Case 2022CV002446 Document 4 Filed 09-27-2022 Page 1 of 155 **FILED** 09-27-2022 **CIRCUIT COURT DANE COUNTY, WI** 2022CV002446 **Honorable Juan B Colas Branch 10** CIRCUIT COURT DANE COUNTY STATE OF WISCONSIN BRANCH RISE, INC. Declaratory Judgment Case No. 22-CVand Case Code: 30701 JASON RIVERA, Plaintiffs, v. WISCONSIN ELECTIONS COMMISSION, and MARIBETH WITZEL-BEHL, in her official capacity as City Clerk for the City of Madison, Wisconsin Defendants.

### AFFIDAVIT OF DIANE M. WELSH

STATE OF WISCONSIN ) ss DANE COUNTY )

- I, Diane M. Welsh, being first duly sworn on oath, depose and state as follows:
- 1. I am one of the attorneys representing Plaintiffs Rise, Inc. and Mr. Jason Rivera in the captioned action. I make this Affidavit on personal knowledge of the facts and circumstances set forth herein.

2. A true and correct copy of the webpage *Absentee Witness Address Corrections*, WEC, https://elections.wi.gov/absentee-witness-address-corrections, as it appeared and was archived on August 3, 2022, is attached hereto as **Exhibit 1**.

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- 3. A true and correct copy of *Amended: Missing or Insufficient Witness Address on Absentee Certificate Envelopes*, WEC (Oct. 18, 2016), is attached hereto as **Exhibit 2**.
- 4. A true and correct copy of *White v. Wis. Elections Comm'n*, No. 2022-CV-1008, unpub. order (Dkt. 167) (Sept. 7, 2022), is attached hereto as **Exhibit 3**.
- 5. A true and correct copy of *White v. Wis. Elections Comm'n*, No. 2022-CV-1008, Tr. of Arg. of Temp. Inj. (Sept. 7, 2022), is attached hereto as **Exhibit 4**.
- 6. A true and correct copy of *White v. Wis. Elections Comm'n*, No. 2022-CV-1008, Tr. of Mot. to Stay Hr'g (Sept. 13, 2022), is attached hereto as **Exhibit 5**.

Dated this 27th day of September, 2022.

Diane M. Welsh, SBN 1030940

SUBSCRIBED and SWORN to before me this 27<sup>th</sup> day of September, 2022.

Notary Public, State of Wisconsin

My commission expires June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2024.

The Wayback Machine - https://web.archive.org/web/20220803191715/https://elections.wi.gov/absentee-...

WISCONSIN ELECTIONS COMMISSION

**EXHIBIT** 

# **Absentee Witness Address Corrections**

- In 2015 Wisconsin Act 261 created Wis. Stat. § 6.87(6d). This statute required an absentee witness address be present on the certificate envelope in order for the ballot to be counted.
- October 4, 2016, Wisconsin Elections Commission ("Commission") staff issued initial guidance based on many calls from clerks asking how the new statutory requirement should be interpreted due to a concern that many absentee ballots cast in the November 2016 General/Presidential Election would be rejected for lacking a complete witness address. The initial guidance from the Commission staff outlined that a street number, street name and municipality name were the minimum pieces of information required for the witness address to be complete, and also that in addition to returning the absentee ballot to the voter to correct the error, a clerk could correct missing information if they received consent from the voter to do so.
- The Wisconsin Department of Justice advised that a reasonable, defensible interpretation of
  the law would be to allow a local election officials to add the municipality name to a witness
  certificate if the information could be reasonably ascertained by the official. Prior consent of
  the voter or witness would not be required, although contacting the voter or witness, if
  possible, to obtain the information could be helpful.
- During its October 14, 2016 meeting, the Commission unanimously passed motions directing staff to issue updated guidance that clerks:
  - 1. must add the name of the municipality of the witness if they are reasonably able to ascertain it from other information on the envelope, or other reliable extrinsic sources
  - 2. the witness address must include a street number, street name and municipality
  - 3. the clerk does not have to obtain consent from the voter prior to adding it to the envelope
  - 4. if any addition is made by the clerk, should initial it.
- Based on the Commission's motions, staff issued guidance on October 17, 2016 (amended by the October 4, 2020 guidance) in the form of a clerk communication found here: <a href="https://elections.wi.gov/memo/amended-missing-or-insufficient-witness-address-absentee-certificate-envelopes">https://elections.wi.gov/memo/amended-missing-or-insufficient-witness-address-absentee-certificate-envelopes</a>
- This guidance has been in place since October 2016, covering all elections subsequent to that

date.

- The issue of correcting missing witness address information was raised in the recount litigation after the November 2020 Election: *Trump v. Biden,* 2020 WI 91, 394 Wis. 2d 629, 951 N.W.2d 568.
  - The majority determined that Wis. Stat. § 6.87(6d) does not say which portion of the address the witness must provide. Furthermore, the guidance that the Commission created has been followed statewide since October 2016, including in the 2016 Presidential Election. The majority concluded that striking the ballots exclusively in Milwaukee and Dane counties, years after this guidance has been issued and relied on, was unreasonable and prejudicial.
  - The concurrence stated that it is clear that Wis. Stat. § 6.87(6d) would prohibit counting a ballot if the entire address is absent from the certification. However, if the witness provided only part of the address, it is not clear which parts of the address satisfy the statutory directive (i.e., street address, state name, zip code, etc.). The WEC, other election officials, the Legislature, and others may wish to examine witness address information being added to a certificate as a valid administrative concern and may also wish to examine if the requirements of the applicable statute and measures involving the guidance and practice of these practices are currently sufficient to avoid future problems.

	Memo Re: Absentee Witness Address
3	Supreme Court Decision (Trump v. Biden recount)
3	10.18.2022 Guidance-insufficient witness address-AMENDED
3	10-14-2016 Elections Commission Open Session Minutes
3	10.14.16 Absentee Certificate Envelopes Memo
٦,	10 14 2016 AMENDED Memo Absentee Certificate Address

## Wisconsin Elections Commission

212 East Washington Avenue, 3rd Floor Post Office Box 7984 Madison, WI 53707-7984 (608) 261-2028 ELECTIONS@WI.GOV ELECTIONS.WI.GOV



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Administrator Michael Haas

### **MEMORANDUM**

**DATE**: October 18, 2016

To: Wisconsin Municipal Clerks and the Milwaukee City Elections Commission

Wisconsin County Clerks and the Milwaukee County Elections Commission

**FROM:** Michael Haas, Interim Elections Administrator

Diane Lowe, Lead Elections Specialist

**SUBJECT:** AMENDED: Missing or Insufficient Witness Address on Absentee Certificate

Envelopes

PLEASE NOTE: The previous guidance on this topic, which was issued on October 4, 2016, has been modified by the WEC and is replaced with the guidance below.

One of the components of 2015 Wisconsin Act 261 is the requirement for an absentee ballot witness to provide their address when signing the absentee certificate envelope.

**SECTION 78.** 6.87 (6d) of the statutes is created to read:

6.87 (6d) If a certificate is missing the address of a witness, the ballot may not be counted.

In implementing this requirement, the first question that comes to mind is "What constitutes an address?" The Wisconsin Elections Commission (WEC) has set a policy that a complete address contains a *street number*, *street name and name of municipality*. But in many cases, at least one component of the address could be missing; usually the municipality.

The purpose of this memorandum is to offer guidance to assist you in addressing this issue. The WEC has determined that clerks **must** take corrective actions in an attempt to remedy a witness address error. If clerks are reasonably able to discern any missing information from outside sources, clerks are not required to contact the voter before making that correction directly to the absentee certificate envelope.

Clerks may contact voters and notify them of the address omission and the effect if the deficiency is not remedied but contacting the voter is only required if clerks cannot remedy the address insufficiency from extrinsic sources. When contacting a voter, you should advise that their ballot will not be counted with an incomplete address so that they can take action and also prevent a similar issue in the future. Clerks shall offer suggestions for correcting the certificate envelope to ensure the voter's absentee ballot will not be rejected.

**EXHIBIT** 

AMENDED: Missing/Insufficient Witness Address on Absentee Certificate Envelopes October 18, 2016

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Clerks shall assist in rehabilitating an absentee certificate that does not contain the street number and street name (or P.O. Box) and the municipality of the witness address. If a clerk adds information to an absentee certificate, either based on contact with the voter or based on other sources, clerks shall indicate such assistance was provided by initialing next to the information that was added on the absentee certificate. The Commission recognized the concern some clerks have expressed about altering information on the certificate envelope, especially in the case of a recount. On balance, in order to promote uniformity in the treatment of absentee ballots statewide, the Commission determined that clerks must attempt to obtain any information that is missing from the witness address and document any addition by including their initials.

In short, the Commission's guidance is that municipal clerks shall do all that they can reasonably do to obtain any missing part of the witness address. Those steps may include one or more of the following options:

- 1. The clerk is able to reasonably discern the missing address or address component by information appearing on the envelope or from some other source, such as:
  - o The voter has provided his or her complete address and the clerk has personal knowledge that the witness resides at the same address as the voter.
  - o The clerk has personal knowledge of the witness and knows his/or her address.
  - o The voter's complete address appears on the address label, and the witness indicates the same street address as the voter.
  - o The clerk is able to utilize lists or databases at his or her disposal to determine the witness's address.
- 2. The voter or witness may wish to appear in person to add the missing information, or provide the address information by phone, fax, email or mail. The voter may provide the address separately as an alternative to returning the certificate envelope and having the voter mail it back again as outlined below.
- 3. The voter may request that the clerk return the certificate envelope so the voter can personally add the witness address.
  - O Be sure to include a self-addressed stamped envelope in which the voter may return the certificate envelope containing the ballot. The post office does not approve of placing another stamp over a cancelled stamp. Contact your postmaster or a Mail Piece Design Analyst before attempting to re-stamp or re-meter the certificate envelope. Also, note that the U.S. Postal Service is advising that voters mail absentee ballots at least one week before Election Day to accommodate new delivery standards. We suggest advising the voter of the importance of timely mailing if the voter wishes to have the certificate envelope mailed back to them.
- 4. The voter may wish to spoil the original ballot and vote a new one.

If the request to spoil the ballot is within the proper time frame, the clerk mails a second ballot and new certificate envelope to the voter. (See procedure for *Spoiling and Replacement Ballots*, beginning on page 109 of Election Administration Manual.)

I hope this guidance is helpful as you continue to issue and receive absentee ballots. Thank you for your efforts to assist voters in completing the absentee certificate sufficiently so their votes may be counted.

If you have questions, please contact the Elections Help Desk at 608-261-2028 or elections @wi.gov.

STATE OF WISCONSIN CIRCUIT COURT WAUKESHA COUNTY

SEP 0 7 2022

CIRCUIT COURT WAUKESHA COUNTY, V

MICHAEL WHITE, ET AL.,

Plaintiffs,

-vs-

Case:

22CV1008

WISCONSIN ELECTIONS COMMISSION,

Defendant.

#### **TEMPORARY INJUNCTION**

- ¶1. Plaintiffs filed this lawsuit against the Wisconsin Elections Commission ("WEC") on July 12, 2022, seeking declaratory and injunctive relief. Plaintiffs alleged that WEC has issued and continues to provide guidance and information inconsistent with the express requirements of Wisconsin law through guidance contained in an October 18, 2016, memorandum entitled AMENDED: Missing or Insufficient Witness Address on Absentee Certificate Envelopes, in a memorandum dated October 19, 2020, entitled "Spoiling Absentee Ballot Guidance," and other statements relating to missing or insufficient witness addresses on absentee certificate envelopes.
- ¶2. Plaintiffs moved for a TRO and Temporary Injunction on August 2, 2022.

  Plaintiffs requested temporary injunctive relief requiring WEC to cease and desist from offering

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EXHIBIT

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incorrect guidance, and directing WEC to issue corrected guidance to clerks and local election officials.

- ¶3. On or about August 11, 2022, the Wisconsin Legislature moved to intervene in the case and simultaneously filed its complaint and motion for temporary injunction or alternatively, a writ of mandamus. The declaratory and injunctive relief the Legislature seeks tracks the relief requested by the Plaintiffs.
- ¶4. The Court granted the Legislature's motion to intervene, as well as those filed by the League of Women Voters of Wisconsin and the Waukesha County Democratic Party.
- ¶5. Having considered the submissions, briefs, and arguments of the parties and intervening parties, and for the reasons stated on the record during the September 7, 2022, hearing on the motions for temporary injunctive relief, the Court GRANTS the motions for temporary injunctive relief. IT IS ORDERED THAT:
- ¶6. WEC is prohibited and enjoined from publicly displaying or disseminating the AMENDED: Missing or Insufficient Witness Address on Absentee Certificate Envelopes (Oct. 18, 2016), marked as Exhibit 2 to the Complaint, the October 19, 2020, memorandum entitled "Spoiling Absentee Ballot Guidance," marked as Exhibit 3 to the Complaint, or any prior or subsequent version of that substantive guidance relating to missing or adding information to absentee ballot witness certifications in any form.
- ¶7. WEC is prohibited and enjoined from advising, guiding, instructing, publishing, or otherwise communicating information to Wisconsin municipal clerks and local elections officials that is contrary to Wis. Stat. § 6.87, which provides that if a municipal clerk receives an absentee ballot with an improperly completed certificate or with no certificate, the clerk may return the ballot to the elector, inside the sealed envelope when an envelope is received, together

with a new envelope if necessary, whenever time permits the elector to correct the defect and return the ballot by the applicable deadline.

- WEC is prohibited and enjoined from advising, guiding, instructing, publishing or ¶8. otherwise communicating information to Wisconsin municipal clerks and local elections officials that clerks or local election officials have the duty or ability to modify or add information to incomplete absentee ballot certifications.
- WEC is ordered and required by September 14, 2022, to notify all municipal ¶9. clerks and local election officials previously receiving the guidance mentioned in paragraph 6 above that this Court has declared that guidance invalid and contrary to law.

Dated this 7th day of September, 2022.

BY THE COURT:

Michael J. Apral Circuit Court Judge /s/ Michael J. Aprahamian

Document 4

1	STATE OF WISCONSIN CIRCUIT COURT WAUKESHA COUNTY
2	MICHAEL WHITE, et al.,
3	Plaintiffs,
4	,
5	-vs- Case No. 22-CV-1008
6	WISCONSIN ELECTIONS COMMISSION,
7	Defendant.
8	
9	September 7, 2022 Honorable Michael J. Aprahamian Circuit Court Judge, presiding
10	ARGUMENT OF TEMPORARY INJUNCTION
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12	APPEARANCES:
13	R. GEORGE BURNETT and KURT GOEHRE, Attorneys at Law
14	appeared on behalf of the Plaintiffs.
15	THOMAS BELLAVIA and LYNN LODAHL, Assistant Attorney
16	Generals, appeared on behalf of the Wisconsin Elections
17	Commission.
18	MISHA TSEYTLIN, Attorney at Law, appeared on behalf
19	of the Wisconsin Legislature.
20	JEFFREY MANDELL and JOHN GEISE, Attorneys at Law,
21	appeared on behalf of the Waukesha County Democratic
22	Party.
23	DANIEL LENZ and JOHN SHERMAN, Attorneys at Law,
24	appeared on behalf of the Wisconsin League of Women
25	Voters.

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1	EXCERPT OF PROCEEDINGS
2	THE COURT: Michael White et al versus
3	Wisconsin Elections Commission, et al. Case 22-CV-1008.
4	Can I have the appearances, please.
5	MR. BURNETT: Yes, Your Honor. George Burnett
6	and Kurt Goehre for the Plaintiffs.
7	MR. BELLAVIA: For the Defendant, Wisconsin
8	Elections Commission, Assistant Attorneys General Thomas
9	Bellavia and Lynn Lodahl.
10	MR. TSEYTLIN: For intervenor Wisconsin
11	Legislature Misha Tseytlin
12	MR. MANDELL: For intervenor Wisconsin
13	Democratic Party of Waukesha County, Jeff Mandell and
14	John Geise.
15	MR. LENZ: For intervenor defendant League of
16	Women Voters of Wisconsin, Attorney Daniel Lenz of Law
17	Forward and John Sherman.
18	THE COURT: Well, good afternoon to all of you.
19	I think you got in the seating chart okay so we know
20	where everybody is and I think you did relate to my clerk
21	and court reporter who going to be making argument so I
22	think I have that as well.
23	I want to cover a couple of preliminary
24	things first to make sure we're all on the same page.
25	There were a number of intervenors that moved to

1	intervene and I think we, I granted that most of them
2	were unopposed. If they said they were opposed, I
3	granted the request impermissive. I think you had an
4	order that approved all of their intervention.
5	There were a flurry of pro hac vice orders
6	that may have come in. I think I signed them all. Are
7	there any outstanding that I need to address now before
8	somebody gets in trouble before arguing without a pro hac
9	vice? Hearing nothing. I think we're good there.
10	There was a bunch of submissions already
11	and I read everything. That's a lot of materials. I did
12	read everything. Are we taking any evidence today? Was
13	there contemplation of any evidence today?
14	MR. BURNETT: Not on the Plaintiffs' part, Your
15	Honor.
16	MR. BELLAVIA: No, Your Honor.
17	MR. MANDELL: No
18	MR. TSEYTLIN: Not on the Legislature's part.
19	MR. LENZ: No.
20	THE COURT: I didn't think so but I wanted to
21	just make sure we're set. So with that I have read
22	everything but I do appreciate argument. So with that
23	let me hear from Mr. Burnett.
24	MR. BURNETT: Thank you, Your Honor. I'm going
25	to try to condense this rather complicated set of briefs

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According to WEC and the intervenors, the clerk has multiple options. One option the clerk may not do according to WEC's guidance is nothing. According to the guidance the clerk must do something.

the voter to rectify the problem.

for an address.

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The clerk may send the ballot back to the voter or the clerk may conduct their own investigation or rely on their own experience in order to rectify the problems. So the question for the Court is what does the statute say. Well, the statute says four things. Number one, an address is required. 6.87(2) gives a sample of the certification that the witness must sign

There is no debate that an address is required nor should there be any debate that WEC understands what an address is. Certainly it understood what an address was when it developed the absentee ballot application and certification form, EL-122, it's called,

and it appears in the record as Document 11 Page 36.

and swear to and in that certification it expressly calls

That particular certification directs the witness to provide a house number, a street name or fire number, a city, state, zip code and it gives additional instructions in the event they're rural and don't have a specific house number. So WEC understands what an address is.

The third thing the statute contains in (6d) is a directive that if there is an address missing on the certificate, the ballot may not be counted.

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And then lastly what the statute contains in 6.87(9) is a directive to the clerk that if they receive an absentee ballot with an improperly completed certificate or no certificate, the clerk may return the ballot to the elector inside a sealed envelope and onward.

So the statute contains four things. is absent is in the statute is any directive or any suggestion that the clerk may fix the problem on their own, that they may supplement or add information to the ballot. That they may consult other sources or that they may or that they must respond. These are things that WEC's guidance has concocted. They've added words to the statute.

Administrative agencies are confined by statutes as are Courts. Neither Courts nor administrative agencies may add words to statutes that the legislature didn't incorporate. There is -- At the center of this case, there is one question that needs to be answered. If the legislature intended clerks to have many options, like those that WEC has suggested, why did it mention only one.

Turning to the question of what the remedy is, because this is a motion for a preliminary injunction, WEC argues that even if its interpretation is

wrong, this Court should do nothing. And it provides a number of reasons and I'll address a few.

First of all, it says well, laches stops the Court from proceeding. Aside from the fact that we're facing a new election, which this guidance will be very important and prominent for, WEC says too much time has passed for the Court to intervene and they cite the <a href="Trump v. Biden">Trump v. Biden</a> decision, although I believe they misapply it.

In <u>Trump v. Biden</u> laches was applied because the former President waited until the results of the election were in and then challenged procedures that were susceptible to challenge before voting began. And the Court said taking a wait and see approach is impermissible when it comes to elections.

Here the Plaintiffs have not taken a wait and see approach. The legislature has informed WEC that its guidance in the form of an emergency rule, which has been discussed at length in briefing, was wrong and inappropriate and the Plaintiffs have sued before a ballot has been cast or an absentee ballot has been distributed. So laches doesn't apply for those two reasons.

Laches is not a statute of repose. It is designed to stop plaintiffs who sleep on their rights

from belatedly entering court and that doesn't apply here.

The second thing that is raised is standing and that question, that objection is answered in the Teigen case where four justices concluded that voters had the authority to challenge WEC issued memorandum that inaccurately related the law. Now, there was a disagreement among the four justices. Three justices relied on normal general standing principles while Justice Hagedorn found standing in, I believe, it was Section 506 and Section 227.40 of the statutes.

But the important point is that four justices, a majority of the Court, concluded voters have standing to challenge memorandum or counsel or guidance issued by WEC that violates the statutes.

There are various arguments that an injunction is inappropriate here because the harm is not sufficiently irreparable, it changes the status quo. The equities don't counsel in favor of that. That's all addressed in briefing and I'm not going to belabor it here other than to note that if in WEC's guidance is wrong it is not something that is not something that this Court can endorse by doing nothing. If this Court believes that WEC misinterpret 6.87, the obligation is to do something and the only recourse is to issue an

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injunction directing WEC to change the guidance, correcting the misimpression that has been communicated to 1,850 or so municipal clerks and to refrain from issuing other things that would disagree or contradict the Court's ruling if the Court accepts our interpretation of the statute.

An injunction is also appropriate for a very practical reason. The current state of affairs is that clerks are poised, if they so choose, to correct information in just the way the legislature has If the ballot is missing a counseled. witness's address, all the clerk needs to do is send it back to the voter with a brief note or instruction, you need to fix this However, if the Court does nothing, if the Court issues no injunction and the guidance remains in place, there is going to be a plethora of ballots that are potentially invalid that will only lead to further litigation. It will only lead to ballot challenges and it will expose a number of voters to votes that may be not counted.

The practical, the sensible thing to do is to compel WEC to issue guidance that actually corroborates what the legislature as determined. injunction is also appropriate here because WEC has had every opportunity to correct the quidance it issued when

the Legislative Joint Committee so instructed it that its interpretation of the law was wrong.

Instead, WEC doubled down. They issued public statements that said no, we are not wrong. They told clerks even if the emergency rule is not valid, follow the guidance that said essentially the same thing. The Martinez v. DIHLR case, which is cited in the briefs, has said that that course of action exceeds the agency's authority. In Martinez to my memory, DIHLR refused to follow a directive from the Joint Committee and instructed employers differently and the Supreme Court determined that that was well beyond the agency's authority.

There is also a long line of cases that indicates that voting rights are so important that voting procedures are so important, the violation is irreparable harm and that's cited in the briefing as well.

With regard to the last point and that's that somehow or another if the Court does something it violates the Voting Rights Act three things are important. Number one, the Voting Rights Act Section 10101 deals with qualifications to vote. And the voter qualifies by registering meeting the statutory requirements. There is nothing in that act that requires a clerk to correct a mistake on a ballot.

So for those reasons we'd ask the Court to grant the injunction as requested and we would rely on our brief for further argument.

THE COURT: All right. I'm going to turn to Mr. Tseytlin. As well I told my clerk and court reporter we're going to do an N. So we're going up here and back down and back and up and brief rebuttal. So with that, Mr. Tseytlin, go ahead.

MR. TSEYTLIN: Thank you, Your Honor. I'm going to try not to duplicate too many of my friends' eloquent remarks. I'm going to focus on the legislature's core interest here which is the institutional interest the legislature as the body that passes the election laws of Wisconsin and also the body that under the Supreme Court decision of Martinez has the statutory and constitutional authority to oversee agencies making rules.

And on the first issue that my friend discussed in detail in regard to the substance of the 2016 mandate, because it is a mandate, it's not just a guidance, regardless of what WEC labels it, the defense of WEC is kind of the defense of well meaning bureaucrats who have no statutory authority which is the statute doesn't give me that power, but it doesn't prohibit me from doing so I can just the good.

That is not the way that agency authority works in the State of Wisconsin. Agencies like WEC are mere creatures of the legislature. We created them and they only have the powers we gave them. Since they cannot point to anything that allows them to issue so called guidance that mandates that clerks correct or take any steps other than mail them back or not counting absentee ballots missing an address on the certificate, the statutory issue is with respect easy, if WEC wants more statutory power, if the municipal clerks wants more statutory powers, they have to come to the legislature. They can't just say it's not prohibited, therefore we can do it which is an entire line of argument. But there are actually two independent, other independent reasons why the 2016 mandate is unlawful.

First, it violates the JCRAR veto which it was upheld as constitutional in the <u>Martinez</u> decision unanimously by our State Supreme Court.

Now, there is actually two provisions of the JCRAR approval process that are relevant here. First, 227.26(2)(b) which allows the JCRAR to determine that a statement of policy, the agency is actually a rule. And when the JCRAR determines that in its sole discretion it can direct mandatorily its creature, the agency here WEC, to promulgate that claimed guidance as

an emergency rule. That, all of that happened here. In January of this year the JCRAR determined that the 2016 mandate was in fact a rule. It then directed WEC to issue it as an emergency rule. WEC did so.

Then there is the other half of what JCRAR can do and it completes the picture of why that first makes sense. And this is 227.26(2)(d) which is it can veto that forced rule, forced by JCRAR's determination after a public hearing and a couple of bases in the statute on which it can do that.

That's exactly what happened here. JCRAR issued its proposed scope statement, WEC issued its proposed scope statement, it's actual scope statement then issued emergency rule 2209. JCRAR then convened the meeting that has to under the statute two days later reviewed it reviewed the emergency rule and vetoed it.

Under the statute and under the Supreme Court decision of Martinez that should have been the end of the ball game. WEC its legislature creator it was forced to promulgate the 2016 mandate as a rule. It did so, we vetoed it. It, that should have been the end. What they did is remarkable. They said this whole two step process that's laid out in the statute you made us promulgate it as an emergency rule and then you vetoed it, all of that is irrelevant.

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What we can do is just go back to the world that was as if WEC had not been forced by JCRAR to promulgate the 2016 mandate as a rule and then vetoed it. If you want to strike it down you have to go to Court. What JCRAR did is irrelevant. Well, that renders the entire two step process meaningless.

If we -- if we -- when we make the determination that they need to that WEC or an agency needs to promulgate what it claims to be a document as a rule and then we veto it, it has to have some meaning and the meaning is clear which is that WEC or any agency can't go back to doing the same thing, they can't go back to business as usual again. Again, WEC or any agency is the creature of the legislature and when the legislature follows the statutes to make clear that what the agency claims is a guidance which is actually a rule and then vetoes that rule, that's the end of the ball game and that's an independent separate reason why this Court should enjoin the enforcement of the 2016 mandate.

And then the final, the final reason that this Court should enjoin the enforcement of the 2016 mandate is in fact that mandate was a rule. The Supreme Court in the Palm decision, most famously rearticulated and implied the five step test for a rule. And all five of those steps are plainly satisfied with the 2016

mandate.

Step one is a full description of the action. What's this? You see it on the WEC letterhead. Two, does it have the effective law that was issued by the agency. Well, of course, it was. You've got word shall must throughout the mandate. That is under Wisconsin Supreme Court black letter law when you have words like shall or must that's mandatory, that's not suggestive language. That is mandatory language. Is it a general application? Yes, of course, it is. It covers all municipal election clerks throughout the state. New clerks could leave, new clerks could be appointed. That's the definition of general application.

My friend's suggestion that general application has to apply to literally every single person or agency in Wisconsin, I mean that would basically make nothing a rule because except maybe the <a href="Palm">Palm</a> rule where you know where we have a shut down for the whole state. No other regulation either you have a large class where people can accidently leave in regard to clerks that is of general application. In fact, I would say -- I would say as a footnote on those last two points.

If they are correct that the 2016 mandate was not a rule because it literally didn't apply to all people or anything like that, then WEC couldn't have even

issued the emergency rule that it did because that also only applied to municipal clerks and of course WEC couldn't issue any rules period applied to any municipal clerks because that wouldn't apply to all citizens who are not themselves clerks. So it doesn't make sense.

And then the final of the five part test is that it implements, interprets or makes specific legislation enforced or administered. That's exactly what happened here. We have here an interpretation of the statutes and then my friends didn't even contest that fifth element is satisfied.

So for all those reasons the 2016 mandate was always the rule and it had to be promulgated consistent with rule making procedure which it never was so whatever an issue from the beginning in the same way that the executive order in <a href="Palm">Palm</a> was ordered.

And then finally turning to the equities. And here I'm going to focus on the legislature equities. As I see my friends, from WEC's argument here, their entire argument of why we don't have standing or we have suffered irreparable harm is entirely carcinic of their merits side.

At Pages 17 to 18 of their submission late last week in opposition to our filing they say well legislature hasn't suffered institutional harm because in

fact we're complying with the statutes and the

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2 legislature hasn't suffered institutional harm because we 3 are in fact complying with the JCRAR process. 4 Well, then we just have a duplication if Your Honor agrees with us on any of our three affirmative 5 arguments of why we should prevail on the merits, then 6 WEC has effectively conceded that we have standing and we have irreparable harm. If Your Honor disagrees with us and says they are correct on the meaning of the statutes, 9 the meaning of the JCRAR process, then we have no 10 likelihood of success and then if we wouldn't suffer any 11 12 harm. So then I think they have effectively conceded this really boils down to the merits of our three 13 14 arguments. And then finally on this Federal issue 15 that some of my friends have raised. 16 THE COURT: You have lots of friends. 17 18 very popular guy. 19 MR. TSEYTLIN: They're my friends. I work with 20 these folks all the time. That they have raised is actually four separate reasons why this Court should not 21 22 be troubled by any Federal issues. First, under the well established Henry 23 24 Doctrine, an administrative law. An agency decision 25 cannot be held or upheld on a ground that the agency

itself didn't rely upon. WEC did not rely upon any
Federal law in issuing the 2016 mandate. In fact not
even in the briefs in this case. So under the Henry
Doctrine is the whole Federal law issue needs to be set
to the side.

Second, nothing in the Federal statute that they cite actually requires or even suggests that WEC can issue or should issue or must issue any sort of mandate to clerks. So whatever concerns they have under the Federal statute has nothing to do with WEC.

Third, if somehow the Federal statute did direct WEC to do a bunch of stuff or directed clerks to do a bunch stuff which it clearly doesn't, that that statute would be obviously unconstitutional under the Anti-Commandeering Doctrine that says that the Federal government can't force states, including state agencies to administer law.

And finally the statute itself just doesn't apply here. Here we have a privilege of voting absentee. We have certain requirements to exercise that privilege. Nothing in this statute creates the revolutionary principle that states can't have certain requirements on absentee voters that don't go to voter qualification. And for all of those reasons I would urge Your Honor to issue the temporary injunction or if Your

Honor agrees with us that the issue is so clear, consider issuing a mandamus as a final judgment this morning, this afternoon.

THE COURT: Thank you. Mr. Bellavia.

MR. BELLAVIA: Thank you, Your Honor. I don't want to repeat the contents of our briefs. I think the briefing has been very thorough so I might touch on and respond to some of the points that have already been made here today and I wanted to discuss a few things that I think came up in reply briefs that we haven't, that the Commission has not yet really spoken on.

We argued, I'm starting on the probability of success on the merits and what the statutory interpretation is we first. The question is whether the election statutes prohibit clerks from adding witness address information to an absentee ballot certificates and the Commission argued, made an argument about the meaning of the terms address and missing in subsection 6.87(6d) which is the statute that says that a ballot shall not be counted if the witness address is missing. And those terms aren't defined in the statute but then when you get down to the question of the clerks filling in information, is ambiguous as to whether they're filling in address information that is completely missing or their supplementing address information that's there

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by, for example, adding a zip code, something I think a lot of clerks we found did in the 2020 election. They just added a zip code.

I think the address was already there before the zip code was added so those ballots were countable in any event. So to the extent that the Plaintiffs' entire theory of harm on which they base their standing and their request for preliminary injunctive relief is premised on the idea that some ballots that due to this guidance from the Commission, some ballots are being counted that should not be counted under (6d) and I don't think that one can draw that conclusion at all given this, given the kinds of possibilities that I just outlined and in fact Justice Hagedorn in his concurrence in the Trump v. Biden case, that's cited in the briefs, Paragraphs 49 and 50 of his concurrence, he found the exact same thing and he basically went through the same logical analysis that I just set out for you. He probably did it more clearly than I have done and concluded that there is no authority in the statutes that would allow a vote to be struck if it contains sufficient address information but that address information had also been supplemented by the clerk writing something additional.

Now, the Plaintiffs have in their reply

brief, they say this is all a red herring. That's not our issue at all. We don't care about the definition of address. We don't care about the definition of missing. All we care about is that there is nothing in the statutes that says clerks can write in the -- in the witness certificate portion of the ballot.

The problem there is it necessarily follows that they're saying that if the clerk does write in there, does write something in there, that therefore the ballot becomes uncountable. That's the whole premise of their having standing is that votes are being improperly counted. But if the clerk just writes in the address it does not at all lead to the conclusion that votes are being improperly counted so we think it's really not a red herring issue at all and as I said Justice Hagedorn seems to think it was quite an important issue.

As to the merits of this, the argument that since the statutes don't say anywhere explicitly that clerks can fill in deficient or missing address information, therefore, the power doesn't exist because agencies only have the power they're given, I think that's, that argument is an exaggeration, it's an overstatement.

Obviously, when officials are charged with

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executing a statute, they always have to interpret its meaning and apply it to various factual circumstances that come before them. That's their job as the executive branch of the government. Statutes obviously cannot and do not spell out in detail every particular action that an executive branch official or employee has to perform in order to implement a statute and part of the constitutional power the executive branch includes the power to interpret what the statute means and then to decide how that statute should be implemented in accordance with that interpretation.

There is nothing wrong with the executive interpreting statutes, it's part of the function of the executive branch to do it for the purpose of facilitating their execution of the statute.

In the case of the Elections Commission, they're charged with providing interpretive guidance to all the local election officials throughout the state. So that's what they have done here. They've taken statutes that speak in general terms and they've confronted this problem of what to do if there is witness address information that is missing or incomplete and they've made the rather, you know, we're primarily concerned I think about making sure that there would be treatment of these kinds of ballot envelopes that was as

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uniform as possible throughout the state.

So there is a need for clear guidance. I think that's why they spoke with the kind of directive language that they did was to encourage that all clerks should take steps that they can take to try to correct the ballots for any voter whose ballot seems to have a facial deficiency on the envelope so as not to get into a situation where there is selection going on and some clerks are helping voters more than others or picking and choosing which voters to help which is obviously not a good thing.

So they've authorized, they gave a whole menu of options in the guidance of things that things that clerks could do. One of them was that if the clerk --

Well, that's Mr. Burnett's point, THE COURT: They have a whole menu, whereas the statute only gave one option.

MR. BELLAVIA: That's true.

THE COURT: Two options. Do nothing and then one option here's how you do it and that ensures the uniformity that you say.

MR. BELLAVIA: I understand that. I think we've made some of our arguments about that point in the brief as to whether, that we don't think that necessarily

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excludes any other option. Obviously the Plaintiffs, the Plaintiffs disagree.

I would point out to the Court that I think that all of the options that are in that guidance, except for the one that involves the clerks writing in information, actually all fall within 6.87(9) that the Plaintiffs rely on.

That provision says that the clerk can return the ballot to the voter. It doesn't say anything more about how that can be interpreted, how it can be So the, in briefing, you know, in returned to the voter. the rush and hustle and bustle of briefing it is usually portrayed as it simply means that the clerk can put the ballot back in the mail to the voter and then the voter can make the correction and mail it back to the clerk. Obviously a very time-consuming process especially with the, you know, the slowing down of the postal service and contemporary times.

I don't think that that provision itself has to be read that way at all. In fact, it's a routine practice throughout the state for clerks can contact the -- can contact the voter in other ways like by telephone and say do you want to come down-- there is information missing from your ballot envelope. Can you -- would you like to come down and correct it.

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I think that's what some of those other 1 2 menu options are different are various flavors of that 3 way in which -- in which the ballot can be returned to 4 the -- to the voter not by mailing it. 5 THE COURT: How is the voter going to correct it at that point other than taking it back to the 6 7 witness? MR. BELLAVIA: Well, the voter --8 THE COURT: Are you saying the witness, the 9 voter's add information for the witness's certification? 10 It doesn't seem like they could do Can they do that? 11 12 that. MR. BELLAVIA: Well, I think that's a fair 13 That goes to the point of whether everything 14 that's, whether, for instance, the way the statute is 15 structured 6.87(2) it says the witness shall execute the 16 17 following. Then there is some certification language. I 18 certify these various things about the voter, the voter's a citizen, et cetera and then there is some lines 19 20 underneath. It says printed name, address, signature. 21 Now, clearly the witness has to sign for 22 the certification to be valid. That's the standard 23 meaning in Blacks Law Dictionary of execute, is to

validate a legal document by one's -- by one's signature.

The Plaintiffs argue that only the witness

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can print in, can print their own name and only the witness can write in their address. I don't think that necessarily follows from the structure of that, of that statute at all because I think that they derive that from the witness shall execute the following and then -- and then all those things are under there. But I don't think that follows given the meaning of -- given the meaning of execute. I think execute means certify the certification language by signing. But -- but even if the -- but even if the witness -- I'm losing my --THE COURT: Even if the witness. MR. BELLAVIA: Can you repeat? No, I think you addressed it. THE COURT: MR. BELLAVIA: Okay. Okay. Let me pick up my train of thought. THE COURT: Sure. MR. BELLAVIA: So I was making a point that we don't think there is anything unusual or improper about giving guidance to fill in these kinds of practical implementation gaps in a statute and as I was saying, I don't think that, oh, I don't think that (9) excludes the other, the other forms of ballot curing that are

discussed in the guidance and I don't think that the

Plaintiffs, the Plaintiffs can in rebuttal, they can

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clarify their own position but I don't think they actually challenged anything. Maybe the use of shall but other than the use of shall in the quidance, I don't think they challenged the other forms of ballot curing, only that the clerks can't write in.

So one of the things that, that we would ask as sort of an alternative argument is if the Court does decide to issue a temporary injunction, that it craft its relief in such a way that it only invalidates the portions of the guidance that, that the Court finds are likely to be found unlawful here and that have been challenged by the Plaintiffs, primarily, the clerks writing it in themselves because I think the guidance regarding the other options on the menu of options are all valuable, that's still valuable guidance to the clerks and I think that as I said it all falls within the scope of (9) I think so it could be -- it could be upheld even within the Plaintiffs' -- even within the Plaintiffs' framework.

Then the second issue on the likelihood of success on the merits, I'm going to talk about is whether the 2016 guidance is an unpromulgated rule and the Commission's primary argument here is that it's not a rule because it does not have the force of law. the argument that we have primarily relied on.

on the <u>Palm</u> decision in which an agency, emergency order was invalidated as an unpromulgated rule. But the issue that was involved in <u>Palm</u> was whether the agency order was a statement of policy in general application. It was not whether the agency order had the force of law. In fact, the parties didn't dispute that that order did have the force of law. So the question was whether it was sufficiently general, sufficiently general application.

THE COURT: What does that mean to have the force of law? Mr. Tseytlin is saying must and should and all these mandatory strictures within the 2016 memorandum that it sounds like it's law, they're not required to do it. But are you saying it's something more than, there has to be some sanction available or something else, a consequence.

MR. BELLAVIA: I don't know that there is a single -- that there is a single factor that is necessarily conclusive. But we rely primarily on Justice Hagedorn's concurring opinion in <a href="Teigen">Teigen</a> decision where he talked about this issue at length.

The three other justices who voted to invalidate the -- to invalidate the guidance that was at issue in that case did not reach the question of whether

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it was an unpromulgated rule because they invalidated it for substantive reasons. But Justice Hagedorn did address it and concluded it was not an unpromulgated rule and he talked about this mandatory language issue even though the guidance in <a href="Teigen">Teigen</a> didn't have that mandatory language and he acknowledged that there are cases that give weight to mandatory language and say that when an agency is speaking with mandatory language it is more likely to be trying to speak and intending to speak with the force of law.

But Justice Magedorn really said that there was a more fundamental question that should be This is in Paragraph 194 of his, of his opinion. All this discussion is around between 193 and 200 of his There is a more fundamental question should be asked is whether the guidance is binding and enforceable and how has the agency actually applied or threatened to apply this guidance in practice. There is nothing in the quidance at issue in this case other than the use of shall that there is nothing there about enforcement.

There are no threats made to clerks and there is no history of any attempt to enforce this as if it were a, as if it were a binding rule. In fact, there is language at the beginning of the guidance that suggests that, you know, this is advisory quidance for -- Case 2022CV002446

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for you folks on this, on this important issue suggesting that it is not, that it's not meant to be binding and enforceable.

So the word shall can sometimes be advisory rather than -- rather than mandatory. Typically when it is considered to be advisory rather than mandatory it is precisely about whatever it is that the shall is pointing to is not actually being required of consequences if you don't do it and that's the case here.

There are no consequences for clerks who actually don't follow the Commission's guidance. The Commission has never tried to impose consequences and so we think that is why it does not have the force of law and I would point out that if one looks at the votes in Teigen necessarily for, other than Justice Hagedorn specifically said he didn't think that it was, that -that the WEC guidance had the force of law, the other three justices would have upheld the guidance.

So they obviously didn't think it was an unpromulgated rule. So four held in that case that the Commission's guidance was not an unpromulgated rule and I think Justice Hagedorn's reasoning is -- is pretty persuasive on that and applicable here while acknowledging there is mandatory language here that wasn't present there.

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The third issue on the merits is this

JCRAR suspension issue. This is one that I think we very
thoroughly, very thoroughly briefed so as I was listening
to my friend Mr. Tseytlin speak about this, I was tempted
to repeat the arguments that are in the brief but I don't
really think it's necessary to repeat them in any detail.

I guess the fundamental things I would say about this are that the legislature does not have the power to authorize a legislative committee to directly tell executive branch agencies how to interpret and implement the law. If there was -- if instead of this weird two step veto process that the legislature has been arguing here, if instead of that they just did it straight forwardly and what if the legislature just promulgated a rule that says if -- if the joint committee for review of administrative rules think that any agency policy is contrary to statute they can direct the agency to stop implementing that policy, that would be an unconstitutional law. That's a legislative -- that's a legislative veto. It's not -- it's not permissible under the separation of powers.

The legislature has the power to stop an agency from implementing the policy by change, by enacting a new law that changes the law, if it's being interpreted in a way the legislature doesn't agree with

they can create new statutory language that does not permit the interpretation or the agency's interpretation and implementation of the law can be challenged in the courts and the court can declare what the law is and decide and the Court has the power to direct the agency to change its interpretation of the law following adjudication of the issue in the Court.

So you can, either the legislature can either change the law or somebody can sue the Commission arguing that the guidance is invalid just as the Plaintiffs here have done. But what they can't do is just, JCRAR just can't declare a law to be invalid nor can they simply declare, I'm sorry, declare guidance to be invalid nor can they simply declare guidance to be invalid nor can they simply declare guidance to be an unpromulgated rule in a legally binding, illegally binding way.

What Section 227.24(2)(b) provides is that if JCRAR makes its own determination that they think that the guidance meets the statutory definition of a rule, they can direct the agency to promulgate that guidance as an administrative rule, as an emergency rule.

Now, in this case they did that.

Commission complied and then they exercised their other power to suspend the emergency rule that they had just ordered the Commission to create. You put those two

things together, it's doing exactly what I just said you

can't do under the separation of powers.

First they say this is a rule so you must promulgate it and then after you promulgate it, it's contrary to statute so it's invalid. By two steps they've gotten where they can't ordinarily go under standard separation of powers, separation of powers principles. It's very peculiar if you think about it that the -- that the Joint Committee for Review of Administrative Rules would direct an agency to create a rule that they know to be unlawful and contrary to statutes. We're talking about the legislature -- they're telling the agency to create a rule only so they can suspend that rule.

uses the term, uses the term veto and that JCRAR veto.
It's not really a veto of the rule. It's a power to suspend the rule for a limited period of time during which they are requirements for submitting bills that would permanently make, that would permanently supersede the suspended rule and if those bills don't eventually get passed within a time frame that's set out in great detail and hard difficult detail in the statute, if the bills don't get passed in a timely way, then eventually the rule can go back into effect. But that's not really

an issue in this case just that the use of the word veto is not correct.

I did want to respond to the arguments that have been made about the <u>Martinez</u> case because I think there is an important factual distinction that the Plaintiffs and the legislature have left out. What happened in <u>Martinez</u> is that <u>DIHLR</u> had promulgated an administrative rule. There was no question of whether the policy that was embodied in that rule was supposed to be embodied in the rule. It was and it had been.

needing to be promulgated that was wasn't the issue at all. <u>DIHLR</u> had promulgated a rule. JCRAR then acted under 227.24 and they suspend it but they did not suspend the entire rule. They suspended portions of the rule leaving other portions in effect thereby changing the rule's meaning, kind of like line item veto that can change the meaning of a statute by eliminating certain parts of it.

Now, if you ask me, I don't think there is anything in 227.24 that allows that but neither the parties nor the Court seem concerned about whether that was a statutorily authorized thing for JCRAR to do and they did it and for our purposes they acted lawfully and they suspended part of the rule. So they left a modified

rule in effect.

That rule has the force of law because administrative rules have the force of the law. That rule continued to be binding on the entire world including DIHLR after JCRAR had modified it. <a href="DIHLR">DIHLR</a> concluded that they thought this whole process is unconstitutional under separation of powers springs of bolls JCRAR shouldn't have the power to suspend rules or parts of rules at all.

And they then directed the parties that were subject to the rule in question to ignore JCRAR's version of the law, of the rule and to just follow the previous unmodified <u>DTHLR</u> version of the rule. That was unlawful and the courts, you know, the courts rightly found it was unlawful. It was unlawful because there was a rule in effect and the agency was saying don't follow that rule. That's not what happened here.

What happened here is that JCRAR suspended the emergency rule in its entirety. That emergency rule simply codified what was in the guidance. They suspended in its entirety. At that point there is no rule in effect. There is now no -- there isn't any binding provision of law just before the rule existed, yeah, before the emergency rule was promulgated. The guidance existed and everyone was functioning, was functioning

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under the guidance. Parties that thought that that guidance was unlawful contrary to statute could have brought an action like this one under 227.40 simply to challenge the correctness of the guidance but it would either be and then a Court would decide whether it was or wasn't consistent with the statute. Nothing to do with all of this unpromulgated rule stuff.

So I really think that, that Martinez is distinguishable on that basis and that the Commission here did not at all do what DIMER had done in the Martinez case.

On irreparable harm, just a couple of points. The Plaintiffs claim that harm through partially, they claim harm through dilution of their votes, but we believe that there is no factual record before the Court sufficient to establish any likelihood of that type of harm arising. The Commission's guidance actually makes unlawful -- I'm sorry. There is no evidence that the Commission's quidance makes unlawful voting more likely.

To the contrary, it's more probable that an envelope on which the clerk has added some witness address information contains a valid ballot then that it contains an invalid ballot given just the fact that there are a heck of a lot of valid ballots than invalid ballots

that would be found in any sampling of ballots that one took. Fraudulent ballot, voter fraud is relatively rare, thankfully. It's very rare and while it does occur and it's important, more likely than not the ballot inside that envelope is --

THE COURT: You're bringing up these points about a valid ballot and a fraudulent ballot. They're just telling me to apply the law that says if the certification is not on there or it's missing, it can't be counted. Whether there is some evil attempt behind it or whether somebody just for whatever reason didn't include the address or the certification.

MR. BELLAVIA: Well, if the address -THE COURT: If it's not on there and it's
missing the law says the ballot may not be counted and
you're drawing is such well, it should be counted because
it's a valid ballot. It wasn't an attempt to defraud
anybody and therefore those should be counted. But
you're making some presumptions here that are contrary to
the law I think.

MR. BELLAVIA: I'm not trying to convey to the Court that I think that if the witness address is missing that the ballot should be counted contrary to that statutory provision.

THE COURT: Okay.

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MR. BELLAVIA: Our position there is that it may be, I would argue that if there is partial address information that is there, then there is a question to be resolved, whether by a Court or by the election inspectors in the course of a challenge process or something, there is a question there to be resolved as to whether the address is missing or not within the meaning of that, within the meaning of that statute. And that if the clerks have written, if there is partial information there and the clerks have supplemented it with additional information in their effort to help the ballot to be counted, that even if the Court were to conclude that they're not authorized to do that, which we don't think the Court should reach that conclusion, but even if the Court did reach that conclusion, the fact that the clerk did that does not itself invalidate the ballot because (6d) doesn't say anything about that. It simply says if the address is missing.

So if there was enough address information there and the clerk supplemented it, then that wouldn't invalidate the ballot. I do not mean to suggest that now, there is sometimes circumstances where often the witness will be the spouse of the voter and they live in the same, they live at the same address and they have the same name. And so there is always a sticker that

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actually is provided by the clerk, right, that has the name and address of the voter and then there is the voter's certification where they certify yeah that's me and they sign that they followed the rules and then sometimes the witness will just put in their name after the witness certification and not repeat the address because it's already -- because it's already elsewhere on the envelope.

Technically, since there is an address line there so technically they aidn't -- they didn't fill in that form that they had been directed to fill in that line but I think the address information is not missing if one can determine from the information that's within the face of the ballot that this is the spouse of the person, they live at the same address. That that's -that that's their address. I don't think the address is missing. I think that inspectors or a Court considering that ballot envelope could say that it could be counted under (6d).

So I think there are a lot of these kinds of different scenarios that make this question of counting or not counting ballots not guite as transparently obvious as it can be, as it can appear at first sight.

The other theory of irreparable harm that

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the Plaintiffs and the legislature emphasizes kind of this per se irreparable harm due to simply a failure by the Commission to follow the law.

Simply because the guidance is alleged to be contrary to statute, that if it is contrary to statute, then it's per se irreparable harm because the entire public is automatically harmed if the law is not properly interpreted and implemented. And to support this theory they rely largely on some of the recent stay pending appeals orders that have come from the Supreme Court particularly in the SCIU case which is also in some other cases and in those cases those cases that involved trial Court orders that invalidated, facially invalidated and enjoined an enforcement of the statute. And the Supreme Court concluded that in that circumstance where a statute is invalidated and enjoined the will of the legislature in enacting that statute has necessarily been nullified and that is per se irreparable harm to the public sufficient to stay the lower court's order while the merits of the validity of the statute are fully adjudicated in the appeal. That's not what's going on here.

Nobody has invalidated any statute here. The Commission has no authority to invalidate a statute. The Commission has interpreted a statute and they have

issued guidance that -- that articulates their interpretation of the statute. As I said earlier, that's what the executive branch, one of the things that the executive branch is supposed to do and is allowed to do.

When the executive branch interprets and applies a statute that even if they're wrong that doesn't nullify the statute. That's constitutional government in accordance with the separation of powers.

There are methods for responding if you think that the agency's interpretation is wrong that I outlined before. Sue the agency and challenge their interpretation and the Court is empowered to direct them to change their interpretation or change the law so as to supersede the interpretation. But simply because the executive branch is interpreting the law in the way that the Plaintiffs and the legislature disagree with, that does not provide — that does not constitute irreparable harm in anything like the sense that was issued in that <a href="SCIU">SCIU</a> stay decision where a statute had been completely invalidated so it counted be enforced at all.

Commission is enforcing the statutes through its guidance not saying that they can't be enforced at all. They disagree with the interpretation and how it's being enforced and that's a separate -- that's a separate question. But I don't think there is

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per se irreparable harm just because they disagree with an interpretation of the meaning of the statute.

I think I have one more point and then I will be finished. Let's see. Yeah. The last point I wanted to make just in conclusion was a second kind of in the alternative argument related to the remedy that any remedy that the Court might afford here that in addition we, I asked you earlier that if you grant the preliminary injunction that you only invalidate the witness writing in, I meaning the clerk writing on the ballot on the envelope portion of the guidance and not the entire guidance. And I would also add if there is any preliminary declaratory relief from the Court saying that clerks are not allowed to write in information, that the Court also include in its declaration an indication that ballots are not automatically invalidated just because the clerk has written something on the ballot because there is no statutory support for that.

It would cause confusion and lead to ballots being, some ballots being invalidated even though there was address information on the ballot. It simply had been supplemented by the clerk.

So it would be good if any declaratory -- if any declaratory relief was clear on that point to avoid that kind of potential confusion. So with that I

1 will stop. Thank you. 2 THE COURT: All right. Thank you. 3 going --4 MR. GEISE: John Geise for Waukesha County 5 Democratic Party. I wanted to --THE COURT: Maybe the pull microphone a little 6 That's that thing right there. 7 8 MR. GEISE: Yeah. Gotcha. Is that better? THE COURT: Yeah. 9 10 I wanted to touch on a few MR. GEISE: Great. things that have been discussed and then turn to a couple 11 12 other pieces. So first the legislature has maintained 13 here that JCRAR's suspension of the rule also invalidated 14 the guidance and that's contrary to what legislature 15 counsel said at the JCRAR hearing. We can provide the 16 17 time stamp for you but at the JCRAR July 20, 2022 18 hearing, legislative counsel stated that the law 19 following JCRAR's suspension would return to the status 20 it was prior to the agency's promulgation of the 21 emergency rule. And we agree with that. 22 We think that once JCRAR suspended it, it 23 would return to the agency's guidance and I would submit 24 that the legislature taking a contrary position here is a 25 position that's recently developed for litigation based

on that.

Second, I wanted to just add another reason that the guidance isn't a rule. And that's Wisconsin Statute 227.01(13) specifically states the term rule does not include any action or inaction that is directed to a specifically named person or group of specifically named persons that do not constitute a general class.

And in <u>Palm</u> the Supreme Court clarified that that means that if it's described in general terms and new members can be added to the class, then it is a rule. Well, here it's not anything directed at a general class that people can be added to. It's directed to a very specific class. This regulation is directed to Wisconsin municipal and county clerks.

And the legislature submits that people can be added to that because clerks change, people come and go but that's a little misleading. Obviously if someone is elected clerk, someone else leaves that position but the number of people subject to the rule are always the same and it is people who hold the title or sorry, not rule, guidance, people who hold the title county and municipal clerk. So based purely on one of the exceptions to a rule this is not a rule.

THE COURT: Mr. Tseytlin is going to say then

WEC will never issue any rule because they're only applied to those same municipal clerks the actions they take. He did say that. So they can issue no rules?

Anything they do can never be a rule?

MR. GEISE: Well, I think that they could. I mean I think that they could expand beyond those individuals and then it would be a rule but I would also submit that we would go back to WEC's guidance. There are five requirements and at least it does meet two of them, in addition to the fact that it does have the force of law under that one.

I would like to turn to and before I go into the crux of this, I also wanted to address a question you asked about the statute providing two options under 6.87(9). That is only related, that -- there are two points I would make on that.

First, you only get to 6.87(9) it says it's the options for an improperly completed certificate. You only get there if the word improperly means that having some portion of having an incomplete address is an improperly completed certificate. The statute doesn't say that, we wouldn't submit, we would submit that Justice Hagedorn in <a href="Trump v. Biden">Trump v. Biden</a> made this point too. We would submit it's not clear that having a portion of the address makes a certificate improperly completed.

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And second, 6.87(9) is subject to Section 5.01 when you interpret it as opposed to and I will get into the legislature and the Plaintiffs make a lot about how these provisions are mandatory.

That's only true for (6d). The mandatory provisions here under 6.842 are Sections three through seven of 6.87. So yes it is true that it is mandatory that if the address is missing, the ballot cannot be counted. But once we get outside of that when we're talking about 6.87(2) saying only the witness can execute the certification, when we're talking about 6.87(9) improperly completed certificate then we are into Section 5.01. And Section 5.01 is very clear. It says that those provisions should be construed to give effect to the will of the electors notwithstanding failure to fully comply with some of their provisions. And the Wisconsin Supreme Court in Roth, which is 2004 WI 6 Paragraph 26 made it very clear that cases construing this statute evidence a premium on giving effects to the will of the voter.

So I would submit improperly completed certificate isn't really clear and we're in a world where we're talking about that. Where we're meant to focus on giving effect to the will of the voter despite perhaps not having a perfectly completed address.

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And I would like to turn now to just focus a little on what Plaintiffs and the legislature are asking you to do here. Because I would submit it's truly extraordinary. They seek to not just have you overturn WEC's guidance but they ask you to offer a radical interpretation of Wisconsin law that's sure to disenfranchise voters and they've requested that on an emergency basis in the midst of an election.

It's an interpretation of law that's contrary to the unanimous WEC that passed it. It's contrary to the Wisconsin DOJ's advice to WEC in 2016 which was the genesis of that guidance and it's contrary to the interpretation that was offered by four of the seven justices of the Wisconsin Supreme Court in Trump v. Biden because essentially what they're asking you to do is you need to not only overturn WEC's guidance but you also need to determine that an absentee ballot with an incomplete address cannot be counted and the problem they --

THE COURT: No one is asking me to determine what can be counted or not be counted. They're just asking me to determine whether the advice, guidance, mandate whatever you want to call it from WEC is valid and contrary to law. So they're not asking whether I count anything. No one is making a determination on any

of that. That's not part of any of the requested relief.

MR. GEISE: Well, Your Honor, they have submitted that the guidance is contrary to the law because it allows an incomplete address to be counted and what I would say is that all that we have in the statute right now is a missing address cannot be counted. And there is nothing to tell clerks or to tell anyone what happens with an incomplete address and WEC's guidance is specifically developed to fill that void and to provide uniformity.

So Plaintiffs and the legislature can say yes, we just want you to overturn the guidance say it's contrary, that's all. But in saying it's contrary, you would be saying that an incomplete address cannot be counted necessarily first and second, I think you would have to, and second if you didn't, then you'd sort of you would leave a gap that is contrary to the very uniformity they claim to want because without the guidance, (6d) says if it's missing an address, it should not be counted.

I don't think anyone here is actually really disputing that but what if someone wrote their street name and not the municipality. What if someone wrote the municipality and not the city. What if they didn't write the zip code. There is nothing in the

statute that speaks to that. And that's precisely, those kinds of gaps are precisely what WEC's role is to fill and that's what they did and they did it in a reasonable way that again four of the seven justices of the Wisconsin Supreme Court has said is reasonable. The DOJ said is reasonable and that the unanimous WEC said is reasonable.

And the reason it's reasonable I think is because again what we have is (6d). If a certificate is missing the address of a witness, the ballot may not be counted. But it doesn't say anything about incomplete address. And in fact, the words address and missing in that statute really doom the argument that it means incomplete addresses can't be counted and support the guidance and I would like to sort of talk about why and I think the first place you have to look is the word address.

Now, Plaintiffs' counsel stated that the WEC understands what an address is based on some WEC guidance and other submissions and I think WEC's policy on an address doesn't change what the pure language of the statute is or how they interpret the statute in that context and in 6.87(d) it says address, it doesn't say complete address. And it leaves the word undefined.

Justice Hagedorn acknowledged it explicitly in <a href="Trump v.">Trump v.</a>

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Biden when he said that, you know, if clerks completed addresses that were already sufficient under the statute, I'm not aware of any authority that would allow such votes to be struck, right. And the reason the word address is so important there is because when the legislature wants the word address in the election code to mean specific information, it says that. And it did that, it's done that in at least three places of the In 6.87(2) itself it requires the election code.

voter to add ward number or aldermanic along with their street address, city and county. It doesn't provide those same things when it's talking about the witness In 6.34(3)(b)(2) when it's talking about a voter identification, it actually uses the term complete residential address which would suggest that just the word address by itself doesn't mean complete residential address because those words would be mere surplusage. And it says that including a number street address if anything and the name of the municipality.

And then in Section 6.18 it states a former Wisconsin resident seeking a Presidential absentee ballot must provide a present address including city and state.

And the reason why that's important is

because the legislature didn't say any of that here. It said the word address. And in the absence of a definition and given the precise definitions elsewhere, you have to ask what controls. And we would submit there are three rules of statutory interpretation that show that address in the context of the statute can't mean complete address.

First, and again Plaintiffs' counsel mentioned this, this principle, the Wisconsin Supreme Court has emphasized that or I'm sorry, the Wisconsin Supreme Court has emphasized that where the legislature uses similar but different terms in the statute, particularly within the same section, we presume it intended those terms to have different meanings and that was in Eggo. That's 2020 WI App. 17 Paragraph 64.

The legislature specifically noted repeatedly within the election code even in some of the same sections we're talking about, when they wanted an address to include certain information and that means it can be assumed it didn't specify that and it didn't mean that regarding witness address.

And second in cases likes <u>Benson</u> the Wisconsin Supreme Court has emphasized that Wisconsin follows the general terms Cannon which means that a word should be given it's full and fair scope and not

arbitrarily limited.

If you look at the word address in a dictionary it means simply a place where a person or an organization may be communicated. It doesn't include such a place has to be defined by its street number, its municipality or its zip code.

And finally where the word address to always mean complete address, the legislature would have no need to define the contours elsewhere in the election code, as I've already said or for example 6.34 to use the specifically the term address because the word address would mean that. So clearly it has to, it clearly does not mean complete address in this statute or the legislature would have to tell you otherwise where it does.

And that's why the word address can't mean complete address. But the second word that's really important in (6d) is the word missing. And I think if you look at Plaintiffs' brief at Page 11 it's fairly telling that Plaintiffs say that the statute means ballots can't be counted where the envelope is missing the witness's address or is incomplete. But that's one of the places in their brief where they're not quoting the statute. Their just extrapolating. And that's important because the statute doesn't say that.

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It says you shouldn't count envelopes with a missing address. And the point meaning missing, of missing is synonymous with absent not incomplete. And so Plaintiffs have talked about not adding words into the statute and things like that and I agree but if a statute meant a ballot should not be completed not be counted with a missing or incomplete address it would say that. And adding the words or incomplete into the statute violates the admonition Plaintiffs counsel pointed out from cases like Jefferson v. Dane County to not add words into a statute the legislature itself didn't see fit to employ.

And I would also point out again that it is important that (6d) is the one mandatory provision we're talking about here. Because 6.84(2) tells us that (6d) falls within the range that should be read as mandatory and strictly construed but that's strictly construed both such that ballots should be, should not be counted if they violate those provisions but also that the language has to be very tightly construed and the words have to mean what they say.

And sections outside that range are treated very differently and so Plaintiffs and the legislature have talked about 6.87(2) for the witness has to execute the statute and 6.87(9) for an improperly

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completed certificate which I've already touched on and again those fall under 5.01 which have to be construed to give effect of the will of the electors notwithstanding informality or the failure to fully comply with some of their provisions.

And so if you take a broad view of what we're talking about here, the only provision of law we're dealing with that has to be strictly construed tells us that if the address field is left fully blank, a ballot can't be counted. And no one, if don't think anyone But an incomplete address before you, is disputing that. is wholly outside that provision and the other provisions that Plaintiffs and the legislature try to bootstrap in to make an incomplete address somehow fit in there, are specifically provisions that have to be read to give effect to the will of the elector.

And basically I think it's fair to say when and I would submit that the Wisconsin DOJ's guidance that WEC has followed and that the Wisconsin Supreme Court adopted, basically says when reading the statutory quidance as a whole, an address may not be perfect to be valid, it merely needs to have enough information to be able to identify where the witness lives. That's giving effect and that's precisely what the reasonably discerned language of the guidance does.

And given that, I just would submit the reading by Plaintiffs and the legislature simply can't be right. And there is one other reason before I would like to turn to the equities but on the merits there is one other reason why their guidance can't be right. And they, beyond violating the rules of interpretation, their reading would open the statute up to Federal preemption. The Federal civil rights act materiality provision prohibits states from denying the Franchise eligible voters based on immaterial technical requirements and a witness's complete address is not material to determining whether such an individual is qualified under state law to vote in the election.

Under Wisconsin law and that's Article 3
Section 1 of the Wisconsin Constitution, there are really three requirements to be qualified to vote in Wisconsin.
You have to be a US citizen, you have to be 18 and older, you have to be a resident of the election district in the state. The complete address is not necessary to release any of those requirements and so Federal law would prohibit the rejection of and otherwise eligible absentee ballot because merely because the address is incomplete and any other interpretation would render that section in direct conflict with Federal law and preempt it. And I would note that actually 6.84(2) and 5.01 in the

interplay between them, seem to consider and account for Federal law by strictly limiting the provisions of the absentee voting code that are construed as mandatory.

There is a reason why Section 6.84(2) is written to have very limited and specific provisions of the absentee code that are mandatory whereas in all other instances Section 5.01 tells you that minor errors have to be tolerated to give effect to the will of the voter and that's because it keeps Wisconsin in part it's at least because to me it seems it keeps Wisconsin law in compliance with the materiality provision.

And on this point and on the Federal point I really, I would submit that Plaintiffs and legislature's arguments at least in their briefing, here they've offered some different arguments, I would say in their briefing, that their principal argument against this is that a witness address is required under state law so it's material to determining qualifications.

But if that were the standard, that would swallow the entire rule, right. I mean the Third Circuit recently said in <a href="McLaury v. Towering">McLaury v. Towering</a> (phonetic) that the materiality provision was created to ensure qualified voters were not disenfranchised by meaningless requirements that prevented eligible voters from casting their ballots but had nothing to do with determining

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one's qualifications to vote. And I would submit if you rejected ballots based on a lack of a complete address you would be falling into, falling directly into what Federal law prohibits.

And so on the merits in considering all of those factors, Plaintiffs and the legislature have offered you a problematic interpretation of the statute that raises Federal issues while DOJ's reasonable interpretation of the statute has been relied on by WEC for the last six years, complies with how you're supposed to interpret Wisconsin statutes and with Federal law. And WEC unanimously adopted this interpretation based on the DOJ telling it it was reasonable and four of the seven justices of the Wisconsin Supreme Court agree it's It's reasonable, it's in line with how you reasonable. should read the statute under 5.01 and 6.84 and it keeps Wisconsin law from running afoul in Federal law and we do submit that that dooms Plaintiffs' and the legislature's likelihood of success on the merits.

But likelihood of success on the merits is only one requirement for the extraordinary relief of a temporary injunction and so now I would like to turn to the equities very briefly.

I think it's really important to take a step back here and look at where we are in the election

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1 cycle. 2 We're in the midst of the election. The 3 Wisconsin Supreme Court has explained that a general 4 election and it's primary share a critical nexus and that the primary is part of the election. And so Plaintiffs 5 and the legislature really are asking you to make a 6 7 fundamental change to the rules while the election is 8 happening. Did it happen in <u>Teigen</u>? THE COURT: 9 ballot boxes, didn't that happen in Teigen? The primary, 10 the primary had the ballot boxes and the other one the 11 general election didn't? 12 MR. GEISE: Was it Teigen? I would have to 13 14 check. Your Honor, may I address that 15 16 Which was before the August 17 MR. BELLAVIA: 18 primary. 19 THE COURT: Go ahead. 20 MR. MANDELL: Your Honor, the difference in

Teigen were that the rules were changed, the drop boxes were closed but any voter attempting to return a ballot to the drop box would know that they would get there, they couldn't use it and there would be instructions on the drop box on how to use the ballot. Here by contrast Document 4

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votes who have submitted a ballot, first of all voter can request an absentee ballots for both the primary and the general election at the same time. So a voter who has requested an absentee ballot for both the primary and the general, would then return their primary ballot followed up on MyVote to make sure it was counted, could do the exact same thing when their general election ballot comes in the mail and that ballot might not be counted because of the change in the rules.

It's a completely different situation because the voter doesn't have the same kind of necessary, doesn't automatically have the kind of notice they had when they would have gone to a drop box and it would be -- and the drop box was closed.

MR. CEISE: And I would submit that that is a huge voter confusion problem and it would lead to a host of administrative issues for clerks and for organizations like the Waukesha County Democratic party who try and help people navigate these rules to vote. And there is a reason that timing is important.

I will acknowledge, you know, I'm an elections lawyer. Sometimes in elections that kind of timing is unavoidable but it was entirely avoidable here. WEC's quidance has been on the books since 2016. And this very issue was discussed at length by the Supreme

Court in <u>Trump v. Biden</u> in 2020. Plaintiffs and the legislature have had six years to either challenge this issue in Court or in the legislature's case, to address it through legislation. And they've had two years since the ruling in <u>Trump</u> highlighted this issue in detail.

So it is simply too late to come now and ask for a temporary injunction to implement this change while an election is happening.

And if you look at their briefs and what they have said here today, neither one of them really offers a meaningful excuse for that delay. Plaintiffs have submitted that they re on time because unlike in <a href="Trump">Trump</a> they did not wart until after the election and in their briefing they pointed out they filed their temporary injunction a week before the primary. But I think that argument is insufficient for at least three reasons.

First, they filed their temporary injunction three weeks after initiating this case and they took no action to get a ruling before the primary election and in fact agreed to a briefing schedule that would make sure that their motion was heard after the primary. And second to a point my co-counsel has raised, in Wisconsin absentee ballots are mailed out six weeks before the election. So even when they first filed

ballots had already gone out to all of the voters. And third, I would just submit that waiting until the eve of an election when you had six years just isn't appropriate where the equities are concerned regardless of that timing.

So just because this challenge came before the election, doesn't make it timely. And I would point Your Honor to the Wisconsin Supreme Court case in <a href="Hawkinsv">Hawkins</a>
<a href="Hawkins of the Wisconsin Elections Commission">Which is 2020 WI 75</a>.

Rejecting an attempt to put candidates on the ballot between a primary and a general because the relief would cause voter confusion and undue damage.

And Plaintiffs' relief here again would do just that and the reason <u>Hawkins</u> is important because the Wisconsin Supreme Court made the determination and issued the ruling that that was too late on September 14th of 2020. So given that it is currently September 7th, I think we're well within when the Wisconsin Supreme Court has said it's too late for these kind of changes that will inevitably lead to voter confusion.

And I would say the legislature has even less of an excuse for its delay because at any point it could pass legislation to fix this and it could have done that at any point over the last six years and the fact that it's been unsuccessful getting legislation through

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the political process doesn't mean it gets to challenge the guidance and a temporary injunction in the middle of an election. And if you look at the legislature's explanation for why they're late here, I would submit it muddies the facts a little when arguing that their -there was -- their challenge was timely. Because the legislature's claim is that it brought this action as soon as WEC violated JCRAR's suspension of the emergency rule in July. But as I've noted, that's contrary to what legislative counsel said at the JCRAR emergency hearing which was that they understood it precisely the way that WEC did and that WEC issued the statement afterwards which merely stated that under Section 505 WEC can only take action with two-thirds of the committee. They So the guidance remained in hadn't taken any action. effect.

So the idea that somehow WEC flouted JCRAR's ruling and that led the legislature to file this action based on legislative counsel's determination and based on the, you know, the facts, just simply is not accurate. And I would also point out that JCRAR didn't request that the WEC make its guidance a rule until January, 2022. So it already waited nearly six years after the quidance was passed. And that WEC voted at its March 9th meeting to approve its scope statement and

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instructed staff to complete the rule making process which was again four months before the legislature sought to join this action and seek a temporary injunction. I think all of those dates are important because I think the legislature pointing to WEC simply issuing a statement reiterating Wisconsin law in July and that spurring their involvement is a little misleading.

And I would just close that in addition to being too late, this is also, when we're looking at the other temporary injunction factors, it's also an inappropriate request for a temporary injunction given that it would radically alter the status quo and Plaintiffs and the legislature argue that the status quo is what prevailed before the purportedly unlawful quidance but I don't think that can be right because that first assumes their likelihood of success on the merits and second that would readout the status quo requirement entirely I think you know for example I've had logic. There was a law that had been on the books since 1927 that I challenged here, asked for a temporary injunction and to tell you it didn't change the status quo because of we looked at the status quo of what was happening in 1926. And that simply can't be right. And it's also contrary to what the courts have said in Gall v. Aurora Healthcare which is 2022 Wis. App 29 at Paragraph 61.

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The Court of Appeals told us in its extensive discussion of the status quo that we look at the status quo before the litigation. And here the last six years show that the status quo is following what's in WEC's quidance. so this is a request for an injunction to radically alter that status quo and I submit based on the requirements that is inappropriate for this type of

And so just to conclude, Your Honor, we would submit that it's too late for the radical relief the plaintiffs and the legislature request and that WEC's guidance is a reasonable interpretation in line with Wisconsin statutory interpretation and necessary to keep Wisconsin law in compliance with Federal law. And so accordingly we'd ask that you deny the motions here.

> Thank you. Yes, sir, Mr. Sherman. THE COURT:

MR. SHERMAN: Thank you, Your Honor. like to make a few threshold points first before turning to the Federal law, thank you, and respond to a few of the arguments that have been made you by Plaintiffs and the legislature.

First, State courts cannot issue injunctions that contravene Federal law. Plaintiffs and the legislature have sought to recharacterize our

argument as the Federal law that we cited justifies what WEC did. That's not our argument. Our argument is that Federal law sets limitations on what this Court can order in response to the motion for temporary injunction.

In addition to the cases we cited in our

In addition to the cases we cited in our brief, we would also point the Court to <u>State ex rel</u>

<u>Zimmerman</u> 249 Wis. 237. It's a case from 1946 case.

In this case the petitioner sought to throw out the ballots, primary votes for Joseph MacCarthy who was at the time a sitting judge. There was a Wisconsin State law that barred a sitting judge from running for another office but the Supreme Court of Wisconsin interpreted Federal law to mean it was a ceiling and not a floor and that the State legislature could not add to those Federal requirements for running for the US Senate and rejected the petition on that basis.

So clearly this is case law that is still valid and is precedent for the proposition that an injunction or any relief that's issued both by State Court needs to contend with Federal law limitations and that's what really we have sought to do in intervening here to set forth and articulate what are the Federal law constraints on both the US constitution and Federal statutes.

The legislature, I believe Plaintiffs and the legislature both refer to chicanery. Chicanery is not, not to the contrary. It doesn't relieve this Court of its obligation to issue an order that stays within the confines set by Federal law. The legislature has also referenced the Anti-Commandeering Doctrine with respect I think this argument is very very off base. Prince v.

United States and York v. United States both of those Supreme Court decisions concern Federal laws, Federal statutes that constricted state local officials into some kind of Federal administrative schemes such as the Brady Bills gun background checks, I believe it's Prince the nuclear waste regulation.

The doctrine is not applicable here because there is nothing, there is no commandeering where a State Court issues an order requiring, you know, State officials or local officials to stay within the bounds set by the Federal law to comply with Federal law. If a Federal Court or State Court orders state and local officials to comply with Federal law, that's not commandeering, that's just constitutional litigation number one. Practical. I wanted to make a couple of just practical points before I turn to the Federal law arguments here.

It's practical and actual points here. I

think it's important just to step back and note what's at stake here and note what the scope of the issue is some of the numbers.

I think it's remarkable just to see or witness the parties duking this out because they have no idea what the impact of what they argue here today. They have no idea whose ox will be gored based on what they argue in this courtroom. The Republican Party and the legislature and others have noted after, during the 2000 — run up to the 2016 general election and immediately after in 2017 were nowhere to be found on this.

It defies credulity that they weren't paying attention to this rule change but they didn't complain in 2016 or 2017 the first election in which this cure policy was applied.

Just to define some of the scope of this issue, some of the scope of this problem this is really tens of thousands of ballots, tens of thousands of voters who will be caught up in this issue if the cure policy is enjoined.

In the last Presidential election, the margin of victory was roughly 20,000 votes. We've cited in one of the letters from the League of Women Voters that went to JCRAR that was also cited in the letter to WEC, it's part of our intervention papers in this case,

we cited the legislature audit bureau 50 published a report last year that reports number 21-19 it's called Elections Administration, came out in October of last year and they actually had some numbers, some data on what the scope of this issue is.

They took a random sample of about 14,710 ballots and found that roughly one in 14 of them, or seven percent had incomplete witness addresses. Very very few. Only 15 out of those 14,710 ballots I believe had no witness address whatsoever.

So really the lion's share of this issue is about incomplete witness addresses. And their data further showed that most of the incomplete witness addresses are just missing a zip code or a state name. They didn't actually note how many are missing a municipality name but 700 or so, I have the numbers but 700 or so of the 1,020 ballots with incomplete witness addresses were missing a zip code and roughly 364 were also missing the Wisconsin, the name, state name.

So if absentee voting returns to pre-pandemic levels which is roughly four to eight percent or if it stays somewhat higher you know not quite what it was in 2020 but something like 20 percent of the electorate which is roughly 3.3, 3.4 million votes by mail, we're talking about anywhere from 10,000 to 48,000

votes in Wisconsin with incomplete witness addresses that need to be dealt with in some fashion and as counsel for the Waukesha County Dem's pointed out, there really is no instruction on the matter. It's a law in the state statute. It doesn't say anything about how to address that and that's what the, what WEC is attempting to do to cure the policy.

The league has intervened here because it's not as concerned with the oxen that may be gored or not but we're worried that voters are being gored by, would be gored in the absence of this policy and that's, we've intervened to indicate all voters' Federal rights under both the U.S. Constitution and under the Civil Rights Act.

Another practical just consideration or practical point the witness address has a requirement, it isn't very functional as a security measure. Election inspectors and canvassers are only looking to see that there is a witness signature and there is a witness address. They don't do anything with either of those. Once they note that the certification has a witness signature and a witness address, they remove the ballot. They note that this voter has voted but that ballot is fed into a machine.

MR. TSEYTLIN: Your Honor, I must object. You

end of it. Only in a challenge or recount scenario and

we did note this response explicitly in our brief that's

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the only circumstance where a witness address could come into play.

But with respect to the universe of mail in absentee ballots, generally what we're all arguing about here today is a requirement that really isn't, no election official is really doing anything with.

In a very very small number of circumstances it comes into play in a challenge or a recount scenario and there is, and if we want to talk about the record, there is no evidence of its use in the record. No one has cited to any evidence and it is the Plaintiffs' and the legislature's burden here. They've not cite to any evidence that the witness address requirement is actually being used.

This does have relevance, you know, for the Federal law arguments but I just wanted to emphasize that because the standard right now is not your ballot counts if we can identify the witness. The standard is the ballot counts if there is a witness signature and a witness address in the certification but we don't do anything with either of those.

Given the sole purpose of 6.87(6d) is witness identification, it only makes sense to have a functional approach and allow a witness signature to suffice for the requirements in those circumstances and

then only if there is the challenge of a witness identification be necessary and the voter can be contacted to that end. Failing that, if those options aren't on the table, something like the cure guidance is what's necessary to fill in the gap and to comply with Federal law and that's what I'll turn to now.

I won't rehash everything that counsel for Waukesha County Dem's talked about with respect to the Civil Rights Act but I do want to make a few points about this. The materiality requirement in the Civil Rights Act is directly implicated by the relief that Plaintiffs and the legislature seek here. And if the Court issues the requested injunction it will put Wisconsin election law and procedures in violation of that Federal law.

Under that requirement, any aspect of the voting process that makes a vote effective is subject to the materiality requirement and the words qualified under state law go only to the express qualifications set by the state and as noted by other counsel for the Waukesha County Dem's, Wisconsin Stat. 6.02 sets the qualifications. Article 3, Section 1 of the Wisconsin Constitution, excuse me, sets the qualifications and there are disqualifications set as well in Wisconsin Stat. 6.03 that go to felons, disenfranchisement, but by contrast the Wisconsin Statutes at play in this

litigation never refer to the witness address or anything we've been talking about here with respect to the absentee ballot certificate envelope. They're never called for qualification. So we are talking about whether or not the witness address, let me just move slightly so I feel like counsel for WEC is blocking the view.

THE COURT: I can see.

MR. SHERMAN: Okay. So what we're talking about here is the relevance and the materiality of the witness address requirement as to those voting eligibility criteria to vote in Wisconsin by any method.

Plaintiffs and the legislature have presented somewhat contradictory arguments on this but there, I take their main argument to be that every procedural requirement in Wisconsin election law is per se material even if there is no nexus with those voting eligibility criteria but that just can't be because under that argument, every single procedural technical requirement would be material, per se, material and it would render the Federal materiality requirement a nullity by simply saying, you know, with a circular reasoning that it's material because it's material.

The only way something is material is if it goes to the voting eligibility criteria. If it has

some role in determining whether the voter's qualified under state law to vote. That's the phrase.

Ultimately, the witness address is not material to determining the voter's qualifications for a handful of reasons. One, to state the obvious the witness's address is not information about the voter. It's also not reasonably calculated to, it's not information that you can just plug into a database and yield information about the voter.

The witness address it's just not dispositive of directly bearing on the voter itself and there are many cases decided under the materiality requirement but they all -- they all involve, I believe, every single one of them information about the voter.

Not so here. This is quite a different case. This is information about the witness not the voter.

The witness address, of course, is information about a witness but the only function it serves is to identify the witness and the only way that can be relevant and material to the question of the voter's qualifications is if you -- if you need to identify them and speak to and contact the witness to corroborate. It's an antifraud measure in that sense but it's not directly information about the voter. And as I've noted before, it's an antifraud measure that no one

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Document 4

seems to be using in Wisconsin and it also predates all of the other antifraud measures that the legislature has enacted over the last ten years, before antifraud measures. A Wisconsin voter goes through the following. Registers to vote and submits documentary proof of residence as part of that process. The only across the board documentary proof of residence requirement in the country. Arizona may be second but that's caught up in litigation. A straight voter ID requirement that applies not just to in-person voting as it does in many states by absentee vote and an absentee ballot is mailed to the address identified by the voter which is a further check on the process.

So what -- what then I've been trying to figure out, what is the nature of the Plaintiffs' and legislature's complaint about identifying the witness through other means. These other means that have been identified and enumerated in the cure guidance.

You know, whether it's a database search or voter contact, all of those complaints are based in state law and they have to yield. They have to then they're superceded by the Federal law requirement here in the Civil Rights Act.

I did want to note, too, that it's not just the scenario that counsel for WEC talked about where

it might be a spouse, you know, who omits their witness address. There could be a person who like puts ditto marks, who writes same. Who includes street name and street address but omits the municipality name thinking the rest of the balance of the address is clear because it matches what's above.

All of these are scenarios that trigger or in the absence of the cure guidance, will trigger Federal law and, you know, trigger the Federal law requirements such as materiality and the Civil Rights Act. And so all of those need to be addressed.

I think if the Court, I'm not going to die on this hill of arguing that the, you know, Section 101 the materiality provision in the Federal law rendered 6.87(6d) per so on its face invalid, we do believe that, but in the alternative if Your Honor is not inclined to think that the witness address is immaterial on its face, then I think what's triggered is a need to disaggregate the witness address into its different components and into these different scenarios and create rules and sub rules that will account for and take into account the Federal law, the materiality requirement. Otherwise an injunction that just disposes of the cure guidance is just teeing up new and potentially confusing litigation, right next, right in the course of the an ongoing

election on the Federal law claims so that's why we've intervened to tee these up now and of course the Court has concurrent jurisdiction over Federal law issues and can address those in the course of these proceedings.

I wanted to say one other point about the cure guidance. The injunction, you know. The League is not, you know, here to necessarily argue that every single phrase or every single provision of the cure guidance needs to be upheld. What the Federal Civil Rights Act requires is that the ballot be counted and not be rejected for an immaterial technical omission, but if what Plaintiffs and the Degislature are really up in arms about is the fact that clerks are filling in information and completing that address, that part of the guidance could be enjoined as long as what's upheld and what's sustained as part of the order is that the ballot be counted and that's to protect Wisconsin election law and procedures from running afoul of the Civil Rights Act.

So the cure policy can be upheld to the extent that it protects voters rights under Federal law but the ballots can be counted without being cured, cured quote unquote per se. You know, the face that's just to say the face of the absentee ballot certificate envelope doesn't need to be completed by the clerk in order for the ballot to be counted. That requirement in 6.87(6d)

can yield, must yield to the Federal law requirements.

There are a variety of permutations some of which we have already discussed but as I said before most of the actual yield rules incomplete witness addresses are incomplete because there is an omitted state name or an omitted zip code. That's the evidence from the legislature audit bureau's analysis from last year. And disposing of those, just dealing with just those two categories, would deal with the lion's share of what ballots that are in dispute.

Municipality name. I assume they didn't discuss in the LAD report but I assume that's next. That most people leave off the municipality name but I think that's clear in context. I think those three, omitting any of those three components of a witness address together or any of them singularly, we submit that's immaterial to the voter's qualifications and any order I think that's issued in this case could potentially keep Wisconsin election law and procedures on the right side of the Federal law requirements by addressing those three components of the witness address. Municipality name, zip code and state name.

Just a few other points on this before turning to the other Federal law arguments here. I do think, you know, in reviewing an incomplete witness

address practically speaking, municipal clerks are able and law enforcement if they're involved in an investigation, are able to deduce who that witness is and identify that witness even if there is an incomplete address. There would only be so many people with the specific name living at a specific address even if the municipality name is omitted. And they will be able to identify which specific person served as a witness for the voter.

In that circumstance, voter contact can be useful. But it's not necessary if they can identify the witness based on the database search which is, you know, has been done for six years without anyone raising the issue.

come back to it. The LAD report said that 799 certificates did not have a zip code and 364 certificates did not have a state name. They did not highlight how many of the certificates were missing a municipality name, I just assume that because they didn't note it, it's less than 364 but it wasn't noted in the report. 15 certificates in ten municipalities did not have a witness address in its entirety. So comparatively it's a very small number which falls squarely within the 6.87(6d) language.

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I wanted to just note again I think I noted this but in any order that this Court were to issue I think that it could carve out certain categories to keep Wisconsin law and election procedures in compliance with the Federal law and to my mind it has to do so in order to comply with the Civil Rights Act to designate the, in (6d) and say which of these scenarios would trip the materiality.

Turning to the other arguments that we've raised under the constitution, similarly, Plaintiffs and the legislature's argument and requested relief would put Wisconsin election law and procedures in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments under the Anderson Voting Test that's been outlined by the U.S. Supreme Court. burden in this case is most severe possibilities a full rejection of a vote, it's denial of the fundamental right to vote. It's not, you know, as in some other cases just do you have to go get an ID, do you have to present proof of residence. This is just full out rejection of the ballot.

The State's interests, Plaintiffs, you know, have not really established how the witness address practically functionally furthers a compelling statement. I noted there seems to be no evidence of usage of the witness address in the record. And, you know, on the

other hand, on the other side of the scale, we have the rejection of tens of thousands of votes in Wisconsin.

So we would submit, the League would submit that this and I've noted too that Wisconsin has all these additional purported voting integrity voting security measures from proof of residence, nations only across the board proof of documents, voter ID is submitted at the time of the absentee ballot application or along with the absentee ballot of they didn't do it previously.

So it has all of these measures in place and I think that's relevant to this analysis as well.

Under this balancing test, it seems clear to us that denial of tens of thousands of ballots is not justified by an omitted zip code, omitted state name, an omitted municipality name. And other scenarios where the witness indicates same or ditto.

There are a variety of, you know, common scenarios here which this Court could address in its order which would reconcile what the Plaintiffs are asking, reconciling any interpretation of 6.87(6d) with the Federal law requirement.

The other option too is to give WEC an opportunity to craft new guidance within parameters set by this Court. We obviously don't have a lot of time

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here based on when the Plaintiffs and legislature decided to file this lawsuit. But if the Court were inclined to think that the current guidance runs afoul of state law, WEC could be given another opportunity to craft guidance that deals with all these rules and Your Honor could deal with them. This Court could deal with them in its order or could give WEC another opportunity to craft guidance that in the Court's view better reconciled state law and Federal law.

I won't rehash the obvious usage. cited that we think that case is extremely instructive The panel you know made clear that perfection is not a reasonable or valid goal for election law, voting law requirement. It took a very functional approach to absentee voting and the requirements for it for perfection sake wasn't the litmus test. constitutional framework was very functional. information that's recorded in the witness address, in the witness certification is sufficient and sufficiency was the litmus test, if it's sufficient to identify the witness, it serves its purpose and if it does not meet it, to result in the quote unquote heavy handed measure of rejecting the ballot.

Lastly, I do want to note as well the due process implications of what Plaintiffs and the

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legislature are asking this Court to do. And with respect to their counsel I don't think what they've argued and repeatedly citing in 6.87(9) is a serious attempt to deal with those serious due process concerns.

Just to read the statute in part really quickly it says if a municipal clerk receives an absentee ballot with an improperly completed certificate or with no certificate, the clerk may return the ballot to the elector. Both in the Plaintiffs and the legislature's reply briefs, they conceded explicitly that this, the may in this statute, means that the clerk can choose whether or not to return the ballot to the voter. They can decide to submit it, you know, to seal it back up, send it back to the voter or they can hold it for rejection.

So the fate of that voter's ballot rests in the hands of clerk who on a whim can decide to send it back for a cure of that witness certification or to just hold it and reject it.

We would submit that that simply is not adequate notice. It doesn't comply with due process for It's not uniform. And I would underscore that the Plaintiffs and the legislature who have raised concerns about uniformity and other aspects of this litigation with cure guidance have not said anything about the obvious non-uniformity created by 6.87(9).

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preexisting state of affairs prior to this cure guidance was you could send it back or not. And it could just be rejected. And in the absence of this guidance, this cure quidance, that is going to create non-uniformity across voters because this is just purely discretionary.

The other problem with this concerns the balance of the language where it says together with the new envelope, if necessary, quote, whenever time permits the elector to correct the defect and return the ballot within the period under (6d).

So again non-uniformity is purely a gut call on the clerk's part, clerk staff, as to whether there is enough time to get the ballot back to the voter and for the ballot to be returned from the voter back to -- back to the clerk's office. Even the form EL-122, the absentee ballot certificate envelope that we've been discussing, Section 5 says mail back your ballot. Allow four to five days for delivery to insure your ballot is received by election day. Ballots received after election day will not be counted.

So we're talking about a minimum of ten days but of course we have all seen through the news and other sources you know other things that USPS that has put out there have been significant delays of ballots being delivered to voters and ballots being delivered,

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being mailed back from voters to clerk's offices.

So mail no longer constitutes a viable way to provide adequate notice to a voter. The legislature seemed to understand that themselves by proposing an SB 935 that there would be notice put up online. That in and of itself wouldn't be sufficient for all voters but it just goes to show that even the legislature seems to understand that it is not adequate to rely on the mail for providing adequate notice and an adequate opportunity to cure a quote unquote defective ballot to meet those Federal due process requirements.

I would also note that the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, Wisconsin recent decision in Teigen which largely struck down the use of drop boxes throughout the state has only made voters throughout Wisconsin more reliant on the mail not less.

With that I just conclude by saying we do think the League submits that the requested relief in this case would put -- would put Wisconsin election law and procedures in violation of the U.S. Constitution and the Civil Rights Act.

This Court does have the power and indeed the obligation under Wisconsin state law to address those Federal arguments now in these proceedings. That's certainly the most efficient way to deal with them.

it can deal with them in a variety of ways. It can create rules to reconcile Federal law into state law 2 3 here. It could also give WEC another opportunity to craft quidance if that is the way the Court, Your Honor, 4 5 is leaning. And with that I will stop. THE COURT: All right. I'll give you a very 6 short rebuttal, like two minutes each because I need to use the restroom, I am sure some of you do too. My clerk, my court reporter needs a 15 minute break. 9 Because I did a bad job of telling her about JCRAR and 10 all of that stuff ahead of time so she is probably 11 wondering what is going on. So she needs a break but I 12 I'll give you rebuttal two minutes each. And then I'll 13 take a 15 minute break and I'll come back, okay. 14 MR. BURNETT: Thank you. The pressure is on. 15 THE COURT: I told you I had to go to the 16 17 bathroom, didn't I? 18 MR. BURNETT: Yeah. I understand. There is no 19 answer to that basic question I asked. If the 20 legislature intended the clerks to have all these options 21 why didn't it say so. 22 The idea that this isn't a mandatory 23 guidance is refuted in the guidance itself. If you look 24 at the guidance, it says the clerk must and it highlights 25 the word must. So it's clear to municipal clerks reading

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this that this is something they should do. You were absolutely right the Teigen case distinguished between primaries and general elections. That's found at Document 139, Page 3.

There is no evidence that voters are going to be confused by any of this. The ballot envelope gives them very clear direction as to how to fill it out. their witness should fill it out and it indicates precisely the information the witness needs. We were told that there is confusion about geez, what is a complete address.

Well, if you look at the WEC policy we're involved with here, it defines a complete address as a street number, a street name and name and municipality. This isn't a case about counting votes. This is a case about stopping the issuance of guidance that violates Wisconsin law. The whole idea that Federal law is somehow or another violated because these requirements deal, don't deal with qualifications to vote was rejected by Judge Peterson in the Common Cause decision found at Document 132, Page 6. Thank you.

> THE COURT: Thank you.

I'll scrap most of what I was MR. TSEYTLIN: going to say and I'll try to submit a couple of brief points.

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The issue here as Your Honor properly articulated is whether WEC can mandate clerks to take extra steps that are not provided in the statute when confronted with missing witness addresses. does not call on this Court to define what a missing witness address is. It does not call upon this Court to issue novel and I would say revolutionary decisions under Federal law which I think if taken seriously would lead to the conclusion that all rules for absentee voting in Wisconsin are preempted because of course in Wisconsin all otherwise eligible voters can vote absentee.

So if what my friends are arguing any rule above that are preempted by Federal law, then gee under their theory which no Court has adopted or even suggested all those rules by in Wisconsin are preempted that is obviously not correct and in any event not presented by this case.

I do want to focus on just this argument about the JCRAR veto because it is one of the things in this case that goes beyond the dispute here. heard from WEC's counsel here, my friend, is that they don't really have a textural argument in the statute of why they can ignore what JCRAR did. They're basically saying that the JCRAR regime is unconstitutional. JCRAR regime was upheld as constitutional unanimously by

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the Wisconsin Supreme Court in the <u>Martinez</u> decision. So they, you know, I'll give DOJ credit. They argued in <u>Martinez</u>. All of the same arguments they're raising here. That the JCRAR regime was unconstitutional a very eloquent brief submitted by the DOJ. They lost seven to zero at the State Supreme Court.

They're welcome to go off in this case and I'm sure this case will go up and ask the State Supreme Court to overturn Martinez. But as long as Martinez is the law, the JCRAR process is mandatory and binding. When JCRAR says you're claiming this for guidance but we think this is a rule. We're directing you that's the term in the statute to issue it as a rule and then that happens the JCRAR thereafter suspends that and it can be now multiple suspensions that was upheld in the SCIU That's the end of the ball game and that is sufficient to hold that this whole enterprise here is illegal. There is no possible argument that following state rule making procedures is, violating state rule making procedures, is mandated by Federal law that somehow this involves defining what address means. is a very clean easy way to determine that the 2016 mandate is illegal under the JCRAR regime. There is no textural argument to the contrary and any contrary constitutional arguments have been rejected in the

2		TF	HE COURT:	All	right.	Let's	take 15
3	minutes.	Let's c	come back	at fi	ve to.	Okay.	So 3:55
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Martinez decision by the State Supreme Court.

STATE OF WISCONSIN )SS WAUKESHA COUNTY I, Lori Schiek, do hereby certify that I am an Official Court Reporter assigned to report the proceedings herein in Waukesha County, Waukesha, Wisconsin; that the foregoing 92 pages are a true and correct transcript of my stenographic notes taken in the proceedings held on September 7, 2022, and reduced to typewritten form. Dated this 22nd day of September, 2022. Official Court Reporter 

1	STATE OF WISCONSIN CIRCUIT COURT WAUKESHA COUNTY
2	MICHAEL WILLIAM OF O
3	MICHAEL WHITE, et al.,
4	Plaintiffs,
5	-vs- Case No. 22-CV-1008
6	WISCONSIN ELECTIONS COMMISSION,
7	Defendant.
8	
9	September 13, 2022 Honorable Michael J. Aprahamian Circuit Court Judge, presiding
10	MOTION TO STAY HEARING
11	
12	APPEARANCES:
13	KURT GOEHRE, Attorney at Law, appeared by Zoom on
14	behalf of the Plaintiffs.
15	LYNN LODAHL and STEVEN KILPATRICK, Attorneys at Law,
16	appeared by Zoom on behalf of the Wisconsin Elections
17	Commission.
18	JEFFREY MANDELL and JOHN GEISE, Attorneys at Law,
19	appeared by Zoom on behalf of the Waukesha County
20	Democratic Party.
21	MISHA TSEYTLIN, Attorney at Law, appeared by Zoom on
22	behalf of the Wisconsin Legislature.
23	DANIEL LENZ, JOHN SHERMAN, and ELIZABETH PIERSON,
24	Attorneys at Law, appeared by Zoom on behalf of the
25	League of Women Voters of Wisconsin.

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6	Official Court Reporter
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1	TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS
2	THE COURT: Michael White et al. Versus
3	Wisconsin Elections Commission. 22-CV-1008.
4	I'm going to ask for the appearances, I'll
5	call out the party and if the lead attorney who is going
6	to be making the argument could just make the appearance
7	for him or herself and then any other attorneys appearing
8	for that party as well that would be appreciated. So for
9	the Plaintiffs.
10	MR. GOEHRE: Attorney Kurt Goehre.
11	THE COURT: For WEC.
12	MR. KILPATRICK: Assistant Attorney General
13	Steven Kilpatrick and with me is Assistant Attorney
14	General Lynn Lodani.
15	THE COURT: For the Waukesha County Democratic
16	Party.
17	MR. MANDELL: Jeff Mandell with Stafford
18	Rosenbaum. With me on the Zoom is John Geise from the
19	Alliance Law Group.
20	THE COURT: For the league of Women Voters of
21	Wisconsin.
22	MR. LENZ: Dan Lenz. With me on the Zoom are
23	Attorneys John Sherman and Elizabeth Pierson. With us on
24	the Zoom as well is Deborah Cronmiller the executive
25	director of the League.

Τ	THE COURT: And for the Wisconsin State
2	Legislature.
3	MR. TSEYTLIN: Misha Tseytlin.
4	THE COURT: All right. Good morning to all.
5	We also have some people, well, one reporter now. One
6	just left here in the courtroom. The courtroom is open.
7	We are broadcasting this on the screen as well.
8	Somebody else is in the waiting room. I'm
9	going to let them in.
10	We're here on a motion to stay enforcement
11	of the temporary injunction that was issued last week.
12	At the end of that hearing there was an oral motion to
13	stay the injunction. I requested that it be put in
14	writing so that we could address it more fulsomely and
15	there could be a response and we scheduled this hearing
16	for today.
17	I did see that the Waukesha County
18	Democratic Party did file that motion and supporting
19	memorandum and then the League of Women Voters of
20	Wisconsin joined in it as did WEC. There was also
21	opposition filed by the Plaintiffs as well as the
22	Wisconsin State Legislature.
23	With that, Mr. Lenz, I'm sorry,
24	Mr. Mandell, why don't you go ahead and make your
25	argument and I'll ask then Mr. Lenz and Mr. Kilpatrick

for their's.

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2 MR. MANDELL: Thank you, Your Honor. The Court 3 should stay its order. There are four factors to consider under Waity which is the Supreme Court's 4 5 decision earlier this year and conveniently all of the parties here agree on what those factors are. 6 The first is whether the movant makes a 7 strong showing that it is likely to succeed on the merits of the appeal. As the legislature acknowledges on Page 4 9 of its brief the fact that a de novo standard of review 10 will apply on appeal here presumptively satisfies this 11 12 standard. Plaintiffs don't acknowledge this. They 13 make the precise error that is criticized in the Waity 14 decision asserting that we have no likelihood of success 15 on appeal because we lost in this Court. That's at Page 16 17 2 of their brief. That is not an accurate statement of 18 Wisconsin law. The legislature, despite recognizing the 19 20 presumption, says that we still don't satisfy the 21 standard because the presumption is at its lowest here 22 and we failed to rebut this Court's rationale in granting 23 the injunction. Respectfully this is incorrect. 24 We do have sufficient arguments that show

we have a likelihood that another Court looking at this

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anew under a de novo standard will see things 1 2 differently. 3 With respect to the construction of Wisconsin Statute Section 6.87(2) and (9), our view is 4 5 consistent with that that four justices of the Wisconsin Supreme Court took in Trump v. Biden 2020 WI 91. 6 alone suggests that there is a significant possibility 7 that our view will prevail. 8 Additionally, this Court's interpretation 9 of those provisions erroneously ignores the statutory and 10 precedential mandate to construe these provisions as 11 directory and quote give effect to the will of the voter, 12 which is in Wisconsin Statute 5.01(1). 13 The Court as it geared up to announce its 14 understanding of these provisions, cited Wisconsin 15 Statute Section 6.84(2) which is about mandatory 16 17 provisions. But that provision actually favors our 18 position because it makes clear that neither (2) nor (9) 19 of Wisconsin 6.87 is a mandatory provision. 20 On Page 12 of the partial transcript that 21 has been provided of the Court's order, the Court 22 referenced 6.84(2) even though as the Court went through 23 its order, it offered no construction of any mandatory

On Page 18 of that transcript the Court

provision in the Wisconsin code.

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read Section 6.87(9) as mandatory. The Plaintiffs in their brief in response to our motion make the same error on Page 3. They don't cite statute nor do they cite precedent. Instead they cite the lead opinion from the Supreme Court in <a>Teigen</a>. But it is important to note that the provision, the piece of Teigen that they cite does not have the support of four justices. It is not the law and it lacks the force of law. It is, therefore -- - the Teigen pieces that have been cited, whether by Plaintiffs, by the legislature or by this Court, are all unilluminated and unhelpful because every single citation to Teigen that is before this Court, both the two in this Court's order, the two in the Plaintiffs' brief and the one in the legislature's brief, every single one of them is to a paragraph that lacks the force of law and does not have four votes. It is not a statement of the majority of the Court. Turning to the legislature's administrative law argument and why we have a likelihood of success there. The legislature continues to distort the procedural history here to try to make this case fit into the box of the Martinez precedent. But it doesn't fit. The Elections Commission took no official action --

THE COURT: Hang on. Somebody was talking and

I just muted them. Again, if you are not an attorney and

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not currently making an argument, I want you to mute. 1 2 Sorry about that, Mr. Mandell. Go ahead.

> MR. MANDELL: No problem, Your Honor. case does not fit the Martinez precedent. The Elections Commission took no official action following the JCRAR vote in July. It did not readopt the guidance or otherwise defy the legislature and to say otherwise ignores the record.

> JCRAR used its statutory authority to require rule making. Unhappy with the emergency rule it then suspended the emergency rule but there is no basis to pretend that that process undoes the Election Commission's unanimous vote six years ago to adopt the guidance. To say so ignores this record, ignores the statutory scheme and undermines Justice Kelly's opinion in <u>SCIU</u> which is premised on the difference in kind as well as in statute between rules and guidance.

On both counts the statutory piece and the administrative law piece our arguments are more than sufficient that an Appellate Court might see things differently than this Court has.

Lastly, on this point the legislature suggests that somehow our motion is insufficient because we did not restate those arguments in full in our motion to stay. That suggestion is factious. Most motions for

stays as we tried in this Court are made orally and they rely entirely on the incorporation of the merits argument that had been presented on the substance. Just like the Plaintiffs' brief in opposition incorporates their arguments on substance, so too our motion does and there is no need for us to bury the Court in paper by filling our motion with arguments already made. The Court is well aware of those arguments. So we satisfy the first prong here both under the presumption in Waity and on the merits of the arguments itself.

Filed 09-27-2022

The second prong is whether the movant shows that absent a stay it will suffer irreparable injury. This factor is relevant to a stay but not to a temporary injunction so it's a particularly important factor for consideration here and the Supreme Court has been clear that if a movant seeking a stay shows irreparable harm, "that fact must weigh in favor of the movant." That's in Paragraph 57 of the Waity decision.

In other words, if we can show irreparable harm the stay really should issue. The existence of irreparable harm to the movants here is indisputable.

There are three different kinds of irreparable harm.

First, some or all of the Waukesha County

Democratic Party's members will suffer

disenfranchisement. That is the irreparable harm as we

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quoted in our brief. The Wisconsin Supreme Court has said nothing can be clearer under our constitution in rights than the right of the citizen to vote is a fundamental inherent right. The Court has also said that no right is the more zealously guarded and protected by the departments of government under our constitutions, Federal and State, than the right of suffrage. And as we quoted, there is, as we pointed out, there is no possible remedy that compensates an eligible voter who is deprived of their right to vote. That voter has lost something completely immeasurable and as we quoted it is axiomatic that there is no pos had remedy for a violation of that right.

But you don't need to rely solely on that arco typo irreparable harm. There is also harm in the diversion of the Waukesha County Democratic Party resources in the home stretch of the campaign. The legislature says on Page 10 of their brief that this is overstated and that quote, at most the Waukesha County Democratic Party might wish to reemphasize the apparent legal arguments for a completed absentee ballot witness certificate address which will not require substantial expenditures.

This argument is entirely speculative and oversimplified. The reality of the task before the

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Waukesha County Democratic Party in the face of this Court's order is that we must reeducate voters who have been conditioned over six years in the past 12 elections that specific voting behavior is sufficient. That is --- that kind of reeducation is no simple task. Especially in the home stretch of a campaign when there is so much other noise around the election and absent a stay, this Court places the Waukesha County Democratic Party in the nearly impossible position of having to accomplish this feat in remarkably little time.

The election is only eight weeks from And voters can begin casting absentee ballots next week.

Third, irreparable harm has already been recognized by this Court in the form of likely inconsistent election administration across the state. That's at Page 24, lines 19 to 22 of the partial transcript. The Court recognized this as irreparable harm in speaking of irreparable harms to the Republican Party of Waukesha County. It can't then reverse course and deny that the same harm, the flip side of the coin, applies and irreparably harms the Waukesha County Democratic Party. Allowing the injunction to take place shortly before the election exacerbates the problem rather than mitigates is.

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In other words, sure there are two sides of this coin and sure, each side, each party faces some kind of harm here. But if you think about the nature of the harm that the Court is worried about, the harm is worse if the injunction goes into effect immediately than if the injunction is stayed.

The fact is the injunction invalidates Elections Commission guidance that has existed since shortly after the adoption of the current statutory scheme, right. Wisconsin Statute 6.87(6d) was created by That change had the Elections 2015 Wisconsin Act 261. Commission, election administrators and Courts think about Wisconsin Statute 6.87 and to take away the guidance that has synthesized and helped guide the application of that statute since its current form will create a vacuum in which municipal clerks and other election officials lack a consistent interpretation of Wisconsin law.

The legislature denies this. legislature says that the Elections Commission has binding quidance on what constitutes an address. But a Page 7 of their brief and there is a footnote with a citation and they return to that citation several times later in their brief. This is mistaken.

The source that the legislature cites is

not a rule, it is not even Elections Commissions guidance. It is simply a staff memo written to commissioners to help them decide whether they should adopt the guidance that is challenged here. It has no binding effect. It was never sent to clerks. And the minutes of the meeting at which the Elections Commission discussed this memo made clear that the memo was not adopted. Both the portions the commissioners agreed with and those they disagreed with informed the guidance that the legislature has successfully urged this Court to invalidate.

The legislature cannot in some post hac effort to minimize the irreparable harm to the movants here, pick and choose which part of the guidance they now belatedly want to keep after urging successfully this Court to strike the guidance down in full. All of these are bases that show that there is irreparable harm to the movants if the injunction is not stayed.

The third factor is whether the movant shows that no substantial harm will come to other interested parties. As we pointed out in our brief, this isn't really about the idea that no substantial harm will come to interested parties it's about comparing the harms that will befall competing parties that's made clear in Paragraph 58 of the Wisconsin Supreme Court Waity

decision and here if the Court compares those harms, the harms to the Plaintiffs and the legislature simply do not outweigh the harms the Waukesha County Democratic Party or the other movants. But start with the vote dilution which is the harm about, on which the Plaintiffs rest their case. Each of their votes under their theory is diluted if at all because this is entirely speculative to only a miniscule extent.

The Legislative Audit Bureau report which the Court can take judicial notice, suggests that from the sample that the Legislative Audit Bureau reviewed merely was 0.1 percent of absentee ballots had missing witness addresses. I mean it's 0.1 percent should not have been counted. That means that Plaintiffs votes are barely diluted at all. 0.1 percent is not a margin that changes the outcome of a state-wide election.

This is analogous as we say in our papers to the Supreme Court's analysis of the taxpayer harms at issue in  $\underline{\text{Waity}}$ .

The Supreme Court said well, yes, there are taxpayer harms but individual taxpayers can't claim those whole harms. They can only claim their pro rata share of those harms.

The same thing is true of vote dilution. Even if, and again this is purely speculative and there

is no evidence in the record that these ballots would be accepted but even if some infinitum number of ballots that are completely missing witness addresses are accepted, the pro rata dilution that that effectuates to Plaintiffs is too small to be measured in any serious way.

Plaintiffs also make a strange analogy of vote dilution to improper venue but that is completely unhelpful. So that harm cannot outweigh the harm to the Waukesha County Democratic Party of the movants. The legislature's harm for its part is about having to continue and that's their word on Page 10 of their brief facing the harm of unlawful guidance.

The record shows that that harm is overstated. Were this existential the legislature would not have sat on its rights for more than five years and nine elections before exercising its oversight authority nor would it have waited nearly six years and 12 elections before coming to court.

The record, what's true here, is that the legislature changed its mind and the legislature is allowed to change its mind. I don't object to the legislature changing its mind. But if you go back and you look at those 2016 minutes I referenced before where the Elections Commission considered the staff memo

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recommending the guidance that's at issue here, the motion to adopt that guidance was made by then Commissioner and now Commissioned Chair Millus. second that motion was made by then Commissioner King. These are the Republican legislature leaders appointees to the commission at that time. This is the reason that JCRAR didn't challenge this until now is that they favored this at the time. In fact, Mr. Millus in the minutes, Commissioner Millus's complaint about the staff memo was that it said that clerks may correct missing information and he wanted it to say that they must, which is the exact crux of the legislature's complaint now that is most effective to them about the, about the guidance. Again, none of this is wrong.

The legislature is entitled to change its JCRAR is entitled to have a different view of the law now than it had then but it undermines the seriousness of the harm when they were willing to allow if not actively support this policy for years and years and elections and elections to say now oh, it has to disappear this moment right on the eve of this coming election. It's just not credible.

And so whether you consider it through vote dilution or you consider the administrative law issue, the harms to Plaintiffs and the legislature simply cannot outweigh the harms of the Waukesha County

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2	Democratic Party much less the other movants.
3	The fourth and final factor under <u>Waity</u> is
4	whether the movant shows that a harm will not damage the
5	public interests. It shows that a stay will not damage
6	the public interests.
7	Both sides here claim that the public
8	interests favors their position. And everyone agrees
9	that the public has interests in full, fair, free
10	elections where all eligible voters get to participate.
11	So what is the Court to do Well, two things.
12	First, because all of the other factors
13	favor the stay, if there is a tie here or even if it
14	slightly favored the Plaintiffs and the legislature, the
15	stay should still issue. But second, the Court should
16	look at this, recognize that there are public, that the
17	public interests plays both ways and do everything it can
18	to avoid the possibility of voter whiplash. Avoiding
19	that, that kind of whiplash, necessitates a stay here.
20	Because, if the Court allows the
21	injunction to go into effect, when there is a reasonable
22	likelihood an Appellate Court will see things
23	differently, then the law will keep flip flopping back
24	and forth.

Whereas, if the Court stays its order and

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allows the Appellate Court to do its job and conduct its own analysis, even if there can be no more than one change in the law. If the higher Court agrees with us, the law remains consistent. If the higher Court agrees with this Court and with the Plaintiffs and the legislature, there is only one change.

Additionally, I have to note that the Court's ruling included observations about the public They are not supported by interests and public harms. the record and are not proper consideration. On Page 20 of the Court says, "It is of little wonder that proponents from all corners of the political spectrum are critical, cynical and suspicious of how elections are managed and overseen when three unelected bureaucrats can defy the legislature and decline to suspend guidance that the Joint Committee under its oversight authority has determined violates Wisconsin law."

There is no record of evidence in this case that individuals in desperate political beliefs are critical, clinical or suspicious about how elections are managed and overseen in this state. There is no record of evidence that any unelected bureaucrats, presumably the Court was referring to some members of the Elections Commission, have defied the legislature nor is there any record of evidence of the intent of such actors.

And JCRAR, the Joint Committee to which the Court referred, has oversight authority, we all agree about that, but under Bedrocks Separation of Powers and Principles that oversight authority does not include making a definitive determination of whether a guidance document violates state law.

As Chief Justice Marshall taught us 220 years ago, it is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Of course, JCRAR can express its concern that a guidance document is inconsistent with the law. And, yes, JCRAR has express authority to suspend a rule if it believes that rule is inconsistent with the law. But JCRAR cannot and did not make a definitive ruling that a guidance document is — it violates a statute. That is something only Courts can do.

Secondly, the Court said quote on Page 24, "Simply because three commissioners refuse to accede to the Joint Committee's determination and are determined to keep the guidance in place, does not mean that this Court owes any deference to them or to the guidance, or that the guidance should remain in place," before going on.

Once again there is no record evidence of the commissioners' intent and once again JCRAR cannot make the definitive determination of the guidance

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lawfulness. Those are not -- those statements are not supported in the record. They are not proper considerations when thinking about harm to the public interests under the fourth factor of the Waity standard.

Balancing all of these factors and all the parties agree that the factors are not prerequisites as the Court said in <u>Waity</u> but are a dynamic system to get considered together strongly favors the entrance of a stay.

There are briefly, Your Honor, two additional considerations outside of the Waity test that First is that the  $\underline{\text{Waity}}$  Court in Paragraph favor a stay. 49 said that a stay is often important to preserve the Was quoting the Werner decision at 80 Wis.2d status quo. The purposes of vindicating the status quo is to minimize reversals in law if the Court of Appeals disagrees with the Circuit Court's ruling. I addressed that earlier as part of the public harm. But given that the past 12 state-wide elections, including one just a month ago, have been administered under the -- under the guidance at issue here, given that the Appellate Court applying de novo review very well may interpret the relevant statute different than this Court does and would have good reason to do so as I outlined before and given that the Waukesha County Democratic Party and other

movants will suffer significant irreparable harm if the temporary injunction goes into effect, the only comprehensive articulation of the status quo is that the same election administration principle that is consistently applied in every election for the past six years should continue to apply this fall until an Appellate Court can review this Court's work.

The Court said and the legislature and the Plaintiffs have argued, that the status quo should be the statutory regime but as I noted earlier that statutory regime was barely in effect for any time at all prior to the guidance. There is no status quo to point to of the statutory regime governing elections in Wisconsin without the guidance. And so that really is not a logical or supportable way to think about the status quo.

Lastly, there are fundamental principles of due process under Federal and State constitutional quarantees that favor a stay here.

As we outlined in our papers, election procedures must not be changed to the detriment of voters who have reasonably relied on the previously established procedures. Certainly those procedures should not be changed in such a way to upset reasonable reliance on the eve of an election.

That principle applies with particular

force here as we discussed at last week's hearing because some voters requested their absentee ballots for the August primary and the November general election at the same time and they could have had their votes counted in the August primary and yet once the injunction takes effect they could cast a ballot with the same information on the envelope for the November election and have their vote not counted. That is a huge harm to their reliance interests and a violation of due process. These additional considerations on top of the clear analysis of the Waity factors counts in favor of a stay. Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Mandell. Mr. Lenz. Any additional argument?

MR. LENZ: Thank you, Your Honor. Very briefly, Your Honor. As we did in our papers we join with the Waukesha County Democratic Party as to the factors outlined under the <u>Waity</u> test particularly the first, third and fourth factor.

We wrote separately and I'll briefly address the additional harm that we visited upon the League and its members as under that test and how that also requires the Court to enter a stay.

Specifically the League has two interests that will be irreparably harm absent a stay in this case

and I'll break it down into two buckets. The first is harm to its membership. As we outlined in the record and the affidavit of filed Newcomer (phonetic) the League represents approximately 2,000 members across the state many of whom who vote by absentee ballot. The League is active in helping its members and the general populus in completing the absentee ballot process successfully and making sure their voice is heard.

Absent a stay in this matter that interest will be harmed because those voters may not have their ballot counted even though as Mr. Mandell outlined, they have done so consistently over the past six years in the exact same way including in the August election. That is, for the reasons Mr. Mandell stated, as it pertains to the Waukesha County Democratic Party membership, an irreparable harm per se that cannot be repaired in the future nor is there any remedy of law.

The other interests that the League has that would be irreparably harmed absent a stay, is its organizational interests and there are a couple of separate organizational interests here. The first, is the past interest that the League has demonstrated over time in advocating for and supporting the existing guidance. As we outlined in our intervention papers the League is active in this area since the enactment of Wis.

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Stat. 6.87(6d) and the initial guidance when it was created in October of 2016.

The League has continued to be active in this phase up through this case as well as proceeding before JCRAR in 2022. Furthermore, the League as a central function of the League, is providing information both to its members and to other voters across the state on a nonpartisan basis regardless of candidate, regardless of partisan affiliation and that -- and the League spent considerable time and resources on providing that information to voters. That interest will also be harmed absent a stay.

The Plaintiffs in their response to our papers don't address the League's interest at all. legislature does briefly indicating that we somehow overstated this but the opposite is true. significant harm that would be visited upon the League is not simply that's going to have to change its guidance, it's the risk of I believe Mr. Mandell called it whiplash of inconsistent guidance if we have differing opinions by different Courts over time.

The League will be faced with the impossible situation of repeatedly revising guidance creating a great deal of confusion as well as an unnecessary expenditure of time and funds. That also

can't be repaired because there are only eight weeks left before the election. That type of inconsistent information can't simply just be cleaned up or remediated later in law. And then so those are the League interests at issue here. We otherwise join with the Dem's.

I do have one request for clarification that's arisen in the responses from the Plaintiffs and the legislature and that Mr. Mandell touched on which is the effect of the Court's injunction on existing WEC guidance and information about the definition of address.

We agree to some extent with the legislature that WEC has provided information as to what it considers guidance or, I'm sorry, what it considers an address that was reduced in the October 16, 2018 guidance that this Court has now enjoined. As a matter of clarification, it may help remediate some of these problems, I think it would be helpful if the Court could clarify whether it was enjoining that portion of the guidance that defined address and or whether it will, it considers any further WEC guidance or any past WEC guidance information that helps provide definition of address that is otherwise not contained in the statute to municipal clerks and voters so they know what that would mean.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Mr. Lenz.

Mr. Kilpatrick.

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MR. KILPATRICK: Thank you, Your Honor. I will try to be brief. On behalf of the Commission I just want to reiterate the Commission has been delegated the responsibilities of the administration Chapters 5, 10 and 12 of the statutes. That means that the Commission is responsible for providing guidance to local election officials and the public concerning the administration, enforcement of Wisconsin's election laws.

Wisconsin Elections Commission also has advisory responsibilities that include explaining the election laws and promoting uniform procedures, insures that clerks and other officials are made aware of the integrity and importance of the vote of each citizen and for those reasons we believe that the stated public interests in a fair and uniform administration of elections are also the interests to the Commission as a defendant in this case, and, therefore, irreparable harm to voters in the general public described in the movant's motion that the Commission joined is applicable to the Commission.

Also I want to point out that contrary to what the legislature said in its brief, there is no stand alone guidance right now issued by the Commission that addresses what the content of a witness address is.

the Court did in issuing an injunction preventing the Commission from advising clerks about the contents of the October 18, 2016 and later 2020 guidance, is preventing the Commission from advising about the content of a witness address as well as what clerks should do with regards to adding missing address information.

The Commission passed this guidance, the memorandum as a package, and now there is nothing for the clerks to be guided by and that results in uncertainty as to what a complete address is and increases the risk that some ballots will not be counted without the fault of the elector.

To close again, the guidance has been in place since before the November 2016 election and it should not be changed right before the November 2022 election.

And finally I agree with Mr. Lenz, if the Court is willing to explain the temporary injunction and particularly with regard to whether the Commission can issue further guidance regarding the content of the witness address if the, if the injunction is interpreted that way by the Court. Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you. Mr. Goehre.

MR. GOEHRE: Thank you, Your Honor. As counsel has indicated it appears that all the parties agree that

the <u>Waity</u> factors are really what is at issue here this morning and Plaintiffs' position is clear. We believe that the intervenors and the Commission have not made a strong showing that they're likely to succeed on the merits on the appeal. As this Court has already found and as an Appellate Court will likely find in our belief is that the Plaintiffs as well as the legislature are the ones that are likely to succeed on the merits not the Commission, not the intervenors.

I want to address the arguments by counsel concerning 6.84 and the suggestion that none of the provisions that are the subject of this Court's order touched any of the mandatory sections addressed in 6.84(2). Well that's simply not the case.

one of the sections at issue that was raised in our motion and certainly was argued quite extensively last week was 6.87(4)(b1). That's the same provision that was at issue in the <u>Teigen</u> case. And what that statute says is that an absentee balloted voted by an elector must be witnessed by another and that quote one witness must sign a certification to that effect and that same witness must provide his or her address which is set forth in 6.87(2) in the form that's provided under that statute including that the witness must print their name, print their address and sign that certification.

So that's all set forth in 6.87(4)(b1)

which is expressly included in the mandatory provision

that's set forth in 6.84(2). Likewise, 6.87(6d) also has

a mandatory provision under 6.84(2) which indicates that

if the certificate is missing the address of a witness

the ballot may not be counted.

There is no dispute that that section, which is at issue here, is a mandatory provision and by the way which hasn't been mentioned yet this morning the certificate that that one witness must sign including the address, is signed under penalties of false statements under Chapter 12.

So the suggestion that this order and the motion requesting a preliminary injunction do not touch on any of the mandatory provisions as set forth in Section 6.84 is simply inaccurate. And what we know from the <u>Teigen</u> decision is that these absentee ballot requirements at issue have to be strictly adhered to and strictly observed to prevent the potential for fraud and abuse. That's clear. That's also set forth in 6.84(1).

What we haven't heard yet this morning nor last week is any authority under Wisconsin law that even suggests that clerks may add information to a witness certification on an absentee ballot. The argument that was raised this morning in relation to four justices on

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the Wisconsin Supreme Court supporting the interpretation of the Commission and intervenors in the Trump v. Biden case is simply inaccurate. That case, of course, was decided on the Act Doctrine of Laches and they didn't address or reach the issue of whether the clerk can add address information to a witness certification on an absentee ballot that's otherwise missing address information.

In fact, the concurrence by Justice Hagedorn expressly states that there is no authority to prohibit clerks from adding information to, "addresses that were already sufficient." So that section that's relied upon by intervenors is premised on an already sufficient address in a witness absentee ballot certification. Clearly, that's inapplicable to the issues in this case. Here the Commission has instructed clerks to add address information to the witness certification when the address is missing which is clearly not authorized by law.

For that reason we believe that the Commission and the intervenor defendants have not made a strong showing that they're likely to succeed on the merits of an appeal and simply suggesting that there is a possibility of success does not meet the standard in Waity.

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We've also incorporated in our brief our prior arguments which for sake of brevity I will not get into unless the Court has questions on that.

The second factor here is whether the intervenors and the Commission have not shown that they will suffer irreparable injury without the stay. Certainly we believe they will have not shown that they will show irreparable injury with the stay. Again the injunction ordered was consistent with 6.87 and the Wisconsin Statutes. The injunction ordered is consistent not only with that statute but it's also consistent with the information that the Commission actually provides voters on their absencee ballot certification form. This is EL form 122 which is the certification form at issue in this case and that's the certification form that each voter reviews and provides the instructions on how to complete the certification, both for the voter and the witness and what we know on that form that WEC, that the Commissioner created, again it's very clear and indicates that the witness has to provide an address and it also provides instruction on what to include in that address which, of course, is not an issue in this case on this motion for preliminary injunction. But the suggestion that voters are somehow going to be confused about what to do when faced with completing the certification flies

in the face of the instructions that the Commission actually is the voters and the witnesses.

In fact, last week during argument counsel for the intervenors referenced the Election Day Manual which is a document that's provided to municipal clerks across the state. And that manual which is provided on the Commission's website and updated as recently as September, 2020, actually provides that clerks, that on Page 99 of 101, it instructs clerks that the certification can be corrected if the voter appears to correct the certificate and instructs the clerks that the original, this is quote, the original witness must be present.

So this is the Election Day Manual that the Commission is sending out to clerks which directly is directly contrary to the 2016 guidance that the Commission has thoroughly refused to forgo and yet they claim that somehow voters are going to be confused or clerks are going to be confused. The only confusion that is going to arise here arises from the 2016 guidance and the later 2020 guidance that suggests or actually instructs clerks that they have to add witness address information if the address is missing from the certificate. That is clearly contrary to law. It's contrary to what the instruction provides at EL 122 and

it's contrary to the Election Day Manual and this gets into what the actual harm is.

And clearly the harm here is to the Plaintiffs and the legislature in the unequal administration of the election laws. Clearly the guidance at issue in this case on one hand contrary to Wisconsin law, instructs clerks to add missing information yet WEC or the Commission is also providing guidance that instructs clerks that they have to go through the voter and that the witness must be present.

So we've got conflicting manuals here provided by the Commission which goes to the issue of the unequal administration of our election laws which clearly the Plaintiffs have an interest in insuring that our election laws are administered fairly and equally across this state. We know that the Commission has argued this is. This is undisputed that the Commission agrees that clerks across the state are going to rely on the 2016 guidance at issue here. It's no doubt that there is going to be the unequal administration of the law and as the Teigen decision indicated, electoral outcomes obtained by unlawful procedures trump the institutional voting degrading the very foundation of pregovernment and unlawful votes pollute lawful votes. That's exactly what we have here.

Plaintiffs not against the Commission, not against the intervenors and the suggestion that the intervenors are going to have to undertake some efforts to update materials, are going to have to incur expenses for voter outreach to provide new information there is simply no admissible evidence in the record that I'm aware of that indicates that that needs to take place but furthermore, the intervenors have certainly suggested that they do that as a matter of course. That's part of their routine, regular functions as organizations in relation to updating members on current aspects of election laws.

So there is no indication that this order is going to work any additional harm in that respect.

And the last factor here we believe the intervenors and the Commission cannot show that a stay will do no harm to the public interests. The public certainly has an interest in our election laws being administered in the manner that is consistent with the laws passed by the legislature as I mentioned. The public has an interest in the equal administration of our election laws. Again citing the recent <u>Teigen</u> decision, elections are one of the most important features of our public and upholding the rules and procedures described for the elections according to the laws enacted by the

legislature reenforces the sanctity of a rule of law and reassures all Americans of integrity of our elections.

That's at the core of this case and that's at the core of the order issued by this Court last week. A stay would allow the Commission to continue to serving promoting guidance that is contrary to clear and binding legislation, informs clerks and local election officials that they may add information to absentee ballot witness certifications. Certainly there is no authority under Wisconsin law, we haven't heard any arguments to suggest that this morning. This would only cause greater confusion amongst municipal clerks and risk the erosion of trust in the administration of our elections. As such a stay would do significant harm to public interests and Plaintiffs respectfully request that the Court deny the intervenors and the Commissions' motions. Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Goehre.

Mr. Tseytlin.

MR. TSEYTLIN: Thank you, Your Honor. So just a little bit of background on <u>Waity</u>. The legislature has painful experiences over three cases League of Women Voters, <u>SCIU</u> and <u>Waity</u> where Circuit Courts issue injunctions against legislative actions. And then when we submitted written fulsome stay motions, the Circuit

Courts just said well, you know, you already lost for the same reasons you lost. You're not going to get, you're not going to get a stay. We got -- we finally got this issue on the merits, the stay issue into the Supreme Court in Waity and the Supreme Court articulated how Circuit Courts should address this tricky issue where the Circuit Court has ruled against the party say, I think you're going to lose but then is asked to stay. And what the Supreme Court did say is that consistent with the legislature has argued through these three cases is that the Circuit Court cannot do what the Circuit Court had done in Waity, SCIU and League of Women Voters and say because you lost at the temporary injunction stage, therefore, you have no likelihood of success.

So when you have an issue like this where it is a question of de novo review on appeal, the Court just must to stay in compliance with Waity acknowledge that my friend Mr. Mandell has a likelihood of success on the merits. It just has to say that. If it does not that, that is in clear violation of Waity. Having said that Waity also makes clear that even though the Plaintiffs in a de novo case have overcome that first threshold, that you can overcome a little bit just from the presumption of from the de novo review or you can overcome it a lot. And what Waity and those prior cases

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that were unpublished from the Wisconsin Supreme Court make clear is that in the stay motion there has to be an articulation of what exactly the Circuit Court did wrong. And in fact, you know, I heard Mr. Mandell say well, stay motions are done orally, and this kind of thing. Well, that is exactly one of the problems that Waity was trying to fix that, that because in order to seek a stay from an Appellate Court, you first seek a stay from the Circuit Court. You shouldn't have the quickie process where the counsel just makes an oral motion saying can you please just stay this decision for the reasons that were put in the brief.

What you actually want to do you want to have fulsome written presentation which then can be met in adversarial written presentations on the other side explaining by the part of the lawsuit before the Circuit Court why there is in fact a likelihood of success on appeal and then the party that won can rebut those arguments.

So we have here unfortunately is by Mr. Mandell and those supporting him, presented no rationale whatsoever to this Court as to what was done wrong on the merits. And we had some backbone today by Mr. Mandell in his oral presentation but I would respectfully submit that is far too late for I think with regards to the

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likelihood of success in order to stay consistent with what the Supreme Court said in <u>Waity</u> is this Court must acknowledge that Mr. Mandell and WEC and the League of Women Voters have a likelihood of success on the merits on appeal but that is at his lower status part of the sliding scale because they failed to present in their stay motion any substantive argument as to what this Court did wrong and it must be insufficient to cross reference the arguments that you made before because the whole point that <u>Waity</u> is making likelihood of success is that the Circuit Court can't cross reference what it said before in TI and Circuit Courts can't do that, then there needs to be a real engagement, certainly the party can't.

Now, if this Court were to consider the belated presentation by Mr. Mandell today which respectfully should have been in his stay motion if it was going to be considered as part of the stay proceedings under <u>Waity</u> he made this reference to the four justices in <u>Trump v. Biden</u>. This is confusing two issues. One is, what is a sufficient address and two, what is a clerk supposed to do if the address is in fact insufficient.

What this Court's injunction does and what the mandate, the 2016 mandate was about, is only about that second question. Was, can the clerks fix what is in

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fact an insufficient address or does it have to fall under the statutory procedure. This Court correctly determined it has to follow the statutory procedure.

THE COURT: Hang on a second, Mr. Tseytlin. Ι need to interject. You start picking up speed and it gets -- you go very fast and the way you're facing right now your name is covering your mouth so my court reporter doesn't even have the advantage of reading your lips. I'm just going to ask you to go a little slower, okay.

MR. TSEYTLIN: Okay, I apologize, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay

MR. TSEYTLIN: What I was saying there is that Mr. Mandell in referencing the Trump v. Biden decision and Justice Hagedorn's concurrence, is mixing up two What is a sufficient address and what is the clerk to do if the address is in fact insufficient.

This case and this lawsuit and this Court's injunction only deals with that second question which is if the address is insufficient can the clerks do what the 2016 mandate required which is fix that insufficiency or does the clerk need to follow what the statute says.

This Court held and contrary to the mandate, that the statutes control. The question of what is a sufficient address has not been challenged here and

I was very surprised to hear my friends casting doubt on the staff memo that was adopted by WEC which was not challenged in this case as what is a sufficient address. And I would ask the Court to look at footnote two of Page 9 of WEC's brief on the TI that's available at Docket 95.

There WEC specifically references the staff memorandum that says that a sufficient address is the street number name and municipality and that WEC specifically says that in adopting this memo in 2016 and it says that nobody challenged it. Nobody disputes that but we dispute it in this case that the staff memo provides street number, street name number, municipality. Nobody disputes that that wasn't challenged.

So that staff memo which was adopted by WEC remains and issues if anyone disagrees with that they think that's too stringent, they think you know just the street name would be sufficient or thinks it is not sufficient to have the zip code too, that is not part of this case. So it's important that the Court not allow my friend to confuse this issue.

Now, with regard to the separate basis on which this Court ruled, which have remarkably left really out of my friend's submission on the stay, there was a clear violation of the JCRAR procedure. I still haven't heard any explanation from my friends why their

understanding of the JCRAR statutory procedure would not render the entire procedure pointless. Why give JCRAR the specific statutory authority to say that a particular claim document is in fact a rule and then allow them to suspend that rule. Why do that if the guidance document could just be put into, back into effect immediately upon the JCRAR's engagement through that two step. That would defeat the statutory regime, that would be contrary to statutory test and that could not possibly be the law.

Moving on to Mr. Mandell's discussions of irreparable harms. There is absolutely no reason to think there would be any disenfranchisement here whatsoever. The requirement to put an address is plain on the forms and this issue has now been elevated to greater public focus. It is simply fanciful to think that any number of voters and their witnesses are not going to do the basics of putting the street numbers name and municipality on these forms. And that goes to the next harm that Mr. Mandell invokes which is educating voters.

Of course the Waukesha Democratic Party and the League of Women Voters are reaching out to voters, to say hey you can vote absentee. The only additional burden here is in that communication to say oh by the way, make sure you got an address in your witness

certificate.

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You know, with all respect, it is a great exaggeration to say that that adding that little caveat is somehow a meaningful burden.

Now, in terms of the harms to us and their continued assertion that somehow JCRAR comes too late. Our JCRAR what, this is the first time we have invoked our statutory authority. JCRAR is differently composed than it was before. The legislature is differently composed, the voters have different concerns. This by allowing this unlawful 2016 mandate to stand, this would be a direct insult and flouting to the legislature's institutional authority and responsibility to oversee agencies and this is a harm that is new. It is a harm that just arose this summer when we invoked the JCRAR process so that we wouldn't have to go to the Courts and then remarkably WEC told us to basically pound sand. That just occurred. We brought this lawsuit as soon as it was possible to address that and ask this Court to address it prospectively so you wouldn't have the problem that happened in Trump v. Biden. Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: All right. Mr. Mandell, I'll give you two minutes. I wasn't going to give you any but you looked like you were reaching over to unmute button like you wanted to say something. Go ahead.

MR. MANDELL: Thank you, Your Honor. In response to the Plaintiffs, the issue, there is a little bit of goal post moving here. I never said that the statutory provisions that the Court construed don't touch mandatory provisions. I said they aren't mandatory provisions. Of course, the entire statutory scheme, all of the provisions interact with each other. But the provisions that are at issue in this case, the provisions that this Court interpreted, are not mandatory and the fact that they interact with mandatory provisions doesn't make them so.

In response to Mr. Tseytlin's last point,
I just want to note that it is the legislature's own
internal lawyers at the legislature counsel who say that
the guidance document automatically goes back into effect
when the rule is suspended. This is not the WEC didn't
do anything. The WEC didn't revote to make the rule or
the guidance document. This is simply how it works.

The legislature's own lawyers believe that and have stated that in public hearings and told the committee that. For Mr. Tseytlin to say oh how could we possibly have known this was going to be the outcome and we have to rush to court simply isn't true. He is right. The JCRAR waited to bring this case. JCRAR now sees it differently, as he just said. The committee is

different, the circumstances are different. All of those things are fine but none of them support his claim of irreparable harm that would defeat a stay. Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you.

MR. MANDELL: Oh and one more thing. I just want to note. Plaintiffs continue to -- to --to quote to this Court from the <u>Teigen</u> decision and again even after we discussed it this morning, every single paragraph that Plaintiffs' counsel quotes does not have the force of law. These are paragraphs that are essentially a concurring opinion and it is clear on the front page of the opinion which paragraphs have the force of law and which do not and counsel continues to urge this Court to follow its binning precedent language that is not precedential. Thank you.

THE COURT: Thank you. First off, I want to thank you for your briefs and your excellent advocacy on behalf of your clients on a very short turn around time.

I have reviewed the submissions. There is agreement regarding the standard I need to apply which is always nice to see. And it's the <u>Waity</u> case. So a trial Court may stay execution or enforcement of a judgment or order during the pendency of an appeal. That's under Wisconsin Stat. Section 808.07(2)(a). And the Court must

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consider whether the moving part one, makes a strong showing that it is likely to succeed on the merits of the appeal. Two, shows that unless the stay is granted it will suffer irreparable injury during the pendency of the appeal. Three, shows that no substantive harm will come to other interested parties during the pendency of the appeal. And four, shows that the stay will do no harm to the public interests. That's Waity at Paragraph 49.

These factors are not prerequisites or rather are interrelated considerations that must be balanced together. The Waity standard for stays acknowledges that when reasonable juris on appeals may interpret relevant law and come to a different conclusion that creates a presumption of the movant's likelihood of success on appeal.

On the equitable factors relevant to the stay determination, Waity requires a Circuit Court to perform a comparison of the harms resulting from an interim stay and the harms caused by denial of the stay. And as to the public interests factor Waity emphasizes a Circuit Court must consider the public interests served and the continued applicability of duly enacted laws.

I have reviewed the submissions and I'm particularly persuaded by the legislature's opposition to the request for a stay. I do find that the Waukesha

County Democratic Party as well as the joining parties in that motion enjoy the presumption that it is likely to succeed on appeal because of the de novo standard review that will apply on appeal. However, I don't believe that it is a strong showing of success on appeal. I am considering the arguments from Mr. Mandell not agreeing with Mr. Tseytlin that their too late, they somehow dropped the ball and not referring to the arguments that were previously submitted or that refreshing them here and adding to them here somehow prevents my consideration.

I am considering them, however, for the reasons that I outlined previously. I do believe it's not a strong showing of success and I do believe that the Plaintiffs and the legislature have a much stronger showing.

With respect to irreparable harm, there is a number of arguments that were raised by, I'll call them the movants here for the stay and they relate to disenfranchisement, this reeducation and institutional harms and reliance but I think again, and I mentioned this in my original injunction, I think they're missing what the issue is in this case and they're kind of strongman arguments. I made no decision regarding what constitutes an address. I have not done anything to

overturn what WEC may define as an address. I have done nothing and I'm not asked to interpret what is a missing address or what is an incomplete address and I've not decided, no one has asked me to decide what happens to absentee ballots that have an incomplete witness address. That's not at issue before me.

The only issue before me was the guidance that related to directing clerks to add information to absentee certifications. That was the issue. So there is nothing about the decision that disenfranchises voters. It relates strictly to the guidance instructing clerks and local election officials to add to the absentee certification specifically as it relates to an address.

This issue about resources. I don't state it, maybe state is as Mr. Tseytlin did, that this is an additional education and resources are going to be allocated to adding the address for absentee voters saying and instructing them you need to make sure you have a complete address. I would frankly think that that was being done already and it defies credulity to think that they never said that before and now they're going to have to change gears and instead that because that was always the requirement and the form itself on the certification said this is what constitutes an address.

So there is no change in that regard and this goes to the whole whiplash argument that there is somehow a change with the voters. I don't believe there is a change with the voters. The voters were told what is required on the form and the guidance that is being provided is not guidance provided to voters. It's guidance provided to the clerks and local election officials and what they are to do when faced with potentially incomplete addresses on absentee certifications. And I don't think that whiplash argument holds any sway.

I do believe in comparing the harms and I do find there is irreparable harm in granting the stay to the legislature and the Plaintiffs for the reasons I outlined in my decision, that in comparing the harms it clearly favored denying the motion for a stay and irreparable harm to the legislature in particular outweighs any irreparable harm alleged by the movants for the stay here.

And then considering the public interests.

I have considered it previously in granting the injunction but I considered it again and I do believe for the reasons I stated previously, that the injunction is appropriate and staying it would not be in the public interests. I agree full, fair and free elections are paramount. But they need to be according to law and the

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law has always been that the addressed need to be on these certifications and I find that the guidance that was provided is contrary to that law and, therefore, the public interests weighs in favor of the injunction and against the stay.

And for all those reasons as well as the reasons outlined in more specifically in the legislature's brief, I am denying the motion for a stay.

I would ask Mr. Goehre to prepare an order denying the stay. I'm not going to be the final word on this. Mr. Mandell, any thought about ways to facilitate this being reviewed promptly so if you are entitled to relief you get the relief.

This is a temporary order. This could mean an interlocutory appeal. Have you discussed on your side or even the Plaintiffs or legislature about a way to make sure that you can proceed to get some relief if you're entitled to some.

MR. MANDELL: Your Honor, we haven't had those discussions across parties but I would ask on that note your order is denominated as a temporary injunction which is what the Plaintiffs asked for but when I look at the order and I look at the prayer for relief in the complaint of the Plaintiffs and in the intervening complaint of the legislature, I don't see anything that

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remains undone. I would ask the Court to denominate this

as a final order so that it is immediately appealable. 2 3 THE COURT: Let me hear from, hang on, let me hear from Mr. Goehre first. 4 MR. GOEHRE: Thank you, Your Honor. I would 5 like an opportunity to talk with my clients about that 6 proposal before I respond on the record. Definitively, I 7 can do that today and get back to Attorney Mandell. 8 THE COURT: Mr. Tseytlin were you going to add 9 anything or do you want the similar type of courtesy? 10 Pending further discussions I am MR. TSEYTLIN: 11 inclined to support Mr. Mandell's request. 12 THE COURT: All right. Why don't you have 13 those discussions. If there is a stipulation, given the 14 fact that the evidence isn't going to change, the 15 arguments aren't going to change and in all respects this 16 17 would be a final judgment or summary judgment in that 18 regard and if you want to stipulate to that and that can be included in the order denying the stay and you can 19 20 prepare that paperwork, I will look for it and sign off 21 on it promptly. If there is some other route you want to 22 proceed then, Mr. Mandell, if there no agreement as to 23 that I'll look for that paperwork as well. 24 MR. MANDELL: Thank you, Your Honor.

want to note for the record I have not discussed this

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with counsel for WEC or the intervenors either so obviously when we have conversations later this afternoon with Mr. Tseytlin and Mr. Goehre about any stipulations, their views will be relevant as well. THE COURT: Fair enough. Anything else from your end, Mr. Mandell? MR. MANDELL: Nothing else from my end, Your Honor. Mr. Lenz?

THE COURT:

MR. LENZ: Yes, Your Honor, very briefly. would like to renew our request particularly in light of the Court's order just now to maybe modify the written injunction as it pertains to the WEC's definition of address.

We agree with the legislature that the memorandum was adopted but it was adopted into the October 2016 guidance that's now been enjoined. That's the only guidance that went to the clerks that contains that definition. I believe the Court just clarified, although I respectfully disagree with the order, it didn't intend to touch WEC's definition of address. think that --

THE COURT: That is true. That is true. I was not enjoining the definition of address. It was only the instruction to the clerks on what they should do when

1 faced with a purportedly incomplete certification 2 address. 3 MR. LENZ: I appreciate that but my concern and WEC may want to have a view on this as well that the 4 5 injunction as written would prevent WEC from reissuing the contents of that quidance as it pertains just to the 6 definition of address. So we were just requesting a clarification from the Court on that. THE COURT: All right. Thought I gave it but 9 Mr. Kilpatrick you want to weigh in? 10 MR. KILPATRICK: Yes, Your Honor. Thank you. 11 If the Court is willing to clarify what the 12 Commission could do, obviously the Commission does not 13 want to be in violation of an injunction. As I said 14 before, it is our position that the memo that the 15 legislature referenced is not a guidance document, it was 16 not issued to the clerks, it was internal. So in our 17 18 view there is nothing guiding the clerks right now and so the withdrawal of the October 18, 2016 memo withdraws 19 also the definition of address. 20 21 So if it could be made clear that the 22 Commission is permitted to issue further guidance that 23 only governs the contents of a witness address, that 24 would be appreciated.

THE COURT: Why don't you include that in your

1	discussions with counsel relative to whether this is
2	going to be a final order or not, and if you can agree
3	upon language that you would propose in amending the
4	temporary injunction or what will become a final
5	injunction, if there is agreement, I'll review that and
6	make sure it comports with my decision. But I thought I
7	was very clear. I was not touching the definition of
8	address, what is missing, what is incomplete in my
9	injunction but you may be right the way it was phrased in
10	there may provide some confusion to the commissioners and
11	we can perhaps deal with that promptly. Anything else?
12	MR. KILPATRICK: Thank you, Your Honor.
13	THE COURT: Anything else from your end,
14	Mr. Kilpatrick?
15	MR. KILPATRICK: No, Your Honor.
16	THE COURT: Mr. Goehre?
17	MR. GOEHRE: No, Your Honor.
18	THE COURT: Mr. Tseytlin?
19	MR. TSEYTLIN: No, Your Honor.
20	THE COURT: All right. Everyone have a good
21	day.
22	(Proceedings concluded.)
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