] 25/19 79/13 82/15	Antcliff [1] 60/24
<b>3904</b> [1] 5/5	94/14	anticipate [4] 50/2 94/8 94/22 102/7
<b>3905 [1]</b> 59/13	adequate [3] 32/22 55/17 102/21	antifraud [1] 39/10
<b>3:06 [1]</b> 47/25	adequately [2] 32/20 55/18	Antonino [2] 2/8 2/8
4	adjourned [1] 109/22	Antonio [1] 3/10
	adjudicating [1] 30/25	aol.com [1] 2/16
<b>4-28-17 [1]</b> 110/23	admits [1] 11/14	apologize [2] 13/11 53/24

### broad [7] 21/18 22/10 45/14 59/3 59/4 В 59/8 61/4 apparent [2] 40/24 98/2 backflips [1] 13/18 broadly [1] 59/10 **appearances** [2] 2/1 3/5 badge [1] 90/25 **Broward [1]** 2/15 application [1] 21/22 ballot [2] 23/14 25/4 Bruce [2] 2/11 3/15 applied [1] 93/4 Bank [1] 79/24 brush [1] 15/9 applies [8] 63/21 67/10 70/21 79/19 Baptist [1] 27/3 build [1] 46/24 92/19 93/22 100/21 101/2 bar [1] 48/11 burden [5] 72/13 99/10 101/7 101/20 barred [1] 51/25 apply [20] 48/19 48/22 49/5 63/3 69/6 103/10 70/5 70/8 70/12 71/25 72/14 72/18 91/4 baseline [1] 86/17 burdens [1] 8/21 basic [3] 11/19 11/20 100/19 92/4 92/21 92/24 93/15 93/18 100/8 **burdensome** [1] 96/23 101/11 101/22 basis [18] 8/5 9/12 12/16 12/17 18/18 **Bush's [1]** 35/18 18/21 18/22 31/16 40/19 41/1 58/16 applying [1] 91/6 business [5] 27/12 29/1 59/19 77/14 appreciate [1] 95/7 70/15 71/17 72/14 75/21 86/6 86/21 109/21 apprise [1] 70/22 107/20 **Button [1]** 46/4 appropriately [1] 88/22 **bat [1]** 49/17 bylaws [2] 7/19 97/14 April [2] 1/7 3/1 **battle [1]** 15/10 area [1] 33/8 Beach [1] 45/3 areas [2] 47/16 48/3 bearer [2] 36/6 36/20 CAFA [4] 77/6 81/19 81/23 82/4 aren't [2] 65/15 74/14 bearing [1] 22/9 called [3] 21/22 59/25 86/7 argue [4] 5/15 5/16 5/18 51/7 **beat [1]** 98/2 calling [3] 3/4 66/7 66/9 Beck [3] 2/2 2/3 3/6 arguendo [3] 75/25 92/24 93/14 Calvetti [1] 60/24 arguing [2] 51/8 51/9 becomes [2] 60/10 93/5 Calvetti vs. Antcliff [1] 60/24 argument [9] 13/19 20/6 20/8 44/8 75/1 bedrock [5] 12/18 13/4 13/25 14/2 30/7 campaign [45] 78/2 79/8 92/20 108/10 begin [2] 6/18 8/2 campaigned [2] 34/21 96/2 beginning [2] 55/22 67/5 arguments [25] campaigns [5] 74/14 74/14 74/17 arises [2] 4/20 7/20 behavior [1] 24/22 107/14 107/15 arrayed [1] 107/2 candid [1] 109/16 behind [9] 7/7 52/6 52/23 55/12 58/13 article [11] 7/22 11/24 14/4 14/5 14/25 81/8 87/12 90/20 94/25 candidacy [6] 16/13 17/10 57/10 57/11 26/17 35/23 38/10 40/4 43/1 87/13 belief [1] 14/24 58/20 95/1 believe [25] candidate [21] 25/6 26/11 27/14 27/14 Article III [6] 11/24 14/25 26/17 38/10 40/4 43/1 believed [3] 41/10 45/11 107/16 28/24 30/17 30/19 35/7 35/7 35/16 Article IV [1] 14/4 believes [1] 37/22 36/24 57/9 61/10 81/6 87/1 87/23 believing [2] 63/15 106/18 104/20 104/23 106/20 107/5 107/11 Article V [3] 7/22 14/5 35/23 benefit [3] 82/25 93/11 94/2 articles [1] 88/3 candidates [16] 7/7 7/21 12/9 17/16 articulated [2] 79/22 97/22 Benz [1] 33/3 23/10 23/11 23/14 24/20 25/3 71/11 72/9 86/15 87/24 106/3 106/11 107/6 ascertain [1] 19/4 Berg [1] 104/7 ascertainability [1] 45/25 Berg v. Obama [1] 104/7 captures [1] 106/25 ascertainable [4] 74/20 89/21 99/11 Bernie [30] Caramanica [2] 2/11 3/17 besides [1] 39/25 careless [1] 11/1 99/16 aspect [3] 29/20 79/10 83/3 **Beverly [2]** 2/2 3/12 Carelogistics [1] 49/7 asserted [2] 70/23 91/5 **beyond [1]** 18/18 CAROL [1] 1/5 carried [2] 59/11 63/25 asserting [1] 100/22 bias [6] 4/20 27/6 57/12 84/24 85/5 assisting [1] 30/18 97/10 carry [1] 80/6 associate [1] 36/5 biased [3] 55/21 57/9 87/20 Case v [1] 45/3 associated [1] 66/16 black [1] 13/8 Case v. Miami [1] 44/23 association [5] 8/23 10/9 12/5 28/8 blanket [1] 108/2 cast [1] 39/18 **Blvd [1]** 2/15 category [1] 55/7 82/9 associational [1] 74/10 board [4] 10/19 66/3 66/5 66/6 causal [1] 15/1 associations [3] 104/14 104/16 105/8 causation [7] 8/25 33/25 34/7 34/13 body [2] 81/6 103/21 assume [7] 13/4 13/5 76/17 92/19 96/4 boils [1] 32/2 34/21 34/23 103/10 bottom [1] 106/8 cause [10] 38/22 38/23 38/23 38/24 102/4 102/4 bought [4] 33/3 106/8 106/10 108/24 assumed [1] 92/5 51/8 60/11 60/15 62/9 73/13 79/11 assuming [8] 50/4 73/24 74/1 75/25 **Boulevard** [1] 2/12 causes [3] 4/24 101/18 102/1 76/4 92/23 93/14 101/11 branch [1] 31/12 central [1] 11/16 assumption [5] 13/4 14/1 63/24 81/7 **Brazile [1]** 16/25 **CEO [1]** 73/10 86/18 breach [21] 5/9 18/24 19/13 22/14 certifiable [1] 75/18 assure [1] 59/11 41/24 42/17 42/19 42/23 42/23 44/18 certification [27] attacked [1] 4/23 attract [1] 28/14 certified [1] 91/2 56/13 66/14 72/23 72/25 73/2 73/7 93/22 100/11 101/22 101/24 101/24 certify [6] 80/25 89/1 89/11 98/19 **aura [1]** 17/9 breached [4] 7/5 31/19 44/20 45/6 98/21 110/20 auspices [1] 61/16 breaches [1] 66/21 cetera [1] 100/18 authoritative [2] 71/21 71/23 breadth [1] 29/17 chain [1] 22/4 **authority [1]** 80/19 **break [1]** 47/15 **chair [2]** 16/25 17/18 brief [12] 4/5 6/15 34/22 42/4 49/8 avail [1] 50/23 chair-throwing [1] 17/18 60/24 69/2 80/4 83/1 92/5 92/15 94/3 **chairperson [3]** 7/1 14/7 107/19 **Avenue [1]** 2/3 avoid [1] 75/14 briefed [2] 53/9 92/8 chairwoman [1] 22/5 briefing [3] 70/24 89/7 93/12 avoiding [1] 52/4 challenge [3] 20/20 28/1 75/2 briefs [3] 40/2 45/4 92/19 challenges [1] 20/11 await [1] 92/16

### comments [6] 43/4 47/17 48/5 50/8 connections [1] 16/12 C 72/4 103/4 considerable [2] 17/6 21/1 chance [1] 83/1 commercial [3] 10/20 61/13 64/13 considerably [2] 93/24 101/19 characterize [1] 69/13 commission [3] 69/17 69/22 70/3 consideration [2] 52/6 52/7 charged [1] 61/8 consisted [1] 15/25 commitment [3] 34/5 55/3 57/7 charges [4] 21/23 60/4 69/21 70/3 committee [7] 1/9 26/10 26/19 28/14 **consistent [2]** 11/6 67/23 charitable [7] 32/13 32/24 38/16 38/18 30/8 30/16 104/12 consolidation [1] 52/1 **constituent [1]** 66/11 **constitutes [2]** 28/20 41/25 38/24 39/4 39/14 Committee's [2] 13/7 14/15 charity [1] 36/15 **committees** [1] 23/20 chart [1] 77/24 common [16] 10/7 11/14 18/20 39/21 constitutional [1] 10/24 charter [31] 40/7 42/24 42/24 64/25 90/16 93/16 constitutionally [1] 27/9 charters [1] 22/8 95/3 99/12 100/5 104/4 105/6 107/23 **consult [1]** 83/16 check [3] 77/7 87/1 87/23 consumer [19] 21/17 22/10 58/25 59/3 common-law [7] 10/7 11/14 18/20 chilling [1] 46/19 39/21 40/7 42/24 42/24 59/7 59/14 59/15 59/19 59/20 61/2 61/8 choice [8] 62/24 70/11 71/1 82/20 92/7 commonality [5] 93/25 94/14 95/2 61/11 68/23 68/24 69/2 69/4 69/8 70/13 92/13 100/7 104/19 100/22 101/15 71/25 choices [2] 39/4 43/16 commonly [1] 90/13 consumers [7] 21/20 59/8 60/2 60/9 **choose [3]** 36/6 36/19 43/12 **companies** [1] 64/13 60/11 70/14 70/14 **chose [4]** 20/19 42/21 53/2 106/15 company [6] 59/25 64/16 64/18 66/4 consummate [1] 62/2 chosen [1] 106/4 106/7 106/18 contain [1] 84/12 cigars [1] 36/23 compassed [1] 90/2 contains [1] 82/14 circuit [20] 22/17 22/17 22/20 22/21 complain [1] 33/11 contemplates [1] 80/11 22/22 26/19 28/6 42/2 42/3 42/3 42/6 contemplation [1] 96/25 complaint [66] complete [5] 48/7 63/1 70/4 77/20 42/9 60/25 63/8 71/20 71/21 81/17 82/2 contend [1] 51/24 content [1] 21/2 context [19] 10/15 11/13 14/21 15/21 91/1 104/11 78/13 circumstance [5] 32/15 32/23 33/3 complex [1] 109/17 36/15 38/12 38/17 39/16 47/4 51/19 33/5 51/16 compliance [1] 14/16 64/12 64/12 80/25 81/21 86/5 89/24 circumstances [2] 63/12 100/1 complicated [1] 70/11 cite [3] 45/4 48/18 79/2 **component** [1] 27/25 93/9 105/19 108/4 cited [16] 14/17 19/14 22/2 40/2 42/4 computer [2] 1/25 60/6 contract [4] 60/14 73/8 101/22 101/23 49/7 55/11 60/23 62/18 64/5 71/20 computers [1] 55/13 contractual [1] 35/8 79/23 88/3 92/15 100/24 108/20 contrary [3] 55/16 55/16 80/10 conceal [1] 90/22 citing [1] 31/4 concealed [3] 57/12 81/8 90/23 contravention [1] 10/17 citizen [1] 92/2 contributed [3] 4/12 4/15 54/9 contribution [2] 54/14 62/3 concealment [2] 57/14 87/11 citizenship [6] 83/12 84/7 84/14 91/19 concede [2] 48/19 89/24 91/20 92/12 conceivably [1] 102/12 contributions [9] 38/18 39/5 39/14 concept [2] 64/15 105/18 39/14 40/17 40/20 46/15 81/5 107/20 **CIV** [1] 1/4 civil [2] 3/4 8/19 concerned [2] 32/1 71/9 controversy [1] 78/9 claim [21] 5/17 7/11 7/14 9/19 19/13 concerns [1] 82/22 convention [5] 15/24 23/22 23/22 22/11 22/11 22/13 22/13 22/19 28/19 **concerted [1]** 107/5 27/22 28/9 49/2 50/1 51/25 53/4 61/20 66/16 72/16 conclude [2] 10/15 47/16 convert [1] 69/22 concluded [2] 10/16 110/4 88/5 93/22 105/12 coordinate [1] 24/17 claiming [1] 27/10 concludes [1] 49/25 coordinates [2] 23/9 25/2 conclusion [1] 98/1 claims [26] coordinating [2] 17/13 23/12 clarification [1] 103/4 conclusions [3] 53/18 56/16 56/24 coordination [1] 23/20 class [122] concrete [9] 27/21 35/2 35/12 42/14 copy [1] 83/13 class-wide [1] 75/21 42/25 43/21 43/24 44/17 108/17 core [2] 12/15 16/3 classes [10] 4/11 4/25 40/8 74/7 82/10 conduct [16] 10/14 12/17 12/20 31/13 corners [1] 86/6 87/10 94/9 98/18 99/2 102/8 31/13 41/6 46/9 46/11 46/13 55/12 56/9 **CORP [2]** 1/8 4/7 clear [9] 11/11 16/10 33/13 51/15 64/1 80/12 83/1 88/5 104/24 108/9 corporation [4] 63/2 66/3 71/16 73/10 77/16 100/12 105/2 105/7 conducted [2] 86/5 87/20 corporations [3] 64/13 65/9 74/15 conducting [2] 82/7 94/18 Clinton [25] corpus [1] 56/19 **Clinton's [7]** 16/13 17/10 17/14 17/15 conducts [2] 30/4 33/10 correspond [1] 92/10 57/10 58/20 94/25 confer [3] 11/23 58/3 91/8 counsel [47] clock [1] 47/21 confined [1] 108/15 counsel's [4] 13/17 13/18 91/22 97/12 close [4] 22/12 38/12 104/8 108/11 Congress [1] 31/13 count [17] 5/1 5/3 5/8 5/9 5/11 18/25 **co [1]** 69/5 41/22 41/23 41/24 42/18 42/18 56/6 **Congressman [1]** 60/18 co-obligor [1] 69/5 56/11 56/13 92/22 92/23 100/11 Congressman Wassermann [1] 60/18 cocounsel [1] 91/14 congresswoman [15] 7/1 7/4 14/15 Count 1 [1] 5/1 code [3] 5/6 59/13 59/23 21/11 52/18 55/2 57/15 66/17 69/20 Count 2 [1] 5/3 Count 4 [1] 5/8 colleague [1] 36/13 72/19 72/22 84/10 91/24 97/14 102/15 collectively [1] 78/10 Congresswoman Deborah [1] 72/19 Count 5 [1] 5/9 Congresswoman Schultz [1] 7/4 Count 6 [3] 5/11 41/22 41/23 collects [1] 24/21 college [1] 104/3 Congresswoman Wassermann [5] country [13] 12/22 19/6 37/21 70/9 Columbia [12] 4/10 5/6 59/1 59/2 60/24 14/15 21/11 69/20 97/14 102/15 70/14 87/17 106/1 106/25 107/8 107/10 63/8 63/9 77/13 77/18 77/20 78/13 107/22 107/24 109/3 connected [4] 61/2 61/5 61/10 62/7 connection [13] 15/2 15/15 21/23 country's [2] 18/9 37/24 comfortable [1] 53/9 50/19 56/7 66/13 72/23 72/25 79/9 counts [8] 53/23 54/18 56/8 91/7 92/5 92/20 93/7 100/8 command [2] 65/17 65/17 80/13 81/10 82/20 83/3

### decision [1] 45/3 **determines** [1] 92/13 C decisions [5] 17/15 27/6 39/2 106/16 Deutsch [1] 79/24 Counts 1 [2] 91/7 100/8 developed [5] 12/20 64/23 92/7 92/16 109/13 court [118] deemed [2] 61/5 80/9 106/1 Court's [11] 28/17 38/19 39/18 47/18 defect [1] 67/25 deviated [1] 97/14 47/22 50/10 79/12 90/11 109/7 109/10 defective [1] 103/17 device [1] 75/22 defendant [13] 14/24 22/4 37/18 49/11 devoted [1] 57/10 courtroom [5] 3/2 47/21 47/24 48/1 50/18 50/22 60/14 69/19 82/23 83/3 difference [9] 14/22 22/15 35/15 35/23 110/3 85/7 95/18 101/4 35/24 36/1 36/2 37/15 39/17 courts [20] 8/18 8/19 11/22 26/16 differences [4] 93/3 93/7 94/4 94/6 defendant's [1] 22/19 26/20 27/7 29/23 29/24 31/20 36/9 defendants [35] difficult [3] 30/1 31/2 52/20 36/11 46/5 62/19 71/23 89/10 92/16 defendants' [10] 5/13 15/8 51/24 74/2 difficulty [1] 76/16 103/23 104/6 105/7 105/8 76/1 78/22 80/20 82/7 90/20 95/25 dire [3] 107/9 107/22 109/11 Cousins [1] 36/8 defense [20] 3/21 4/1 5/22 23/5 31/7 direct [5] 10/17 33/10 54/11 54/23 Cousins v. Wigoda [1] 36/8 31/8 32/10 35/15 37/6 37/7 43/5 43/8 56/18 cover [6] 3/23 6/8 6/20 21/19 29/17 48/8 48/11 50/1 50/2 66/24 73/17 95/9 directed [1] 67/18 103/3 direction [1] 17/13 covered [4] 34/25 47/5 47/5 100/6 defense's [1] 53/4 directly [1] 94/3 covers [1] 23/1 defenses [2] 49/10 52/17 director [1] 33/1 **CPPA [5]** 21/16 59/12 60/3 61/1 69/2 defer [1] 80/16 directors [3] 66/3 66/5 66/6 crafting [1] 30/19 defined [9] 8/14 59/16 66/10 71/12 directs [1] 52/13 create [3] 46/22 71/18 94/6 82/10 82/18 87/10 89/24 99/8 disadvantaged [1] 35/7 **created [7]** 14/24 18/15 38/9 57/16 definite [1] 102/9 disagree [1] 82/11 72/6 86/21 92/10 definition [3] 19/15 63/10 63/20 disagrees [1] 34/12 creates [1] 47/1 definitions [10] 69/21 88/25 89/3 89/11 disappointed [1] 12/10 creating [2] 16/23 94/16 89/20 90/2 90/5 99/6 99/8 99/15 disclosed [1] 55/13 creation [1] 17/9 defrauded [5] 10/10 11/15 39/20 67/16 disclosing [1] 90/21 credit [1] 59/19 88/4 disclosure [1] 39/8 criteria [2] 89/21 99/16 degree [1] 35/25 discover [2] 96/25 101/2 CRR [2] 2/14 110/24 delegate [1] 27/22 discovery [30] crushed [1] 17/11 discretionary [1] 8/2 delegates [3] 23/23 27/24 104/6 crux [1] 7/3 deliberately [1] 63/9 discuss [1] 34/22 crystallize [1] 51/10 discussed [4] 39/15 79/9 82/21 89/4 delving [1] 93/6 Cullin [3] 2/5 2/6 3/8 demand [1] 69/6 discussing [1] 81/13 custodian [2] 18/8 63/16 demands [1] 109/12 discussion [11] 47/6 58/9 64/23 65/20 83/19 83/25 84/8 86/11 91/11 91/13 **custody [1]** 106/3 democracy [13] 12/16 12/16 13/5 14/1 cuts [1] 49/9 18/9 37/21 37/24 87/18 87/19 106/1 103/1 cutting [1] 87/23 106/9 109/3 109/12 disfavor [1] 80/15 cyclical [1] 41/1 democrat [3] 8/13 19/7 71/8 dismiss [8] 3/21 5/12 20/17 50/2 50/5 51/14 78/21 80/2 democratic [63] democrats [5] 28/15 65/10 65/12 dismissed [3] 6/12 9/17 105/13 D.C [27] 106/14 109/1 disposal [1] 90/11 **D.C.** [3] 59/6 71/20 71/21 demonstrate [1] 7/11 disproved [1] 29/12 D.C. Circuit [2] 71/20 71/21 dispute [2] 30/3 30/21 demonstrated [1] 88/23 **D.C. Superior [1]** 59/6 disputes [3] 17/16 29/24 30/25 denied [1] 81/25 deny [4] 13/8 18/6 85/13 105/4 **d/b/a [1]** 1/8 disregard [1] 44/15 damages [9] 12/11 15/6 15/18 40/16 denying [2] 15/3 81/21 disregards [1] 44/13 40/17 40/19 46/14 46/16 46/17 depends [1] 93/3 disseminating [2] 16/23 107/3 dark [1] 109/3 deposed [1] 9/14 distinct [1] 4/11 data [20] 22/14 22/15 22/18 22/19 depositions [1] 75/9 distinguished [1] 36/13 22/24 24/20 24/21 24/22 41/24 41/25 depth [1] 46/2 distracting [3] 13/16 13/19 13/21 44/18 44/20 45/5 66/14 66/20 72/23 describe [3] 54/25 89/3 106/23 district [29] 72/25 73/1 73/7 93/22 described [5] 41/10 60/1 66/14 72/23 diverse [3] 83/11 84/4 95/17 data's [1] 42/8 diversity [6] 76/19 76/21 77/5 77/21 Date [1] 110/24 describes [1] 54/24 78/3 78/14 dealt [2] 23/19 81/16 description [2] 4/5 5/20 **DIVISION** [1] 1/3 debate [4] 11/2 16/25 27/5 33/8 designed [1] 11/9 **DNC** [122] debates [2] 17/4 24/19 destroy [2] 77/20 78/13 DNC Services [1] 4/7 **Debbie [4]** 7/1 17/19 62/6 91/17 destroys [3] 75/22 100/22 100/22 DNC's [18] 4/20 4/22 7/17 16/10 22/23 Deborah [5] 4/7 66/13 72/19 84/7 91/23 detail [3] 16/19 21/1 25/18 37/17 41/21 54/24 55/3 62/11 63/17 deceit [1] 108/1 detailed [1] 67/11 66/20 70/19 84/24 85/5 87/4 88/5 98/12 deceive [1] 11/9 details [2] 94/23 102/11 do-over [1] 108/14 **Docket** [2] 4/9 5/13 deceived [4] 10/12 11/15 39/21 88/4 determination [5] 33/20 36/10 80/13 deception [1] 55/8 89/14 93/11 doctrine [2] 33/8 104/5 decide [8] 28/8 28/16 29/24 31/3 36/3 determinations [5] 9/6 31/22 89/17 document [5] 16/3 16/20 94/21 102/10 36/11 79/14 100/21 92/17 99/18 102/11 decided [7] 11/21 12/3 27/21 28/11 determine [7] 8/12 8/13 31/14 33/20 documents [4] 15/25 16/15 17/21 36/22 62/23 83/4 72/15 98/23 99/4 decides [2] 36/5 36/6 determined [4] 9/11 9/13 81/18 89/15 domain [8] 12/21 16/16 17/22 22/24

	onforce [5] 12/11 25/5 20/17 20/0	ovuborance [1] 12/17
D	enforce [5] 12/11 35/5 38/17 39/9 108/21	exuberance [1] 13/17
domain [4] 41/25 45/18 55/14 65/9	enforceable [4] 35/11 37/23 38/7 43/17	F
don [1] 61/25	enforced [1] 7/16	face [2] 62/14 63/1
<b>Donald [1]</b> 96/10	enforcing [1] 12/6	facially [1] 79/1
donate [4] 32/13 38/22 57/1 107/11	engage [1] 62/24	fact [27]
donated [11] 41/9 44/6 45/10 84/23	engaged [1] 107/4	factor [1] 92/12
84/25 87/3 96/3 97/9 106/12 107/13	engaging [3] 41/5 46/9 92/17	factors [1] 34/18
107/14	enmesh [1] 75/15	facts [1] 81/8
donates [2] 60/5 61/6	enrichment [5] 5/8 56/11 88/5 93/21	factual [10] 9/6 19/8 53/17 53/22 56/18
donating [7] 58/24 61/10 68/23 69/7	100/18	56/24 65/15 67/7 88/21 92/17
69/10 106/11 108/25	entail [2] 74/12 101/6	fail [1] 50/16
donation [8] 21/24 32/14 35/5 47/1 59/24 60/5 86/18 104/22	entails [2] 20/12 30/11	failed [3] 22/25 51/15 66/21 fails [1] 5/17
donations [8] 11/9 14/21 21/5 69/17	enterprise [2] 64/16 65/5 enters [1] 11/19	failure [11] 7/13 9/18 46/23 46/24 49/2
70/2 70/4 70/5 107/15	enters [1] 17713 entertaining [1] 79/20	50/1 51/8 51/24 53/4 55/20 105/12
donee [1] 32/17	entirely [1] 106/24	fall [3] 5/14 97/21 108/9
Donna [1] 16/25	entities [3] 4/12 4/15 87/25	false [20] 10/24 11/8 14/23 14/23 14/23
donor [24]	entitled [2] 60/2 110/21	15/4 18/15 31/15 32/5 38/8 38/21 39/11
donor's [1] 41/24	entity [7] 22/6 60/19 61/9 64/8 65/5	39/12 39/24 41/12 45/13 45/19 56/3
donors [16] 11/9 22/23 39/3 57/12	72/2 107/18	80/24 86/21
57/12 61/22 66/20 70/16 84/18 86/12	entrusted [1] 63/23	familiarity [1] 68/25
86/23 95/19 96/5 96/6 96/9 98/4	Entry [2] 4/9 5/13	famous [2] 10/22 17/17
donors' [2] 22/15 45/9	equal [1] 27/5	fashion [1] 21/18
drafted [2] 15/22 15/22	error [1] 11/1	favor [4] 4/21 17/3 17/4 57/9
drafting [1] 17/23	especially [2] 18/23 87/22	favored [3] 26/4 28/24 68/17
drag [3] 27/8 28/21 37/1	Esq [6] 2/2 2/2 2/5 2/8 2/11 2/11	favoritism [4] 9/2 9/4 9/7 26/15 favors [1] 88/13
dragged [1] 82/16 duped [1] 104/9	essence [3] 40/3 60/5 81/4 essences [1] 40/4	
duties [3] 31/18 31/19 64/13	essentially [9] 17/11 19/3 23/13 37/21	fee [5] 21/23 60/4 60/7 61/8 62/1
duty [31]	57/8 61/12 73/5 75/9 106/3	fervently [1] 9/1
E	establish [3] 34/13 72/13 92/1	fiction [2] 58/1 108/10
	established [2] 18/20 91/3	fiduciary [31]
e-mails [1] 16/17	estate [1] 59/20	field [1] 107/6
early [3] 28/11 71/1 87/17	et [3] 1/5 1/9 100/18	fighting [2] 15/10 74/22
earned [1] 106/20	et cetera [1] 100/18	figure [4] 16/2 19/7 101/7 101/20
easy [1] 15/11		file [6] 49/15 50/3 50/25 52/12 58/18
economic [5] 40/19 59/17 59/18 65/9	29/22 29/24 30/2 30/12 30/25 34/17	59/12
69/6	55/4 58/2 81/7 81/9	filed [9] 3/21 12/8 15/22 20/17 48/10
economics [1] 64/21 effect [2] 50/11 50/21	evenhandedness [4] 26/24 28/19	48/25 51/14 81/19 86/7
efficiency [1] 49/21	28/21 97/15 event [2] 30/23 48/7	files [2] 46/3 97/1 filing [1] 48/11
effort [2] 94/24 107/5	events [1] 66/17	fill [3] 16/19 94/22 102/10
efforts [2] 15/8 39/3	everybody [5] 16/13 34/20 57/10 87/21	
Eiland [1] 63/7	88/20	final [1] 21/16
elect [1] 25/3		finality [1] 80/6
elected [1] 106/4	109/19	finally [3] 22/12 82/6 94/7
electing [1] 23/14	evidence [4] 15/24 16/10 94/7 102/6	financial [3] 31/17 40/4 107/20
election [14] 12/19 22/6 24/4 24/5	exception [3] 10/13 11/14 108/1	fine [1] 84/16
24/15 61/9 63/17 66/1 71/13 104/15	exchange [1] 86/4	finish [1] 20/3
104/23 106/24 107/19 108/12	excluded [1] 89/22	first-amended [16] 4/8 5/12 5/17 14/11
elections [15] 12/17 12/19 12/20 13/2	excuse [3] 14/4 42/12 68/2	41/11 42/15 45/14 52/15 53/15 56/25
13/6 23/12 25/8 30/12 37/23 41/1 41/6 46/10 60/20 87/19 106/5	executive [3] 26/19 33/1 104/11	66/14 67/8 76/3 76/24 87/5 92/23
electoral [1] 104/3	exemplary [1] 46/17	fit [1] 63/11 fix [2] 102/19 102/22
element [2] 54/18 58/21	<b>exemption [1]</b> 20/10 <b>exercises [1]</b> 65/17	flesh [1] 16/19
elements [5] 14/25 93/23 94/12 101/18	exercises [1] 65/17 exist [1] 64/25	flexibility [2] 80/7 80/11
102/10	existence [1] 64/3	flexible [5] 19/14 63/10 82/14 89/10
Eleventh [5] 26/19 28/6 42/9 82/1 91/1	exited [2] 47/24 110/3	90/10
else's [1] 57/10	expedience [2] 52/3 52/6	Floor [1] 2/9
emphasize [2] 32/3 103/21	expediency [1] 52/25	FLORIDA [15] 1/2 1/6 2/4 2/7 2/10 2/13
employees [1] 14/15	<b>expense [4]</b> 16/13 30/17 30/20 107/5	2/16 27/23 28/11 70/24 77/9 92/1 92/2
enable [1] 39/3	expensive [1] 75/8	92/5 92/19
encompass [1] 19/15	<b>experience [2]</b> 24/13 24/13	focus [2] 97/15 103/15
encompassed [1] 65/15	explains [1] 44/1	folks [7] 21/3 31/17 42/19 63/15 63/24
encompasses [1] 61/9	explore [1] 97/1	64/17 81/5
encourage [1] 71/10 endeavor [1] 103/8	extends [1] 61/1	footnote [1] 85/8
endeavor [1] 103/8 endorsed [2] 34/20 96/2	extent [2] 64/7 78/24 extraordinarily [1] 105/23	forced [1] 49/15 foregoing [1] 110/20
5	100/23	10.090119[1] 110/20

F	Н	61/17 63/16 88/1
foresee [1] 52/20	H.W [1] 35/18	impartiality [4] 28/20 28/21 97/15   105/5
forget [1] 18/19	hacker [1] 4/23	impartially [1] 43/14
forgetting [1] 72/20	hand [4] 7/6 7/7 96/17 107/2	implausibility [1] 44/16
form [4] 12/11 14/20 45/21 62/21	handled [1] 82/21	implement [1] 66/19
formal [2] 80/18 83/1	handling [1] 4/22	implicit [1] 40/1
formation [1] 82/19 former [2] 7/1 16/25	happy [6] 6/2 23/2 29/4 40/14 47/7 104/18	implied [1] 63/13 impose [1] 8/21
FORT [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16	hard-earned [1] 106/20	impose [1] 8/21 impossible [4] 8/24 46/1 80/22 101/14
fought [1] 15/16	harm [2] 73/14 103/10	impression [1] 91/20
founding [2] 10/8 107/25	harmed [1] 22/23	in-depth [1] 46/2
framed [1] 85/7	head [3] 19/16 23/7 73/9	inapplicable [1] 100/2
franchises [1] 59/19	Healthcare [1] 45/3	inappropriate [2] 105/22 106/24
Francine [3] 2/14 110/23 110/24 frankly [7] 18/8 30/6 37/18 46/7 68/15	<b>hear [10]</b> 3/25 4/1 4/2 5/23 29/21 43/4 66/24 78/17 95/9 102/8	inapt [1] 100/2 inchoate [1] 28/18
73/2 102/17	heard [6] 96/18 96/21 100/13 103/23	incident [1] 17/18
fraud [19] 5/1 11/7 20/24 38/17 39/8	103/24 107/10	include [1] 59/14
55/25 67/8 67/13 67/25 68/10 68/21	hearing [6] 1/14 40/25 53/11 81/4 87/4	includes [1] 59/18
91/2 91/4 93/20 99/25 105/19 105/22	105/17	including [7] 14/15 31/19 50/16 55/2
105/25 107/25	heart [1] 9/17	57/11 69/4 79/23
fraudulent [3] 10/13 10/14 12/3 fraudulently [1] 32/12	help [4] 13/19 24/1 24/7 25/3 helpful [1] 109/7	incorporated [1] 53/23 indeed [3] 84/2 88/10 109/3
free [4] 8/22 12/17 43/16 58/7	helps [1] 24/17	individual [10] 4/1 13/15 16/4 24/8
freedom [5] 10/9 10/9 12/4 12/4 28/8	Hernandez [3] 2/8 2/8 3/10	67/15 67/19 74/25 75/10 98/24 100/4
frequently [2] 71/14 90/6	hesitation [1] 62/19	individualized [5] 75/21 90/16 95/23
friend [1] 106/22	Hey [2] 32/25 36/16	99/19 102/19
front [5] 31/23 51/4 52/15 52/25 53/16 fuller [1] 52/25	highlights [1] 74/19 Hillary [24]	individually [1] 99/4 individuals [8] 8/3 44/4 59/4 96/1 97/5
fund [2] 24/1 24/7	hiring [2] 17/14 27/6	97/6 97/20 109/2
fundamental [2] 87/16 87/19	history [2] 12/19 106/1	induce [2] 56/3 68/17
fundamentally [3] 52/14 86/15 87/2	Hold [1] 102/24	induced [5] 8/4 32/13 32/14 57/1 68/17
funded [1] 24/13	holding [1] 24/4	indulgence [1] 44/24
funding [2] 25/20 65/21 fundraisers [2] 11/8 39/10	honest [1] 25/25 Honor [127]	industry [1] 40/4 inevitability [1] 17/9
fundraising [1] 38/16	Honor's [11] 23/25 28/25 35/4 44/23	infer [1] 66/9
funds [3] 24/14 24/15 32/25	45/8 67/5 68/22 72/22 97/8 99/14	inference [1] 57/21
G	102/21	inform [1] 39/7
gain [4] 55/25 68/10 68/13 68/21	Honorable [1] 1/15	information [6] 4/23 16/16 55/14 66/20
general [10] 5/20 17/6 23/24 24/19	hope [3] 37/19 38/5 107/23 household [3] 69/9 69/14 69/14	96/24 107/4 informed [2] 39/4 84/1
32/17 32/19 36/20 45/14 98/8 106/4	huge [1] 74/21	infrequent [1] 99/7
generalized [1] 68/12	hundred [1] 78/12	infringe [1] 31/11
gentleman [1] 43/19	hundred-some [1] 78/12	inherently [1] 31/21
George [1] 35/18 germane [1] 4/24	hurt [1] 30/19 hurts [1] 88/20	injunction [1] 46/9
Gertz [1] 10/22	hypothetical [1] 43/12	injured [3] 8/14 31/17 98/9 injuries [1] 108/16
gets [11] 18/12 23/25 31/22 36/10	I 10/12	injury [24]
38/19 49/22 61/8 65/14 77/5 85/6 90/19	<u> </u>	inquiry [2] 46/2 95/23
Gill [1] 80/3	l'd [2] 3/23 99/22	instance [3] 24/21 101/23 108/21
gives [6] 40/5 50/22 50/25 51/18 104/22 107/23	l'   [24]  l'm [43]	instances [1] 14/18
glove [1] 107/2		instead [1] 17/18 institutions [1] 88/19
gonna [24]	53/16 77/24 100/6 100/23 103/8 105/2	integrity [1] 35/17
goods [5] 21/20 59/5 59/15 59/16 69/4	idea [1] 34/3	intelligent [1] 109/13
gotten [1] 16/7	identified [2] 18/13 108/16	intended [5] 55/25 56/2 68/10 68/13
governing [1] 81/6 government [3] 31/12 39/3 39/7	identify [2] 99/10 102/1 III [6] 11/24 14/25 26/17 38/10 40/4	68/20
grab [1] 83/13	43/1	intent [3] 16/10 52/23 58/21 intentional [3] 10/25 56/9 58/19
great [3] 29/9 47/19 109/20	Illinois [4] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1	intentionality [2] 57/20 57/20
greater [1] 96/13	Illinois vs. Madigan [2] 38/15 39/1	intentionally [1] 57/1
grievances [1] 31/5	illusion [1] 65/23	inter [1] 104/5
ground [1] 16/7 grounds [1] 39/19	illustrates [3] 26/16 44/16 45/19 imagine [2] 86/9 96/23	inter/intraparty [1] 104/5
group [2] 45/3 103/14	immediately [1] 17/20	interest [1] 11/2 interests [3] 33/22 49/21 75/16
Guccifer [5] 16/2 16/15 16/20 17/23	imminent [3] 40/21 40/23 40/25	interference [1] 36/11
58/16	immunity [2] 31/24 108/3	internal [13] 7/5 7/16 16/4 16/20 28/7
Guccifer 2.0 [3] 16/2 16/15 17/23	impartial [13] 13/3 13/6 14/8 17/19	33/12 35/6 36/10 37/1 42/23 58/15 97/2
	26/25 29/22 29/25 30/2 30/13 37/24	102/14

	-	
	lawyer [1] 13/21	measure [1] 27/6
<b>!</b>	lawyers [2] 29/10 109/12	mechanical [1] 1/24
interrupt [2] 13/9 83/20	leader [2] 66/18 73/4	mechanics [1] 24/3
interrupting [1] 53/25	leadership [4] 23/13 62/15 63/5 88/11	mechanisms [5] 82/14 82/17 82/17
intraparty [1] 104/5	leading [1] 60/20	82/22 90/4
invade [9] 33/22 74/9 74/12 74/18	leaked [1] 55/14	media [11] 14/14 16/12 16/23 17/10
75/15 96/15 96/15 96/17 102/13	leaks [3] 16/22 17/23 58/17	21/12 30/6 30/19 55/1 57/16 107/3
invasion [3] 18/20 40/7 46/6	lease [1] 69/4	107/8
invasive [1] 75/8	leave [2] 20/5 109/12	meet [5] 73/24 78/8 78/10 88/24 102/2
investment [1] 106/19	Lee [1] 2/3	meeting [1] 100/19
invoke [1] 81/19	legal [5] 53/18 56/15 56/24 109/1	member [7] 8/10 9/13 44/17 74/11
invoked [2] 82/5 92/11	109/17	75/22 84/5 96/5
invokes [1] 105/21	legitimacy [1] 39/3	member's [1] 75/3
involvement [2] 23/16 24/25	leverage [1] 16/11	members [32]
iPhone [1] 60/6		
	liability [2] 61/1 73/6	membership [2] 46/3 108/17
	liable [1] 73/11	memo [1] 16/9
irregularities [2] 18/1 18/3	light [2] 25/21 58/15	memorandum [2] 16/5 16/14
issue [36]	limit [1] 38/1	Mercedes [1] 33/3
issues [69]	link [1] 69/16	Mercedes-Benz [1] 33/3
IV [1] 14/4	lips [3] 35/19 35/20 37/16	merchant [4] 59/9 69/20 69/22 70/13
	list [1] 78/12	merit [1] 89/6
J	listen [1] 13/20	merits [1] 49/18
January [2] 4/13 4/16	lists [1] 46/3	merits-type [1] 49/18
January 1 [2] 4/13 4/16		
	litany [1] 26/14	message [1] 24/19
Jared [2] 2/2 3/6	literally [1] 24/3	Mexico [1] 46/25
join [1] 42/20	litigant [1] 11/19	Miami [4] 2/4 2/10 44/23 45/3
joined [2] 62/16 63/15	litigation [3] 49/10 74/16 90/6	millions [7] 64/8 72/3 75/7 75/9 96/6
Judge [6] 1/16 3/2 47/24 48/1 110/1	local [4] 23/10 23/19 70/12 71/23	97/19 98/6
110/3	locations [1] 18/1	mindful [2] 6/6 54/1
judges [1] 29/11	LoCicero [1] 2/12	minitrial [1] 75/10
judgment [7] 19/10 49/4 51/1 51/19	logical [3] 68/16 68/19 98/2	minor [1] 67/25
52/10 52/13 52/21	lose [1] 18/21	minority [1] 28/12
judicial [4] 15/5 49/20 52/8 109/1	loses [1] 49/11	minute [1] 108/6
July [3] 4/13 4/16 15/24	loss [4] 11/22 11/23 22/14 22/19	minutes [2] 103/3 103/5
July 13 [2] 4/13 4/16		misbehavior [1] 30/23
June [1] 15/23	M	
		IMISIEAOINO IZI 11/0.31/10
	machine [1] 18/3	misleading [2] 11/8 31/16
jurisdiction [26]	machine [1] 18/3 Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1	misnomer [1] 71/4
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54]
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56]
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56]
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2 K keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciabile [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciabile [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciability [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciability [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motion [56] motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N NAACP [1] 46/4
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciability [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N NAACP [1] 46/4 NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciabile [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10 LAUDERDALE [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5 materially [1] 11/1	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N  NAACP [1] 46/4 NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4 named [6] 16/2 44/19 45/16 54/12
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciability [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10 LAUDERDALE [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16 law [69]	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5 materially [1] 11/1 matter [25]	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N  NAACP [1] 46/4 NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4 named [6] 16/2 44/19 45/16 54/12 77/17 77/17
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciability [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10 LAUDERDALE [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16 law [69] laws [11] 38/17 39/10 92/11 92/20	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5 materially [1] 11/1 matter [25] matters [1] 104/13	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N  NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4 named [6] 16/2 44/19 45/16 54/12 77/17 77/17 narrative [1] 57/16
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10 LAUDERDALE [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16 law [69] laws [11] 38/17 39/10 92/11 92/20 92/25 93/4 93/15 93/18 93/23 94/4	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5 materially [1] 11/1 matter [25] matters [1] 104/13 mean [50]	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N  NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4 named [6] 16/2 44/19 45/16 54/12 77/17 77/17 narrative [1] 57/16 narratives [2] 16/23 30/19
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10 LAUDERDALE [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16 law [69] laws [11] 38/17 39/10 92/11 92/20 92/25 93/4 93/15 93/18 93/23 94/4 101/12	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5 materially [1] 11/1 matter [25] matters [1] 104/13 mean [50] meaning [2] 7/15 91/25	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N  NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4 named [6] 16/2 44/19 45/16 54/12 77/17 77/17 narrative [1] 57/16 narratives [2] 16/23 30/19 narrow [2] 89/19 99/15
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10 LAUDERDALE [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16 law [69] laws [11] 38/17 39/10 92/11 92/20 92/25 93/4 93/15 93/18 93/23 94/4 101/12 lawsuit [10] 14/3 15/14 44/12 82/10	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5 materially [1] 11/1 matter [25] matters [1] 104/13 mean [50] meaning [2] 7/15 91/25 means [17] 8/13 11/18 14/1 19/15 20/9	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N  NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4 named [6] 16/2 44/19 45/16 54/12 77/17 77/17 narrative [1] 57/16 narratives [2] 16/23 30/19 narrowed [1] 99/8
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10 LAUDERDALE [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16 law [69] laws [11] 38/17 39/10 92/11 92/20 92/25 93/4 93/15 93/18 93/23 94/4 101/12 lawsuit [10] 14/3 15/14 44/12 82/10 82/16 84/19 86/13 88/8 98/10 103/12	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5 materially [1] 11/1 matter [25] matters [1] 104/13 mean [50] meaning [2] 7/15 91/25 means [17] 8/13 11/18 14/1 19/15 20/9 29/22 30/2 30/7 30/15 30/18 30/21	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N  NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4 named [6] 16/2 44/19 45/16 54/12 77/17 77/17 narrative [1] 57/16 narratives [2] 16/23 30/19 narrowed [1] 99/8 national [10] 1/9 8/11 13/7 14/14 26/10
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10 LAUDERDALE [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16 law [69] laws [11] 38/17 39/10 92/11 92/20 92/25 93/4 93/15 93/18 93/23 94/4 101/12 lawsuit [10] 14/3 15/14 44/12 82/10	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5 materially [1] 11/1 matter [25] matters [1] 104/13 mean [50] meaning [2] 7/15 91/25 means [17] 8/13 11/18 14/1 19/15 20/9	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N  NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4 named [6] 16/2 44/19 45/16 54/12 77/17 77/17 narrative [1] 57/16 narratives [2] 16/23 30/19 narrowed [1] 99/8
jurisdiction [26] jurisdictions' [2] 92/24 93/15 justice [1] 11/17 justiciability [2] 31/7 32/7 justiciable [2] 8/17 29/2  K  keep [4] 31/4 31/23 72/19 73/22 keeping [1] 70/1 Kemp [1] 63/7 Kemp vs. Eiland [1] 63/7 kids [2] 32/20 33/1 kinds [3] 24/22 27/18 34/18 knowing [2] 52/18 106/21 knowledge [6] 42/9 45/16 85/10 85/19 95/24 98/15 knows [2] 34/20 82/13  L  labor [1] 52/8 lack [2] 5/15 9/17 LaFollette [2] 36/8 104/7 language [6] 26/24 27/1 31/3 50/20 61/4 69/1 large [1] 30/10 LAUDERDALE [4] 1/3 1/6 2/7 2/16 law [69] laws [11] 38/17 39/10 92/11 92/20 92/25 93/4 93/15 93/18 93/23 94/4 101/12 lawsuit [10] 14/3 15/14 44/12 82/10 82/16 84/19 86/13 88/8 98/10 103/12	Madigan [5] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 40/1 Madigan vs. Illinois [2] 11/4 38/15 magnitude [1] 85/16 mails [1] 16/17 maintain [3] 11/7 80/23 88/12 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintaining [1] 58/1 maintains [1] 84/10 major [3] 8/11 12/21 107/1 majority [1] 21/21 malicious [1] 56/9 manageability [3] 93/4 94/6 94/15 manageable [4] 92/25 99/11 101/12 102/3 managed [1] 90/10 management [1] 101/15 manner [9] 13/6 14/8 17/19 29/25 31/1 37/24 55/5 58/2 59/4 Mark [2] 2/11 3/17 market [7] 64/21 99/25 105/19 105/22 105/24 105/25 106/3 Martorella [1] 79/24 massive [1] 101/5 material [6] 36/2 37/15 81/12 93/3 93/7 94/5 materially [1] 11/1 matter [25] matters [1] 104/13 mean [50] meaning [2] 7/15 91/25 means [17] 8/13 11/18 14/1 19/15 20/9 29/22 30/2 30/7 30/15 30/18 30/21	misnomer [1] 71/4 misrepresentation [7] 5/3 20/24 38/17 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/21 misrepresentations [2] 55/7 108/3 missing [1] 31/9 misused [2] 22/18 42/8 mjsfcs [1] 2/16 moment [4] 22/23 58/3 61/6 77/7 money [54] month [1] 16/9 morning [1] 3/6 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motions [2] 74/23 80/10 motive [3] 95/25 96/1 96/1 moved [1] 5/12 moving [1] 70/18 Mr. [2] 9/3 34/16 Mr. Sanders [2] 9/3 34/16 muddy [1] 15/8 multiple [1] 30/11 mystery [2] 21/8 21/14 N  NAACP vs. Button [1] 46/4 named [6] 16/2 44/19 45/16 54/12 77/17 77/17 narrative [1] 57/16 narratives [2] 16/23 30/19 narrowed [1] 99/8 national [10] 1/9 8/11 13/7 14/14 26/10

# N nationwide [4] 8/10 23/15 70/9 101/22 nature [3] 31/6 80/6 90/15 NE [1] 2/6 nebulous [1] 72/5 necessary [1] 59/18 negligence [5] 5/11 22/13 22/13 41/21 negligent [6] 5/3 20/24 56/6 67/9 91/4 93/20 Neither [1] 10/25 neutral [2] 7/6 7/20 neutrality [5] 8/6 45/12 57/7 87/14 Nevada [2] 17/18 30/22 New York [5] 19/19 19/20 62/18 62/22 **news [1]** 87/13 Ninth [4] 22/17 22/21 42/3 81/16 nominated [1] 106/4 nominating [5] 13/2 14/9 23/22 30/11 55/15 nomination [5] 16/6 17/8 57/25 58/20 nominee [2] 13/2 108/14 nominees [1] 43/12 none [5] 73/1 73/2 99/12 100/24 note [5] 3/5 70/20 71/21 72/10 72/12 **noted [2]** 67/10 68/1 notice [1] 21/7 notification [1] 82/17 notion [2] 99/25 103/22 notwithstanding [1] 81/24 nowhere [1] 68/11 number [11] 3/4 4/9 5/13 19/22 19/23 20/4 24/14 38/8 41/11 85/21 85/22 Number 16-61511-Civil [1] 3/4 number 160 [1] 41/11 Number 8 [2] 4/9 5/13 number one [3] 19/22 38/8 85/21 number two [2] 19/23 85/22 numbers [2] 53/14 56/25 numbers 187 [1] 56/25 numbers 188 [1] 53/14 numeric [1] 27/25 **O'Brien [5]** 2/5 2/6 3/8 36/7 104/7 **Obama [1]** 104/7 **objection [1]** 49/1 objective [2] 89/21 99/16

O'Brien [5] 2/5 2/6 3/8 36/7 104/7
Obama [1] 104/7
objection [1] 49/1
objective [2] 89/21 99/16
obligation [5] 7/20 35/8 35/9 37/23
71/19
obligations [1] 38/7
obligor [1] 69/5
obtaining [1] 39/11
occasions [1] 10/7
offer [2] 27/9 108/2
offers [1] 24/19
Office [2] 2/8 31/14
offices [2] 24/21 84/10
Official [2] 2/14 110/24
officials [4] 16/17 16/22 55/2 57/16
oftentimes [2] 92/10 93/2
oh [5] 13/10 29/5 41/13 76/20 85/4
omission [3] 55/9 55/18 87/11
omissions [8] 31/15 38/22 56/3 81/1

81/2 81/12 90/25 91/3 omitted [1] 107/21 online [2] 4/23 21/22 open [1] 11/2 opening [5] 5/22 6/1 6/15 19/2 23/2 **operating [1]** 58/1 operation [1] 23/6 operational [1] 29/20 operatives [1] 17/14 opinion [4] 10/22 11/5 22/15 42/6 opportunities [1] 59/19 opportunity [3] 29/8 51/13 80/12 opposed [4] 39/14 89/7 90/12 90/24 opposing [1] 68/3 **opposite [1]** 98/1 opt [2] 82/17 90/4 opt-out [1] 82/17 option [3] 50/22 50/25 51/18 order [11] 16/12 19/15 22/18 44/11 46/18 60/14 80/5 80/7 81/22 104/16 109/15 orders [1] 85/16 organization [14] 21/12 30/9 32/13 32/16 32/24 39/24 61/17 62/14 63/22 63/22 63/23 73/9 73/11 73/12 organizing [1] 30/10 original [4] 29/1 50/17 50/20 82/5 ought [3] 51/20 52/8 92/16 outcome [3] 85/10 106/21 107/6 outcomes [1] 33/11 outlets [1] 107/3 outlines [1] 16/5 output [1] 59/17 outset [2] 18/13 101/20 overall [1] 65/24 overarching [2] 75/1 94/24 overbroad [1] 89/16 overreach [1] 36/1 overview [1] 6/15 owe [4] 19/25 19/25 64/8 72/2 owed [3] 62/20 63/4 88/11 owes [3] 19/23 65/12 66/3

### Þ

P.A [2] 2/3 2/6 p.m [5] 1/7 3/1 47/25 47/25 110/4 page [4] 39/1 39/1 80/4 80/4 page 18 [1] 80/4 page 2 [1] 80/4 page 623 [1] 39/1 paint [2] 12/8 15/9 papers [3] 31/9 60/12 92/8 par [1] 27/16 paragraph [21] 14/10 41/10 41/18 41/18 53/14 54/24 56/1 56/2 56/6 56/8 56/10 56/13 56/25 57/4 57/5 78/22 84/9 84/9 87/5 91/21 91/23 paragraph 1 [1] 91/23 Paragraph 154 [1] 84/9 paragraph 159 [2] 14/10 54/24 paragraph 160 [1] 87/5 paragraph 161 [1] 57/4 paragraph 171 [1] 57/5 paragraph 187 [1] 56/2 paragraph 188 [1] 41/18 paragraph 194 [1] 56/6 paragraph 195 [1] 41/18 paragraph 204 [1] 56/8 paragraph 210 [1] 56/10

paragraph 216 [1] 56/13 paragraphs [15] 41/19 45/13 53/18 54/11 54/12 54/23 56/14 56/16 57/8 67/7 67/17 67/18 68/12 73/1 84/2 paragraphs 187 [2] 56/16 68/12 paragraphs 188 [2] 45/13 67/7 paragraphs 2 [2] 54/11 67/18 paragraphs 55 [1] 84/2 paraphrase [2] 26/3 105/20 paraphrasing [1] 37/15 part [12] 11/25 27/12 34/15 37/13 54/10 54/18 58/14 64/16 82/12 82/16 87/19 94/20 participate [9] 44/11 84/19 84/21 85/23 86/13 86/25 87/21 88/7 106/13 participated [1] 16/23 particularized [4] 42/14 42/25 43/21 103/11 parties [22] 8/12 12/22 23/10 23/19 23/21 25/1 25/3 25/6 25/16 26/11 65/11 65/18 66/11 74/15 74/15 74/22 82/25 86/16 104/13 105/8 106/2 107/2 parties' [2] 35/6 46/3 parts [1] 59/17 party [100] party's [11] 7/16 19/24 33/16 36/9 63/5 71/9 74/10 74/13 81/6 88/12 102/14 pattern [1] 91/2 pay [1] 46/25 payment [5] 18/14 19/1 32/4 38/8 108/17 payments [1] 59/24 Pembroke [1] 84/11 pending [1] 38/13 people [42] people's [1] 82/9 perceived [1] 97/10 percent [4] 21/23 24/11 60/4 61/8 percentage [1] 60/7 perfect [1] 51/2 perfectly [1] 65/6 perhaps [8] 19/9 19/9 40/25 51/10 64/10 65/15 66/2 89/15 permits [1] 50/13 person [20] 9/12 22/6 28/1 32/12 32/14 59/14 60/19 61/1 61/4 61/10 69/2 73/13 87/3 87/7 87/13 87/15 98/11 98/14 98/16 108/20 person/one [1] 28/1 personal [3] 22/24 69/9 69/15 personally [3] 15/7 21/15 22/21 persons [3] 62/7 88/24 89/21 perspective [2] 95/1 95/2 pertain [1] 54/7 pertains [2] 35/17 78/19 pervaded [1] 97/11 Pharmacy [1] 10/19 **phonetic** [1] 80/3 phrase [2] 96/11 97/11 phrased [1] 31/8 pick [1] 36/23 picking [2] 17/16 30/24 picture [1] 51/6 piecemeal [1] 49/10 Pines [1] 84/11 place [5] 10/14 67/4 77/14 87/25 99/25 plain [3] 20/19 50/20 50/21 plaintiff [27] plaintiffs [61]

### prospects [1] 109/2 premise [1] 105/9 Р prepared [2] 5/25 29/11 protect [4] 21/19 22/25 59/4 59/8 present [1] 69/23 plaintiffs' [11] 7/3 25/21 33/25 41/8 protected [3] 10/21 66/19 97/3 70/20 72/13 88/25 90/15 98/18 99/10 presentation [1] 97/12 protection [4] 12/3 59/7 68/24 72/1 presented [2] 93/24 109/15 protects [3] 39/23 107/25 108/1 101/20 plan [1] 43/15 preset [1] 58/14 prove [7] 41/2 45/24 55/10 68/4 68/6 planning [1] 50/23 presidency [1] 24/20 75/20 94/13 platform [1] 12/14 president [7] 30/11 31/14 35/18 47/2 103/25 104/15 108/22 **proven [1]** 86/19 **provide [2]** 25/16 69/5 plausibility [2] 44/8 68/14 plausible [4] 44/22 45/18 86/3 97/24 provides [1] 23/13 President George [1] 35/18 plausibly [1] 28/5 province [5] 8/19 9/9 31/12 102/13 President Trump [3] 47/2 103/25 play [2] 73/25 104/14 108/22 103/23 provision [3] 33/17 79/2 79/3 **plead [1]** 61/20 presidential [6] 4/22 14/8 23/11 25/8 pleading [6] 21/9 54/1 64/1 67/11 proviso [1] 79/12 25/14 54/9 67/12 67/25 presumed [1] 100/1 public [21] 11/3 16/15 16/16 17/22 21/1 pleadings [15] 3/24 5/20 19/11 29/16 pretenses [1] 39/11 22/24 39/7 41/25 44/9 45/12 45/18 44/14 44/15 47/12 48/3 51/1 51/19 prevail [1] 94/13 55/14 55/16 57/14 63/18 65/9 90/21 prevent [4] 39/8 41/3 46/9 49/10 51/23 52/10 52/13 52/21 103/17 90/22 105/3 107/4 107/21 pled [10] 16/21 19/12 20/23 20/23 21/2 prevents [1] 50/1 publicly [1] 55/13 primaries [14] 16/7 17/1 23/17 23/24 21/17 22/11 66/8 80/23 80/24 punitive [1] 46/16 pocket [1] 33/2 24/2 24/4 24/8 25/9 25/10 25/14 25/14 purchase [4] 59/4 59/15 69/3 106/18 purchased [9] 61/22 61/25 62/1 62/6 pocketed [1] 36/17 26/7 30/22 46/25 point [16] 4/6 13/25 17/2 17/24 18/11 primarily [4] 11/21 23/19 69/9 69/14 69/12 69/13 70/17 106/7 106/7 primary [21] 4/22 13/2 15/23 16/11 32/11 47/10 59/18 73/20 79/6 86/10 purchasing [1] 62/4 purging [1] 18/4 purport [3] 34/10 34/11 44/2 89/24 90/19 94/22 98/9 100/12 18/2 22/7 23/12 24/5 30/23 35/17 37/23 points [4] 6/21 20/3 21/16 80/21 46/24 47/4 60/20 81/7 81/10 90/20 98/7 purported [3] 7/20 9/4 28/18 policies [3] 17/3 66/19 71/11 104/1 104/2 106/21 policy [2] 65/24 104/5 principal [3] 15/5 15/17 77/14 purportedly [3] 7/5 8/6 9/1 purports [2] 16/4 61/17 political [64] principle [4] 26/23 32/17 32/19 82/1 politically [1] 107/10 principles [4] 18/10 33/7 40/9 105/21 purposes [2] 59/11 69/3 politics [9] 27/19 28/7 31/25 37/1 37/2 privacy [2] 96/16 96/17 pursuant [1] 63/20 64/22 64/24 90/12 107/8 private [5] 22/19 64/12 104/14 104/16 pursues [1] 65/25 polling [1] 18/1 105/8 **pushed [1]** 17/10 portion [2] 50/6 78/24 privity [3] 22/1 60/13 60/13 putative [5] 4/6 44/4 74/25 77/8 77/17 portions [1] 91/25 problem [8] 13/12 34/21 34/24 75/19 pose [1] 46/1 93/5 96/14 101/15 103/16 posed [3] 37/14 38/20 92/3 qualify [1] 60/1 problematic [1] 35/3 posing [1] 10/3 problems [3] 74/24 102/19 102/22 quash [1] 48/25 position [22] 20/22 22/17 26/8 26/21 procedural [1] 45/21 **query [1]** 96/15 33/16 41/8 41/15 41/16 41/17 41/23 **Procedure [2]** 68/24 71/25 question [61] questioned [1] 97/7 45/9 49/22 53/12 60/12 64/24 66/16 Procedures [1] 59/8 70/20 85/9 86/4 88/18 92/18 107/3 proceed [3] 45/20 45/21 94/11 questions [41] positive [1] 77/6 proceedings [3] 1/24 110/4 110/21 quick [1] 77/25 proceeds [1] 53/3 quickly [2] 80/21 95/12 possibility [2] 90/7 109/1 potentially [3] 96/22 99/6 99/24 quote [10] 4/10 10/19 10/23 39/9 59/6 process [48] processing [4] 21/23 60/4 60/8 62/1 **pouring [1]** 17/6 59/14 59/16 61/1 63/6 78/23 **power [1]** 107/8 proclaiming [1] 87/14 quoted [1] 69/1 quotes [1] 54/25 practice [1] 69/6 produced [1] 1/25 practices [1] 59/9 product [1] 61/13 precede [2] 10/7 39/21 professional [1] 39/10 precedent [2] 11/6 105/10 preclude [1] 50/24 race [1] 9/8 program [2] 32/21 32/21 rail [2] 45/23 75/20 programs [1] 33/1 raise [12] 9/8 33/23 48/24 49/3 49/19 predetermine [1] 57/25 prohibit [1] 39/10 promise [11] 22/8 35/11 35/12 35/16 predetermined [9] 55/22 58/19 85/20 50/13 50/15 50/16 50/19 51/16 51/17 87/20 97/16 97/18 106/21 106/23 107/7 35/16 35/20 37/16 46/23 47/4 108/21 52/2 raised [5] 35/21 49/1 53/1 82/23 83/3 predetermining [1] 85/10 108/22 predicated [1] 52/11 raises [2] 24/7 24/23 promised [1] 32/16 predominance [5] 45/24 75/11 94/15 promises [3] 12/6 12/10 12/11 raising [2] 35/22 50/25 rampant [1] 82/8 100/22 101/16 promote [1] 52/24 predominant [1] 90/19 ran [1] 43/13 prong [3] 35/3 35/13 35/13 predominate [4] 90/16 95/3 99/12 rare [2] 101/21 101/25 prongs [1] 33/24 proof [2] 46/19 75/21 reach [1] 49/24 100/5 reached [1] 107/9 **prefatory** [1] 16/1 propelling [1] 17/7 read [8] 35/19 35/20 37/16 59/10 87/13 prefer [1] 6/1 proper [3] 70/10 98/21 102/5 preference [4] 25/5 25/8 26/5 26/9 87/15 88/2 98/12 properly [3] 49/13 63/13 82/5 prejudice [6] 53/10 79/14 79/16 79/20 proposed [8] 4/25 62/16 88/25 94/9 readily [2] 11/20 89/20 79/21 105/13 98/18 98/22 99/3 102/8 reading [7] 20/19 38/25 53/25 54/20 prejudiced [3] 53/5 53/7 53/12 61/19 73/22 87/4 proposition [2] 19/6 64/15 premature [3] 62/24 80/19 81/13 realm [4] 65/3 85/17 99/23 108/2 prospective [1] 80/7

## R reasoning [1] 42/5 reasons [6] 39/15 48/13 61/20 74/6 76/15 89/4 receive [2] 59/15 69/4 received [1] 67/20 recent [1] 59/6 recently [2] 11/4 81/16 recess [4] 47/15 47/22 47/25 110/2 recognize [4] 19/20 20/8 22/16 42/2 recognized [4] 11/22 39/2 39/20 42/24 recognizes [2] 10/5 19/14 recognizing [1] 81/23 recollection [1] 81/17 record [18] 48/7 52/15 52/25 53/25 58/9 62/25 73/22 83/19 83/25 84/8 86/9 86/11 91/11 91/13 92/6 92/17 103/1 110/21 recorded [1] 1/24 redress [2] 15/5 27/9 redressability [2] 34/24 35/13 redressable [3] 8/20 8/23 103/11 refer [1] 44/22 referenced [4] 16/1 21/13 56/15 91/22 referred [5] 4/13 26/15 26/19 45/8 referring [3] 25/12 38/14 60/23 refers [2] 48/22 52/23 refiled [1] 49/16 refined [1] 89/16 reflected [1] 27/6 refused [1] 49/14 register [2] 71/8 71/8 registered [10] 4/18 42/13 42/20 62/11 63/24 65/10 65/12 77/11 88/6 106/14 registering [1] 108/25 registration [3] 8/11 71/6 71/7 reiterate [1] 43/13 reject [1] 75/25 rejected [1] 76/4 rejecting [1] 76/17 rejects [2] 74/2 75/1 relationship [15] 19/16 62/11 62/13 62/17 63/10 63/11 63/12 64/4 70/19 71/18 71/24 72/6 88/13 88/14 88/15 relationships [1] 17/7 release [1] 41/24 released [7] 16/2 16/3 16/14 16/17 16/20 17/22 22/24 relevance [1] 18/23 relevant [1] 102/12 reliance [20] 9/15 13/1 14/23 15/4 18/15 21/4 41/19 44/10 45/15 45/17 45/23 54/5 54/18 75/18 75/19 80/24 80/24 95/24 98/15 100/1 relied [8] 8/7 34/5 53/20 54/22 55/11 55/18 67/21 68/4 relief [8] 15/5 15/17 15/17 78/20 89/8 108/15 108/15 109/2 rely [4] 18/25 42/18 56/5 75/3 relying [1] 44/7 remain [2] 7/6 7/20 remaining [2] 48/3 76/12 remarks [5] 5/22 6/1 16/1 19/2 34/25 remedy [2] 41/3 107/19 remedying [1] 108/15 remember [1] 87/18 reminded [1] 72/21

remotely [1] 108/23 repeated [1] 56/5 reporter [5] 2/14 2/14 47/15 103/2 110/24 reports [2] 17/25 18/3 represent [3] 4/11 15/13 44/2 representation [1] 28/14 representations [10] 11/8 21/4 31/15 31/17 31/18 37/17 38/21 38/22 39/24 108/4 Representative [1] 8/4 Representative Sanders [1] 8/4 representatives [5] 28/9 44/5 44/10 77/8 94/18 represented [3] 30/4 30/5 101/1 representing [1] 91/24 republic [2] 10/8 107/25 republican [8] 26/18 28/4 28/11 28/13 71/9 103/24 103/25 104/11 republican/one [2] 28/4 28/13 request [3] 50/18 79/3 79/5 required [2] 44/21 73/23 requirement [2] 60/16 73/23 requirements [7] 21/9 39/9 52/1 54/1 74/1 75/12 100/19 resale [1] 69/3 reside [1] 70/10 residence [2] 54/12 91/17 resident [1] 84/5 residents [1] 4/10 resides [1] 91/24 resolve [2] 7/11 7/15 resolved [4] 7/13 96/22 99/19 101/9 resources [3] 17/7 30/16 74/21 respond [3] 37/5 37/8 101/4 response [9] 37/12 43/8 43/11 45/8 50/10 54/10 68/11 70/25 103/5 responses [1] 109/6 responsibility [2] 62/20 66/21 rest [1] 92/18 result [8] 31/18 41/21 42/14 55/25 61/14 68/10 68/21 85/20 results [3] 97/16 97/18 108/12 return [4] 40/17 46/15 70/2 70/4 revised [1] 90/5 **Reynolds [1]** 28/3 Reynolds v. Sims [1] 28/3 rhetoric [2] 12/13 85/12 rifle [1] 104/25 rig [2] 90/20 107/19 rigged [8] 85/25 96/10 98/1 98/3 104/1 107/12 107/16 107/17 rightee [2] 67/1 95/10 rights [16] 8/22 10/7 10/13 11/15 18/20 39/21 39/23 40/7 64/25 74/10 74/13 74/13 82/9 96/16 96/17 102/16 rise [2] 40/5 47/23 RMR [2] 2/14 110/24 RMR-CRR [1] 110/24 **RNC [1]** 27/13 **road [2]** 36/20 107/22 robust [1] 11/2 role [4] 18/8 21/12 23/11 104/14 rolls [1] 18/4 room [2] 2/15 43/13 rooms [1] 36/23 rough [2] 27/18 103/23 rubric [1] 12/4 rule [55]

Rule 12 [17] 20/6 20/20 48/10 48/11 48/12 48/17 49/25 50/3 50/11 50/15 50/16 51/13 51/25 52/3 79/2 79/4 89/8 Rule 23 [12] 73/25 80/10 82/13 82/21 89/9 89/18 90/11 93/9 93/10 93/25 95/4 102/10 Rule 8 [1] 100/20 Rule 9 [3] 54/1 67/10 68/1 rule's [1] 52/24 rules 5 23/23 33/12 35/6 36/20 104/6 ruling [2] 80/16 80/16 rung [1] 90/19 runs [10] 7/9 9/10 12/16 23/21 28/23 36/4 65/24 82/6 105/9 105/10 rush [2] 48/14 48/15 sad [2] 37/20 107/13 safe [2] 109/14 109/19 sake [1] 10/21 Salopek [3] 2/14 110/23 110/24 Samuel [1] 80/3 Sanders [54] **Sanders' [3]** 46/6 84/23 106/12 **satisfied [2]** 14/25 21/9 satisfy [1] 42/25 satisfying [1] 58/21 save [1] 74/21 saw [2] 42/21 42/22 scenes [7] 7/8 55/12 58/13 81/9 87/12 90/20 94/25 scheduling [1] 17/4 school [1] 33/1 Schultz [14] 4/8 7/2 7/4 14/16 17/19 21/11 60/18 62/7 69/20 72/19 84/7 91/18 91/24 97/14 **Schultz's [3]** 66/13 72/23 102/15 **SE [1]** 2/9 second [6] 2/9 18/17 40/6 69/12 97/8 102/24 Secretary [5] 27/7 34/19 68/17 97/19 98/7 Secretary Clinton [5] 27/7 34/19 68/17 97/19 98/7 Section [6] 5/5 7/22 14/5 35/23 59/13 59/23 Section 28-3091 [1] 59/23 Section 28-3904 [1] 5/5 Section 28-3905 [1] 59/13 Section 4 [3] 7/22 14/5 35/23 Sections [1] 59/22 Sections 28-3901 [1] 59/22 securities [3] 90/12 99/21 105/19 seek [6] 4/11 8/20 12/11 39/7 46/16 97/4 seeking [7] 15/17 15/17 40/16 46/8 70/2 108/11 108/12 **seeks [2]** 46/20 87/21 **select [1]** 28/9 selected [1] 27/24 selection [1] 104/6 self [1] 27/1 self-defining [1] 27/1 seminal [2] 10/22 16/20 Senator [11] 8/5 9/3 34/16 34/20 46/6 57/11 57/22 68/18 84/23 97/6 97/20 Senator Clinton [1] 57/22 **Senator Sanders [8]** 8/5 9/3 34/16

Rule 11 [1] 67/23

### specific [12] 21/10 36/17 44/5 45/15 subclass [2] 75/5 75/6 S 55/1 55/11 66/15 68/5 73/13 79/2 81/2 subclasses [8] 9/13 34/2 46/1 74/8 Senator Sanders... [5] 34/20 57/11 82/19 89/11 92/10 97/22 93/12 68/18 97/6 97/20 specificity [4] 20/25 67/12 68/2 68/2 subject [14] 6/9 6/10 6/11 7/12 9/18 Senator Sanders' [2] 46/6 84/23 20/11 20/12 20/21 26/13 48/20 49/23 **specified [4]** 54/15 59/13 61/6 92/5 sense [15] 6/22 20/12 28/12 30/10 **specifies [1]** 84/10 50/14 51/7 51/16 31/18 40/17 49/8 50/22 51/2 68/16 subject-matter [13] 6/9 6/11 7/12 9/18 specify [1] 96/24 68/19 69/18 81/11 85/14 85/22 spectators [1] 13/15 20/11 20/12 20/21 26/13 48/20 49/23 sensitive [2] 22/23 41/25 spectrum [1] 59/9 50/14 51/7 51/16 sentence [1] 78/21 **speech [9]** 10/9 10/13 10/20 11/13 subjective [1] 99/18 submit [16] 40/6 75/13 76/14 80/14 serious [1] 7/2 11/16 12/3 12/4 32/1 39/16 serve [1] 49/20 spend [1] 32/25 80/18 81/13 82/3 88/17 99/22 101/3 served [1] 49/13 101/13 106/17 107/6 107/21 108/10 **spirit [1]** 80/10 serves [1] 81/17 **spite [1]** 15/8 109/2 service [9] 20/17 21/22 21/24 49/13 **Spiva [2]** 2/11 3/15 subsequent [3] 16/14 17/22 20/14 **substantially [2]** 56/5 56/12 51/14 62/1 69/8 69/11 69/13 split [1] 42/2 services [15] 1/8 4/7 21/20 24/20 59/5 **spoke [1]** 109/9 succeed [1] 104/23 59/15 59/16 59/20 60/4 61/22 61/25 **sponsor [1]** 24/18 successive [2] 48/11 50/14 62/4 62/6 69/4 70/16 squabbles [3] 26/20 27/8 104/5 sue [3] 32/14 47/2 69/23 serving [2] 21/3 32/20 stage [10] 5/21 19/10 59/17 62/25 64/1 sued [4] 21/25 32/18 35/21 100/14 session [1] 109/21 65/16 74/21 79/21 92/18 100/20 suffer [1] 103/16 settled [3] 20/9 38/11 38/11 suffered [5] 41/21 42/13 43/24 44/17 stages [1] 81/14 Seventh [3] 22/17 22/22 42/3 standard [5] 28/5 36/6 36/19 73/6 44/21 shake [1] 104/21 101/22 sufficient [7] 20/5 20/25 21/6 22/25 shareholder [2] 64/16 71/15 standards [3] 68/15 94/15 102/3 42/5 62/21 92/1 **shareholders [5]** 64/14 65/5 66/4 66/4 sufficiently [2] 19/14 42/25 standing [79] suggest [4] 26/15 46/18 79/15 80/22 **standing's [1]** 15/11 shares [2] 106/7 106/18 suggested [2] 76/10 92/16 standing-type [1] 108/19 **shifted [2]** 70/21 97/12 starting [5] 31/6 39/1 54/24 57/4 103/9 suggesting [4] 27/11 27/16 27/17 shocked [1] 29/21 state [54] state's [4] 38/16 71/17 100/17 100/18 **short [2]** 47/15 61/18 **suggestion [1]** 105/20 **shot [1]** 99/18 suggests [1] 82/7 **state-level [1]** 23/24 shots [2] 66/7 66/9 stated [8] 14/13 20/18 37/22 40/16 suing [2] 60/17 60/17 **shown [1]** 16/22 51/24 54/14 90/24 91/15 suit [4] 4/6 59/12 60/3 96/8 sic [5] 20/13 21/21 60/18 68/24 106/24 statement [5] 6/16 23/2 67/16 68/5 Suite [1] 2/4 side [15] 3/25 6/16 13/20 27/5 33/6 98/16 **sum [1]** 61/6 36/13 42/10 43/19 47/17 61/2 61/11 statements [26] **summary [1]** 19/10 62/8 77/1 103/25 106/22 states [21] 1/1 1/16 2/15 4/10 11/7 18/1 sums [1] 54/23 sides [5] 3/22 17/16 25/13 27/13 30/24 24/7 50/12 50/15 53/8 53/8 60/25 63/17 **Superior [1]** 59/6 sight [1] 18/21 71/6 71/7 78/22 79/25 100/25 101/12 superiority [1] 94/15 supply [5] 22/4 61/2 61/11 61/15 62/7 similarities [1] 104/8 101/19 104/15 simple [3] 30/14 50/11 67/25 states' [1] 93/18 support [26] Sims [1] 28/3 supported [3] 9/1 26/11 57/4 statute [15] 21/17 21/18 22/5 22/9 single [6] 9/12 44/16 75/21 77/8 77/16 supporter [2] 84/23 97/9 22/10 59/3 59/10 60/8 60/15 60/16 102/20 61/19 62/5 62/9 65/1 70/9 supporters [2] 46/7 88/15 situation [11] 35/11 38/12 38/21 63/14 stenography [1] 1/24 supporting [1] 57/10 65/8 71/15 79/17 86/9 87/8 100/3 step [2] 33/5 83/22 supports [2] 23/10 103/22 109/11 **stepping [1]** 26/13 suppression [1] 18/3 sky's [1] 38/1 **Supreme [7]** 10/5 10/17 11/5 12/2 36/8 steps [1] 22/25 slanted [1] 85/15 stock [2] 106/7 106/18 38/10 38/25 stole [1] 36/17 stood [1] 104/10 **slow [1]** 96/19 surety [1] 69/5 smoke [2] 36/23 43/13 surprise [3] 93/19 93/23 101/17 **smoke-filled [1]** 43/13 surprised [1] 94/17 stop [1] 13/21 society [6] 30/7 59/17 88/18 109/9 stopping [1] 41/7 surprising [1] 19/6 109/11 109/11 surrounding [1] 51/4 strange [1] 18/4 society's [1] 11/1 strategic [1] 25/15 survives [1] 78/25 solicit [1] 32/25 strategizing [2] 102/14 104/25 susceptible [1] 90/9 strategy [4] 16/5 58/14 58/19 97/2 solicitations [1] 38/18 suspected [1] 107/16 someone's [1] 104/18 street [2] 2/9 33/2 SW [1] 2/3 swept [1] 82/10 somersaults [1] 13/18 strenuously [1] 64/23 sought [3] 46/15 78/20 89/8 stress [1] 82/24 system [8] 11/16 96/10 96/11 97/25 98/3 104/3 106/2 106/10 **sound [1]** 33/14 stretch [2] 19/21 64/20 sounds [1] 64/11 systematic [1] 94/24 **stricken [2]** 5/19 9/20 source [2] 71/22 71/24 strict [1] 73/6 **sources [1]** 80/19 strong [1] 20/8 **South [1]** 2/12 take [37] strongly [1] 72/19 SOUTHERN [3] 1/2 79/24 91/25 taken [5] 10/11 22/17 22/20 47/25 52/8 takes [3] 10/14 42/7 106/22 struck [2] 76/5 76/22 special [7] 18/23 62/11 62/13 62/17 styled [1] 78/21 talk [1] 83/22 63/12 70/19 71/17 **Sub [4]** 59/13 59/22 59/23 59/23

	THECDAY MI 2/4	vitiated [4] 65/4
<b>IT</b>	TUESDAY [1] 3/1	vitiated [1] 65/1
talked [1] 99/24	tumble [1] 27/18	voluntarily [2] 36/21 36/22
	two-party [1] 106/2	vote [6] 28/2 28/4 28/13 71/8 71/10
talking [25]	Twombly [1] 68/15	72/8
talks [2] 18/19 40/7	typical [1] 80/7	voted [5] 96/2 96/6 97/19 97/19 98/6
Tampa [1] 2/13	typicality [2] 75/11 94/14	voter [2] 18/3 108/18
task [1] 46/1	U	voters [3] 12/10 46/4 96/6
taught [1] 87/17	U	votes [4] 28/14 34/19 104/1 104/3
taxes [4] 35/21 35/21 35/22 37/16	uhm [5] 19/14 21/12 24/3 37/11 42/16	voting [4] 18/2 18/3 24/22 106/14
technical [4] 3/23 4/3 6/20 18/13	ultimate [1] 61/12	vs. [8] 11/4 38/15 38/15 39/1 46/4
tell [6] 7/25 26/10 46/12 100/15 104/24	ultimately [11] 32/18 36/7 61/16 66/19	60/24 63/7 79/24
107/21	81/1 87/9 88/16 93/18 95/3 104/2 106/4	
telling [1] 17/15	umbrellas [1] 5/14	l <b>W</b>
tension [1] 20/8	unclear [1] 69/24	1 501 00/47 07/0 00/0 00/04 04/0
terms [41]	uncomplex [1] 51/5	wade [6] 26/17 27/3 30/3 33/21 34/8
test [1] 33/24	uncontroversial [1] 64/14	34/13
testify [1] 9/14	underlying [1] 9/5	waiting [1] 74/3
textbook [1] 38/10	undermine [1] 16/24	waived [5] 20/7 20/16 20/20 49/1 79/8
thank [53]	undersell [1] 107/8	waiver [1] 48/18
Thanks [1] 29/9	understand [2] 33/18 52/9	waiving [1] 92/20
theme [1] 31/23	understanding [10] 13/1 14/2 14/23	wall [1] 46/25
theories [1] 108/19	15/4 18/15 75/24 86/21 87/16 90/25	wanton [1] 56/9
theory [4] 21/8 32/2 47/1 81/12	92/9	Wassermann [16] 4/8 7/1 14/15 17/19
there'd [2] 27/9 101/15		21/11 60/18 62/7 66/13 69/20 72/19
	understandings [2] 32/5 38/9	
thicket [3] 33/21 34/9 75/14	Understood [2] 54/2 54/4	72/23 84/7 91/18 91/23 97/14 102/15
think [253]	undertaking [1] 106/16	watch [1] 73/5
Thomas [1] 2/12	undertook [1] 54/18	waters [1] 15/8
thought [6] 25/11 34/3 70/23 96/10	undo [1] 108/12	we'd [1] 94/12
96/24 107/12	unfair [2] 85/15 96/11	wealth [2] 16/16 33/8
thousands [1] 75/8	unfairness [1] 105/5	weapon [2] 6/25 10/3
thread [1] 82/6	unified [1] 94/24	website [1] 16/4
threat [1] 10/3	uniform [4] 81/1 81/12 90/25 91/2	week [1] 109/20
threatened [1] 93/25	uninhibited [1] 11/2	well-developed [1] 92/7
threatens [1] 7/2	union [1] 30/12	whatsoever [1] 15/15
	UNITED [4] 1/1 1/16 2/15 104/15	
threshold [2] 73/23 73/24		whenever [1] 86/18
throw [1] 106/20	unjust [5] 5/8 56/11 88/5 93/21 100/18	wherever [1] 101/24
throwing [1] 17/18	unjustly [1] 88/4	white [1] 13/8
thrust [3] 25/22 25/23 33/25	unless [4] 20/15 35/1 41/2 41/2	who's [7] 19/4 19/7 19/7 27/2 45/25
tied [2] 108/17 108/18	unlike [1] 65/8	45/25 66/7
time [48]	unmanageable [2] 101/3 103/18	who've [1] 107/20
times [4] 24/16 36/13 72/11 81/4	unscrupulous [1] 59/9	wide [2] 11/2 75/21
title [1] 21/13	unsustainable [1] 79/1	wide-open [1] 11/2
today's [1] 40/25	Untruthful [1] 10/20	widespread [2] 17/25 18/2
tools [1] 90/10	unusual [2] 27/12 64/11	wielding [1] 10/2
top [2] 60/21 64/17		Wigoda [1] 36/8
tort [1] 73/8	80/22 105/17 108/8	WikiLeaks [1] 16/17
totally [5] 15/11 100/2 101/2 102/13	usefulness [1] 75/22	WILDING [1] 1/5
103/17	IV .	wildly [2] 99/22 105/21
touched [1] 48/5	FEI 00/0 00/0 00/0 44/00 404/7	willful [1] 56/9
towards [2] 27/6 33/6	v. [5] 28/3 36/8 36/8 44/23 104/7	William [1] 1/15
trade [1] 69/6	vague [2] 46/10 68/11	win [1] 104/23
tradition [1] 107/23	valid [6] 11/23 18/20 19/13 22/19 62/9	Wisconsin [1] 36/8
transaction [9] 58/25 61/3 61/5 61/11	82/22	Wisconsin v. LaFollette [1] 36/8
61/13 62/3 62/8 68/23 70/13	value [3] 10/24 52/7 52/24	wishes [1] 47/17
transactions [1] 59/20	values [2] 71/11 72/8	<b>WJZ</b> [1] 1/4
transcript [3] 1/14 1/24 110/20	varied [2] 93/23 101/18	won [2] 34/20 49/15
treated [1] 88/4	vary [1] 102/2	word [2] 106/23 109/10
trial [2] 9/14 99/20	vast [1] 21/20	worded [1] 21/18
trickles [1] 65/17	viable [1] 22/11	words [6] 22/12 35/18 55/20 57/23
	view [5] 17/11 22/20 42/7 80/18 98/10	109/10 109/10
tries [1] 108/20		
trip [2] 109/14 109/19	viewed [2] 97/25 98/3	work [3] 26/6 68/7 94/25
trouble [1] 87/22	vigorously [1] 39/9	working [2] 58/13 107/2
true [6] 15/11 29/1 37/19 37/19 37/20	violate [2] 8/22 42/22	workings [2] 97/2 102/14
81/8	violated [3] 33/16 100/16 100/18	works [2] 24/18 104/3
<b>Trump [4]</b> 47/2 47/3 103/25 108/22	violation [3] 5/5 57/6 101/4	world [1] 64/13
Trump's [1] 96/10	violations [1] 82/8	worry [1] 29/16
trust [2] 63/13 63/14	Virginia [2] 10/19 71/7	worse [1] 12/21
trustee [1] 88/18	virtue [5] 13/4 35/5 66/20 82/9 105/25	write [1] 86/25
truth [1] 109/12	Virues [2] 2/2 3/12	written [2] 52/24 81/22

W	
wrong [2] 15/21 69/25 Wymbs [4] 26/18 27/19 36/7 104/10	
Υ	
yield [2] 94/8 102/7 yields [1] 10/6 York [5] 19/19 19/20 62/18 62/22 62/23	
Z	
Zloch [1] 1/15	