FILED 23-0656 8/15/2023 5:02 PM tex-78565235 SUPREME COURT OF TEXAS BLAKE A. HAWTHORNE, CLERK

No. ____

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF TEXAS

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS, ET AL., *Appellants*,

v.

HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS, *Appellee*.

On Direct Appeal from the 345th Judicial District Court, Travis County, Texas No. D-1-GN-23-003523

HARRIS COUNTY'S EMERGENCY MOTION FOR TEMPORARY RELIEF

On November 7, 2023, Harris County must administer an election. Preparations have been underway for months, led by Harris County's Elections Administrator. The trial court enjoined an unconstitutional law that would abolish the Administrator's position on the eve of the election. The State filed this direct appeal. Now, Harris County requests emergency relief to preserve the status quo and this Court's jurisdiction, and to prevent the election's severe, last-minute disruption. <u>Harris</u>

<u>County requests a ruling on its motion no later than Friday,</u> August 18, 2023.

INTRODUCTION

For more than eight months, Harris County's Elections Administrator has been preparing for the fast-approaching November 7, 2023, elections. But on September 1, 2023—just weeks before ballots must be finalized, and not even two months before voting begins—Senate Bill 1750 purports to shift the elections administrator's duties to two other county officials who have had no role in these preparations and currently lack the staff and resources necessary to administer the election.

To preserve the status quo, and because this enormous, last-minute change to election procedures is likely to harm Harris County's administration of the November 2023 election, and thus the People's right to vote, the trial court temporarily enjoined the Attorney General and Secretary of State (collectively, "the State") from enforcing SB1750 a patently unconstitutional local law that will abolish Harris County's elections administrator—but no other county's, now or in the future. *See* Tex. Const. art. III, § 56(a) (prohibiting the Legislature from enacting a local law "regulating the affairs of counties," regarding the "conducting of elections," or "prescribing the powers and duties of [county] officers").

The State appealed directly to this Court, and it asserts that the appeal automatically supersedes the trial court's injunction. Harris County therefore seeks temporary relief barring the State from enforcing SB1750 with respect to the November 2023 election. By preventing lastminute changes to election procedures, temporary relief would ensure the integrity of the election. The State will, conversely, suffer no harm from the order. If the State prevails in this appeal—in which Harris County will not contest jurisdiction over the injunction orders and which it readily agrees to expedite—SB1750 will be able to take effect in an orderly fashion

BACKGROUND

Elections for public office across Texas are run by counties. For nearly half a century, Texas has given *every* county the power to create an elections administrator position to manage voter registration and elections. Tex. Elec. Code § 31.031.¹ Because this position adds

¹ See Act of May 28, 1977, 65th R.S., ch. 609, § 3, sec. 56a, 1977 Tex. Gen. Laws 1497, 1499.

professionalism and removes partisanship from the management of elections, more than half of Texas's 254 counties—including nine of its ten largest—have opted to use elections administrators. App. B at 125. In 2020, Harris County followed suit. Its current Elections Administrator is Cliff Tatum, an experienced professional recruited from out of state to run an office of more than 170 employees with a budget of more than \$30 million. *Id.* at 70-73.

Immediately upon the position's creation in Harris County, state officials began working to abolish it. In November 2020, the Secretary of State asserted that Harris County had violated the Elections Code by creating the position and appointing someone to fill it. App. B at 95–96. The Attorney General joined in, asserting that the position was "null and void" and did "not exist," threatening legal action if the position continued to operate. App. C, Ex. 1. And Senator Bettencourt, who would later write the law at issue here, publicly called on the County to abolish the office and fire the Administrator. *Id.*, Ex. 2.

During the 2023 legislative session, Senator Bettencourt filed—and the Legislature passed—SB1750 to accomplish the same purpose. The law has two provisions:

- First, SB1750 prohibits a county with a population of more than 3.5 million people—a category that includes Harris County alone—from creating an elections administrator position. Tex. Elec. Code § 31.031(a). Every other county may still do so.
- Second, SB1750 abolishes the election administrator position in a county that has more than 3.5 million people on September 1, 2023. Tex. Elec. Code § 31.050. This provision will thus apply to Harris County—and then never again.

This singling out of Harris County was intentional. Senator Bettencourt repeatedly named Harris County as SB1750's intended target, on one occasion stating plainly that the bill "will eliminate the Harris County Elections Administrator." App. C, Ex.7; *accord id.*, Exs. 3, 4, 6, 8, 10–14. SB1750's House sponsor, Rep. Briscoe Cain, was even more blunt: "my bill was filed only for Harris County." *Id.*, Ex. 9 at 5.²

On August 8, 2023,³ the trial court held an evidentiary hearing on Harris County's application for a temporary injunction and the State's plea to the jurisdiction. On August 14, 2023, the court denied the State's jurisdictional plea issued a detailed order temporarily enjoining the Secretary of State and Attorney General from enforcing SB1750 against

² Rep. Cain explicitly stated that the House had changed an earlier, lower population bracket in order to *exclude* other large counties. App. C, Ex. 9 at 5.

³ The cover of the hearing transcript states that the hearing occurred on July 8, and on the first page of the transcription the record says it occurred on August 9. Both of these statements are incorrect.

Harris County. Apps. A1, A3. Further, in response to a request from Tatum, who intervened and filed claims against Harris County to prevent his own termination, the court enjoined Harris County from enforcing SB1750 against Tatum. App. A4.

On August 15, the State immediately appealed the temporaryinjunction orders directly to this Court, prompting Harris County to file this motion.

ANALYSIS

The trial court's injunction preserved the status quo—the Elections Administrator's ongoing administration of the November 2023 election. Therefore, the State's purported "suspension of the temporary injunction would, in this case, have the contradictory effect of permitting the status quo to be altered, because if compliance with the injunction were not required, [Harris County's] manner of govern[ing]" its internal affairs and administering the upcoming election "could be changed from the last actual, peaceable non-contested status that preceded the pending controversy." *In re Tex. Educ. Agency*, 619 S.W.3d 679, 683-84 (Tex. 2021) (internal quotation marks and brackets omitted; emphasis added). Worse, refusal to grant temporary relief will subject Harris County to irreparable injuries, and it may interfere with Harris County's ability to seek judicial relief at all. *See id.* at 686 (discussing the goals of Rule 29.3).

Because SB1750 is unconstitutional, and because letting it take effect will disrupt Harris County's administration of the upcoming election, this Court should grant temporary relief mirroring the trial court's injunction prohibiting SB1750's enforcement.

I. SB1750 is an unconstitutional local law.

A. A law that can only ever affect one county's internal governance or election administration is unconstitutional.

To "prevent the granting of special privileges and to secure uniformity of law throughout the State," *Miller v. El Paso County*, 150 S.W.2d 1000, 1001 (Tex. 1941), Article III, Section 56(a) flatly prohibits the Legislature from "pass[ing] *any* local or special law" on a variety of enumerated subjects, Tex. Const. art. III, § 56(a) (emphasis added). As this Court explained in its most recent opinion on Section 56(a), a "local law is one limited to a specific geographical region of the State, while a special law is limited to a particular class of persons distinguished by some characteristic other than geography." *Maple Run at Austin Mun. Util. Dist. v. Monaghan*, 931 S.W.2d 941, 945 (Tex. 1996). SB1750 is an unconstitutional local law. Relevant here, the subjects on which the Legislature is prohibited from passing local laws include:

- "regulating the affairs of counties"
- regulating the "conducting of elections";
- "creating offices, or prescribing the powers and duties of officers, in counties"

Tex. Const. art. III, §§ 56(a)(2), (12), (14). Section 56(a) thus prevents the Legislature from "meddling in local affairs—or, conversely, . . . prevent[s] a group from dashing to the Capitol to get something their local government would not give them." *Kelly v. State*, 724 S.W.2d 42, 47 (Tex. Crim. App. 1987) (quoting George D. Braden, The Constitution of the State of Texas: An Annotated and Comparative Analysis 273 (1977)).

The Legislature may, of course, enact laws that apply to less than the entire State. But it must do so using a classification "broad enough to include a substantial class," and the classification "must be based on characteristics legitimately distinguishing such class from others with respect to the public purpose sought to be accomplished." *Maple Run*, 931 S.W.2d at 945 (quoting *Miller*, 150 S.W. at 1001–02). This Court's "primary and ultimate test" has therefore long been "whether there is a reasonable basis for the classification made by law, and whether the law operates equally on all within the class." *Id.* (quoting *Rodriguez v. Gonzales*, 227 S.W.2d 791, 793 (Tex. 1950)).

SB1750 purports to be a law of general application, rather than a local law, by using a population classification or "bracket." In applying the reasonable-basis test, courts have distinguished between brackets that are "open" and "closed." Open brackets are those that will apply to any locality that subsequently comes within the statute's classification. Closed brackets, by contrast, are brackets that apply to one or more localities at the time they take effect, but are drafted so as to *exclude* localities that later meet the classification criteria.

Texas Courts have consistently invalidated laws that use closed population brackets. *See, e.g., City of Forth Worth v. Bobbitt,* 36 S.W.2d 470, 473 (Tex. Comm'n App. 1931, op. adopted) (calling statute "repugnant to the constitution[]" where it "appl[ied] to one city only in the state, and can never in any contingency apply to any other city"); *Suburban Util. Corp. v. State,* 553 S.W.2d 396, 399 (Tex. App.—Houston [1st Dist.] 1977, writ ref'd n.r.e.) ("The statute is unconstitutional . . . if at the time of its enactment, the classification by population is based entirely upon existing circumstances and the application of the statute is 'closed' to other local units in the future."); *see also* App. E at 20–21, 25–26 & n.24 (citing additional cases).

Indeed, Harris County has not found—and the State has not cited any case upholding a closed population bracket, let alone a closed population bracket affecting a single locality.⁴

B. Section 3 of SB1750 is a closed population bracket that unconstitutionally targets Harris County without any reasonable basis.

Section 3 of SB1750 uses a closed bracket to target Harris County by making the provision apply only to a county meeting the population bracket on a single date. Pointedly, the State did not dispute this in the trial court.

Section 3 provides in relevant part:

On September 1, 2023, all powers and duties of the county elections administrator of a county with a population of more

⁴ The State pointed to *Board of Managers of Harris County Hospital District v. Pension Board of the Pension System for the City of Houston*, 449 S.W.2d 33 (Tex. 1969), as a counter example. But, as this Court noted, the law at issue in *Board of Managers* was "applicable to any city having 900,000 or more inhabitants." *Id.* at 38. And while the law's provision permitting governmental subdivisions to request pension contribution transfers within 90 days of enactment could only affect Houston, the same transfer provision could also be invoked by later-created subdivisions within 90 days of creation—and thus could affect other cities later reaching the population threshold. *See id.* at 35, 38–39. Thus, the law at issue in *Board Managers* was an open bracket.

than 3.5 million under this subchapter are transferred to the county tax assessor-collector and county clerk.

Tex. Elec. Code § 31.050. The sentence's introductory prepositional phrase ("On September 1, 2023") modifies the sentence's verb phrase ("are transferred"), providing for a date-specific, one-time transfer of duties in a county within the bill's population bracket.⁵ Again, the State does not advance any alternative reading.

On September 1, 2023, Harris County will be the only county in Texas meeting the population criteria. And, because the provision would not apply to a county later reaching the population threshold, the bracket is *closed*. There will never be another county that, *on September 1, 2023*, will have a population exceeding 3.5 million.

SB1750's closed bracket violates both prongs of *Maple Run*. A closed bracket necessarily does not "operate[] equally on all within the class" because it omits from its operation localities coming within the classification after the law's effective date. *Maple Run*, 931 S.W.2d at 945.

⁵ The prepositional phrase's only other possible referent is the noun phrase "county with a population of more than 3.5 million." This would have the same result, as it would likewise limit application of the bill's transfer provision to counties meeting the population threshold on September 1, 2023.

SB1750's closed bracket also lacks a reasonable basis because it is not "based on characteristics legitimately distinguishing [it] from others with respect to the public purpose sought to be accomplished." *Id.* at 945. The State offers two justifications for SB1750: (1) Harris County's "sheer size," and its attendant "outsized impact on statewide elections"; and (2) alleged purely "local problem[s]" with Harris County's running of elections in 2022. App. F at 21, 29.

Both justifications conflict with SB1750's text.⁶ Plainly, SB1750 is unconcerned with a county's "sheer size," or that size's impact on statewide elections. Were that the true concern, then Section 3 would apply prospectively to all counties that reach the population threshold, instead of targeting the single county at that threshold on September 1, 2023. There can be no legitimate reason for targeting Harris County for

⁶ Below, the State took the position that *Maple Run*'s "reasonable basis" test is essentially equivalent to a rational-basis standard. But the State's test is inconsistent with the clarity of the Constitution's prohibition, which require more exacting scrutiny. *See United States v. Carolene Products Co.*, 304 U.S. 144, 152 n.4 (1938) (noting that there "may be a narrower scope for the operation of constitutionality [than rational-basis review] when legislation appears on its face to be within a specific prohibition of the Constitution"); accord District of Columbia v. Heller, 554 U.S. 570, 629 n.27 (2008) (quoting *Carolene Products* and making the same point).

its size but excluding any other county that might one day reach the same population threshold.

The State's other justification is similarly infirm. SB1750's stated classification is not "Harris County" or "counties with problems administering their elections"—it is "count[ies] with a population of 3.5 million or more." That is the classification that the State must—but does not-defend. See Maple Run, 931 S.W.2d at 946 (striking down local law where "the brackets selected by the Legislature have [no]thing to do with the purpose of the statute"). The State asserts that a local law, even a closed-bracket targeting a single county, is constitutional if it "furthers a larger statewide interest," citing Harris County's impact on statewide elections. App. E at 27. But Maple Run refused to immunize from Section 56(a)'s scope local laws with "statewide interest," reiterating instead that its two-prong test applies in all cases and that a "statewide interest" is merely a factor courts can take into account. 931 S.W.2d at 945. And, in any event, this statewide interest is not the bill's motivation given its exclusion of other counties that equal or exceed Harris County's sizxe in the future.

Maple Run thus reflects the Constitution's language. Large counties will necessarily have an outsized effect on the State, including on its elections. Yet the Constitution's drafters—surely aware of that reality—nevertheless prohibited local laws "prescribing the powers and duties of [county] officers" or regarding the "conducting of elections." The drafters thus balanced the reality of statewide impact and the importance of local control by insisting that—on these issues—the Legislature address such problems using legislation of general, not local, impact. The State's justifications are impossible to square with the constitutional prohibition: neither a county's size nor "local problems" justify the Legislature's surgical intervention into a single county's local affairs, altering its officers' duties and its conduct of elections.

SB1750's stated classification is population, but it treats equally populated counties differently for no legitimate reason. It is therefore unconstitutional.

II. Without temporary relief, Harris County will suffer irreparable injury and may lose its appellate rights.

In the first place, temporary relief may be necessary to preserve this Court's jurisdiction over the State's appeal. Because Harris County currently has an elections administrator, its suit has focused on Section 3 of SB1750—the closed bracket eliminating that position in Harris County and nowhere else.⁷ However, if SB1750 takes effect without emergency relief, and Harris County were forced to abolish its elections administrator position, then the State would likely argue that Harris County's challenge to Section 3 is moot. Standing alone, the need to protect this Court's jurisdiction over the State's appeal counsel's strongly in favor of temporary relief. Tex. Gov't Code § 21.001(a) (providing that a court has "authority to issue the writs and orders necessary or proper in aid of its jurisdiction"); *Texas Educ. Agency*, 619 S.W.3d at 685–86. Otherwise, the State's supersedeas may become a means of defeating a substantial constitutional claim by frustrating its review.⁸

Temporary relief is equally warranted by the need to protect Harris County—and its voters—from irreparable harm. *See* App. A3 at 3–4 (finding that Harris County will suffer irreparable harm absent an

⁷ Section 2, which prohibits counties larger than 3.5 million from creating the position of elections administrator, uses an open, rather than closed, bracket, a fact that alters the constitutional analysis. While Harris County also challenged the validity of Section 2, that section has not been the focus of this suit because Harris County currently has an elections administrator.

⁸ On August 15, 2023, the Harris County Republican Party also attempted to intervene in this matter, seeking declaratory relief against Harris County that is SB1750 is constitutional—confirming the broad interest in this case and the need for this Court to reach the merits.

injunction); see also In re Geomet Recycling, LLC, 578 S.W.3d 82, 89 (Tex. 2019) (holding that Rule 29.3 grants "great flexibility in preserving the status quo" and permits a court to "protect [a litigant] from irreparable harm"). The Elections Administrator and his large staff began preparing for the November 2023 election in January—almost eight months ago. App. B at 106. This election will include votes on constitutional amendments, a countywide bond issuance, and for a variety of officers for the City of Houston and *fifty* other political subdivisions. Id. at 104. Harris County will operate more than 700 polling sites and more than sixty voting centers for more than 25 million voters, staffed by 5000 election workers. Id. at 105, 107. Already, the Administrator's office is designing the ballot, ensuring the validity of the voting machines, determining the number of voting sites needed and election judges to be hired, choosing rally sites, and determining a training schedule for the thousands of expected election workers. Id. at 103, 107.

Without intervention by this Court, SB1750 will take effect on September 1, 2023, and shift the Administrator's voter-registration duties to the tax assessor-collector and his administration duties to the county clerk. But neither of these officials have had *any* involvement in the ongoing election preparations, and neither currently has the staff or resources necessary to carry out the registration or administration functions. *Id.* at 107–08. Yet, within weeks, vital deadlines will pass: on September 23, just twenty-two days after the law takes effect, Harris County must finalize in person and absentee ballots and mail military and overseas ballots. *Id.* at 103. Voter registration is already underway and ends on October 10. And on October 23, not even two months after SB1750 would take effect, voting begins. App. B at 103.

Shifting these critical functions to unprepared officials at this juncture will severely disrupt election preparations.⁹ Voter registration is illustrative: on September 1, the tax assessor-collector becomes responsible for voter registration, but she has had no staff, no money, and no preparation with which to *immediately* take on that function during the final push of registration for the upcoming election.

The same is true for administration functions. Between now and election day, Harris County must inventory election supplies, learn and

⁹ Harris County created the election administrator position in July 2020 but waited until after the November 2020 elections for it to begin operations precisely to avoid "some sort of transition of one office to another in the middle of an election cycle." App. B at 81.

implement new election laws, train election workers, test voter equipment, design and proof ballots, mail ballots overseas, prepare a mass mail-out of voter registration cards, make emergency appointments of presiding and alternative judges, serve as early voting clerk, and choose and allocate supplies among polling locations, among other functions. *See, e.g.*, App. B at 103. The county clerk is not prepared to assume these functions on the eve of a major election. And in addition to taking on these new duties, the county clerk as well as the tax-assessor collector will have to continue to manage their non-election-related duties. *Id.* at 78.

While Harris County would attempt to reallocate the Administrator's employees and resources between the clerk and taxassessor, the inevitable disruption and confusion would imperil the orderly conduct of the election. This is not simply a matter of transferring functions and employees—it would be akin to trying to build a plane while flying it. Harris County will have to "unwind[]" voting systems that have been "developed over the course of the last three years" in order to "send back certain portions of those systems to the tax assessor and to the clerk." *Id.* at 108. In the process, Harris County will necessarily lose efficiencies and synchronizations that has been developed. *Id.* Moreover, employees have resigned from the administrator's office because of its impending abolishment, and more are reasonably likely to follow. App. B at 107. The newly empowered officials will be forced to scramble to hire new personnel and will likely have to settle for less-qualified staff at greater cost and less efficiency. *Id.* at 108–09.

In sum, without emergency relief, SB1750 will cause severe disruption, inefficiency, disorganization, confusion, and instability jeopardizing voter lists, polling locations, and thousands of financial transactions related to the election's administration, as well as and contracts that the Elections Administrator has entered into to run other political subdivisions' elections. *See* App. B at 104–05. Harris County will also suffer irremediable financial injury because it will be forced to hire additional permanent and temporary workers, in addition to consultants to advise it how to dismantle and then reconstruct an electionadministration apparatus *during the election. Id.* at 108–09.

The equities weigh heavily in favor of protecting the status quo, and against a last-minute disruption to an election.

III. Harris County has standing.

A. SB1750 and its enforcement by the State will injure Harris County.

Harris County must have an injury that is "both concrete and particularized and actual or imminent, not conjectural or hypothetical." *Data Foundry, Inc. v. City of Austin,* 620 S.W.3d 692, 700 (Tex. 2021) (citing *Heckman v. Williamson Cnty.,* 369 S.W.3d 137, 154–55 (Tex. 2012)). "An injury is 'particularized' for standing purposes if it 'affects the plaintiff in a personal and individual way." *Id.* (quoting *Spokeo, Inc. v. Robins,* 578 U.S. 330, 339 (2016)) (internal brackets omitted). An injury is "concrete" if it "actually exist[s]²—that is, if it is "real,' and not 'abstract." *Spokeo,* 578 U.S. at 340. Harris County's injuries easily meet this standard.

First, as the State admits, Harris County alleged (and, as noted above, proved at the injunction hearing) a pecuniary harm from SB1750. App. A3 at 3–4; App. B at 92–93, 108–10, App. D ¶¶ 40–42. This alone suffices. *Data Foundry*, 620 S.W.3d at 696. Second, SB1750 strips Harris County (and no other county) of statutory authority it currently possesses—an injury that is both concrete and particularized. Third, Harris County must implement SB1750—it must effectuate the transfer of the election administrator's duties to other county officials, and it must use those latter officials to administer its elections. A political subdivision has a cognizable injury when it "is charged with implementing a statute it believes violates the Texas Constitution." *Neeley v. West Orange-Cove Consol. Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 176 S.W.3d 746, 772 (Tex. 2005) (quoting *Nootsie, Ltd. v. Williamson Cnty. Appraisal Dist.*, 925 S.W.2d 659, 662 (Tex. 1996)).¹⁰ Harris County will be harmed for all the other reasons laid out in § II above.

Harris County will also be injured by the Attorney General's and Secretary of State's enforcement of SB1750. This Court recently held that that a "credible threat" that the Attorney General would "bring enforcement actions against the County" gave Harris County "standing to pursue its claims against the Attorney General." *Abbott v. Harris County*, No. 22-0124, 2023 WL 4278763, at *6 (Tex. Jun. 30, 2023). Here,

¹⁰ Nootsie and Neeley forcefully reject the State's argument below that a political subdivision never has standing to sue the State for altering the legal context in which the political subdivision operates. See Neeley v. West Orange-Cove Consol. Indep. Sch. Dist., 176 S.W.3d 746, 772 (Tex. 2005) (observing that this Court has never "establish[ed] a broad rule that a governmental entity cannot sue to declare a statute unconstitutional"); Nootsie, Ltd. v. Williamson Cnty. Appraisal Dist., 925 S.W.2d 659, 662 (Tex. 1996) (rejecting argument that a political subdivision's standing depends on the challenged law "violat[ing] constitutional rights belonging to the [subdivision]").

a similarly credible threat exists. The Attorney General has routinely sued Harris County for perceived violations of the Elections Code. App. B at 175–76. And the Attorney General previously threatened legal action aimed at abolishing Harris County's election administrator position over claims its creation violated the Election Code. App. C, Ex. 1; App. B at 95–96.

Notably, the Election Code authorizes the Attorney General to seek penalties against the County and its officials and employees for certain Election Code violations—which the elections administrator and others would commit if he continued acting after SB1750 takes effect. *E.g.*, *id.* §§ 18.065(a), 31.129. SB1750 only makes it more likely the Attorney General will pursue similar action in the future. Indeed, the State stipulated below that it could not rule out that it would sue or assess penalties against Harris County if it continues to use its election administrator position after SB1750 takes effect. App. B at 30–31; *see 303 Creative LLC v. Elenis*, 143 S.Ct. 2298, 2310 (2023) (finding a credible threat, for standing purposes, where the state had pursued similar enforcement actions and had "declined to disavow future enforcement proceedings against" the plaintiff (internal quotation marks and brackets omitted)).

The Secretary of State must also enforce SB1750 in a variety of ways that will harm Harris County absent emergency relief. The Election Code and the Administrative Code are filled with requirements authorizing or requiring the Secretary of State to work with counties' registrars and clerks.¹¹ Currently, however, the Elections Administrator performs these officers' roles, Tex. Elec. Code § 31.043, so the Secretary of State must work with him instead.

However, after SB1750 takes effect, the statutory scheme will require the Secretary of State to interact with the clerk and tax assessorcollector; the Secretary of State will lack authority to treat the Election Administrator as a valid election officer. *See* App. B at 184–85 (testimony from the Secretary of State's elections director agreeing with this construction of the post-SB1750 statutory scheme). Most fundamentally, these Election Code provisions include all of the statutes relating to the actual tabulation of votes. Absent emergency relief, the Election Code

¹¹ See, e.g., Tex. Elec. Code §§ 15.083, 18.043, 20.065(c), 112.011(c), 141.068.

would not permit the Secretary of State to work with the Election Administrator on these crucial issues. *See* Tex. Elec. Code §§ 67.007, 68.034.¹²

The enforcement harms hardly stop there. Harris County is today entitled to payments from the Secretary of State for voters registered by the Elections Administrator. Tex. Elec. Code § 19.002. But after SB1750, the Administrator will no longer qualify as a "registrar" and the Secretary of State could not—absent emergency relief—pay Harris County for voters he registers, resulting in a pecuniary loss to the County.¹³ Similarly, the Secretary of State would be statutorily required

¹² During the hearing, the Secretary of State's elections director acknowledged that, after SB1750 takes effect, she would lack legal authority to accept election returns from the Elections Administrator. App. B at 148–49, 184–88. Nevertheless, she suggested that the Secretary of State would—or at least might—accept Harris County's returns in violation of the Elections Code. *Id.* at 188 ("Possibly, yes."). Whatever the truth of the director's response, the State cannot avoid Harris County's claims that SB1750 is unconstitutional by speculating that its officers might ignore their ministerial duties to enforce it—especially when the State will not actually commit to not enforcing the Statute. *See* App. B at 30–31, 185.

¹³ The elections director agreed with this straightforward statutory analysis. App. B at 150. Yet, when asked whether the Secretary of State would pay Harris County for registrations by the Elections Administrator after SB1750 takes effect, she gave a series of wishy-washy and nonresponsive answers that seemed to presume that Harris County would be transferring the registration duties to the tax assessor-collector. *Id.* at 150–51. And ultimately, the director confirmed she "can't commit" to the Secretary of State "tak[ing] no action if Mr. Tatum continues to run the election despite being a legally defunct office." *Id.* at 185.

to refuse to assist the Election Administrator in the training of election judges and clerks, Tex. Elec. Code § 31.115, and she could be *required* to take enforcement actions against the county clerk if the Elections Administrator continue to perform registration functions, *id.* § 18.065(b). In this manner, the Secretary of State will enforce SB1750 against Harris County in a host of negative ways involving the registration of voters and the conduct of future elections.

Finally, as with the Attorney General, there is a credible threat the Secretary of State will pursue other enforcement actions against Harris County and its officers. The Secretary of State has previously asserted that the Harris County election administrator position was not legally created, referring the matter to the Attorney General. And the Secretary of State was recently empowered to investigate and seek removal of county election officials. Tex. Elec. Code §§ 31.017(b), 31.019–.021.

B. Harris County's injuries are traceable to the Attorney General and Secretary of State.

This Court recently held that Harris County had standing to sue the Attorney General regarding the Governor's executive order forbidding local governments from enacting mask mandates because of the Attorney General's "credible threat" of an "enforcement action[] against the City." Abbott v. Harris County, No. 22-0124, 2023 WL 4278763, at *5 (Tex. June 30, 2023). Importantly in that case, neither the relevant statute nor the executive order gave the Attorney General explicit authority to enforce the executive order against the County. Instead, traceability was based on the Attorney General's broader statutory enforcement powers.

This same reasoning applies here. The Secretary of State's prior assertion that the election administrator's appointment violated the Election Code, the Secretary's referral of the matter to the Attorney General for enforcement, the Attorney General's routine filing of electionrelated suits against Harris County, and the Attorney General's explicit threats of enforcement aimed at abolishing Harris County's Elections Administrator establish the same credible threat of enforcement as existed in *Abbott v. Harris County. See 303 Creative*, 143 S.Ct. at 2310.

Traceability as to the Secretary of State is also established by the numerous statutes mentioned above requiring the Secretary to enforce SB1750 by refusing to recognize the Elections Administrator as a legitimate election official, as these injuries—including pecuniary injuries—will be the direct result of the Secretary of State's actions. Harris County's injuries are therefore traceable to the Attorney General and Secretary of State.¹⁴

CONCLUSION

Harris County prays that this Court grant its motion and, during the pendency of this case, enter an order providing for the same injunctive relief the trial court ordered. Harris County further prays that this Court accept jurisdiction over the appeal of the injunction orders and set an expedited schedule for briefing and argument.

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¹⁴ Below, the State argued that Harris County should have sued "the Office of the Secretary of State" and "the Office of the Attorney General," rather than the officeholders in their official capacities. App. F a 14, 35–36. As Harris County explained, the State's argument is meritless. App. G at 6–7. In any event, Harris County also sued the Offices, App. D ¶¶3, 5, and this Court can therefore grant relief against whichever entities it believes is appropriate.

Respectfully submitted,

<u>/s/ Wallace B. Jefferson</u>

Christian D. Menefee Harris County Attorney State Bar No. 24088049 christian.menefee@harriscountytx.gov Jonathan Fombonne First Assistant County Attorney State Bar No. 24102702 jonathan.fombonne@harriscountytx.gov Neal Sarkar Special Assistant County Attorney State Bar No. 24093106 neal.sarkar@harriscountytx.gov Matthew Miller Senior Assistant County Attorney State Bar No. 24051959 matthew.miller@harriscountytx.gov OFFICE OF HARRIS COUNTY ATTORNEY 1019 Congress, 15th Floor Houston, Texas 77002 Telephone: (713) 755-5101 Facsimile: (713) 755-8924

Wallace B. Jefferson State Bar No. 00000019 wjefferson@adjtlaw.com Nicholas Bacarisse State Bar No. 24073872 nbacarisse@adjtlaw.com ALEXANDER DUBOSE & JEFFERSON LLP 515 Congress Avenue, Suite 2350 Austin, Texas 78701-3562 Telephone: (512) 482-9300 Facsimile: (512) 482-9303

ATTORNEYS FOR APPELLEE

CERTIFICATE OF CONFERENCE

I certify that on August 15, 2023, I twice called Susanna Dokupil, counsel for Appellants, to ask whether her clients are opposed to the relief sought in this motion. I left a voicemail with Ms. Dokupil, but as of the time this motion was filed I had not received a response.

> <u>/s/ Jonathan Fombonne</u> Jonathan Fombonne

REPRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on August 15, 2023, a true and correct copy of this motion was served via electronic service through eFile.TXCourts.gov on parties_through counsel of record, listed below:

> Susanna Dokupil Susanna.Dokupil@oag.texas.gov OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL P.O. Box 12548 (MC-009) Austin, Texas 78711-2548 Telephone: (512) 463-4139

ATTORNEYS FOR APPELLANTS

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APPENDICES

A. Appealed Orders

- 1. Order Denying the State's Plea to the Jurisdiction (8.14.23)
- 2. Order Denying the State's Motion to Strike Tatum's Intervention (8.14.23)
- 3. Order Granting Harris County's Temporary Injunction (8.14.23)
- 4. Order Granting Tatum's Temporary Injunction (8.14.23)
- B. Transcript of August 8, 2023, Hearing
- C. Selected Exhibits Admitted During the August 8, 2023, Hearing
- D. Harris County's Second Amended Petition and Application for Temporary and Permanent Injunction (8.4.2023)
- E. Harris County's Amended Brief in Support of Temporary Injunction (8.7.2023)
- F. The State's Plea to the Jurisdiction (8.3.2023)
- G. Harris County's Response to the State's Plea to the Jurisdiction (8.8.2023)



Cause No. D-1-GN-23-003523

HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS,	§	IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
Plaintiff/Cross-Defendant,	§	
	§	
V.	§	
	§	
THE STATE OF TEXAS; ANGELA	§	
COLMENERO, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS	§	
PROVISIONAL ATTORNEY GENERAL; AND JANE	§	TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS
NELSON, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS TEXAS	§	
SECRETARY OF STATE,	§	
Defendants.	§	
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AND	§	
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CLIFFORD TATUM,	§	A.
Intervenor/Cross-Claimant.	§	CHAR -
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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS,	§	
Intervenor.	§	345th JUDICIAL DISTRICT
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ORDER ON DEFENDANTS' PLEA TO THE JURISDICTION

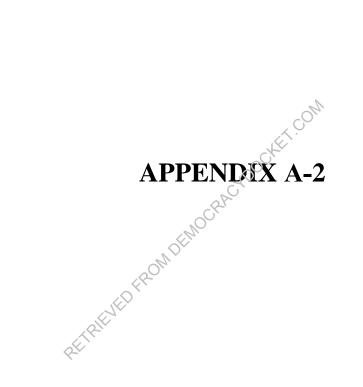
On August 8, 2022, this Court heard Defendants' the State of Texas, Angela Colmenero in her Official Capacity as Provisional Attorney General, and Jane Nelson in her Official Capacity as Texas Secretary of State Plea to the Jurisdiction (the "Plea"). After considering the Plea, the responses filed thereto, and the argument of counsel, the Court has determined that the Plea should be, and is, **GRANTED** as to the State of Texas and **DENIED** as to Angela Colmenero in her Official Capacity as Provisional Attorney General and Jane Nelson in her Official Capacity as Texas Secretary of State Plea to the Jurisdiction.

The Court **FINDS** that it does not have jurisdiction over Plaintiff's claims against the State of Texas. It is **THEREFORE ORDERED** that Plaintiff's claims against the State of Texas are dismissed for lack of jurisdiction.

The Court **FURTHER FINDS** that it has jurisdiction over Plaintiff's claims against Angela Colmenero in her Official Capacity as Provisional Attorney General and Jane Nelson in her Official Capacity as Texas Secretary of State Plea to the Jurisdiction. It is **THEREFORE ORDERED** that Plaintiff's claims against Angela Colmenero in her Official Capacity as Provisional Attorney General and Jane Nelson in her Official Capacity as Texas Secretary of State Plea to the Jurisdiction remain pending before the Court.

SIGNED this 14th day of August, 2023.

JUDGE PRESIDING KARIN CRUMP 250TH DISTRICT COURT



Cause No. D-1-GN-23-003523

HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS,	§	IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
Plaintiff/Cross-Defendant,	§	
	§	
V.	§	
	§	
THE STATE OF TEXAS; ANGELA	§	
COLMENERO, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS	§	
PROVISIONAL ATTORNEY GENERAL; AND JANE	§	TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS
NELSON, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS TEXAS	§	
SECRETARY OF STATE,	§	
Defendants.	§	
	§	
AND	§	
	§	LET. COM
CLIFFORD TATUM,	§	
Intervenor/Cross-Claimant.	§	CYE.
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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS,	§	
Intervenor.	§	345th JUDICIAL DISTRICT
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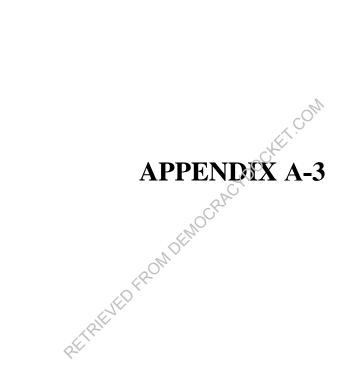
ORDER DENYING DEFENDANTS' MOTION TO STRIKE CLIFFORD TATUM'S INTERVENTION

On August 8, 2023, this Court heard Defendants' Motion to Strike Clifford Tatum's

Intervention (the "Motion to Strike") and hereby **DENIES** Defendants' Motion to Strike.

SIGNED this <u>14th</u> day of August, 2023.

JUDGE PRESIDING KARIN CRUMP 250TH DISTRICT COURT



Cause No. D-1-GN-23-003523

HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS,	§	IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
Plaintiff/Cross-Defendant,	§	
	§	
V.	⁸	
	§	
THE STATE OF TEXAS; ANGELA	§	
COLMENERO, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS	§	
PROVISIONAL ATTORNEY GENERAL; AND JANE	§	TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS
NELSON, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS TEXAS	§	
SECRETARY OF STATE,	§	
Defendants.	§	
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Intervenor/Cross-Claimant.	8	N. K.
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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS,	8	
Intervenor.	8 8	345th JUDICIAL DISTRICT
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ORDER GRANTING PLAINTIFF'S APPLICATION FOR TEMPORARY INJUNCTION

On this day, the Court considered the application by Plaintiff Harris County, Texas ("Plaintiff" or "Harris County") for a Temporary Injunction (the "Application"), as found in Plaintiff's Verified Second Amended Petition and Application for Temporary Injunction and Permanent Injunction (the "Petition") filed against Defendants the State of Texas, Angela Colmenero, in her official capacity as Interim Attorney General of Texas, and Jane Nelson, in her official capacity as Texas Secretary of State (collectively, "Defendants"). Having granted the State of Texas's Plea to the Jurisdiction, the remaining Defendants are Angela Colmenero, in her official capacity as Interim Attorney General of Texas, and Jane Nelson, in her official capacity as Texas Secretary of State (collectively, the "State Officer Defendants").

Based on the facts set forth in Plaintiff's Application, the stipulation among the parties filed on August 7, 2023, the testimony, the evidence, the argument of counsel presented in Plaintiff's Amended Brief in Support of Temporary Injunctive Relief filed on August 7, 2023 (the "Brief in Support"), as well as during the August 8, 2023 hearing on Plaintiff's Application, and being otherwise fully informed in the premises, this Court finds sufficient cause to enter a Temporary Injunction against the State Officer Defendants. The Court therefore GRANTS Plaintiff's request for temporary injunction and does hereby FIND the following:

- 1. The Temporary Injunction is hereby GRANTED.
- 2. Plaintiff has demonstrated a valid cause of action, a probable right to relief, and imminent and irreparable injury.
- 3. Plaintiff states a valid cause of action against each State Officer Defendant and has a probable right to the declaratory and permanent injunctive relief it seeks. For the reasons detailed in Plaintiff's Application, Brief in Support, and accompanying evidence, there is a substantial likelihood that Plaintiff will prevail after a trial on the merits because Senate Bill 1750 ("SB 1750"), passed during the Texas Legislature's 88th Regular Session, is an unconstitutional local law under Article III, section 56 of the Texas

Constitution. As a result, any actions taken by the State Officer Defendants premised on the operation of SB 1750 would be void.

4. It clearly appears to the Court that unless the State Officer Defendants are immediately enjoined from taking any actions premised on the operation of SB 1750, Plaintiff will suffer imminent and irreparable injury. First, Harris County suffers injury because it will be forced to implement an unconstitutional statute. Moreover, on September 1, 2023, just weeks before voting begins for the November 7, 2023 election (the "November Election") that is run by Harris County, Harris County will be required to effect massive transfers of employees and resources from the Harris County Elections Administrator's Office (the "Harris County EA") to the Harris County Clerk and the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector. Not only will this transfer lead to inefficiencies, disorganization, confusion, office instability, and increased costs to Harris County, but it will also disrupt an election that the Harris County EA has been planning for months. The Harris County Clerk and the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector have had no role in preparing for the November Election. Transferring responsibility for that election just weeks before voting starts will disrupt existing processes and risk the efficient administration of the election. Over the next few months, the Harris County elections department will have to undertake a multitude of crucial tasks to effectively administer the November Election; as a result of SB 1750,

Harris County will be forced to hire additional permanent and temporary workers, as well as consultants, at a great cost, to ensure it can meet its many obligations and to navigate the management structure to be used, the personnel to be retained, and the numerous decisions that need to be made in hopes of orderly administering Harris County, as well as this November's election. Absent intervention by this Court, Harris County would face the full weight of the Election Code, as well as the Secretary of State's mandatory rules on issues relating to voter registration and elections administration. Harris County running elections through a legally defunct office could jeopardize the results of the November Election and also risk the validity of voter lists, polling locations, thousands of financial transactions, and contracts with other entities. Without this order, the State Officer Defendants will likely disrupt the upcoming election and cause havoc (e.g., with respect to voter outreach, voter registration, election administration, and vote tallying), and Harris County's entire election apparatus would be thrown into disarray, as well as the unnecessary expense associated with such disruption. The harm to Harris County, its residents, and the public outweighs any potential harm caused to the State Office Defendants by entering this injunctive relief. State Officer Defendants' wrongful actions cannot be remedied by any award of damages or other adequate remedy at law.

- 5. The Temporary Injunction being entered by the Court today maintains the status quo prior to September 1, 2023, and should remain in effect while this Court, and potentially the Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court of Texas, examine the parties' merits and jurisdictional arguments.
- 6. This injunctive relief is appropriate under traditional equitable standards and principles.

IT IS THEREFORE ORDERED that, until all issues in this lawsuit are finally and fully determined, the State Officer Defendants, and their employees, agents, and representatives, are immediately enjoined and restrained from taking actions premised on the operation of SB 1750. This Temporary Injunction restrains the following actions by the State Officer Defendants:

- 1. Taking any actions to enforce SB 1750;
- 2. The Secretary of State is enjoined from:
 - a. refusing to recognize the Harris County Elections Administrator's Office as a lawful elections office;
 - b. refusing to accept from the Harris County Elections Administrator results of any Harris County election;
 - c. refusing to coordinate with, and approve election action taken by, Harris County's Elections Administrator;
 - d. refusing to provide official election reporting forms and voting by mail forms;

- e. refusing to provide funds to which Harris County is entitled under Texas Election Code Section 19.002;
- f. taking any actions on the sole basis that the Harris County Elections
 Administrator position is abolished; and
- g. refusing to cooperate with the Harris County Elections Administrator to perform election-related responsibilities.
- 3. The Attorney General is enjoined from:
 - a. Refusing to recognize the Harris County Elections Administrator's Office as a lawful elections office after SB 1750's effective date, including by enforcing SB 1750 by seeking civil penalties against Harris County or its elections officials.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that a trial on the merits of this case is preferentially set before Judge Karin Crump of the 250th Judicial District Court of Travis County, Texas on January 29, 2024 at 9:00 AM in the 250th Judicial District, located at 1700 Guadalupe Street, Austin, TX 78701, Courtroom 9B.

No bond is required as Plaintiff Harris County is exempt from the bond requirements under Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code § 6.001.

The Clerk of the Court shall forthwith issue a temporary injunction in conformity with the laws and terms of this Order.

It is further ORDERED that this Order shall expire at 11:59 p.m. on January 29,

2024, or upon further order of the Court.

SIGNED this 14th day of August, 2023, at 4:00 p.m. in Travis County, Texas.

JUDGE PRESIDING KARIN CRUMP 250TH DISTRICT COURT



Cause No. D-1-GN-23-003523

HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS,	§	IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
Plaintiff/Cross-Defendant,	§	
	§	
V.	§	
	§	
THE STATE OF TEXAS; ANGELA	§	
COLMENERO, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS	§	
PROVISIONAL ATTORNEY GENERAL; AND JANE	§	TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS
NELSON, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS TEXAS	§	
SECRETARY OF STATE,	§	
Defendants.	§	
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CLIFFORD TATUM,	§	A.C.
Intervenor/Cross-Claimant.	§	C. K.
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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS,	§	
Intervenor.	§	345th JUDICIAL DISTRICT
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ORDER ON INTERVENOR/CROSS-CLAIMANT CLIFFORD TATUM'S APPLICATION FOR TEMPORARY INJUNCTION AGAINST HARRIS COUNTY

On August 8, 2023, this Court heard Clifford Tatum's Application for a Temporary Injunction against Harris County, Texas. Mr. Tatum seeks to enjoin the County from taking any action against Mr. Tatum or his office, the Harris County Elections Administrator's Office (the "Harris County EA"), due to the passage of Texas Senate Bill 1750 ("SB 1750"), arguing SB 1750, and the proposed new Texas Election Code Section 31.050 contained within SB 1750, are unconstitutional because they violate Article III, section 56 of the Texas Constitution. Due notice was given of the hearing, including notice to the Attorney General that Mr. Tatum is challenging the constitutionality of a state statute. At the hearing, Mr. Tatum appeared personally and through his counsel. Plaintiff/Cross-defendant Harris County and Defendants the State of Texas, The Honorable Jane Nelson, in her official capacity as Secretary of State of the State of Texas and The Honorable Angela Colmenero, in her official capacity as Interim Attorney General of the State of Texas, all appeared through their respective counsel. The Court has jurisdiction over Mr. Tatum's Application, and personal jurisdiction and venue are uncontested. After considering Mr. Tatum's Application, the pleadings, exhibits, testimony, and evidence admitted at the Hearing, and the argument of counsel, the Court grants the injunctive relief sought by Mr. Tatum for the reasons that follow.

FINDINGS

Counties in Texas are responsible for voter registration and the administration of elections. Every county has a choice about who will be in charge of handling these matters: either (1) partisan, elected county tax assessor-collectors and county clerks may manage voter registration and election administration, along with their many other statutory duties; or (2) a county may opt to establish the office of county elections administrator and hire a trained, professional, non-partisan administrator to manage voter registration and the administration of elections. TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.031. Pursuant to state law, Harris County has opted to hire a county elections administrator and transfer the duties of voter registration and election administration to that office, as it is statutorily entitled to do.

Texas Senate Bill 1750, enacted during the Texas Legislature's 88th Regular Session, amends the Texas Election Code in two critical ways relevant to this case. The first is the addition of new Section 31.050, scheduled to take effect on September 1, 2023. New Section 31.050 abolishes the office of county elections administrator only in Texas counties with a population of 3.5 million on September 1, 2023, and in those counties transfers responsibilities for voter registration and election administration back to the county tax assessor-collector and county clerk. The second change made by SB 1750 is to amend Section 31.031(a), and effectively prohibit any county with a population of over 3.5 million that does not have a county elections administrator from ever establishing the office of county elections administrator.

Only one county in Texas has a population that on September 1, 2023, will exceed 3.5 million: Harris County.¹ The effect of the plain language of SB 1750, new Texas Election Code Section 31.050, and newly amended Texas Election Code Section 31.031(a) is to eliminate the office of county elections administrator in Harris County and prevent Harris County from ever establishing such an office again. No other county in Texas is so affected by SB 1750 and new Section 31.050. The Court finds SB 1750, new Section 31.050, and amended Section 31.031(a) were targeted to regulate the affairs and administration of voter registration and elections in only one county in Texas: Harris County.

¹ Harris County's current population is approximately 4.9 million, making it the third largest county in the country. <u>https://worldpopulationreview.com/us-counties/tx/harris-county-population</u>. Dallas County is the next most populous county in Texas, with approximately 2.6 million residents. <u>https://worldpopulationreview.com/us-counties/tx/dallas-county-population</u>.

The Court also finds SB 1750 and the new statutory provisions were intentionally designed to affect only one county in Texas – Harris County – in perpetuity and to deprive Harris County of a statutory right available to every other county in Texas.

Should SB 1750 go into effect on September 1, 2023, Harris County will be statutorily obligated to comply with its provisions. This is even though Texas Election Code Section 31.037 provides that a county elections administrator's employment can be terminated only "for good and sufficient cause on the four-fifths vote of the county election commission and approval of that action by a majority vote of the commissioners court."

Intervenor Clifford Tatum is the current duly appointed, qualified, and serving Elections Administrator of Harris County, having been appointed to that position on August 16, 2022, by the Harris County election commission, pursuant to and in accordance with Texas Election Code Section 31.032. Mr. Tatum is a non-partisan professional trained in managing all aspects of the elections process with over twenty years of experience at both state and county levels. The Court, having heard the testimony of Mr. Tatum, finds that he was a credible witness and is well-qualified to do his job.

If the Harris County EA is abolished, Mr. Tatum will lose his job and be deprived of both the tangible economic benefits of the Harris County EA (such as salary, health insurance, retirement benefits, and automobile expense allowance) and the significant non-economic benefits of that position, including: (1) the stature and status of holding the position as elections administrator of the third most populous county in the country, a position which, if SB 1750 goes into effect, he will never again be able to obtain; (2) the reputation as one of the leading election administrators in the country; and (3) the fulfillment of important (to Mr. Tatum) public service objectives of meaningfully ensuring the sanctity of the electoral process by spearheading both voter registration efforts and election administration functions in ways which Mr. Tatum believes will help safeguard and facilitate participatory democracy. Mr. Tatum has chosen a career in government service because of the importance of the role he can play. He has nearly reached the pinnacle in his chosen field – heading both voter registration and elections administration activities of the third largest county in the nation. The Court finds that the abolition of this office will irreparably affect Mr. Tatum's ability to continue in the unique role he has achieved, to the irreplaceable detriment of his life ambition, his reputation, his stature, and the potential of future employment in a comparable role.

The Court finds that there is currently no "good and sufficient cause" to terminate Mr. Tatum as Harris County's Elections Administrator and that the only conceivable "good and sufficient cause" would be if SB 1750 is found to be constitutional, eliminating his position as a matter of law.

Nevertheless, if not restrained, Harris County will follow the law and abolish the Harris County EA because it would be mandated to do so by SB 1750, *if* that enactment is constitutional, which the Court concludes, as explained below, it likely is not.

Further, if SB 1750 goes into effect on September 1, 2023, the whole Harris County EA will be closed, its duties transferred to the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector's and the Harris County Clerk's offices, and Mr. Tatum will never again be able to head the

county elections office of the third largest county in the country. The Court finds that the harm Mr. Tatum faces is real, imminent, and irreparable. *Krier v. Navarro*, 952 S.W.2d 25, 28 (Tex. App.—San Antonio 1997, pet. denied) (holding threatened removal of Bexar County's elections administrator sufficient imminent harm to justify injunctive relief).

Article III, section 56(a) of the Texas Constitution bars the legislature from passing "any local or special law" (1) "regulating the affairs of counties;" (2) authorizing the "conducting of elections;" (3) "prescribing the powers and duties of officers" in counties; and (4) "relieving or discharging any person" from the "performance of any public duty or service imposed by general law." TEX. CONST. art. III, § 56(a)(2), (12), (14) and (30). Article III, section 56(b) prohibits enactment of any local or special laws "where a general law can be made applicable." TEX. CONST. art III, § 56(b). The purpose of section 56 is twofold. The first is to "prevent the granting of special privileges and to secure uniformity of law throughout the State as far as possible." *Miller v. El Paso County*, 150 S.W.2d 1000, 1001 (Tex. 1941). The second is to prevent "lawmakers from engaging in the 'reprehensible' practice of trading votes for the advancement of personal rather than public interests." *Maple Run at Austin Municipal Utility District v. The City of Austin*, 931 S.W.2d 941, 945 (Tex. 1996) (citing *Miller*, 150 S.W.2d at 1001).

When interpreting the Texas Constitution, a court must rely heavily on the literal text of the Constitution and give effect to its plain language. *Bosque Disposal Systems, LLC v. Parker County Appraisal District*, 555 S.W.3d 92, 94 (Tex. 2018). The Court finds it is likely Mr. Tatum will prevail on his claim that SB 1750 and proposed Texas Election

Code Section 31.050 are unconstitutional because they violate the plain language of the text of the Constitution.

The Court finds SB 1750 and new Texas Election Code Section 31.050 violate both purposes underlying Article III, section 56. The Court finds it is likely Mr. Tatum will prevail on his claim that SB 1750 and proposed Texas Election Code Section 31.050 are unconstitutional because they violate the purposes underlying Article III, section 56.

Admittedly, the Supreme Court of Texas has recognized that the Legislature has "a rather broad power to make classifications for legislative purposes and to enact laws for the regulation thereof, even though such legislation may be applicable only to a particular class or, in fact, affect only the inhabitants of a particular locality." *Miller*, 150 S.W.2d at 1001. For such a law to be constitutional, however, "there must be a substantial reason for the classification. It must not be a mere arbitrary device resorted to for the purpose of giving what is, in fact, a local law the appearance of a general law." *Id.* at 1002. "The primary and ultimate test [of whether a law is general or special] is whether there is a reasonable basis for the classification and whether the law operates equally on all within the class." *Maple Run*, 931 S.W.2d at 947 (citing *County of Cameron v. Wilson*, 326 S.W.2d 162, 165 (Tex. 1959)).

The Court, having heard all the testimony and weighed the credibility of the witnesses presented, reviewed all the documentary evidence, read all the pleadings and briefing, and carefully listened to all the arguments of counsel, finds it is likely that Mr. Tatum will prevail on his claim that there is no reasonable basis or substantial reason for

the classification established by the Legislature in SB 1750, new Election Code Section 31.050 and amended Election Code Section 31.031(a). The Court reaches this conclusion for several reasons, including, but not limited to, the ones set out below.

First, the Court finds there is no reasonable basis or substantial reason for the classification that counties with a population of 3.5 million persons or more <u>on</u> September 1, 2023, must abolish the office of county elections administrator, but that a county whose population grows to surpass 3.5 million persons <u>after</u> September 1, 2023 may keep the office of county elections administrator. The Court further finds this classification to be unreasonable, arbitrary, and simply a means of singling out one county for special treatment and attempting to regulate how Harris County, to the exclusion of all other counties in the state, manages voter registration and elections.

Second, the Court finds there is simply no rational basis for a conclusion, crucial to the constitutionality of SB 1750 and new Texas Election Code Section 31.050, that if a county's population exceeds 3.5 million *on September 1, 2023*, its voter registration functions need to be performed by its tax assessor collector, rather than discharged by an appointed county elections administrator, but that when it does not attain that population until after that date, no such transfer of duties is required to protect the public interest. Further, there is simply no rational basis for a conclusion, crucial to the constitutionality of SB 1750, that if a county's population exceeds 3.5 million *on September 1, 2023*, its elections need to be managed by its county clerk, rather than by an appointed elections administrator, but that when it does not reach that population mark until after that date, no

such transfer of responsibility is necessary to secure the state's interest in achieving accountability and transparency to the voting public. The Court finds this classification to be unreasonable, arbitrary, and simply a means of singling out one county for special treatment and attempting to regulate Harris County differently than any other county in the State.

Third, the Court finds that the number 3.5 million bears no rational relationship to the stated objectives of the statute – transparency, placing election related activities in the hands of elected officials who will be more accessible, and therefore more responsive, to the voting public, and minimizing concentration of authority in a single individual. Assuming those objectives are within the Legislature's prerogatives, the Court finds there is no rational reason why these objectives are more important in Harris County than in Dallas, Tarrant, or Bexar Counties, counties with a population that exceeds 2 million persons. Indeed, if county elections administrators pose such a pernicious threat, the Court finds there is no rational basis for allowing any county in Texas to have one.

Fourth, the Court finds there is no rational nexus between the objectives of the statute and a population of 3.5 million (or more), and the irrationality is exacerbated by the fact that if populations of Dallas, Tarrant, or Bexar Counties grow to 3.5 million, they may keep their elections administrators, but Harris County must eliminate its elections administrator position, solely because its population got there (3.5 million) sooner than did that of Dallas, Tarrant, or Bexar counties.

The Court also finds that the equities and hardships favor granting a temporary injunction. The Court finds that Clifford Tatum will be grievously and irreparably injured if his position is abolished, and the Harris County EA eliminated. The Court finds that the hardships Harris County will suffer are minimal, at most. Indeed, the County seeks its own temporary injunction to restrain the State of Texas from enforcing SB 1750 because of the significant harm the County will suffer if the law goes into effect on September 1, 2023. Further weighing in favor of the injunction is the fact that if the County abolishes the office of county elections administrator and distributes the employees and functions between the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector and the Harris County Clerk, if Mr. Tatum prevails, as is likely, that administrative alteration will have to be unwound. *Houston Elec. Co. v. Glen Park Co.*, 155 S.W. 965, 971 (Tex. Civ. App—Galveston 1913, writ ref'd). As between the parties, the Court finds the equities and hardships favor granting a temporary injunction.

Adding consideration of the public interest tilts the balance overwhelmingly in favor of granting a temporary injunction. *Storey v. Central Hide & Rendering Co.*, 226 S.W.2d 615, 618–19 (Tex. 1950) (in balancing the equities a court may consider the effect of a temporary injunction on the public). The public interest will be seriously disserved if responsibility for voter registration activities are transferred to the tax assessor-collector barely a month before the registration deadline for the November 7, 2023, the City of Houston election and responsibility for administration of the election itself must be transferred from the election administrator's office to the county clerk less than eight weeks before the start of early voting. Those actions would likely result in incalculable disruption to and chaos in the November election. *See* TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.031(c) (allowing counties to hire a county elections administrator-designate 90 days before the creation of the position of county elections administrator to "facilitate the orderly transfer of duties"). In these circumstances the public interest weighs heavily in favor of a temporary injunction pending trial on the merits. *Cf. Purcell v. Gonzalez*, 549 U.S. 1 (2006) (*per curiam*).

CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

The purpose of a temporary injunction is to preserve the status quo pending a trial on the merits. To obtain a temporary injunction, an applicant must plead and prove: (1) a cause of action against the defendant; (2) a probable right to the relief sought; and (3) a probable, imminent, and irreparable injury in the interim. An injury is irreparable if the injured party cannot be adequately compensated in damages or if the damages cannot be measured by any certain pecuniary standard. *Butnaru v. Ford Motor Co.*, 84 S.W.3d 198, 204 (Tex. 2002).

The Court concludes Clifford Tatum has met the standard required for the issuance of a temporary injunction: he has stated a cause of action against Harris County, has shown a substantial likelihood he will prevail on the merits, and has established that if the Court does not issue a temporary injunction, he will suffer imminent, irreparable harm. Further, the equities and hardships favor the granting of the injunction that Mr. Tatum seeks.

The issuance of the temporary injunction described below will maintain the status quo between the parties during the pendency of this order.

The Court assesses bond at \$1,000.00 and allows Intervenor Clifford Tatum to place a cash deposit of that amount into the registry of the Court, to be accepted by the Travis County District Clerk, in lieu of bond, for the temporary injunction issued below.

IT IS THEREFORE ORDERED that the Clerk of this Court issue a Temporary Injunction, operative until final judgment, restraining Harris County and each of its instrumentalities, commissions, elected officials, agents, servants, employees, attorneys, representatives or any person or persons in active concert or participation with the County who receives actual notice of this Temporary Injunction from enforcing any provision of Texas Senate Bill 1750, including new Texas Election Code Section 31.050, to the extent that statute abolishes the position of county elections administrator in Harris County and/or requires transferring the duties and responsibilities of the Harris County EA from that office to the offices of the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector and/or the Harris County Clerk. Harris County and each of its instrumentalities, commissions, elected officials, agents, servants, employees, attorneys, representatives or any person or persons in active concert or participation with the County who receives actual notice of this Temporary Injunction are further enjoined from terminating Clifford Tatum's employment as county elections administrator or discontinuing or reducing the compensation, employee benefits, or other emoluments of the office of county elections administrator he was receiving, or entitled to receive, from Harris County on August 31, 2023, on account of or in reliance upon SB 1750 or new Texas Election Code Section 31.050, set to go into effect on September 1, 2023.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that Clifford Tatum shall post a bond in the amount of \$1,000.00. In lieu of the bond, Clifford Tatum may make a cash deposit of the same amount into the registry of the court, to be accepted by the Travis County District Clerk. This cash deposit shall be deemed in conformity with the law for the period during which this Temporary Injunction is in effect.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that a trial on the merits of this case is preferentially set before Judge Karin Crump of the 250th Judicial District Court of Travis County, Texas on January 29, 2024 at 9:00 AM in the 250th Judicial District, located at 1700 Guadalupe Street, Austin, TX 78701, Courtroom 9B.

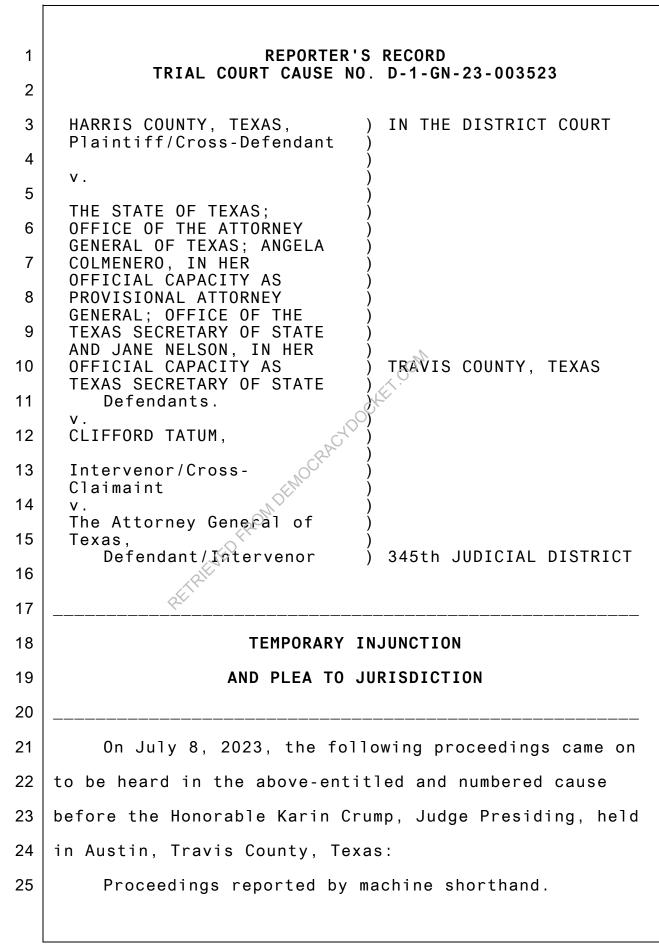
The Clerk of the Court shall forthwith issue a temporary injunction in conformity with the laws and terms of this Order.

It is further ORDERED that this Order shall expire at 11:59 p.m. on January 29, 2024, or upon further of the Court.

SIGNED this 14th day of August, 2023, at 4:04 p.m. in Travis County, Texas.

JUDGE PRÉSIDING KARIN CRUMP 250TH DISTRICT COURT

APPENDEX B APPENDEX B



1 **APPEARANCES** 2 3 FOR THE PLAINTIFF HARRIS COUNTY: 4 JONATHAN FOMBONNE SBOT NO. 24102702 5 CHRISTIAN MENEFEE SBOT NO. 24088048 6 NEAL SARKAR SBOT NO. 24093106 7 MATTHEW MILLER SBOT NO. 24051959 HARRIS COUNTY ATTORNEY OFFICE 8 1019 Congress Street, 15th Floor Houston, Texas 77002 9 -PACYDOCKET.COM Phone: (713) 755-5101 10 11 FOR THE DEFENDANT: 12 CHARLES ELDRED 13 SBOT NO. 00793681 CHRISTINA CELLA SBOT NO. 24106199 14 SUSANNA DOKUPIO SBOT NO. 24034419 15 BEN MENDELSON 16 SBOT NO. 24106297 OFFICE OF ATTORNEY GENERAL P.O. Box 12548 17 Capitol Station 18 Austin, Texas 78711 Phone: (512) 457-4110 19 FOR THE INTERVENOR: 20 21 **GERALD BIRNBERG** SBOT NO. 02342000 22 843 W. Friar Tuck Lane Houston, Texas 77024 Phone: (281) 658-8018 23 **RICHARD SCHECHTER** 24 SBOT NO. 17735500 One Greenway Plaza, Suite 100 25 Houston, Texas 77057 Phone: (713) 623-8919

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	1	PROCEEDINGS
	2	AUGUST 9, 2023
	3	* * * *
	4	THE COURT: All right. Welcome. This is
09:02AM	5	GN-23-003523, Harris County Texas Versus State of Texas
	6	Office of the Attorney General of Texas, Angela
	7	Colmenero, in Her Official Capacity As Interim Attorney
	8	General of the State of Texas, Office of the Texas
	9	Secretary of State and Jane Nelson, in Her Official
09:03AM	10	Capacity As Texas Secretary of State and Clifford Tatum,
	11	Intervener, the Attorney General of Texas and the State
	12	of Texas.
	13	May I have your announcement, please,
	14	beginning with plaintiffs.
09:03AM	15	MR. FOMBONNE: Jonathan Fombonne from the
	16	Harris County Attorney's office for Plaintiff, Harris
	17	County, Texas.
	18	THE COURT: Good morning.
	19	MR. MENEFEE: Good morning, Christian
09:03AM	20	Menefee from the Harris County Attorney's Office, as
	21	well, for the Plaintiff.
	22	THE COURT: Good morning.
	23	MR. SARKAR: Good morning, Neal Sarkar for
	24	the Harris County Attorney's Office, as well, for the
	25	Plaintiff.

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	1	THE COURT: Good morning.
	2	MR. MILLER: Good morning, Matt Miller for
	3	the Harris County Attorney's Office.
	4	THE COURT: Good morning, all.
09:03AM	5	And who will be presenting arguments this
	6	morning, on behalf of Harris County?
	7	MR. FOMBONNE: Your Honor, it will be a mix
	8	of us. I'll present part of the argument. Mr. Menefee
	9	will present another part, and we will also have
09:03AM	10	evidence to put on, and Mr. Sarkap [®] and Mr. Miller will
	11	be putting on that.
	12	THE COURT: Okay. Since there are so many
	13	of you, I do ask that you please state your name for the
	14	record before you begin presenting. That will make life
09:04AM	15	a lot easier for Ms. Foley, the official court reporter
	16	of the 250th.
	17	And good morning in the back.
	18	MR. BIRNBERG: Good morning, Your Honor, on
	19	behalf of the intervenor and the cross-claimant,
09:04AM	20	Clifford Tatum, Gerald Birnberg, B-i-r-n-b-e-r-g, and
	21	Richard Schechter. We will each be participating in the
	22	examination of witnesses. Obviously not the same
	23	witness, but
	24	THE COURT: Okay. Very good. If you-all
09:04AM	25	will take look at your microphones for just a moment.

Make sure that your green light is on when you're 1 speaking. 2 Make sure you don't have any electronics 3 setting up on the desk that may be rubbing or making noise. Make sure that everyone is the courtroom has all 4 devices silenced at all times during the proceedings 5 09:04AM this morning. That would be very appreciated. 6 7 And on behalf of the defendants, good 8 morning. MR. ELDRED: Good morning, Judge. 9 Charles Eldred for the AG's Office. 10 09:05AM 11 Good morning. THE COURT: 12 MS. CELLA: Good morning, Judge. Christina Cella on behalf of defendants. 13 THE COURT: Good morning. 14 15 MS. DOKUPIL: I'm Susanna Dokupil, also on 09:05AM 16 behalf of the defendants. 17 THE COURT: Thank you. 18 MR. MENDELSON: Ben Mendelson also on 19 behalf of defendants. 20 THE COURT: All right. Is that everyone 09:05AM 21 who wishes to make an announcement for the record this 22 morning? 23 MR. BIRNBERG: Your Honor, we probably should have also introduced the Court to Clifford Tatum, 24 25 who is the Intervenor. 09:05AM

	1	THE COURT: Good morning.
	2	MR. TATUM: Good morning.
	3	THE COURT: I understand, today, that we
	4	have a plea to the jurisdiction, which will be argued
09:05AM	5	first, just in terms of the necessity of what should be
	6	heard first, and then we have a request for a temporary
	7	injunction, and I know that the parties set a request to
	8	strike Mr. Tatum's intervention. I received notice of
	9	that, but I also noticed that there wasn't three days'
09:06AM	10	notice to Mr. Tatum, and without proper notice or
	11	agreement of the parties, we won't go forward on that
	12	motion.
	13	Have you all had an opportunity to confer
	14	about that motion, about whether there's an agreement?
09:06AM	15	MS. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor just via
	16	e-mail, and the Intervenor has not agreed to that
	17	motion.
	18	THE COURT: Okay. What you can do I'm
	19	the duty emergency judge this week. I've taken up this
09:06AM	20	matter just because of the request that it be heard
	21	during this week, which is difficult because I'm
	22	juggling other matters. I don't have a lot of time and
	23	I'm trying to get to everything that you-all have set
	24	this morning, and I won't have time to get to that issue
09:06AM	25	later this week when there is sufficient time, without

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	1	really causing a lot of undue burden on the Court in
	2	trying to juggle things that happen later this week that
	3	are already scheduled, but you mayif the parties
	4	agree to submit briefing to the Court, and I can take
09:07AM	5	that by submission.
	6	Is there any concern or objection with
	7	that procedure?
	8	MR. BIRNBERG: No, Your Honor. In fact, we
	9	were on road, driving, when the motion was filed. We
09:07AM	10	couldn't even read it, and when we did read it, it has
	11	some cases we need to research the brief and get back to
	12	the Court. We'll do that by close of business tomorrow.
	13	We think we'll be able to submit one, and we have no
	14	objection presenting the issue to the Court by
09:07AM	15	submission.
	16	THE COURT: Okay. You can have a full
	17	three days, if you wish, but if you would rather the
	18	Court take it up more quickly, then you may have until
	19	end of day tomorrow, if that's your request.
09:07AM	20	MR. BIRNBERG: In the interest of traffic,
	21	if you're giving us the three days, I will, however
	22	represent to the Court and to the defendant we're going
	23	to try to have it on file by tomorrow afternoon.
	24	THE COURT: Okay. Very good. That's when
09:08AM	25	we'll look for it.

1 If you expect to need a reply brief, by which date can you get that to me? 2 3 MR. ELDRED: Next morning. THE COURT: 4 Okav. MR. ELDRED: And also, Judge, for the 5 09:08AM record, I understand your position. We have to object 6 7 because it is jurisdictional. We believe that there's 8 no jurisdiction for suit and their main argument in this 9 case, so we would --for the record-- object to not hearing the motion to strike at this time. 09:08AM 10 0kay 11 THE COURT: I'm not going to go 12 forward on the motion that does not have sufficient notice to the other side \mathcal{O} but I will take it by 13 submission, and I will review all pleadings by Thursday 14 It sounds like everything should be to me by 15 afternoon. 09:08AM 16 that date. 17 Is that enough time for the Defendants' 18 reply briefing, or end of day Friday? 19 MR. ELDRED: Yes. Yes, Your Honor. 20 Whatever you said the first time, Thursday. 09:09AM 21 THE COURT: End of day Thursday. I'll look 22 for everything by 5:00 p.m. on Thursday, okay. Very 23 good. 24 Let's then go -- unless there are other 25 housekeeping matters, we'll go into the plea to the 09:09AM

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1 jurisdiction.

	2	MR. FOMBONNE: Judge, I understand we're
	3	going to take the plea to the jurisdiction first. What
	4	I would say is the issues in the plea and the issues in
09:09AM	5	our motion for temporary injunction is essentially
	6	largely overlapped at least on the merits. They claim
	7	sovereign immunity. We haven't pled a sufficient
	8	constitutional violation. We say otherwise, so I think
	9	just in terms of choreography, it makes sense that they
09:09AM	10	make their argument, and then we put on our evidence and
	11	then go into the merits and the rebuttal arguments on
	12	the sort of traditional jurisdictional arguments, if
	13	that's okay.
	14	THE COURT: Yes, that's that's the plan
09:09AM	15	of the Court, and so I'll hear arguments on the plea.
	16	I'm likely to take the plea to the jurisdiction under
	17	advisement. $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$ I have read the briefing, so I'm not going
	18	to be hearing or at least considering the issues for
	19	the first time.
09:10AM	20	We'll hear evidence in the request for
	21	injunctive relief, but that request will be contingent
	22	on the Court's denial of the plea or at least some
	23	potion of the plea, okay, so you may begin with the
	24	argument on the plea to the jurisdiction.
09:10AM	25	MR. ELDRED: Ms. Dokupil will handle that.

	1	THE COURT: Will you please just make sure
	2	that microphone is near you, and handle it by the base.
	3	MS. DOKUPIL: This working?
	4	THE COURT: Yes, that sounds good. You're
09:10AM	5	also welcome, if you wish to use the podium, and
	6	hopefully you-all had some time to work with the Court's
	7	electronics. You may plug in and use your laptops for
	8	anything that you wish to share on the screen, okay.
	9	MS. DOKUPIL: All right. Thank you very
09:10AM	10	much. I think for logistical purposes, my stuff is
	11	better here than the podium, but thank you for the
	12	offer.
	13	So we are here to argue jurisdiction.
	14	First of all, I want to talk about some background.
09:11AM	15	Legislatures are elected to solve problems. They weigh
	16	pros and cons. They hear from all of the interested
	17	parties, and when that law is passed, it's the
	18	embodiment of the legislature's intent, as a whole, all
	19	the different interests, policies, balances and
09:11AM	20	compromises. And this is why the Texas Supreme Court
	21	has said over and over that legislative history is not
	22	intent. Legislative history is irrelevant, and this is
	23	also why we have cannons of construction is this
	24	deference to the legislative compromise. And, here,
09:11AM	25	with SB1750, we have such a situation where the

1 legislature tried to solve a problem.

	2	The legislature was probably aware in
	3	passing SB1750 that Harris County's elections had been
	4	widely reported to have some challenges and concern. In
09:12AM	5	fact, some of these concerns made national news. Party
	6	chairs on both sides of the aisle raised concerns.
	7	Texas Monthly called the election in 2022, the primary,
	8	the worst run election in recent memory. And the
	9	elections administrator at that timenot Mr. Tatum
09:12AM	10	resigned after that election.
	11	The legislature would have also been
	12	aware that after the election, there were reports of
	13	shortages of ballot paper; ballot machine malfunctions;
	14	problems in distributing supplies; problems with the
09:12AM	15	chain of custody for the ballots, and most importantly,
	16	there were problems with the vote counts.
	17	The legislature may have been considering
	18	that Harris County's election count was not completed on
	19	time. By law, it's supposed be done within 24 hours of
09:12AM	20	the poll closing, but it took 31 hours and, by contrast,
	21	it only took 13-and-a-half hours in 2020, and
	22	9-and-a-half hours in 2018, and the legislature would
	23	have almost certainly been informed that after the final
	24	votes were recorded in the 2022 primary, that an
09:13AM	25	additional 10,000 mail-in ballots were discovered later

1 that had not been counted.

	2	And the legislature may have heard from
	3	constituents or may have believed that Harris County
	4	voters on for both parties were losing faith in the
09:13AM	5	integrity of the process.
	6	As I mentioned, the elections
	7	administrator for the 2022 primary resigned, and she
	8	admitted she had not met the standards set by the
	9	Commissioners Court. County Judge Lina Hidalgo
09:13AM	10	reportedly said at that primary that there were, quote,
	11	unforced errors, and despite these challenges, the
	12	Commissioners Court put in a new election administrator
	13	and kept the system for the general election in 2022.
	14	But there were problems again. There
09:13AM	15	were problems with ballot paper shortages, and without
	16	ballot paper, no one can vote. There were reports of
	17	issues with machine malfunctions and polling locations
	18	being closed. And after the election, 14 candidates
	19	filed election contests to contest the results, and the
09:14AM	20	legislature would certainly have been aware that Harris
	21	County is, by far, the largest county in Texas. It
	22	makes up about 16 percent of the population. It's twice
	23	as big as the next largest county, and the legislature
	24	would also have been aware that because Harris County is
09:14AM	25	so big, it has a significant impact on statewide

	1	elections.
	2	So SB1750 we can assume that the
	3	legislature took action to solve these problems they
	4	identified in Harris County. SB1750 applies to counties
09:14AM	5	with over three-and-a-half million in population, which
	6	today is only Harris County, but it could be more in the
	7	future.
	8	SB1750 does two things. It prevents
	9	counties with a population of three-and-a-half million
09:14AM	10	more for creating the position of election
	11	administrator, and it also abovishes that position in
	12	counties with three-and-a-half million or more that
	13	currently have one, and that would include Harris
	14	County.
09:14AM	15	In that process, it says that the county
	16	should return the election administrator functions to
	17	the county clerk and the tax assessor collector and
	18	transfer all of the employees and property and so forth
	19	that goes with that office.
09:15AM	20	Harris County and Intervenor Tatum are
	21	asserting that this is an unconstitutional local law
	22	under Article III, Section 56 of the Texas Constitution
	23	because it targets specific local area through its
	24	classification.
09:15AM	25	Harris County and Intervenor Tatum

	1	explore at great length, the legislative history, the
	2	alleged intent, the use of population brackets, but none
	3	of these are actually critical pieces of the analysis.
	4	For this reason, neither Harris County
09:15AM	5	not Intervenor Tatum have pleaded a constitutional claim
	6	that SB1750 is facially invalid. And the claim that
	7	SB1750 is unconstitutional because it hasn't been
	8	improperly pled should be dismissed for lack of
	9	jurisdiction.
09:15AM	10	And the authority for that is the MALC
	11	case, the Texas Supreme Court, which says, although the
	12	UDJA waives immunity for declaratory judgment claims
	13	challenging the validity of statues with how the
	14	immunity from suit is not waived if the constitutional
09:16AM	15	claims are facially invalid. This is a jurisdictional
	16	question.
	17	🞸 I will also get to Harris County's lack
	18	of standing, but I am going to go through and talk about
	19	the facial claim first.
09:16AM	20	SB1750 is absolutely constitutional. The
	21	test for the constitutionality of SB1750 is whether the
	22	legislature had a reasonable basis for enacting that law
	23	with the classification that it had. Whether the
	24	population bracket targets local area is only the
09:16AM	25	beginning of questioning whether it's constitutional

	1	under Article III, Section 56. It is not the end of the
	2	analysis. Obviously, if there weren't a classification
	3	that seemed to target the local area, we wouldn't be
	4	talking about Article III, Section 56 at all. But the
09:16AM	5	reasonable basis is a really low bar. The test is
	6	whether you can assume that a reasonable basis could
	7	have existed that the legislature could have relied on,
	8	and if you can figure out a situation of facts that
	9	could be reasonable that exists, then we assume that it
09:17AM	10	did exist.
	11	And so in this case, the reasonable basis
	12	is that the legislature was trying to solve a problem
	13	that it saw in a large county with elections.
	14	If the legislature has a reasonable
09:17AM	15	basis, then the law is not prohibited by local law. It
	16	is, in fact, a constitutional general law. And even
	17	though reasonable minds may disagree about the
	18	legislature's chosen course of action or the rules
	19	behind it, that's not a sufficient basis for finding a
09:17AM	20	statute that has no reasonable basis a constitutional
	21	matter.
	22	Indeed, as <i>Smith versus Davis</i> said 1968,
	23	it is to be presumed that the legislature has not acted
	24	unreasonable or arbitrarily, and a mere difference of
09:17AM	25	opinion is not a sufficient basis for striking down

1 legislation that's arbitrary or unreasonable.

So Harris County and Mr. Tatum needed to 2 3 plead facts that needed to plead all possible reasonable explanations for the classification in order for its 4 Article III, Section 56 claim to be facially valid. 5 And 09:18AM neither of the parties have addressed the basis that 6 7 Harris County is a super large county, with really big 8 logistical challenges and had a really challenging 9 election cycle. Targeting a population brackets are not dispositive of the Article III, Section 56 issue. 09:18AM 10 Reasonable basis is. 11

Harris County has spent a lot of time in 12 their briefing in talking about open and closed 13 14 population brackets and whether or not other counties could potentially be considered later, but this is 15 09:18AM 16 actually a theme in the case law that was really popular in the 1930s and the 1970s, and the Texas Supreme Court 17 18 has moved significantly away from that type of analysis 19 in more recent years. And even if hadn't, it's not a 20 thing that -- it's not the case that all -- every time 09:19AM 21 you see a bracket that includes only one county, it's unconstitutional. 22

There is even a case from 1969, Board of
 24 Managers of Harris County Hospital District Pension
 09:19AM 25 Board, which is actually the population classification

	1	only referred to Harris County at that time, and it
	2	impacted a one-time pension transfer that had to do with
	3	a set of the hospital pension system versus the
	4	municipal employees pension system, and one time
09:19AM	5	employees are transferred from one to the other, and the
	6	Court upheld that and said it was perfectly fine even
	7	though it was targeting only Harris County, because it
	8	had a reasonable basis. It said that the city argues
	9	that no city other than Houston can ever be affected by
09:19AM	10	the provision of the section. But no authority is
	11	supported in cited in support of the position that
	12	this fact renders an act a local or special law, and we
	13	doubt that any could be found.
	14	So the Texas Supreme Court is held up the
09:20AM	15	law targeting Harris County's administration before for
	16	a one-time situation.
	17	🐥 And this Supreme Court, more recently, in
	18	Maple Run Versus Monaghan tried to harmonize the history
	19	of these Article III, Section 56 precedents, and after
09:20AM	20	going through a lengthy history of which one did what
	21	and why, the Court stated that the law is not a
	22	prohibited local law merely because it applies only in a
	23	limited geographical area.
	24	The Austin Court of Appeals has held
09:20AM	25	similarly. They said, in Public Utility Commission

	1	Versus Southwest Water Services, that a closed bracket
	2	does not render a law constitutional. The Court gave a
	3	detailed analysis. There's some cases targeting single
	4	towns and districts. Some were constitutional, some
09:20AM	5	were not, but the Court explained the outcome was
	6	determined not by the target, itself, but by the
	7	presence or absence of a reasonable basis. Ultimately
	8	the Court said, these cases preclude a rule that
	9	declaring a statutory class which, by its terms is
09:21AM	10	closed to future members to be a per se violation of the
	11	constitutional provision against local and special laws.
	12	So courts have recognized that one subset
	13	of the universe of potential reasonable bases is when
	14	there is a larger statewide interest at stake. In Maple
09:21AM	15	Run, itself, it mentions that significance of the
	16	subject matter and the number of persons affected by the
	17	legislation are merely factors albeit important ones in
	18	determining reasonableness.
	19	As I mentioned before, the legislature
09:21AM	20	could clearly recognize that larger statewide interest
	21	in Harris County's elections. Harris County's
	22	population is larger than 26 states. As such, it has an
	23	outsized impact on statewide elections as well as on
	24	other election districts that overlap with Harris
09:21AM	25	County. So classification that encompassed only Harris

	1	County for a statute that deals with elections could
	2	have a reasonable basis in a larger statewide interest.
	3	In other context, the Texas Supreme Court
	4	has upheld similar law that target local problems where
09:22AM	5	it found a larger statewide interest. In Cameron County
	6	versus Wilson, for example, the Court upheld a law that
	7	classified that drew the classification such that
	8	it's been targeted the development, and the Court found
	9	a reasonable basis that the state would want to develop
09:22AM	10	beautiful beaches and beach is Dands needed maybe
	11	different types of park services and mainland and so it
	12	was reasonable to treat it differently.
	13	The Court in that case made a very
	14	sweeping statement about statewide interest. It said:
09:22AM	15	We have been and will again be faced with the need and
	16	demand for legislation which affects al the people in
	17	the state generally, yet when into direct operation,
	18	will apply to one locality.
	19	The scope of such legislation should not
09:22AM	20	be restricted by expanded nullifying fact of Article
	21	III, Section 56 of the Constitution. And most directly
	22	on point for this discussion, the courts have approved
	23	laws that advance the larger public interest by solving
	24	a local territorial dispute.
09:23AM	25	The Maple Run court spoke favorably at

	1	the legitimate basis for upholding the statute that only
	2	affected the DFW Airport.
	3	This is a case where Dallas and Fort
	4	Worth jointly created a board to administer the DFW
09:23AM	5	Airport, and eventually, the nearby cities of Irving,
	6	and Euless and Grapevine started to object to the
	7	upwards expansion. There were conflicting ordinances;
	8	there was a lot of litigation, and legislature stepped
	9	in to grant constituent public agencies that a joint
09:23AM	10	board who were homeowner municipalities whose population
	11	exceed \$400,000 the exclusive power to administer
	12	municipal airports, so it was clearly a classification
	13	that was targeting this particular local problem. But
	14	the Court upheld this because they said, the importance
09:23AM	15	of the Dallas public airport was so important to the
	16	state that it was perfectly okay to target a local
	17	jurisdiction and sort out an essentially local municipal
	18	turf war because essentially airports are too important.
	19	And, similarly, I would argue that the legislature here
09:24AM	20	could have had the reasonable basis that you know what,
	04	alastisma ana just tao impontant . Walna saina ta sant

21 elections are just too important. We're going to sort22 this out.

The Court, in the DFW case specifically
 rejected the city's argument that the attempt to fix the
 local problem render the statute unconstitutional. It

	1	said: There clearly is a local problem with the host
	2	cities, but the legislature's attempt to alleviate this
	3	problem does not place the law into the realm of an
	4	unconstitutional or special measure.
09:24AM	5	So by any measure, SP1750 has a
	6	reasonable basis, and considering the strong presumption
	7	in favor of constitutionality, it must appear that there
	8	is no reasonable basis for the classification adopted by
	9	the legislature as the Court said in Cameron County.
09:25AM	10	And neither Harris County nor the intervenor pleaded any
	11	set of facts that can possibly overcome this
	12	presumption.
	13	Harris County does spend a lot of time on
	14	the legislative history, and they argue that because the
09:25AM	15	original intent of Article III, Section 56 is to
	16	prevent, essentially, legislatures giving special
	17	benefits to the friends and punishing enemies, that it's
	18	important to look at intent in this context; however
	19	and, also, the intervenor explores all the means of the
09:25AM	20	statute to make it seem unreasonable. But neither of
	21	these approaches can undermine an otherwise perfectly
	22	reasonable basis because the test is: Can you assume
	23	reasonable basis? And if the statute can be read as
	24	constitutional, it must be. If a statute has two
09:25AM	25	possible interpretations, one of which is constitutional

	1	and one of which is unconstitutional, then the
	2	constitutional interpretation prevails. The Texas
	3	Supreme Court said that most recently in EBS Solutions
	4	<i>versus Hegar</i> in 2020.
09:26AM	5	The party asserting the statute is
	6	unconstitutional bears a very high burden to show its
	7	unconstitutionality, and, second, the legislative
	8	history is irrelevant because the Texas Supreme Court in
	9	recent years has declined to consider it. In Molinet
09:26AM	10	versus Kimbrell, the Texas Supreme Court said:
	11	Statements made during the process by individual
	12	legislators or even unanimous legislative chamber are
	13	not evidence of a collective intent of the majorities of
	14	both legislative chambers enacted in a statute.
09:26AM	15	And also in 2018, the Texas Supreme Court
	16	said: When interpreting a statute, the text is the
	17	alpha and omega of the interpretive process. While we
	18	have often stated that our objective and statutory
	19	interpretation is speaking of the effects of the
09:26AM	20	legislative intent, we also acknowledge that the
	21	legislature expresses its intent by the words it enacts
	22	and declares to be the law.
	23	So if the text is the alpha and the
	24	omega, it doesn't leave a lot of room to dig in to the
09:27AM	25	legislative history. And even this Court of Appeals in

	1	Gardens says specifically that legislative history
	2	cannot convert an otherwise reasonable basis into an
	3	unreasonable one. And a quote from the case, the mere
	4	fact that issues in the senator's district that was at
09:27AM	5	issue there were precipitating causes of law does not
	6	render it a local or a special law. When reviewing the
	7	statute to determine whether it is an unconstitutional
	8	local or special law, we review the reasonableness of
	9	the statute classifications, not the precipitating
09:27AM	10	forces that led to its enactment Specific events have
	11	led to numerous statutes that were enacted as law of
	12	general applicability.
	13	The Intervenor's brief also provides a
	14	number of different unreasonable bases for the law in
09:27AM	15	great detail. But once again, that's not the test. The
	16	test was whether the statute could have a reasonable
	17	basis, and it could be reasonable for the legislature to
	18	target Harris County in a larger statewide interest to
	19	sort out problems local problem that affects the
09:28AM	20	entire state, so the law must be presumed
	21	constitutional. And Maple Run is not to the contrary.
	22	Maple Run did find the law issue in that case
	23	unconstitutional, but that was fundamentally different,
	24	because in Maple Run, a new development was scheduled to
09:28AM	25	be annexed by the City of Austin, and there was a

	1	district providing utilities for the development, bonds
	2	financed, and the City of Austin had backed the bonds.
	3	And the district the legislature was going to allow
	4	the district to shut down and leave the Austin City of
09:28AM	5	Austin taxpayers in debt, and the legislature did not
	6	see how that created a larger statewide interest,
	7	currently.
	8	But here, you know, elections are
	9	fundamentally a large statewide interest for the state.
09:28AM	10	There is another case that Harris County points to,
	11	Southwest County Water District where the Austin Court
	12	of Appeals declined to find a reasonable basis in the
	13	larger statewide interest. Again, it was a MUD issue,
	14	you know, local districts have jurisdictional dispute,
09:29AM	15	and but, again, it was a local water management
	16	issue, and the Court said there was no larger statewide
	17	interest in a local water management issue. But once
	18	again, Harris County is the largest county in the state.
	19	It has significant impact on statewide elections, and
09:29AM	20	it's very difficult to see how this legislature could
	21	not have a larger statewide interest in its election
	22	process.
	23	So for those reasons, both Harris County
	24	and the intervenor pleaded a facially invalid
09:29AM	25	constitutional claim under SB1750 because they have not

pleaded facts that overcome the presumption that is
 constitutional or that there's a lack of any reasonable
 basis.

4 Now, I'm going to move on to standing. This argument applies only to Harris County. Harris 5 09:29AM County lacks standing to sue any of the defendants. 6 7 Standards for standing are: Injury in fact that has to 8 be fairly traceable to the defendant, and it also has to 9 be likely, not speculative, that the injury will be redressed by a favorable decision $^{\circ}$ There's been some 09:29AM 10 back and forth in the briefings about who's a proper 11 party. Essentially, to boii it down, in the UDJA, you 12 have to sue the office that has the enforcement 13 authority, and so the State of Texas doesn't have any 14 15 enforcement authority, so they are not a proper party. 09:30AM 16 Angela Colmenero and Jane Nelson, in their personal capacities, do not have enforcement 17 18 authority so they are not a proper party, so the only 19 proper parties that could be sued here of the ones that 20 they listed on UDJA were the office of the Attorney 09:30AM 21 General, and the Secretary of State. That was our 22 position. 23 Now, just because they are the proper 24 parties doesn't mean you have standing. The UDJA does

09:30AM 25 not, in and of itself, convert standing. You also have

	1	to show enforcement. So, first of all, we argue that
	2	Harris County is nonspeculative. Harris County seems to
	3	take different positions about, you know, whether they
	4	are going to comply with the law or not. They seem to
09:30AM	5	be keeping their options open, and so to that point, you
	6	know, on the one hand, they argue, well, if you comply
	7	with the law, we're going to have all this harm, but on
	8	the other hand, if you don't comply with the law, the
	9	Secretary of the State means you're going to come get
09:31AM	10	them, and, yeah, it's kind of verge it's speculative.
	11	Which one is it? Which are we talking about?
	12	In addition the harm seems speculative
	13	even if they comply that 1750 transfers the authority
	14	from one office of the county to a different office of
09:31AM	15	the county. So even if it does cost the county money,
	16	we're just moving money from one bucket to another, and
	17	it just seems it's just very difficult to understand
	18	how the county, itself, is going to be harmed by this
	19	when the county will still be maintaining control of the
09:31AM	20	county elections, but if the county does not follow the
	21	law, it is also not pleaded facts to establish the
	22	length between any harm that they might experience from
	23	transferring elections administration from one office to
	24	the other, and the AG or the Secretary of State
09:31AM	25	enforcing the law.

	1	But Harris County must actually show that
	2	the AG or the Secretary of State would actually enforce
	3	1750, both to establish harm and redressability and
	4	traceability.
09:32AM	5	So in the without like a clear element
	6	of harm fairly traceable to any defendant, it hasn't
	7	established that any injury that you would have would be
	8	redressed by a favorable decision.
	9	In the enforcement context, enforcement
09:32AM	10	happens on a provision by provision basis. So to the
	11	extent that Harris County can say, you know, the
	12	Attorney General, in the past, has enforced these
	13	things, or the Secretary of State could potentially
	14	enforce these things 1750 didn't exist before, and so
09:32AM	15	it has to be reevaluated whether there is enforcement
	16	for 1750 itself.
	17	ベ THE COURT: Well, I think it's probably a
	18	good time just to address the joint stipulations
	19	MS. DOKUPIL: Okay.
09:33AM	20	THE COURT:as I understand them, and as
	21	they have been filed with the Court, there is a joint
	22	stipulation of facts, I believe, that both sides both
	23	sides all parties signed, correct?
	24	MS. DOKUPIL: Uh-huh.
09:33AM	25	THE COURT: And that joint stipulation of

	1	facts includes: The fact the agreed fact of the
	2	Office of Attorney General cannot commit that it will
	3	not file a lawsuit against Harris County on the basis
	4	that Harris County has violated Senate Bill 1750, and
09:33AM	5	also, no. 2, that the Office of the Attorney General
	6	cannot commit that it will not seek civil penalties
	7	against Harris County officials, including its election
	8	officials if the Harris County elections administrator
	9	continues to perform the functions of registering voters
09:34AM	10	and administering elections after September 1st, 2023.
	11	Are those the joint stipulations of the
	12	parties?
	13	MS. DOKUPIA: We did stipulate to that,
	14	Your Honor, and I would say that while it says we didn't
09:34AM	15	the stipulation both says we have not committed to
	16	enforce or not to enforce, it is an open question. And
	17	it does even to the extent that anyone would have any
	18	internal discussions about enforcementwhich I'm not
	19	aware of they would be likely subject to
09:34AM	20	attorney-client privilege.
	21	There is not going to be a binding
	22	pronouncement at this hearing of what the Attorney
	23	General is going to do with SB1750. And but the
	24	thing is, for standing purposes, they needed to they
09:34AM	25	need to plead that we would not that we wouldn't

commit, that we wouldn't. That's my position. 1 THE COURT: Did you wish to be heard? 2 MR. FOMBONNE: 3 Not in this moment. I was going to agree on the stipulation in terms of what they 4 said in the agreement. That's it. 5 09:35AM 6 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. 7 MS. DOKUPIL: Uh-huh. 8 So Harris County also doesn't have 9 standing to sue the Secretary of State because it hasn't shown either enforcement authorit \hat{v} or an imminent threat 10 09:35AM of enforcement. They point to a lot of statutes where 11 12 the Secretary of State maybe could possibly enforce --THE COURT Well, let me -- on the issue of 13 enforcement authority? 14 MS. DOKUPIL: 15 Uh-huh. 09:35AM 16 THE COURT: I believe you just argued that the two proper parties are the Office of Attorney 17 18 General and Office of Secretary State. 19 MS. DOKUPIL: That would probably be the 20 proper parties under the UDJA. I am not saying that 09:35AM 21 they would have enforcement authority. I am saying that for purposes of the UDJA, you should sue an office 22 instead of a person or the State of Texas. 23 That's it. 24 THE COURT: If not those offices, then who 25 would have the authority to enforce the statute? 09:35AM

	1	MS. DOKUPIL: Well, I the statute is
	2	actually not very clear on that. From reading the
	3	statute, it could potentially I mean, the statute
	4	directs the County Commissioners Court to do something.
09:36AM	5	THE COURT: But your office's stipulation
	6	says we're not
	7	MS. DOKUPIL: We're not disclaiming all
	8	enforcement responsibility; we're not claiming all
	9	waiver.
09:36AM	10	THE COURT: Okay.
	11	MS. DOKUPIL: I think it's also possible
	12	that this could be enforced, potentially, if a for
	13	example a candidate with standing might sue for sue
	14	in a local court. I mean, I don't think it's the
09:36AM	15	statute doesn't give enforcement authority to anyone
	16	specific or to anyone in its entirety. There are
	17	options. Harris County does argue that SB1933 gives
	18	enforcement authority to the Secretary of State, and we
	19	disagree with that position because 1933, while it
09:36AM	20	it's a completely different mechanism. 1750 requires
	21	the elections administrator to be abolished on September
	22	1, 2023, but 1933 the Secretary of State has no
	23	authority under it whatsoever unless it receives a
	24	complaint from one of the named people in the statute,
09:37AM	25	and then it must give notice to the county

	1	administrator, and then there's a whole investigation
	2	and an opportunity to correct, and there's a very long
	3	process involved with it, and based on the timing of the
	4	statute, even if the Secretary of State got a complaint
09:37AM	5	on September 1, 2023, the earliest the Secretary of
	6	State could possibly take any type of removal action
	7	could be December 31st, 2024. And so for that reason,
	8	it doesn't seem that the legislature intended 1933 to be
	9	enforcement mechanism of 1750. They operate
09:37AM	10	independently.
	11	Further, the Secretary of State has no
	12	general enforcement authority over election law, so it
	13	has to be a provision by provision basis with the
	14	Secretary of State to determine whether they have
09:37AM	15	enforcement authority over any particular provision, and
	16	ultimately, traceability is particularly difficult to
	17	show where the proper chain of causation turns on the
	18	government's speculative future decisions regarding
	19	whether to what extent. It will bring enforcement
09:38AM	20	actions in hypothetical cases. That's the AR
	21	Engineering Testing decision from the Fifth Circuit
	22	earlier this year.
	23	So just like the Secretary of State,
	24	Harris County has a provision by provision enforcement
09:38AM	25	policy. Harris County has brought up some cases and

	1	briefing dealing with mask mandates, and we would argue
	2	that those are different because those are about a
	3	completely different statute. And in addition, that
	4	there is a there's a clearer setup. It was clear
09:38AM	5	that the counties were looking at a statute where they
	6	were going to do something that would conflict with
	7	state law, and the AG's Office had decided to prosecute
	8	that particular provision, but here well, I'll also
	9	say they also pointed out a letter to Vince Ryan, the
09:39AM	10	Harris County Attorney, which was at from the AG, and
	11	letter was asking Vince Ryan to address some technical
	12	problems in the way that the County Commissioner's Court
	13	created election administrator's position, but
	14	significantly, and to my point, the AG enforcement
09:39AM	15	authority would not be exclusive on any provision of the
	16	election law necessarily, the letter to Vince Ryan says:
	17	Vince Ryan, please take a look at this. Please go
	18	enforce this law. So the AG sometimes works through
	19	local officials and doesn't take the enforcement
09:39AM	20	themselves, and for that reason, you know, I we don't
	21	think that Harris County has pleaded facts sufficiently
	22	to show there's a connection with the AG's enforcement
	23	authority to have standing in this instance. So Harris
	24	County hasn't pleaded facts sufficient to show harm in
09:39AM	25	enforcement, and neither Harris County nor the

intervenor have pleaded facts sufficient to establish a 1 constitutional claim against SB1750 is facially invalid, 2 3 and so defendants request that this Court grant the plea to the jurisdiction. Thank you. 4 5 THE COURT: Thank you very much. 09:40AM Response? 6 7 MR. FOMBONNE: So I think it makes sense to 8 have Mr. Menefee present on the substance of the law 9 first, and we do have evidence that goes directly to our standing arguments because it goes to enforcement so I 10 09:40AM 11 think we do that next and we conclude with arguments on 12 threat of enforcement, if that's okay. THE COURT O You may proceed. 13 MR. MENEFEE: Christian Menefee, for the 14 record, Judge. 15 09:40AM 16 🔊 Do you mind if I take a second to hook up to the tech here. 17 18 THE COURT: Certainly. Make sure that you 19 push the silver button to control. 20 MR. MENEFEE: Okay. Good morning, Judge, 09:41AM Christian Menefee on behalf of Plaintiff Harris County. 21 22 You know, we heard a lot in the argument about kind of the merits of whether SB1750 is unconstitutional, and 23 24 one point that I want to clear up, immediately, Judge, 25 is we're not arguing that the legislature doesn't have 09:41AM

	1	the ability to target a local problem. In fact, the
	2	Texas Constitution doesn't say anything about targeting
	3	a local problem. What it says is you can't pass a local
	4	law, so can you pass a law that targets local problems
09:41AM	5	but has general applicability, and the second point,
	6	Judge, is there's a lot of talk about open brackets
	7	versus closed brackets, and what's important here is
	8	there's a distinguishing principle from the
	9	classification that is used is population, right. If
09:41AM	10	the population is the thing that makes the problem what
	11	it is, then why wouldn't it be open to any county that
	12	reaches that population threshold, and I think that's
	13	borne out in the case law that I'll talk about here in a
	14	second.
09:42AM	15	We can talk over this quickly, Judge.
	16	I'm sure you saw in the petition, but one of the
	17	benefits of being in the year 2023 is we will put
	18	everything on the internet, right, and so, you know,
	19	there's a bunch of statements that were made by the
09:42AM	20	author of SB1750 as well the house sponsor, kind of
	21	making clear that the purpose of Senate Bill 1750 is to
	22	abolish the Harris County elections administrator, and
	23	to be clear, Judge, you know, the basis of our case is
	24	not there's legislative history out there that
09:42AM	25	there's extra legislative statements out there that show

	1	that SP1750 is is upconstitutional. No the taxt of
	1	that SB1750 is is unconstitutional. No, the text of
	2	that law shows it, but this just gives the Court color
	3	that nobody was hiding the ball on this, right. We're
	4	we're not it doesn't take several steps to deduce
09:42AM	5	what was actually going on there.
	6	So let's take a look at the statute.
	7	What the Texas Constitution, Article III, Section 56
	8	says is: The legislative shall not pass any local or
	9	special law authorizing, and then it has what the courts
09:43AM	10	call a laundry list, right, of prohibited areas of
	11	regulation, and there's several that touch on the
	12	precise conduct that's going on here. This is
	13	important, Judge, because in most of the cases, what you
	14	see is Section 2 is what is discussed when it's a county
09:43AM	15	versus a state or a city versus a state such as
	16	regulating the affairs of counties. That's a pretty
	17	large bucket. We kind of understand what's going on
	18	here, but, importantly, you don't see a lot of cases
	19	talking about Section 12, right. That's exactly what
09:43AM	20	we're dealing with here. For the conduct for the
	21	conducting of election, and it makes a lot of sense.
	22	You don't want elections to be run differently in
	23	different places, right, through local laws because the
	24	legislature is trying to tie the hands of local
09:43AM	25	officials in a certain jurisdiction to ensure that their

	1	party is more successful in elections. And also,
	2	important in some other cases, in Section 14,
	3	prescribing the powers and duties of of officers and
	4	counties, right. A county auditor in Harris County is
09:43AM	5	supposed to have the same authority as a county auditor
09.43AN	6	
	-	in another location.
	7	Now, to be clear, Judge, we are not
	8	arguing that the legislator is not able to target areas
	9	of the state that are more limited than the entire
09:44AM	10	state, right. The case law is pretty clear that the
	11	legislator would be able to do that, but there are very
	12	clear rules of the road that the cases lay out. The
	13	first part of this, I would say, Judge, is an intent
	14	element, right. The Courts talk about: You can't pass
09:44AM	15	a law that has an arbitrary classification or a
	16	pretended class that is intended to evade this
	17	constitutional prohibition on local laws. And it makes
	18	a lot of sense, right. If the state were to pass a law
	19	saying this law applies to Harris County, I think we
09:44AM	20	would all in this room agree, oh, that's going to be
	21	problematic, right, so you can't take out Harris County
	22	and, say: This applies to a state, that has somebody
	23	named Christian Menefee who lived in that county who was
	24	born on April 8, 1988, right. Like they are not allowed
09:44AM	25	to evade constitution using a classification like that,

	1	and that's exactly what you see in these cases.
	2	Now, importantly, the State has argued in
	3	all the briefing that we're getting the test wrong,
	4	right. They say, Plaintiff is focused on open brackets
09:45AM	5	versus closed brackets and that's just not the the
	6	test. I think they are misunderstanding our argument,
	7	respectfully. We're not arguing that reasonable
	8	relation isn't the test. The case law is being clear
	9	the Texas Supreme Court has said the primary ultimate
09:45AM	10	test is this reasonable relationship. What we're
	11	arguing is they are misunderstanding what that
	12	relationship is, right. It's not a reasonable basis for
	13	passing the law. It's a reasonable basis for the
	14	classification made by the law, and what the Court said
09:45AM	15	in Maple Run, which is a case that both sides have cited
	16	from the Texas Supreme Court. The classification must
	17	be based on characteristics legitimately distinguishing
	18	such class from others with respect to the public
	19	purpose sought to be accomplished by the proposed
09:45AM	20	legislation.
	21	So you're looking at the reasonable basis
	22	for the classification and those characteristics have to
	23	be legitimately distinguishing. And that's incredibly
	24	important with population because that's something that
09:45AM	25	changes every day. Harris County population today is

	1	going to be different than the county population a week
	2	from now.
	3	This is where I think the state misses
	4	the mark. They in their brief, they give a lot of
09:46AM	5	so-called, you know, bases for why Senate Bill 1750
	6	could have been passed. One of the things they say is,
	7	well, it's large in size, right. But the classification
	8	that was used in this case was not geography, right. It
	9	wasn't any county within 800 square miles. They say, oh
09:46AM	10	well, it's because Harris County had problems in the
	11	elections. The classification here is population. That
	12	is the sole classification that was used in Senate Bill
	13	1750, and that's what they have to tie it to. You can't
	14	tie it to all this other stuff that that isn't part
09:46AM	15	of that classification. It needs to be tied to the
	16	classification that the legislature chose, not Harris
	17	County.
	18	And so that's where this open and close
	19	kind of view comes because what the courts have pretty
09:46AM	20	much uniformly applied, Judge, is when you're using
	21	population and that is your classification, it doesn't
	22	it should not matter whether that population is with
	23	a county that is East Texas, in West Texas and North
	24	Texas. It shouldn't matter whether a county has that
09:47AM	25	population on September 1, 2023 or November 1, 2023. If

	1	population really is the legitimately distinguishing
	2	characteristic, which is what Texas Supreme Court says,
	3	classification needs to be. So this is just an example,
	4	Judge. Let's say we're in September 1, 2022, and we're
09:47AM	5	dealing with four of the most populous counties in the
	6	State of Texas, and a new elections law passes, for
	7	example, Senate Bill 1. It goes into effect on this
	8	day, September 1, 2022 and it impacts all counties with
	9	over 3.5 million residents. So this is an open
09:47AM	10	brackets, and to kind of explain that example is because
	11	let's say we fast-forwarded to April 1, 2027, right, and
	12	we have those same four counties, but for some reason
	13	you-all in Travis County have figure out a way to make
	14	it more affordable to live here, so more people would
09:47AM	15	move to Travis County, and you get Senate Bill 1. Now
	16	Harris County and Travis County are subject to that law
	17	because the bracket applies to any county that hits over
	18	3.5 million. The calculation of the population takes
	19	place in perpetuity. It's not isolated on a single
09:48AM	20	date, and it makes sense, right, because if the purpose
	21	the public purpose, which this is language from the
	22	Texas Supreme Court. If the public purpose to be
	23	accomplished here is to fix elections in large counties
	24	because large counties have more voters, so they are
09:48AM	25	going to have more problems, with their elections, why

	1	should it matter if it's county A that hits that
	2	population threshold, or county B.
	3	Now, juxtapose that against a closed
	4	population brackets, Your Honor, so the same example.
09:48AM	5	We're on September 1, 2022. We're dealing with the same
	6	four counties, and a new election law, Senate Bill 2
	7	goes into effect, and this law applies only to counties
	8	that have 3.5 million on this date, September 1, 2022,
	9	which is the date that the law goes into effect. So
09:49AM	10	this is a closed population bracket which only does that
	11	calculation a single time in history. It doesn't do it
	12	any other time. So, again, we're at April 1, 2027. The
	13	Travis County population is increased. That law only
	14	Harris County is going to be subject to that law, right.
09:49AM	15	This principle we can call it open/closed brackets, we
	16	can call it reasonable relation. This undermines the
	17	argument that there was a reasonable basis for the law
	18	in the first place because if population is what you
	19	used, it would apply to all large counties that are
09:49AM	20	having the you know, large numbers of voters that can
	21	impact the election processes.
	22	Now, I had planned to spend well,
	23	actually, one point I do want to touch on with this,
	24	Judge, is, you know, some of the conversation we've
09:49AM	25	heard or, you know, some of the arguments that the state

	1	has made is to be clear, we have not seen a single
	2	case, and I don't think the state has presented such a
	3	case either, where a closed population bracket was held
	4	to be constitutional. Not a single case. Most of the
09:50AM	5	cases that have been cited by the other side have dealt
	6	with and I think there's one that comes to mind in
	7	particular, the <i>Cameron County</i> case. It's a closed
	8	geographical population bracket. That makes a lot of
	9	sense. And I think it's very obviously distinguishable
09:50AM	10	from a population bracket.
	11	So let's say, for example, you had a
	12	county that is incredibly barge, right, and if a county
	13	is really big, it's going to take fire departments
	14	longer to get out across the county. And the
09:50AM	15	legislature passes a law saying that a county that has X
	16	hundred square miles shall have four fire marshals that
	17	are designated throughout the county, right. There can
	18	absolutely be a reasonable basis right, and geographic
	19	is not going to change in the State of Texas unless
09:50AM	20	there's some action taken by the legislature, but it
	21	would make sense to have it apply to a geographical
	22	range that would treat Harris County, for example,
	23	different from Bell County. That would make a lot of
	24	sense, right.
09:50AM	25	Population doesn't have population is

	1	a changing concept that changes every single day, right,
	2	so it's different from like geography, for example. In
	3	the Cameron County case, the case that they primarily
	4	rely on, but there have been a series of population
09:51AM	5	cases, including the Bobbitt case, which is back in
	6	1931, and I think counsel for the state mentioned that
	7	the Courts back in the day looked at this issue
	8	differently. The suggestion there is that the Bobbitt
	9	case is bad law. It's not. The case has not been
09:51AM	10	overruled. And in fact, in 1974 othe Texas Supreme
	11	Court in the Robinson v. Hill case cited Bobbitt and
	12	then noted that the population bracket in that case was
	13	an open bracket, right, and every single case that deals
	14	with population, you're seeing the Court either take it
09:51AM	15	head on or just mention in passing by, oh, this so a
	16	good example is the <i>Hospital</i> case that the other side
	17	has talked a lot about, right. That case was an open
	18	bracket. It applied to a certain population. A county
	19	with a certain population, it had teaching hospitals
09:51AM	20	right in a couple other factors. Now, it was only
	21	covering a certain locale on the day it was passed, but
	22	other locales could grow into it.
	23	And I think the reason that you've seen
	24	the Courts kind of uniformly take that approach with
09:52AM	25	population brackets is because of that intent element

	1	that I mentioned earlier, right. If you allow the State
	2	to pass a law that has a closed population bracket, it
	3	should be pretty clear to everybody that the reason that
	4	they closed it was because they didn't want it to apply,
09:52AM	5	generally, which is what the Constitution requires.
	6	Now, when I was preparing this, I thought
	7	we were going to talk about this particular slide, which
	8	is the statute at issue, but I don't think that this is
	9	highly in dispute. There are two sections of the
09:52AM	10	statute here. Section 2, which says the county with a
	11	population of 3.5 million or less cannot create the
	12	position of election administrator. We're challenging
	13	that on our dec action, but it's not really relevant for
	14	our temporary injunction because we have an elections
09:52AM	15	administrator today who's obviously here in the
	16	courtroom represented by counsel.
	17	This second section, Section 3 is the
	18	part that we're focusing on for our temporary
	19	injunction, and what this section does is it creates a
09:53AM	20	classification where you have to have 3.5 million in
	21	your county on September 1, 2023. And if you have an
	22	elections administrator, it is abolished. I thought
	23	that there was going to be some dispute between the
	24	parties about what this meant, but I think the strongest
09:53AM	25	language that the state used in their plea to the

jurisdiction was it's not clear. But we think it is 1 clear, but I don't have to spend much time on it because 2 3 it hasn't been a point of contention, Judge. 4 So then if you take kind of this same example graph that I used earlier and apply it to Senate 5 09:53AM Bill 1750 for September 1, 2023, this -- we're going to 6 7 be dealing with the same counties here, right. 1750 is 8 going to abolish the elections administrator, and 9 transfer those duties over on that date, and so if on April 1, 2027, Dallas County, for example, takes that 10 09:53AM 3.5 million threshold, they will not impacted by Senate 11 Bill 1750, right. It's not going to abolish the Dallas 12 County elections administrator. That county does have 13 an elections administrator at this point. 14 Now, Judge, if you applied this same 15 09:54AM reasoning from these cases -- if the issue with Harris 16 county is that it is highly populous and has a lot of 17 18 voters, and that's going to impact elections across the 19 state, then if another county gets to that population, 20 why wouldn't that law also abolish their elections 09:54AM 21 administrator? 22 Now, the reason that I included this 23 slide at the start of the presentation, Judge, about, 24 you know, Senator Bettencourt and all of his statements 25 was because we really don't have to guess here, right. 09:54AM

We understand what this was. This was, you know, a 1 2 senator from a local jurisdiction who had problems with 3 decisions that the local government was making, who had problems with the way the local government ran elections 4 and wanted to pass a law that only applied to that local 5 09:54AM government. 6 7 Now, we can't be sure why the other 8 counties were excluded. I'm sure, you know, logrolling, 9 it happened, right, in the legislature. I'm sure there was a need to get other folks onboard, but here, there 10 09:54AM doesn't seem to be much dispute that this law only 11 12 applies to Harris county. If the Court has any questions, I'm happy 13 to hear them now. If not. 14 I'll turn it over to my colleague to argue, Judge. 15 09:55AM THE COURT: I have no questions at this 16 Thank you. 17 time. 18 MR. FOMBONNE: Judge, as I mentioned, we've 19 got some evidence to put on, so before we get to live 20 testimony, I have a box of 40 exhibits. These are 09:55AM 21 admissibility exceptions, as -- I think it might make 22 sense instead of going through each one, in terms of categories I'm prepared to do that, if that's okay with 23 24 Your Honor. There -- they mostly go to threat of 25 enforcement and also a little bit of legislative 09:55AM

history. 1 THE COURT: Have you uploaded the documents 2 that you wish to offer into evidence--3 MR. FOMBONNE: 4 Just--THE COURT: --into the Box? 5 09:55AM MR. FOMBONNE: Just the list, Your Honor. 6 7 THE COURT: I saw the list was filed, but 8 you should have received a Box link. 9 MR. FOMBONNE: From this morning? Please don't speak over me--THE COURT: 10 09:55AM Oh, I'm sorry. 11 MR. FOMBONNE: 12 THE COURT: - because I do have the court reporter taking down all the words of our hearing this 13 14 She sent you a link, and to the extent that morning. you can do it or someone from your office do it, you 15 09:56AM should upload every exhibit that you wish to offer today 16 so that it may be electronically received by the Court 17 18 and placed into the admitted exhibit folder once I do 19 that, okay. 20 MR. FOMBONNE: We'll do that right now and 09:56AM 21 take that up, and once that's done, I'll ask Mr. Sarkar... 22 23 THE COURT: In the meantime, you may use 24 physical documents. I don't mind that, but it's the 25 Court's preference that you-all use electronic documents 09:56AM

1 for the record.

	2	MR. FOMBONNE: Understood. Most of these
	3	documents go to my argument on the Plea to the
	4	Jurisdiction, and will happen at the end, so I'll let
09:56AM	5	Mr. Sarkar take over on the live testimony, and once
	6	we're done with the live testimony, we can go back to
	7	moving those into evidence.
	8	THE COURT: Okay.
	9	MR. FOMBONNE: Thank you.
09:56AM	10	THE COURT: Do you want to make a bulk
	11	offer of the exhibits that you included in your exhibit
	12	list and take up objections? Maybe that's a good way to
	13	do it.
	14	Let me go ahead while you're sorting
09:57AM	15	out the exhibits, I know we've got some folks in the
	16	excuse me. I want to make sure that the members of the
	17	media who have been invited to sit in the jury box, make
	18	sure that you understand the Court's rulings with
	19	respect to recording. There is a local rule that
09:57AM	20	prohibits recordings in the Travis County Courts. I've
	21	made an exception to that, but a very limited exception,
	22	and that is: You may sit in the box, and you may take
	23	still photographs with consent of those whose picture
	24	you're taking, and at breaks. So if it's disruptive, I
09:57AM	25	don't want it to happen. If it makes sound, I don't

want it to happen. I see that you're taking photographs 1 and I just want to make sure that you have consent of 2 3 anyone whose photo you're, taking okay. Those are the rules of my court, okay. 4 Understood? 5 Thank you. 09:58AM Okay. Yes. 6 7 MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, Richard 8 Shechter on behalf of Mr. Tatum. Before we get into 9 evidence, we have a very brief opening statement. Since the State made some allegations against the Intervenor, 09:58AM 10 may we have just a couple of minutes before we start 11 12 evidence? THE COURT O'You may. 13 MR. SCHECHTER: 14 May I approach the podium, Your Honor? 15 09:58AM 16 ME COURT: You may. 17 MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, may I approach 18 the Court and give the Court some materials? 19 THE COURT: You may approach. Thank you 20 very much. 09:58AM 21 MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, very briefly, 22 Richard Schechter along Gerry Birnberg on behalf of 23 Clifford Tatum. We have just a few things to add to the 24 opening statement made by Mr. Menefee. 25 First, Your Honor, there was no plea to 09:59AM

	1	the jurisdiction filed against Mr. Tatum, nonetheless,
	2	the State threw him in with its allegations, and I just
	3	want to make a quick couple of additional points that
	4	to those made by Mr. Menefee, and, first, I want to
09:59AM	5	endorse what the State has said that the text is the
	6	alpha and omega, and legislature expresses its intents
	7	by its words, as that is true for the Constitution.
	8	And if the Court looks under tab 3 at the
	9	constitutional provision, it says: The legislature
09:59AM	10	shall not accept as otherwise provided in this
	11	constitution. Pass any local or special law
	12	authorizing. No. 2, the regulating of the affairs of
	13	counties. No. 12, conducting of elections, and there
	14	are two others that Mr. Menefee pointed out, but the
09:59AM	15	text is very clear, and we live in a textual era,
	16	Your Honor, and the leading text, we'll listen, the
	17	State of Texas is the Attorney General, and we are just
	18	asking the Court to apply the plain language of the
	19	Constitution.
10:00AM	20	Even; however, the text goes farther when
	21	you look at the statutory provision. The plain language
	22	of the statutory provision 1750. If you look under tab
	23	2, it says that on September 1, all powers and duties of
	24	the elections administrator of a county with a
10:00AM	25	population of more than 3.5 million on that date are

	1	limited. It says nothing about counties that had prior
	2	problems with elections. If that was a basis, we could
	3	look according to the state only at the text of the
	4	statute. But that isn't a reasonable basis for
10:00AM	5	determining the classification because it's not in the
	6	legislation.
	7	So, Your Honor, we believe that in this
	8	case, Mr. Tatum has clearly alleged a facial violation
	9	of the plain language of the Constitution, and even of
10:01AM	10	the language that has been engrafted by the Supreme
	11	Court, judicially engrafted on to the plain language of
	12	the Constitution, and he, Your Honor, is the person who
	13	is directly affected by the stip. He will loss his job.
	14	There is no dispute about it, and he has brought this
10:01AM	15	suit and claimed this injunction seeking this injunction
	16	against the only party he can seek it from, which is his
	17	employer, Harris County.
	18	Thank you, Your Honor.
	19	THE COURT: Thank you very much.
10:01AM	20	I may or I will allow the state
	21	defendants, collectively, I'm going to call you the
	22	state defendants, a brief rebuttal, if you wish at this
	23	time.
	24	MS. DOKUPIL: Yes.
10:01AM	25	THE COURT: I ask that it be brief because

	1	it's already 10:00 o'clock, and I want to make sure we
	2	have time for evidence.
	3	MS. DOKUPIL: Sure. All right. Very
	4	briefly. We did actually file a plea to the
10:02AM	5	jurisdiction against Mr. Tatum yesterday, so it maybe
	6	some of you haven't gotten it, but we did, regarding the
	7	text. The text is the intent.
	8	Looking at the text to understand what
	9	the legislative intent is exactly how courts have
10:02AM	10	determined which population brackets are okay and not
	11	okay. And it isn't the case that no closed brackets
	12	have been upheld.
	13	The Austin Court of Appeals 1982 Public
	14	Utilities Commission Versus Southwest Water Services.
10:02AM	15	It upheld these cases preclude a rule that declaring a
	16	statutory class by terms closed to future members to be
	17	a per se violation of the constitutional prohibition
	18	against local and special laws, so it that's not the
	19	rule. Closed brackets isn't a thing that makes
10:02AM	20	something constitutional.
	21	Maple Run talks about the reasonable
	22	basis. I think we're all on the same page that
	23	reasonable basis is the test. Where we disagree is the
	24	fact that, you know, how much can you dig into
10:03AM	25	reasonable basis to get to reasonable basis? Can you

	1	look at legislative history to inform the reasonable
	2	can you look at legislative history to inform the
	3	reasonable basis? We would say no; they would say yes.
	4	Can you look at any other areas of legislative intent to
10:03AM	5	figure out what's really going on here, to determine
	6	reasonable basis? They would say yes; we would say no.
	7	We say the test is, according to the
	8	courts, can you imagine any universe in which there was
	9	a reasonable basis? If you can, it's not a local
10:03AM	10	special law, it is a constitutional general law.
	11	Population brackets are used to target all the time.
	12	There aren't these like you know, better and worse
	13	population brackets when you really look at the greater
	14	history of a precedent because like what I mentioned the
10:04AM	15	board of managers, the issue with the hospital pension
	16	system, that was a population bracket, but it looked at
	17	only the City of Houston to fix a pension system. The
	18	pension system was not really related to the population
	19	of Houston. Here, in fact, we even have a stronger
10:04AM	20	argument because the population bracket is related to
	21	very large counties. Very large counties have a bigger
	22	issue and a bigger logistical concern to administer
	23	elections than a smaller county, and Harris County talks
	24	about, you now, Travis County, Dallas County, Bexar
10:04AM	25	County, these are all big counties, but Houston is twice

as big as the next smallest one. So it is appropriate 1 2 and reasonable to treat Harris County differently than 3 these other counties. 4 Let's see. I'm trying to be brief. Yes. Also, I wanted to point out about population brackets. 5 10:04AM Even in the Dallas Fort Worth Airport case, that was 6 7 done on a population bracket. It was cities of 400,000 8 or more in population that happen to also administer 9 airports, you know, so it was a population that was used to target this. This happens all the time, so that 10 10:05AM The rule is, again, can't possibly be the rule. 11 12 reasonable basis. You know thank you, Your Honor. 13 14 THE COURT: Thank you very much. Plaintiff. 15 10:05AM 16 MR. MENEFEE: May I have 30 seconds to respond, Your Honor? 17 18 THE COURT: You may. 19 MR. MENEFEE: So, my argument was not that 20 there have never been closed bracket cases. My argument 10:05AM 21 was there has never been a closed population 22 classification that has been upheld by the Court. The Public Utilities case out of the Third Court of Appeals 23 24 was not a population classification, and the airport 25 case that was just discussed, Your Honor, again, another 10:05AM

	1	open bracket, and, in fact, there was specific
	2	discussion by the Court, like Look, this could happen
	3	somewhere else. I mean, imagine Austin and San Antonio
	4	at some point are going to need like some large
10:06AM	5	international airport that you can jointly use, right,
	6	but, again, I think the same distinction between
	7	population and the open versus closed exists.
	8	THE COURT: What was the closed bracket in
	9	the <i>PUC</i> case?
10:06AM	10	MR. MENEFEE: It is ancredibly confusing,
	11	but I can read to you. It says: Water and sewer
	12	utility property and service which was acquired from an
	13	affiliate or a developer prior to September 1, 1976
	14	included by the utility in its rate shall be the base
10:06AM	15	blah blah blah, and so they were trying to deal with
	16	like a specific utility pricing issue in a certain area,
	17	and they said: Folks who had water utility service that
	18	was acquired from a certain developer before a date that
	19	you would be included in it, right, but which, again,
10:06AM	20	the concept is different from a population which is
	21	ever-changing.
	22	THE COURT: Thank you.
	23	Okay. Are you ready to call your first
	24	witness?
10:06AM	25	MR. FOMBONNE: Your Honor, the exhibits are

	1	now uploaded, so if you would like, I would like to move
	2	all those into evidence, subject to any objection.
	3	Obviously, if like I said, it might be easier if I
	4	group them to explain what they are instead of
10:07AM	5	Your Honor I'm sorry, Jonathan Fombonne for the
	6	record for Harris County. The buckets of exhibits here
	7	large the main bucket is these are documents that we
	8	believe show a threat of enforcement, and there will
	9	also be testimony about that, but a lot of the documents
10:07AM	10	were cited or pasted in our petition and in our
	11	application for a temporary injunction.
	12	There is, for example, Exhibit 1, which
	13	is a letter from the Office of the Attorney General
	14	regarding the appointment the method by which
10:07AM	15	Commissioners Court in Harris County appointed the
	16	elections administrator. There are press releases,
	17	Tweets, e-mails about the Attorney General's Office's
	18	election integrity team, and this is from 2022, and
	19	those are Exhibits 18, 31, and 33.
10:07AM	20	We have a couple of letters to local
	21	government entities, such as Galena Park ISD and Elgin
	22	ISD, threatening enforcement if they don't come into
	23	compliance with election laws. Those are Exhibits 19
	24	and 20.
10:08AM	25	We then have a number of lawsuits, and

	1	they take different forms: Petitions for writ of
	2	mandamus, actual lawsuits. They were filed against the
	3	county that are all related to elections, so, for
	4	example, the mandamus petition filed against the prior
10:08AM	5	elections administrator back in December of 2021, and,
	6	again, the focus on that was the way that she was, you
	7	know, forcing election workers to wear masks, and
	8	obviously not necessarily related to the enforcement of
	9	election law, but certainly the targeting of Harris
10:08AM	10	County elections.
	11	We also have the petition of intervention
	12	from the State in a TRO proceeding that was going on a
	13	November 8th, 2022, filed by the Texas Civil Rights
	14	Project Against Harris County. Again, the Attorney
10:08AM	15	General office intervened. Came in to essentially stay
	16	the TRO; took that all way to the Supreme Court twice,
	17	so we have that. Those are Exhibits 21 and 24.
	18	We have Exhibit 25, that's a Tweet from
	19	Ken Paxton, obviously the current status is to be
10:09AM	20	determined, but certainly something that the county
	21	should consider when it thinks about the threat of
	22	enforcement is he Tweets specifically about this
	23	proceeding here and about 1750.
	24	We have a a press release regarding
10:09AM	25	the Attorney General's Office's lawsuit in 2020 against

	1	the County Clerk. The County Clerk, at the time was
	2	proposing to send unsolicited mail-in ballot
	3	applications to all residents in Harris County above the
	4	age 65 or, I'm sorry, to all those all residents
10:09AM	5	of Harris County, and this is during the time of COVID,
	6	and so they could increase participation.
	7	THE COURT: Let me stop you, if you don't
	8	mind.
	9	MR. FOMBONNE: Sure.
10:09AM	10	THE COURT: But what I I think would be
	11	more efficient is for us to ask the Defendants whether
	12	they have objections to any of the exhibits. You're
	13	planning to offer all 40 exhibits?
	14	MR. FOMBONNE: I am. We'll hear some
10:10AM	15	objections about statutes. We're offering I agree
	16	those are not evidence, and we won't need to enter them
	17	into evidence, if that's okay, but the rest of them,
	18	we're we're intending to offer as evidence.
	19	THE COURT: Response? I I can either
10:10AM	20	hear those exhibits about which you have no objection,
	21	if that's easier, or the exhibits about which you have
	22	objections. I don't mind if either way. We can
	23	pre-admit some of the exhibits or whether or not we have
	24	a witness offer testimony about the exhibits before I
10:10AM	25	need to make rulings on them.

	1	MR. ELDRED: Before we get there, are these
	2	offers for the PTJ or the TI, because we believe they
	3	are not appropriate for the PTJ.
	4	MR. FOMBONNE: They are offered for both.
10:10AM	5	Again, they go to threat of enforcement. I believe my
	6	friend on the other side is willing to say that it's not
	7	a question of fact. It's something he said to us.
	8	Before we agree certainly there's plenty of case law
	9	that says that the Court can consider evidence in
10:11AM	10	determining a plea to the jurisdiction, so again, the
	11	threat of enforcement goes to to
	12	our PTJ and our standing. It also goes to the harm or
	13	claim made and the reason why we're seeking the TI.
	14	THE COURT: So I think I'm hearing the
10:11AM	15	answer is to both.
	16	MR. ELDRED: Yes, Your Honor. We do object
	17	to them being offered for the PTJ. We'd also object to
	18	relevancy. The Bettencourt matter, I think are 3
	19	through 14, have no relevance to either the pleadings.
10:11AM	20	What Senator Bettencourt said does not demonstrate a
	21	legislative intent. It does not demonstrate the
	22	Secretary of State or the Attorney General has any
	23	particular desire to enforce the statute. And I'm
	24	sorry, for the record, I'm Charles Eldred.
10:12AM	25	THE COURT: Thank you.

	1	MR. ELDRED: Letters 1 and 2. 1 and 2 are
	2	from the OAG. 17 through and correct me if I'm wrong
	3	counsel for Harris County, 17 throughI believe 33,
	4	the exception of 15 and 16, those are all, I believe,
10:12AM	5	Attorney General either press releases or lawsuits or
	6	Tweets, and all they show is that sometimes the Attorney
	7	General exercises his power. It does not show any
	8	threat of enforcement of Senate Bill 1750 at all. It
	9	doesn't show anything really because we already know the
10:12AM	10	Attorney General can and does sometimes exercise
	11	THE COURT: So I'm going to ask the same
	12	request that I have for you that I had for I'm sorry,
	13	tell me your last name again.
	14	MR. FOMBONNE: It's Fombonne.
10:12AM	15	THE COURT: Okay.
	16	And that is, just tell me whether you
	17	have an objection or not. Tell me whether you have an
	18	offer, and then I can deal with them separately.
	19	Are there any of these exhibits about
10:13AM	20	which you have no objection?
	21	MR. ELDRED: 15 and 16 are just copy of
	22	statutes. I think we all agree they're not really
	23	exhibits, but we don't mind them being marked 15 and 16,
	24	so I don't object to calling them exhibits, I guess I
10:13AM	25	object to that.

THE COURT: Okay. Plaintiff Harris 1 2 County's 15 and 16 are admitted for that purpose. 3 Any other exhibits that you agree can be admitted before we get started? 4 (Plaintiff's Exhibits 15 and 16 admitted) 5 10:13AM No, Your Honor. 6 MR. ELDRED: 7 THE COURT: Okay. So now you know the 8 universe of the exhibits that are subject to the Harris 9 -- to the state objections. 10 Yes, counsel. 10:13AM MR. BIRNBERG: Gerald Birnberg for the 11 12 intervenor, Your Honor. The statement was made by the State that 13 they filed a plea to the jurisdiction challenging the 14 intervention that we filed. We can't find it. 15 10:13AM 16 THE COURT: Okay. I don't have it either. 17 MR. BIRNBERG: They are not named -- I'm 18 wondering if that's an error, and if not, if they can 19 provide us with a copy of the motion that we're needing 20 to respond to. 10:14AM 21 THE COURT: Thank you. A couple issues on I don't even have a plea to the -- I don't have 22 that. an intervention on behalf of attorney -- Office of the 23 24 Attorney General and State of Texas that I can see in 25 the Court's file. I do see, however, a filing on -- it 10:14AM

	1	looks like last night, 8-7-2023, at 5:57 which is
	2	entitled: Intervenor's Office of the Attorney General's
	3	and State of Texas' Brief in Opposition to Intervenor
	4	Clifford Tatum's Application For Temporary Injunction,
10:14AM	5	but I don't see that those parties actually intervened.
	6	Did they?
	7	MR. ELDRED: We filed an intervention on
	8	the AG's behalf around 11:00 yesterday, maybe a little
	9	earlier and State of Texas around 3:00, I think.
10:15AM	10	THE COURT: Okay. Do you have a copy?
	11	It's not made it into the Court's file quite yet.
	12	MR. SCHECHTER; Your Honor, Richard
	13	Schechter on behalf of Mr. Tatum. We have received
	14	those interventions by both the state and the AG. What
10:15AM	15	we have not received and what has not been filed is a
	16	plea to the jurisdiction against Mr. Tatum.
	17	$^{\sim}$ THE COURT: Right, and I don't have that
	18	either. So for the Court's purpose, I would need to see
	19	the Intervention and the Plea to the Jurisdiction with
10:15AM	20	respect to Mr. Tatum. If you have copies of those, that
	21	would be very helpful, before we get started.
	22	With respect to the other exhibits,
	23	you'll just need to make the offers when you have a
	24	witness on the stand.
10:16AM	25	MR. FOMBONNE: Understood.

	1	THE COURT: The time is 10:16. It is
	2	probably a good time to go ahead and take a break while
	3	you-all take care of those housekeeping issues and a
	4	comfort break for everyone else. Court's in recess
10:16AM	5	until 10:30. That's 14 minutes. Thank you. Court's in
	6	recess.
	7	(Break taken)
	8	THE COURT: I see on my desk a what
	9	appears to be a notification of service, but I don't
10:31AM	10	have the actual plea.
	11	Does someone have a hard copy of that?
	12	MR. ELDRED: Thave an electronic copy.
	13	THE COURT: Okay. If you'll send that to
	14	the e-mail address that's on your desk there:
10:32AM	15	250.submission@traviscountytx.gov.
	16	MR. ELDRED: Yes, Your Honor.
	17	<pre>THE COURT: Okay.</pre>
	18	MR. SCHECHTER: I'm sorry to interrupt.
	19	What hard copy were you given?
10:32AM	20	THE COURT: It looks like Mr. Eldred sent
	21	to my judicial executive assistant three notices.
	22	You're welcome to approach and see what they are. It
	23	appears that they include the cross-counterclaim slash
	24	cross-action slash interpleader slash intervention third
10:33AM	25	party. State of Texas petition and intervention. It's

	1	just notification, not the actual filings as well as an
	2	answer and response to the Defendant's opposition to the
	3	TI. This appears to be a copy. You can take that one,
	4	if you like.
10:33AM	5	MR. SCHECHTER: We still have yet to see a
	6	plea to the inter a plea to the intervention in
	7	Mr. Tatum's case.
	8	THE COURT: Okay. I don't have it either,
	9	so I won't be considering it without a copy of it.
10:33AM	10	MR. BIRNBERG: One other quick housekeeping
	11	matter, Your Honor, for the record, intervenor requests
	12	that this evidence be considered for his application for
	13	temporary injunction also.
	14	THE COURT: So noted. Thank you.
10:34AM	15	Okay. Are you-all ready to proceed?
	16	MR. FOMBONNE: Yes. Judge, if I may
	17	MR. ELDRED: I'm, Your Honor, I'm really
	18	sorry. We did file, I believe possibly miss-styled a
	19	PTJ claim.
10:34AM	20	Is that true?
	21	MS. DOKUPIL: We did, and I attempted to
	22	send it to Ms. McGee a moment ago.
	23	MR. ELDRED: I'll send that to 250
	24	submission. It's the one we filed at 7:45 last night.
10:34AM	25	THE COURT: Okay. I see you sent it to the

	1	Court's submission address at 10:34, just now. It was
	2	just received by the Court, but the other parties are
	3	not copied on it, and they need a copy. Can you resend
	4	that and copy all parties.
10:34AM	5	MR. ELDRED: What I sent was the petition
	6	to intervention. I'm sorry, but I'll be happy to
	7	send
	8	THE COURT: Yes. It looks it sounds
	9	like you also need a copy of any pleadings that are
10:35AM	10	specific to Mr. Tatum.
	11	MR. ELDRED: Yes, Your Honor. I'll do
	12	that. I'll send two interventions and the pleadings we
	13	were just talking about.
	14	THE COURT: Thank you.
10:35AM	15	MR. ELDRED: And I'll copy all parties.
	16	THE COURT: Okay. Very good. Thank you.
	17	🐣 MR. FOMBONNE: Again, Jonathan Fombonne for
	18	the record for Harris County. Just before the break,
	19	Your Honor suggested that we get the exhibits in through
10:35AM	20	witness, but, again, I wanted to re-urge that we move
	21	them now because we have an agreement with the other
	22	side as to authenticity of these records. The only
	23	objection they have are about the relevancy. Given the
	24	amount of time that we have left in this hearing and the
10:35AM	25	number of exhibits, we urge they be entered into

	1	evidence, subject to any argument on the relevance,
	2	which I'm prepared to address right now. Of course, we
	3	would go through the witnesses. I just think that would
	4	extend the the time of the hearing by way too long.
10:36AM	5	THE COURT: With a relevancy objection, I
	6	need to understand the context of testimony, what the
	7	evidence is. I think I can sort out most of that, just
	8	by what you started to tell the Court earlier and by
	9	their description, but I I need to know what the
10:36AM	10	relevance is, through the witness $^{\circ}$ Over an objection
	11	that's the way I need to handle it.
	12	MR. FOMBONNE: Understood, Your Honor.
	13	THE COURT: Okay. You may call your first
	14	witness.
10:36AM	15	MS. CELLA: Your Honor is this I'm
	16	sorry, is this as to the TI?
	17	THE COURT: Yes. I'm taking the Plea to
	18	the Jurisdiction under advisement. I understood from
	19	the plaintiffs; however, that they wish the Court to
10:36AM	20	consider the evidence as to the Temporary Injunction and
	21	the Plea to the Jurisdiction.
	22	MS. CELLA: Okay. Thank you, Your Honor.
	23	We do object to going on to the TI without ruling on the
	24	PTJ and without a ruling on that.
10:37AM	25	THE COURT: You'll have a ruling before you

have a ruling on the Temporary Injunction. 1 MS. CELLA: Thank you, Your Honor. 2 MR. SARKAR: Your Honor, Neal Sarkar for 3 4 Harris County. Plaintiff calls Mr. Clifford Tatum. 5 10:37AM 6 THE COURT: Mr. Tatum, good morning. You 7 may approach the bench to be sworn. MR. TATUM: Thank you, Your Honor. 8 9 May I bring water? THE COURT: You may bring water. 10 10:37AM If you'll please just approach the bench 11 and raise your right hand to be sworn. 12 (The withess was sworn) 13 THE COURT: If you'll please step over to 14 your -- or to my right, in front of the microphone. 15 10:37AM That chair is moveable, so can you pull it out and make 16 17 yourself comfortable there. 18 And Mr. Sarkar, you may proceed when 19 you're ready. 20 MR. SARKAR: Is the witness sworn in? 10:37AM 21 THE COURT: He has been sworn. 22 CLIFFORD TATUM, 23 having been first duly sworn, testified as follows: 24 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SARKAR: 25 10:37AM

	4	0 Chata wave same face the record
	1	Q. State your name for the record.
	2	A. Clifford Tatum.
	3	Q. Mr. Tatum, what is your title?
	4	A. I'm the Election Administrator for Harris
10:38AM	5	County.
	6	Q. Thank you, and I want to briefly walk through
	7	for the Court your qualifications for that role, so
	8	let's start with your education. Tell us a little bit
	9	about that.
10:38AM	10	A. I'm a trained lawyer; a bachelor's degree in
	11	Administration of Justice from Guilford College and law
	12	degree from Thomas Cooley Law School in Western
	13	Michigan.
	14	Q. And what was the year of those degrees?
10:38AM	15	A. '87 for under-grad and '98 for law school.
	16	Q. Thank you, Mr. Tatum.
	17	🐣 Now tell us a little bit about your
	18	experience working in elections.
	19	A. I started working in elections for the Georgia
10:38AM	20	Secretary of State in 2002 as the assistant director of
	21	legal affairs with the state elections division, and
	22	I've worked in the elections from 2002 until the current
	23	date.
	24	Q. Okay. I briefly want to touch on for each
10:38AM	25	of your election experience, so let's start with your

	1	experience in Georgia. Just tell the Court a little bit
	2	about what you did with respect to elections in Georgia.
	3	A. As the assistant director of legal affairs, I
	4	was responsible for the enforcement of the Election
10:39AM	5	Code, for the state of Georgia. Georgia has 159
	6	counties. Each of those counties have either combined
	7	boards or a probate judge that may have been the
	8	election superintendent, and the State of Georgia has a
	9	state elections division and elections board that
10:39AM	10	oversaw the enforcement of the Election Code. I
	11	facilitated the election and the Secretary of State was
	12	the chair of the election board itself.
	13	THE COURT I'm going to just adjust the
	14	microphone so you may be heard a little bit better.
10:39AM	15	THE WITNESS: Can you hear me there?
	16	THE COURT: I can I hear you fine. Just
	17	want to make sure all the attorneys can hear you as
	18	well. It would be better if you're about two to three
	19	inches from the microphone. Thank you.
10:40AM	20	Q. (BY MR. SARKAR) Now, tell the Court please a
	21	little bit about your experience at Washington, D.C.
	22	A. Leaving the State of Georgia, I joined the D.C.
	23	Board of Elections as the Help America Vote act
	24	consultant in helping them deploy their Help America
10:40AM	25	Vote in compliance activities. As a consultant until I

became the elections chair for the D.C. Board of 1 Elections in that role, I oversaw the operations of the 2 3 elections and voter registration. Q. And what did you do after that, Mr. Tatum? 4 I left the D.C. Board of Elections and joined Α. 5 10:40AM the Election Assistance Commission which was created by 6 7 the board as general counsel, and I served in that role 8 for four years before going back to the D.C. Board of 9 Elections, and as the chief information security officer, and I left the D.C. Board of Elections to come 10 10:40AM 11 to Harris County. Let me ask you briefly about your role as 12 Q. general counsel. How did that differ from sort of the 13 14 Georgia role and the D.C. role and scope and what elections you were looking at? 15 10:41AM 16 The general counsel role was very similar to Α. the assistant director of legal affairs role. I advised 17 18 the Secretary of State and oversaw enforcement for the 19 Secretary of State of the general EAC, the Election

10:41AM

20

21 clearinghouse of elections information and collecting
22 data and issuing grant funds to the states, and I was
23 involved in advising the four-point commissioners that
24 oversaw the elections assistants commission, and I

Assistance Commission. We -- the agency is a

10:41AM 25 advised those commissioners on the state of federal laws

	1	and the state of the existing state of laws in the
	2	states in the United States.
	3	Q. So is that countrywide that you were looking?
	4	A. That is correct.
10:41AM	5	Q. Did you interact with election directors across
	6	the country?
	7	A. Yes, I interacted with both the state election
	8	director and county election directors and advisory
	9	boards, and the different advocacy groups.
10:42AM	10	Q. Mr. Tatum, how many elections have you been
	11	involved in over your career?
	12	A. Since 2002, we've - I've probably been
	13	involved in over 60-plus elections, so two elections per
	14	election cycle and election cycle even year/odd years.
10:42AM	15	Probably 60 elections in some fashion.
	16	Q. Is it fair to say you're very familiar with how
	17	elections are administered across the country?
	18	A. Yes, I am very familiar with how elections are
	19	administered across the country. I've actually
10:42AM	20	conducted every performed in every role there is in
	21	the elections office as I've traversed my career in the
	22	elections industry.
	23	Q. So you were also familiar with all the various
	24	roles within election administration.
10:42AM	25	A. Yes.

	1	Q. As well as voter registration?
	2	A. That is correct.
	3	Q. Let me turn to the Harris County elections
	4	administrator role in particular. And you said this
10:43AM	5	earlier, but just to confirm: You are the Harris County
	6	elections administrator; is that correct?
	7	A. Yes, I am.
	8	Q. Are you familiar with elections administrators
	9	across the State of Texas?
10:43AM	10	A. Yes, I am.
	11	Q. How are you familiar with that?
	12	A. I am a member of the Texas Association of
	13	Election Administrators, which is a group of election
	14	administrators for the State of Texas, and I participate
10:43AM	15	with the Georgia with the Texas Secretary of State's
	16	advisory committee, I suppose you call it, which is
	17	typically a weekly call or a biweekly call with the
	18	Secretary of State's Office with election matters in the
	19	State of Texas.
10:43AM	20	Q. And election matters, just put a little more
	21	meat on that bone. What types of things are you talking
	22	about?
	23	A. The election processes and procedures, areas
	24	that the Secretary of State may be considering to
10:44AM	25	seeking advice on what may be good for the state versus

	1	what may not be the good for the state, so election
	2	preparation and then legislative changes and the like.
	3	Q. It sounds like you are discussing planning for
	4	future elections. Is that fair?
10:44AM	5	A. That's yes; that's correct.
	6	Q. How far ahead of specific elections does that
	7	planning begin?
	8	A. For any particular election, you're starting at
	9	least six to nine months before an election. For
10:44AM	10	instance, with the November 2023 coming up, we're really
	11	starting working towards November and January, meaning
	12	that they were deploying, implementing activities for
	13	the May 2023 to make suce they would work for the
	14	November 2023.
10:44AM	15	Q. Mr. Tatum, what are the benefits of an election
	16	administrator system?
	17	A. Well, there are several. The as I've said,
	18	on the record, on in communications that the the
	19	election administrator is a nonpartisan position,
10:45AM	20	meaning I'm appointed by the Election Commission, and as
	21	a nonpartisan, I'm responsible for conducting the
	22	election regardless of any party affiliation. And
	23	having the elections process under one entity allows for
	24	more accountability as it relates to the synchronization
10:45AM	25	voter regulation to the elections process, and ensuring

	1	that data that's coming in from the voter regulation
	2	process is as clean as it can be with elections process,
	3	and at the end of day, counting votes and publishing
	4	results, and you have an easier window of reconciliation
10:45AM	5	given that it's all combined in one shop.
	6	Q. Let me tease that out a little. So you
	7	mentioned the partisanship, but as far as the EA is
	8	concerned, we went through your experience.
	9	Is there an element of professionalism
10:45AM	10	involved?
	11	A. Yes, there is from generally speaking, when
	12	you're applying to be an election administrator, I
	13	believe that the folks who are recruiting and
	14	interviewing are looking for levels of expertise;
10:46AM	15	understanding of the elections process; the ability to
	16	manage processes and procedures, and to create strategic
	17	vision as to how to move the operation forward.
	18	Q. Okay. And you mentioned some detail earlier in
	19	your answer, but just to clarify for the Court and
10:46AM	20	everyone in here, do you understand that when your job
	21	is eliminated on September 1st strike that. Let me
	22	ask this way: Who will have your duties and
	23	responsibilities after September 1st?
	24	A. Well, the election administrator position will
10:46AM	25	cease to exist, as I understand the statute, that the

elections process would go back to the -- to the County
 Clerk and voter registration process would go back to
 the Tax Assessor.

4 Q. And so just -- that is two separate
10:47AM 5 constitutional offices, so tell us a little bit more
6 about what you were talking about earlier about offices
7 being in synch.

8 Α. So the Tax Assessor would be responsible for conducting voter registration. The Tax Assessor's 9 10 Office is responsible for all the other aspects of the 10:47AM 11 Tax Assessors's Office, so as woter registration takes 12 place year round with the exception of this maintenance that's basically stopped during nine days before the 13 election is set. We don't want to remove voters from 14 the election vote during the 90-day window, so the tax 15 10:47AM assessor is collecting voter registration throughout the 16 The elections process begins roughly six months 17 vear. 18 to nine months before an election, and there's been an 19 exchange of information as you prepare for an election. 20 Q. Just the specific question here. We'll get 10:47AM 21 into this in more detail, but the office being -- is it 22 your testimony that if these duties and the 23 responsibilities are under one office, it's more 24 efficient than if it's under two separate offices? 25 It's certainly more efficient because one --Α. 10:47AM

	1	one one election administrator is overseeing both
	2	processes to ensure that they are working in
	3	synchronization and there's no delay in in obtaining
	4	and addressing or readdressing any particular issues
10:48AM	5	that you might encounter leading up to an election
	6	process.
	7	Q. In your role, do you have any responsibilities
	8	beyond election administrator and voter registration
	9	election administration and voter registration?
10:48AM	10	A. No, my sole function is elections and voter
	11	registration.
	12	Q. What about the county clerk? Will she have
	13	roles beyond election administration if it goes back to
	14	her?
10:48AM	15	A. Yes, the County Clerk oversees business
	16	records, birth certificates, I believe, deeds, the whole
	17	array of different responsibilities that she will have
	18	beyond the elections process.
	19	Q. How about the Tax Assessor and Collector?
10:48AM	20	A. The Tax Assessor will have responsibilities
	21	beyond voter registration, collecting taxes, license
	22	driver's license, plates. Any other aspects of the Tax
	23	Collector's Office.
	24	Q. And just one final point on this one. You
10:49AM	25	mentioned accountability in your earlier testimony. How

	1	is the EA more accountable in your view?
	2	A. The EA is hired by the Election Commission,
	3	which consists of the County Judge, the County Clerk,
	4	the County Tax Assessor and the two elected party
10:49AM	5	chairs, and theyat any point in time can terminate
	6	the Election Administrator for cause. The which
	7	right away adds a higher level of accountability in that
	, 8	if I'm not performing, then I'm removed from my job.
	9	The Tax Assessor and the Clerk are both
10:49AM	10	elected officials that are elected on a four-year term.
10:49AN		
	11	If someone's not particularly happy with the way the Tax
	12	Assessor or the Clerk is performing any of those
	13	responsibilities, then they have to wait until the Tax
	14	Assessor or Clerk appears on the ballot to then vote the
10:49AM	15	Tax Assessor or Clerk out of the office. And as an
	16	example, someone may not be happy with the way the Tax
	17	Assessor is handling license plates and the collection
	18	of taxes, so they may vote the Tax Assessor out of
	19	office, regardless of the type of duties that she's
10:50AM	20	performed for elections. And, conversely, with the
	21	with the Clerk, if they don't like the way the Clerk is
	22	issuing birth certificates or any other particular
	23	aspects of the office, they may elect to choose to vote
	24	her out of office, regardless of how well of a job she's
10:50AM	25	doing in elections.

	1	Q. Thank you, Mr. Tatum. You mentioned the
	2	Election Commission briefly and you went into that. Let
	3	me just ask these questions so it's clear on the record
	4	later: Who hires an election administrator?
10:50AM	5	A. The Elections Commission.
	6	Q. And who fires an election administrator?
	7	A. The Elections Commission.
	8	Q. And who and does anyone have to approve that
	9	firing decision?
10:50AM	10	A. Yes, it is the Election Commissioner's
	11	commission's decision is approved by the Commission
	12	Court.
	13	Q. Okay. And that Commissioner's Court is the
	14	Harris County Commissioners Court?
10:51AM	15	A. The Harris County Commissioners Court.
	16	Q. Is that the governing body of Harris County?
	17	A. That is the governing body in Harris County.
	18	Q. And with respect to your office, who is in
	19	charge of its funding?
10:51AM	20	A. The Commissioners Court provides funding to the
	21	Harris County Election Administration Office.
	22	Q. Are you familiar with when the Election
	23	Administrator's Office was created?
	24	A. Yes.
10:51AM	25	Q. When was that?

1	A. July of 2020.
2	Q. Did the office begin operations right away?
3	A. No, it I believe it started after the
4	November 2020 election.
5	Q. Okay. What is your understanding as to why
6	that implementation was delayed?
7	A. Well, you wouldn't want to implement or create
8	some sort of transition of one office to another in the
9	middle of an election cycle.
10	Q. Understood. So the Election Administrator's
11	Office went into effect after the November, '20
12	election?
13	A. That is correct.
14	Q. When were you brought on to run Harris County
15	elections?
16	A. I was sworn in as the Elections Administrator
17	on August of 22nd or 23rd or somewhere in that area.
18	Q. Of 2022?
19	A. 2022.
20	Q. When did you begin as an employee of Harris
21	County?
22	A. I began as an employee on July 30th or 31st.
23	Q. And why did you start on that a little bit
24	earlier?
25	A. The well, in order to be an elections
	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Γ

	1	administrator, in the State of Texas, you have to be a
	2	resident for X period of time. I moved into Texas in
	3	middle of July, started in started as an employee on
	4	July 31st and then was sworn in on the 22nd.
10:52AM	5	Q. So how, as it relates to the election, did you
	6	start that earlier?
	7	A. I'm not sure.
	8	Q. Did you need to begin preparations earlier?
	9	A. I see. Yes. The the idea was for me to
10:52AM	10	join as quickly as possible because the to at least
	11	to try to get to speed on what the operations of the
	12	state of the operations were for Harris County Election
	13	Administration Office.
	14	Q. So what kind of things were you doing ahead of
10:53AM	15	your swearing in?
	16	A. Just understanding, asking questions about the
	17	process and procedures. Why the office does what it
	18	does. What our processes have how decisions are
	19	being made; who's making those decisions; who's carrying
10:53AM	20	out those decisions, and then who's performing what
	21	roles as it relates to moving into the elections
	22	process.
	23	Q. When you came onboard, in late July of 2022,
	24	was the Election Administrator's Office already
10:53AM	25	preparing for the election?

	1	A. Yes.
	2	Q. Okay. What were they doing?
	3	A. They had already started the assessment process
	4	of what's necessary for the election to move forward,
10:53AM	5	meaning they selected indicated the number of vote
	6	centers that would be deployed early voting and the
	7	number of voting centers that would be deployed for
	8	election day; the number of election workers that would
	9	likely be presiding judges that would be recruited;
10:54AM	10	election clerks that would be hired. Determining that
	11	in our central locality would be located, so the
	12	mechanisms of moving the election forward had already
	13	started.
	14	Q. And so that stuff had begun under an existing
10:54AM	15	apparatus; is that correct?
	16	A. That's correct.
	17	Q. So that means you were the election
	18	administrator for the November 2022 election; is that
	19	right?
10:54AM	20	A. That's correct.
	21	Q. Did you encounter some issues in that election?
	22	A. Yes, we encountered a few challenges for that
	23	election.
	24	Q. And were there challenges you've identified?
10:54AM	25	A. Yes, there were. Right away, as I stepped into

	1	the process of started asking questions, I'm assessing
	2	operations, systems, processes and procedures and, right
	3	away, I identified things that I would do differently.
	4	Q. And are you throughout the course of this
10:54AM	5	year, have you been working to implement changes?
	6	A. Yes. Right shortly after the November 2022,
	7	we began making moves to taking steps to acquire
	8	systems and to implement systems that would provide
	9	visibility to the elections process and more
10:55AM	10	accountability to the elections process.
	11	Q. And what happens after September 1 if the
	12	County Clerk and the Tax Assessor-Collector take over
	13	the role? What happens to those changes that they are
	14	hoping to implement?
10:55AM	15	A. The so there's a number of different things
	16	that can happen.
	17	Q. And I didn't ask I'm not asking you to
	18	speculate. Just sitting here today, do you know what
	19	happens to those changes you're trying to implement?
10:55AM	20	A. I don't know what will happen with those
	21	changes.
	22	Q. Broadly speaking, what are your duties as
	23	Harris County Elections Administrator?
	24	A. Yeah, at a 30-thousand foot level, I oversee
10:55AM	25	the function of the elections process, which is voter

	1	registration and the conducting of the election, and
	2	voter registration, as I indicated, is a year-round
	3	process, so we're I'm ensuring that managers and the
	4	voter registration section and IT department are
10:56AM	5	managing the data properly; that registrations are being
	6	entered. This maintenance is taking place in prep for
	7	coming up to an election. As we start moving into an
	8	elections cycle, then our attention turns to focusing on
	9	the logistics of running an elections. There's
10:56AM	10	roughly
	11	Q. Let me get to that in a second.
	12	How many employees do you supervise?
	13	A. There's 135.
	14	Q. How big is your budget?
10:56AM	15	A. Over 30 million dollars.
	16	Q. And is that 30 million figure the budget for
	17	the October of 2022 October 1, 2022 to September 30,
	18	2023 year?
	19	A. That's correct.
10:56AM	20	Q. And what are your priorities for the office?
	21	A. The priorities are to to reassess continuous
	22	testing, continuously adjusting processes and
	23	procedures, adding, implementing new systems, adding
	24	processes and procedures to streamline, create more
10:57AM	25	efficiencies in the operations of the elections office

	1	as a whole.
	2	Q. How many elections have you run in Harris
	3	County?
	4	A. Three.
10:57AM	5	Q. And did you develop your those priorities
	6	from the experiences of having run those elections?
	7	A. The strategic vision with running an election
	8	I've developed over the course of my career. The
	9	particular systems and processes and procedures, I've
10:57AM	10	identified as while being at Harros County.
	11	Q. And do you know what the priorities of the
	12	County Clerk and the Tax Assessor-Collector are with
	13	respect to the same things?
	14	A. I do not.
10:58AM	15	Q. Could they change?
	16	A. They could change.
	17	Q. So do you know what will happen to your
	18	priorities and the implementation of them after
	19	September 1, 2023?
10:58AM	20	A. I do not.
	21	Q. Let me turn your attention to SB1750 if I
	22	say SB1750, do you know what I'm referring to?
	23	A. Yes.
	24	Q. What am I referring to?
10:58AM	25	A. Senate Bill 1750 that abolishes the Election

	1	Administrations Office.
	2	Q. Did you follow SB1750 while it was at the
	3	legislature?
	4	A. Yes, I did.
10:58AM	5	Q. How did you follow it?
	6	A. We our communications team followed the
	7	legislative process. I participated in weekly calls
	8	with the with the Texas Secretary of State Elections
	9	Divisions Office on legislative updates. The Texas
10:58AM	10	Association of Election Administrators was following the
	11	legislation. The Harris County's intergovernmental
	12	affairs office was also tracking the legislation.
	13	Q. Do you have a communications team?
	14	A. Yes.
10:59AM	15	Q. And what were they following?
	16	A. They were following the social media, media,
	17	any news any press releases that were being produced.
	18	Q. Were they following any particular Twitter
	19	accounts?
10:59AM	20	A. Yes, I'm sure they were following them all.
	21	Q. Were they following Senator Bettencourt's?
	22	MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor,
	23	relevance as to legislative history.
	24	THE COURT: As to that objection, the
10:59AM	25	objection's overruled.

1 MR. SARKAR: And, Your Honor, I can go 2 through some more questions, but I guess the question is 3 on the exhibits, at least, the first block are a series of press releases and Tweets from Senator Bettencourt, 4 so I don't know if this is the time to take them up, but 5 10:59AM they are sort of all in the same vein of -- of Tweets 6 7 sent out -- communications from the office, 8 communicating the intent of the bill. 9 THE COURT: Okay. Are you offering those exhibits as this 10 11:00AM time? 11 J. 12 MR. SARKAR: Yes, Your Honor. am. THE COURT: And, by number, which exhibits 13 14 are they? BY MR. 15 SARKAR : That would be Exhibit 2 11:00AM 16 through 14. 17 We would object for the same MS. CELLA: 18 Irrelevant as to the legislative history. reason. 19 THE COURT: Because the plaintiffs are 20 offering the exhibits for both the Temporary Injunction 11:00AM 21 and the Plea, the objection to relevance is overruled. 22 The Court will consider the weight of the evidence. 23 MR. SARKAR: Thank you, Your Honor. 24 THE COURT: And 2 through 14 are admitted. 25 (Plaintiff's Exhibits 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11:00AM

	1	8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 admitted)
	2	MR. SARKAR: May I proceed, Your Honor?
	3	THE COURT: Yes. You may proceed.
	4	Q. (BY MR. SARKAR) Mr. Tatum, let me ask you a
11:01AM	5	little bit about the broad topic of enforcement.
	6	What state agency oversees elections
	7	throughout Texas?
	8	A. The Texas Secretary of State.
	9	Q. And why do you say that?
11:01AM	10	A. I understand the Texas Secretary of State is a
	11	two-state elections official, which is responsible for
	12	elections in the State of Texas.
	13	Q. Okay. And what is their briefly tell this
	14	Court because we're not as familiar with elections as
11:01AM	15	you are: What is sort of the high level some of their
	16	roles in the evection process?
	17	A. The through the state elections division,
	18	there's advisories that are issued relating to the Texas
	19	Election Code, and I think the Texas Administrative
11:01AM	20	Code, and the Secretary of State provides legislative
	21	updates of any changes that are made to the election
	22	process to the statutes themselves. The Secretary
	23	provides advisories on how to implement those statutes,
	24	what the language means, and makes changes, so directs
11:02AM	25	changes to the elections process to adhere to the the

	1	Election Code changes, themselves.
	2	Q. You mentioned guidance. Do you treat those
	3	advisories that you receive as suggestions, or do you
	4	treat them as more?
11:02AM	5	A. No, they are they are not suggestions.
	6	They
	7	Q. What does tell the Court what those
	8	advisories mean to you.
	9	A. We follow the advisories. We implement the
11:02AM	10	advisories into our elections processes and procedures.
	11	Q. Do you have any specific examples with respect
	12	to guidance that that Secretary of State gave such
	13	that you changed how you handle something?
	14	A. There's several. It all forms that are
11:02AM	15	created by the Secretary of State are used utilized
	16	in our process in some form or fashion, and if changes
	17	are made to the content of the forms, then from the
	18	state level, we make changes to our forums. As it
	19	relates to the process and procedures, if the Secretary
11:03AM	20	of State has advised us that some of our processes
	21	aren't as they should be, then we make changes to our
	22	process and procedures. As a recent example, for the
	23	May 2023 contest, we deployed what's referred to as a
	24	rally site drop-off location.
11:03AM	25	Q. And for the Court's benefit, what is a rally

	1	site?
	2	A. A rally site is on election night, the election
	3	presiding judges have to return the materials to the
	4	county locations where the ballots can be tabulated, and
11:03AM	5	we set up these drop sites so that the judges wouldn't
	6	have to drive across the entire county to drop their
	7	locations off at a central location, we set up regional
	8	locations, and the Secretary of the State Election
	9	Division advised us that the way that we have intended
11:04AM	10	to operate our rally sites was not proper, so we had to
	11	make changes to our processes and procedures.
	12	Q. Okay. So you made changes because of the
	13	Secretary of State taking action, with respect to you?
	14	A. That's correct.
11:04AM	15	Q. Do you also call the Secretary of State for
	16	advice or direction?
	17	A. Yes.
	18	Q. What is the TEAM database?
	19	A. The TEAM, T-e-a-m. Team is the statewide voter
11:04AM	20	registration system or election management system, I
	21	believe.
	22	Q. And who runs that?
	23	A. The Secretary of State, the State Election
	24	Division.
11:04AM	25	Q. And how do you get on to that?

	1	A. It's
	2	Q. At a simple level, is there a password? Is
	3	there some sort of portal? What is it?
	4	A. Yeah, so the a little bit of backdrop,
11:04AM	5	there's TEAM is described as online an online
	6	process where certain counties are are actually in
	7	the TEAMs system, itself, and there's offline counties.
	8	Those are counties that are running their own voter
	9	registration systems, and we have to upload our data
11:05AM	10	into the TEAM system, so that's where we have a password
	11	and we upload our data.
	12	Q. Who controls access to that?
	13	A. Secretary of State, the State Elections
	14	Division.
11:05AM	15	Q. Could the Secretary of State cut you off from
	16	access to that?
	17	A. Sure.
	18	Q. Tell the Court a little bit about voter
	19	registration funds, and how the Secretary of State
11:05AM	20	relates to Harris County with respect to voter
	21	registration.
	22	A. The state has a funding category for Chapter 19
	23	which reimburses an elections office that's managing
	24	voter registration for transaction expenses for
11:05AM	25	conducting, list maintenance and the like, and so on

1 I believe it's a monthly or quarterly basis, we receive reimbursements for certain activities that our office 2 3 conducts from the state -- from the Secretary of State. 4 Q. And the Secretary of State controls the disbursement of those funds? 5 11:05AM 6 Α. That is correct. 7 And just briefly tell the Court about sort of Q. 8 the mechanics of sending in election results and sort of 9 the canvassing piece. What is the Secretary of State's role, sort of, to finalize the election? 10 11:06AM 11 Α. It becomes very technical, but at a very, very 12 high level, after the -- after the -- the office conducts its canvas and has the county commissioners 13 approve the canvas, we then upload that canvas data to 14 the Secretary of State system for approval for accepting 15 11:06AM 16 of the elections office. 17 Okay. And so is it your understanding that the Q. 18 Secretary of State makes decisions whether or not to 19 accept those results? 20 Α. Yes. I -- I don't know that there's a -- if 11:06AM 21 they exercise any discretion. The process is--It's not--22 Q. --is we upload our results. We have to upload 23 Α. 24 our results. 25 The -- you mentioned a little bit about how the Q. 11:07AM

Secretary of State, I think, polices you. Let me kind 1 of take a -- I guess, with both respect to the Secretary 2 3 of State and the Attorney General for a minute, what other interactions have you had with those offices that 4 suggest to you that they do, in fact, enforce the laws 5 11:07AM against you? 6 7 Α. Well -- so, when I came in as the election 8 administrator, I immediately saw things that could 9 change and things that I would recommend for creating efficiencies in the office, and rught away the staff 10 11:07AM said: Any particular changes that we're making have to 11 be approved by the Secretary of State. For instance, 12 13 even as related to putting some signage in a polling location to display to the voters has to be approved by 14 the Secretary of State, so staff made me aware that the 15 11:08AM 16 Secretary of State or the Attorney General has, in the past, proposed for them to take action against the 17 18 office for not following the elections process. 19 Q. Are you familiar with any audits? 20 Α. Yes, I am. 11:08AM 21 Tell us about that and how -- what the Q. 22 Secretary of State has done. When I joined the Harris County Administrator's 23 Α. 24 Office -- the Election Administrator's Office, there was 25 an ongoing 2020 audit. Both an audit that was looking 11:08AM

	1	back at the November 2020 election, and so I sort of
	2	brought myself up to speed to help try to close out that
	3	audit, and then shortly thereafter, in the process of
	4	closing out that audit, there was a I believe there
11:08AM	5	was a statutory change that was made that that
	6	created another level of auditing, and Harris County was
	7	selected out of the hat to be audited for the 2022
	8	election, so
	9	Q. And let me ask this question then: Are you
11:09AM	10	understanding that they're auditing you for compliance
	11	with the Texas Election Code?
	12	A. That is correct.
	13	Q. Are you aware that the Secretary of State and
	14	the Attorney General have threatened legal action?
11:09AM	15	A. Yes, Iam.
	16	Q. And what sort of legal action are you aware of
	17	that the State has taken against election officials?
	18	A. I'm aware that they have filed lawsuits against
	19	the County Clerk as for the 2020 election. I'm aware
11:09AM	20	that when the Election Administrator's Office created,
	21	there were letters from the attorney the Secretary of
	22	State and the Attorney General raising questions of
	23	ultra vires activities, abolishing the office because it
	24	wasn't technically set up properly according to the
11:09AM	25	letters, and so it's always it was brought to my

	1	attention that there's always that level of scrutiny
	2	that we need to be aware of when making decisions.
	3	Q. If I refer to SB1933. Do you know what I'm
	4	referring to?
11:10AM	5	A. Yes, I do.
	6	Q. Okay. What does SB1933 do?
	7	A. It's Senate Bill 1933, which provides a
	8	Secretary of State with the ability to take over an
	9	elections operation, and I believe perhaps even remove
11:10AM	10	elections from the election authority altogether.
	11	Q. Okay. And sitting here as the Harris County
	12	Election Administrator, do you view that as enforcement
	13	by the Secretary of State?
	14	A. Oh, absolutely.
11:10AM	15	Q. And what is your view as to how SB1933 and
	16	SB1750 connect?
	17	A. Well, it's clearly a bootstrap from the 1750 to
	18	1933.
	19	Q. What do you mean bootstrap?
11:10AM	20	A. So 1750, in its first phase in its first
	21	approach is to remove the election administrator from
	22	existence, and by requiring that transition by September
	23	1, roughly 60 days before a November election, that the
	24	anticipation is that the Clerk and the Tax Assessor will
11:11AM	25	have challenges with the November 2023 election, which

	1	will then allow the State to come in under 1933, and
	2	remove the elections process from the Clerk and Tax
	3	Assessor.
	4	Q. You mentioned the the legal action that you
11:11AM	5	were aware of the AG taking. Let me just ask two
	6	followups on that. Does that cost the county money?
	7	A. I'm sorry, what?
	8	Q. Does that litigation that you reference, the
	9	lawsuits, is that going to cost the county money
11:11AM	10	responding and defending those lawsuits?
	11	A. Yes.
	12	Q. And is that disruptive to the election
	13	administration process?
	14	A. Yes, any time that we're spending now and in
11:12AM	15	litigation, the election contest and the like is a
	16	complete distraction from the elections process.
	17	🔆 MR. SARKAR: Your Honor, we do have a
	18	series of exhibits relating to enforcement. Again, I
	19	can walk Mr. Tatum through some of them, or I think it
11:12AM	20	might make sense, here, to offer them into evidence
	21	because like as Mr. Tatum was testifying, they are
	22	sort of in the similar vein of past action that the AG
	23	has taken to enforce these laws, letters from the SOS
	24	suggesting that they attempted to enforce the laws and
11:12AM	25	just generally that enforcing the Election Code is a

	1	priority of the office of Attorney General and the
	2	Office of the Secretary of State.
	3	THE COURT: Which exhibits, specifically,
	4	are you referencing?
11:12AM	5	MR. SARKAR: That would Exhibit 1 and then
	6	17 through 40. Other than 34. I'm sorry. Let me
	7	restart. Exhibit 1 and then Exhibit 17, and then 35 to
	8	40.
	9	THE COURT: Okay. So as I understand it,
11:13AM	10	there is no objection to the authenticity?
	11	MS. CELLA: Yes. Yes, Your Honor; that's
	12	correct.
	13	THE COURT: Any other substantive
	14	objections?
11:13AM	15	MS. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor. We object as
	16	to relevance. These exhibits are not related to 1750.
	17	They may be related to other election code violations,
	18	but they are not related to this bill.
	19	MR. SARKAR: And our response, Your Honor,
11:13AM	20	under law, as you know, we're not required to show an
	21	actual enforcement of SB1750. It's threats of
	22	enforcement, and we believe that what this evidence
	23	shows, as well as the testimony of Mr. Tatum, is that
	24	the Attorney General and the Secretary of State intend
11:13AM	25	to enforce SB1750 in the manner that they have enforced

these laws in the past. 1 THE COURT: Okay. So I'm understanding, I 2 3 think, there's -- these are from 2018, 2020, 2021, and 4 October of 2022. And you're offering those to show the likelihood of future action? 5 11:14AM 6 MR. SARKAR: That's right. The threat of 7 enforcement. 8 THE COURT: Okay. Response. 9 MS. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor, these enforcement -- these threats of enforcement, as my 10 11:14AM friends on the other side have said, they don't go to 11 12 1750. These are long before 1750 was drafted. It's just irrelevant to the enforcement of this particular 13 14 bill. THE COURT: Do you have the physical copies 15 11:14AM 16 of these? 17 MR. SARKAR: We do. 18 MR. FOMBONNE: Your Honor, just to make 19 sure, you don't want all of the exhibits. You just want the ones we're talking about now? 20 11:14AM 21 THE COURT: It would be helpful for me to 22 look at the these, specifically. If they are in the Box, I can look at them electronically. 23 24 MR. FOMBONNE: They are in Box, Your Honor. 25 THE COURT: Okay. Very good. 11:14AM

	1	The Court finds that Plaintiff's Exhibits
	2	1 and 17 through 33 should be admitted, and the Court
	3	will give appropriate weight to the evidence after
	4	having an opportunity to clearly or review all of
11:15AM	5	them.
	6	(Plaintiff's Exhibits 1, 17, 18, 19, 20,
	7	21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33
	8	admitted)
	9	MR. SARKAR: Thank you, and just to be
11:15AM	10	clear, that also includes 35 through 40 as well?
	11	Leaving off 34 because I think it was
	12	THE COURT: Those are e-mails?
	13	MR. SARKAR They were e-mails from the
	14	Secretary of State to Mr. Tatum's office showing the
11:15AM	15	enforcement priority of the Secretary of State to be the
	16	Texas Election Code.
	17	THE COURT: Plaintiff's Exhibits 35 through
	18	40 are also admitted
	19	(Plaintiff's Exhibit 35, 36, 37, 38, 39,
11:16AM	20	and 40 admitted)
	21	MR. SARKAR: Okay. Thank you, Your Honor.
	22	Q. (BY MR. SARKAR) Let me I'll tie up this
	23	enforcement piece one last question: Mr. Tatum, what do
	24	you think will happen if you continue in your role as
11:16AM	25	elections administrator after September 1, visa vi the

	1	state?
	2	A. I'm afraid that they would
	3	MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor; calls
	4	for speculation.
11:16AM	5	MR. SARKAR: Your Honor, may I respond?
	6	THE COURT: You may.
	7	MR. SARKAR: While it does call for some
	8	speculation, this is Mr. Tatum's view of what will
	9	happen to his own job, and I think it's not speculative
11:16AM	10	in the sense that the law is what it is. And Mr. Tatum,
	11	presumably has to plan for his life post-September 1 and
	12	I think he can share his view on what he thinks will
	13	happen after that date.
	14	THE COURT: You may respond as to your role
11:16AM	15	as the election administrator what you expect will occur
	16	after September 1st, if the Court takes no action.
	17	A. Without question, the Texas the election
	18	administrator position would be abolished, which is my
	19	job, and I don't know what would happen after that.
11:17AM	20	Q. (BY MR. SARKAR) Do you think the State will
	21	file a lawsuit?
	22	MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor;
	23	speculation.
	24	THE COURT: Sustained.
11:17AM	25	Q. (BY MR. SARKAR) Okay. Do you think the State

	1	will take any actions, specifically, towards you?
	2	I'll ask the question's withdrawn.
	3	Have you seen, in the past, the State
	4	file lawsuits for violations of the Texas Election Code?
11:17AM	5	A. Yes.
	6	Q. Okay. Do you think that might happen again?
	7	MS. CELLA: Objection; calls for
	8	speculation.
	9	THE COURT: Overruled.
11:17AM	10	A. If I'm still in the
	11	Q. (BY MR. SARKAR) Yes
	12	AElections Administrator position, then I
	13	would expect the State to file action.
	14	Q. Okay. And are you only concerned for yourself?
11:17AM	15	A. Well, I would complete completely be without
	16	any employment, and of course I'm concerned about the
	17	office.
	18	Q. What do you mean, of course you're concerned?
	19	Are there other employees?
11:18AM	20	A. Yes.
	21	Q. What are you talking about?
	22	A. Yes, there's 135 employees that will go through
	23	some sort of transition back between the Tax Assessor
	24	and the Clerk, and, right away, the that calls into
11:18AM	25	question the stability of the November 2023 election

cycle and what the office is currently doing and what 1 would occur after September 1, with the preparations for 2 3 the elections, the November 2023 election, itself. And so on that point, from enforcement, let's Q. 4 go briefly to the harm that the county will suffer. 5 11:18AM When is the next election? 6 7 November 7, 2023. Α. 8 Q. And you used the date November 7, but are there 9 dead -- are there important deadlines ahead of that? So, from an election -- for an election event, 10 Α. 11:18AM we count backwards. So election day -- the last day to 11 12 vote election is November 7^{1} for the 2023. There's early voting that starts October 23rd that runs for roughly 13 ten days and then ballot by mail which is sending out 14 mail ballot to voters. The deadline for sending out the 15 11:19AM 16 military or oversees ballots is September 23rd, and backing out of that, the office is currently taking 17 information to create the ballot to define and design 18 19 the ballot so that the ballot will actually be completed 20 by late August to be the -- the element of logic and 11:19AM 21 accuracy, that's ensuring that machines are going to 22 tabulate and count the votes properly. That takes place the second week of September, so you can get your 23 24 military ballots out by the second or third week of 25 September, so you can get your mailed ballots out by 11:19AM

	1	September 23rd. So we're in the election cycle right
	2	now.
	3	Q. And you oversee all this, correct?
	4	A. That's correct.
11:20AM	5	Q. What's on the ballot in November?
	6	A. There are constitutional amendments; state and
	7	constitutional amendments. There are there's a
	8	countywide bond question. There is the City of Houston
	9	mayoral election, and then there are at least we
11:20AM	10	anticipate there will be at least 50 small
	11	municipalities on the ballot. The City of Pasadena and
	12	HISD school district contests, MUDs.
	13	Q. And with respect to those other entities that
	14	you mentioned, MUDs cities, do you run those elections?
11:20AM	15	A. If they contract if those entities contract
	16	with us, then we include their contests on the ballot.
	17	Q. And they are contracting currently with an
	18	office of which you are the head, correct?
	19	A. That is correct.
11:20AM	20	Q. Do you know what happens if you are no longer
	21	the head?
	22	A. We've been discussing that with the county
	23	attorney as to the the
	24	Q. And you don't need to share any privileged
11:21AM	25	information. Do you do you have concern that it will

	1	call those contracts into question?
	2	A. Those entities have asked the question: What
	3	do they their boards have to approve their elections
	4	contests and make orders to order their elections, and
11:21AM	5	they've asked the question if we say that election
	6	administrator's conducting the election, what does that
	7	mean if it changes if the election administrator
	8	abolishes, what does it do for our contract?
	9	Q. Has it made it more challenging for Harris
11:21AM	10	County to contract with these entoties?
	11	A. It has added a level of uncertainty.
	12	Q. Give us a sense of the scope of the November
	13	election.
	14	A. It is a countywide election, meaning that it's
11:21AM	15	eligible for 2.5 million registered voters that are
	16	eligible to vote for that election, so we have to
	17	prepare for that sort of turnout, so for early voting,
	18	we have determined there will be at least 64 to 65 early
	19	voting locations throughout the county, and for election
11:22AM	20	day, there we determined there would be 700 polling
	21	voting locations throughout the entire county. We
	22	projected turnout to be roughly up to 700,000 or so and
	23	we are because we haven't received all of the
	24	contests from the entities, we're not sure how long the
11:22AM	25	ballot will be.

	1	Q. Okay. Given your expertise, as an election
	2	administrator, would you would you agree that this is
	3	a smaller election than the 2022 election?
	4	A. No, it is not a smaller election than the 2022
11:22AM	5	election.
	6	Q. And why do you say that?
	7	A. Because we're we're preparing for a
	8	countywide election so we're opening almost the
	9	equivalent of vote centers that we did in November. We
11:23AM	10	know that for a midterm election a gubernatorial
	11	election, there will be a greater turnout than there
	12	will be for the City of Houston election, but you still
	13	have to prepare for a countywide election, so we're
	14	hoping we describe this as a large election.
11:23AM	15	Q. You mentioned earlier that your team started
	16	planning for the November election in January; is that
	17	right?
	18	A. Yes.
	19	Q. Have there already been decisions made by your
11:23AM	20	team that then impact how the November election will be
	21	administered?
	22	A. Yes; that's correct.
	23	Q. Just sort of high level, can you just say sort
	24	of what are some of those decisions that have already
11:23AM	25	been made?

	1	A. So it's as I mentioned, we've we've made
	2	the decision as to the number of vote centers that were
	3	open, which which leads to the number of presiding
	4	judges that will be hired. It leads to the number of
11:24AM	5	election clerks that would be hired. It leads to the
	6	proposed list for the rally site drop-offs, increasing
	7	that number. It leads to the training schedule. Here's
	8	how we plan to train 5,000 plus election workers, so
	9	those sorts of decisions have already been made.
11:24AM	10	Q. Okay. Let me just quick \mathfrak{V} just touch on the
	11	key harms, so going forward, so there may be a
	12	transition coming up. Tell us briefly what is the
	13	impact on your office of that transition taking place on
	14	September 1st?
11:24AM	15	A. Right away, staff is concerned about
	16	management. Who will be managing the elections process.
	17	Q. Have folks already resigned?
	18	A. Yes.
	19	Q. Do you have concern that additional folks will
11:24AM	20	resign?
	21	A. I am concerned.
	22	Q. Have you mentioned the planning from that
	23	took place from January through August. Has the County
	24	Clerk and the Tax Assessor-Collector had any role in the
11:25AM	25	planning for the November 2023 election?

1 Α. No, they have not. You heard the Attorney General's argument this 2 Q. 3 morning about how essentially all that is happening is 4 changing these roles from one office to another. Can you briefly talk about the harm to the county from going 5 11:25AM to a bifurcated system at this point. 6 7 Α. It's not a matter of simply transferring positions from the election administrator to the tax 8 9 assessor or back to the clerk. It's a matter of systems that have been developed over the course of the last 10 11:25AM 11 It's a matter of unwinding those systems three vears. 12 to send back certain portions of those systems to the 13 tax assessor and to the clerk, and then right away, you 14 step into the -- a concern about whether the -- what level of synchronization do we lose, and basically 15 11:26AM 16 you're taking the office back two to three years from where we are right now. 17 18 Q. Will managing that harm be costly to the 19 county? 20 Α. Yes, I believe so. 11:26AM 21 Q. Will we need to hire employees and consultants 22 to manage that? 23 So in -- in prepping for an election year, Α. 24 already hiring temporaries, you'd hope to hire some 25 permanent staff to manage those temporaries, and so 11:26AM

	1	right now, because of this transition, I've been
	2	instructed or suggested not to bring only new folks,
	3	which means eventually you're going to require the
	4	existing staff to spend more time and hours, which
11:27AM	5	results in overtime. You will hire some temporary
	6	you'll bring I suspect you'll bring temporaries in.
	7	There will be additional costs.
	8	Q. You mention the stop on hiring. Has that made
	9	it more this is a stop on hiring because of the
11:27AM	10	impending transition; is that right?
	11	A. That's correct.
	12	Q. Has that made it more difficult to administer
	13	the election?
	14	A. Absolutely because things are happening now
11:27AM	15	that I need permanent staff for to make decisions about.
	16	Q. Are you aware of is there any specific
	17	examples of Commissioner's Court Offices relating to
	18	this freeze, and how they are approaching it?
	19	A. Yes.
11:27AM	20	Q. What is that?
	21	A. One commissioner is and staff has advised
	22	that they are not going to work with the EA, and they
	23	are waiting to work with the Clerk, starting September
	24	1.
11:28AM	25	Q. So it sounds like you're concerned about

	1	confusion and disorganization as a result of this
	2	upcoming transition.
	3	A. We're living it right now.
	4	Q. You told me earlier about litigation costs.
11:28AM	5	Let me just put a finer point on one quick question.
	6	The splitting of office responsibilities. Do you
	7	believe navigating that split will, itself, be costly?
	8	A. Yes, there's already been a contractor
	9	identified, and I believe an award made to have that
11:28AM	10	contractor come in and conduct an assessment of our
	11	operations.
	12	Q. What is the county taking steps to prepare
	13	for this transition?
	14	A. Yes.
11:29AM	15	Q. Do you think the steps are going to be
	16	sufficient to prevent the harm that's coming to the
	17	county?
	18	A. I don't know. And the reason I don't know is
	19	that because of delays, there's unintended consequences,
11:29AM	20	and as an example, when I came aboard, in August, 2022,
	21	roughly 60 days before the election, it's too late to
	22	make any changes, so transition takes place September 1.
	23	The clerk's going to have some ideas, the tax assessor
	24	is going to have her own ideas, and there is going to be
11:29AM	25	some bumps in the road. It's just it's a given.

So just to make sure I understand you right, 1 Q. you're concerned that the county may not be able to 2 mitigate this harm? 3 Α. I am concerned. 4 MR. SARKAR: Thank you, Your Honor. I'11 5 11:29AM pass the witness. 6 7 THE COURT: Cross-examination? MS. CELLA: Thank you, Your Honor. 8 How much time do I have? 9 How much time do you need? THE COURT: 10 11:30AM I'll be as quick as I can. 11 MS. CELLA: Ι 12 won't take as long as direct. THE COURT Okay. It's probably a good 13 time for everyone to let me know so that I can properly 14 allocate the remaining time. It is 11:30. You-all 15 11:30AM reserved three hours, but I want to make sure that I 16 receive all the information I need to make an informed 17 18 decision. 19 Plaintiffs, how much time do you still 20 need? 11:30AM 21 MR. FOMBONNE: If I could confer, briefly 22 with co-counsel. 23 THE COURT: Sure. MR. FOMBONNE: I think we can do our other 24 25 witness in ten minutes. I probably won't have any 11:31AM

	1	redirect here. I would like just a short five minutes
	2	of argument on the jurisdictional issues. The PTJ has
	3	not been addressed yet and one thing, just housekeeping
	4	matter, I also realized as we were trying figure out
11:31AM	5	where all the briefs were that we filed a response to
	6	their plea to the jurisdiction last night. I don't know
	7	if that was circulated to the Court. I just circulated
	8	it. Again it's 250 e-mail address, so we'll rest on
	9	those arguments a lot. I'll just briefly go through
11:31AM	10	some of the points.
	11	THE COURT: Okay, That sounds like a good
	12	plan. Before you-all leave, just make sure that I know
	13	exactly what you-all have filed, and that I will be
	14	considering because sometimes and it's not
11:31AM	15	necessarily based on when you filed it, but sometimes
	16	things take a vittle bit longer to get into the Court's
	17	file, even if they have been filed with the clerk, so
	18	just make sure, before you go, that I know exactly what
	19	you're expecting the Court to review in making these
11:32AM	20	decisions.
	21	Yes, Mr. Schlechter.
	22	MR. SCHECHTER: Schechter. That's okay.
	23	Very briefly, Your Honor, we would
	24	request permission, after the cross-examination, to put
11:32AM	25	on Mr. Tatum's temporary injunction evidence. It

shouldn't take more than about 15 minutes. 1 THE COURT: Okay. 2 3 MR. SCHECHTER: And that way, the Court will have heard everything today that will enable the 4 Court to make decisions on everything pending before the 5 11:32AM 6 Court. 7 THE COURT: Thank you very much. 8 And how much time do the defendants 9 collectively need today? Can you give me... 10 MS. CELLA: 11:32AM All of the -- to respond to all THE COURT: 11 12 the matters. MS. CELLA: Just a moment to confer? 13 THE COURT: 14 Sure. MR. SCHECHTER: One more matter. To the 15 11:32AM extent there are other witnesses called, we would like 16 to have a chance to cross-examine them as well, if --17 18 THE COURT: Of course. Thank you. 19 MS. CELLA: Thank you, Your Honor. It will 20 take us about five minutes to close out, and then as far 11:33AM 21 as the Secretary of State's witness, it's going to 22 depend on what Plaintiffs ask, but if they're anticipating ten minutes, maybe between five and ten 23 minutes for us as well. 24 THE COURT: And for this cross? 25 11:33AM

MS. CELLA: Let's say about 15 minutes. 1 2 THE COURT: Okay. I am hearing about an 3 hour -- an additional hour, total. 4 Does that sound like you-all can wrap everything up by 12:30? If you can do that by 12:30, 5 11:33AM then we'll go ahead and move forward without a lunch 6 7 break, but if you're going to go longer than that, we 8 probably need to take a break. 9 MS. CELLA: We're okay with trying to get 10 it done by 12:30. 11:33AM MR. BIRNBERG: Is the Court anticipating 11 12 any closing statements or arguments, and particularly, does the Court have any questions with regard to 13 anything you've heard because I don't think that was 14 included in the calculation of time. 15 11:34AM 16 THE COURT: I won't take any questions that I have against the time announcement that you-all have 17 18 provided. I heard closing a five and closing a five. Ι 19 didn't hear from you-all. 20 MR. BIRNBERG: We'll go closing five, too. 11:34AM 21 THE COURT: I think that still keeps us 22 before 12:30, or right after, perhaps. I'm just going to ask that you-all try to be as efficient with your 23 24 time as possible. Okay. 25 MS. CELLA: Thank you, Your Honor. 11:34AM

	1	THE COURT: You may proceed.
	2	MS. CELLA: Thank you.
	3	CROSS-EXAMINATION
	4	BY MS. CELLA:
11:34AM	5	Q. Good morning, sir.
	6	A. Good morning.
	7	Q. How are you?
	8	A. I'll well, thank you.
	9	Q. Good.
11:34AM	10	You are suing Harris County for
	11	injunctive relief in this matter, correct?
	12	A. Yes.
	13	Q. And you're awage that Harris County is suing
	14	the defendants for that same relief?
11:34AM	15	A. Yes.
	16	Q. So is it fair to say that by testifying for
	17	Harris County, you're not adverse to their position?
	18	MR. SCHECHTER: Objection, Your Honor. He
	19	has clearly a position that's adverse to the county.
11:35AM	20	He's seeking to enjoin them from firing him.
	21	MS. CELLA: Your Honor, I'm asking for
	22	credibility reasons, and I would like to pose the
	23	question to the witness rather than his lawyer.
	24	THE COURT: Okay. It's a legal question,
11:35AM	25	though, and I'll allow Mr. Schechter to respond.

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And tell me, specifically, what is the --1 and I know there's a brief on this issue, specifically, 2 3 and that is whether or not... MR. SCHECHTER: This is the issue -- that 4 brief was filed late last night, Your Honor. We haven't 5 11:35AM had a chance to respond. 6 7 THE COURT: And that's the Motion to Strike Clifford Tatum's Intervention? 8 9 MR. SCHECHTER: Yes, Your Honor. Okav. THE COURT: 10 11:35AM MR. SCHECHTER: So we object to relevance. 11 12 It's not raised in this proceeding. MS. CELLA: ^OI would just reiterate again, 13 Your Honor, it goes to the witness' credibility as to 14 his lawsuit versus the county's lawsuit. 15 11:35AM 16 THE COURT: Okay. That objection's overruled. 17 18 You may answer the question. Let me 19 see... 20 MS. CELLA: Would you like me to... 11:36AM 21 THE COURT: The objection to the question: 22 Is it fair by testifying for Harris County, you're not 23 adverse to their position. 24 That objection was sustained. 25 And so you may ask your next question. 11:36AM

	1	MS. CELLA: Thank you, Your Honor.
	2	Q. (BY MS. CELLA) Harris County is the second
	3	largest election entity in the country; is that right?
	4	A. Second or third.
11:36AM	5	Q. Okay. And they are the third largest
	6	jurisdiction, county jurisdiction in the country?
	7	A. Third.
	8	Q. Okay. So and Harris County represents about
	9	16 percent of the total population of Texas; is that
11:36AM	10	right?
	11	A. I don't know that.
	12	Q. Okay. Would you agree that Harris County is
	13	important for Texas elections?
	14	A. Yes.
11:36AM	15	Q. Based on the size of the county?
	16	A. Just the elections, in general.
	17	Q. Okay. Would you agree with me that Harris
	18	County, in the past, has had some bad elections with
	19	some major problems to them?
11:37AM	20	A. No.
	21	Q. Would you agree that they've had some problems
	22	in the past elections?
	23	A. Yes.
	24	Q. You were appointed after Harris County's
11:37AM	25	Election Administrator Isabel Longoria resigned; is that

	1	correct?
	2	A. Yes.
	3	Q. And your predecessor resigned after the 2022
	4	primary; is that right?
11:37AM	5	A. Yes.
	6	Q. Would you agree that there were problems with
	7	the 2022 primary?
	8	A. That happened before I was here, but I
	9	understand there were some challenges.
11:37AM	10	Q. And you were then appointed in August 2022,
	11	correct?
	12	A. That's correct.
	13	Q. You were appointed three months before the
	14	general election in 2022?
11:37AM	15	A. Not sure it was three months, but it was
	16	Q. Approximately?
	17	A. Yes.
	18	Q. And during the general election in 2022 I'm
	19	going to be just be talking about the general election
11:38AM	20	now when I say the election.
	21	A. Yes, ma'am.
	22	Q. If that works for you.
	23	There were some shortages of ballot
	24	papers at multiple polling locations; is that right?
11:38AM	25	A. Yes.

	1	Q. And your office allocated the same amount of
	2	ballot papers per polling location; is that right?
	3	A. What I'm not sure I understand.
	4	Q. So in other words, at each polling location,
11:38AM	5	your office allocated the same of amount of paper, so if
	6	it was 500 ballot papers, that happened at each polling
	7	location. It was not varied?
	8	A. That's not exactly right.
	9	Q. It's not exactly right?
11:38AM	10	A. No.
	11	Q. Is it true that traditionally some polling
	12	locations get more voters than others?
	13	A. That's a true statement.
	14	Q. And is it true that you some of the polling
11:38AM	15	locations were running out of ballot paper?
	16	A. Reportedly.
	17	Q. And is it true that some polling locations
	18	reportedly actually ran out of ballot paper?
	19	A. Yes, for a certain period of time.
11:39AM	20	Q. And is it true that voters were turned away
	21	because there was no ballot paper at certain polling
	22	locations?
	23	A. I don't know that exactly.
	24	Q. And is it true that there were polling
11:39AM	25	locations that were closed when they shouldn't have

	1	been?
	2	A. No.
	3	Q. Would you agree with me that there were some
	4	polling locations that were closed when others were
11:39AM	5	open?
	6	A. No.
	7	Q. Would you is it fair to say that the role of
	8	election administrator or your office was controversial
	9	during the 2023 election cycle?
11:39AM	10	A. I'm sorry. Say help me.
	11	Q. Is it fair to say that your role and your
	12	office's role in the elections was controversial during
	13	the 2022 election cycle?
	14	A. I don't know that to agree with that.
11:40AM	15	Q. Are you aware that there were multiple
	16	newspaper articles talking about all of the problems
	17	that the 2022 general election?
	18	A. After the election?
	19	Q. Yes, sir.
11:40AM	20	A. Yes.
	21	Q. And are you aware that 14 candidates filed
	22	election contests to challenge the results as a result
	23	of the problems on election day?
	24	A. Yes.
11:40AM	25	Q. And some of the election workers couldn't get

	1	through when they called for help; is that right?
	2	A. I don't know that to be true.
	3	Q. Are you aware of reports that that was true?
	4	A. I'm aware of the reports.
11:40AM	5	Q. You indicated that in your testimony on
	6	direct from the county that you were working to
	7	implement changes after the 2022 general election. Is
	8	that your understanding of what you said? Did I get
	9	that right?
11:41AM	10	A. Yes, ma'am.
	11	Q. And that you were going to implement these
	12	changes based on the general election?
	13	A. Yes.
	14	Q. But you're aware that there were issues during
11:41AM	15	the primary election when Isabel Longoria was the
	16	elections administrator.
	17	A. Was I aware help me.
	18	Q. You were aware I believe you testified a
	19	little bit earlier with me that you were aware that
11:41AM	20	there were reports of issues in the 2022 primary.
	21	A. Yes.
	22	Q. Okay. But you didn't you didn't seek to
	23	implement any changes between the primary and the
	24	general in the months that you were there.
11:41AM	25	A. The issues that I understand occurred in the

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	1	in the primary were some associated to the parties, so
	2	it wasn't a live election for me to address that
	3	particular point in time, but to the extent that I
	4	recognized that systems needed to be upgraded, I didn't
11:42AM	5	have the window in time to do it from the time I got
	6	there is until the November election.
	7	Q. And those we just talked about a bunch of
	8	things that you weren't sure about, but you had heard
	9	reports of: Ballot papers being polling locations
11:42AM	10	running out of ballot papers, things of that nature.
	11	You had heard reports.
	12	As the elections administrator, did you
	13	not take the time to find out if those reports were
	14	true?
11:42AM	15	A. Oh, yes, we we conducted an analysis.
	16	Q. I want to turn briefly to your position as the
	17	elections administrator.
	18	I think we talked about this, but just
	19	correct me if I'm wrong: Harris County created the
11:43AM	20	elections administrator position in 2020?
	21	A. Yes, ma'am.
	22	Q. And when that position was created, the duties
	23	and the budget were transferred from the tax
	24	assessor-collector's office and the Clerk's Office to
11:43AM	25	the Election Administrator Office?

	1	A. Yes, ma'am.
	2	Q. So is it possible that the duties and the
	3	budget of your current office can be transferred back to
	4	the tax assessor-collector and the Clerk's Office?
11:43AM	5	A. Yes.
	6	Q. And is it possible that you could be hired by
	7	the county in either one of those offices?
	8	A. I don't know.
	9	Q. But is it possible?
11:43AM	10	A. Hypothetically, yes.
	11	Q. And is it also possible that staff can be
	12	transferred from your current office to the Clerk and
	13	the Tax Assessor's Office?
	14	A. Yes.
11:44AM	15	MS. CELLA: Just bear with me for one
	16	second, Your Honor.
	17	THE COURT: Sure.
	18	MS. CELLA: That's all the questions I
	19	have.
11:44AM	20	THE COURT: Redirect, if any?
	21	MR. SARKAR: We don't have any redirect.
	22	MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, may I ask some
	23	questions?
	24	THE COURT: You may.
11:45AM	25	MR. SCHECHTER: May I approach the witness

Your Honor? 1 2 THE COURT: You may. DIRECT EXAMINATION 3 BY MR. SCHECHTER 4 Mr. Tatum, I'm going to hand you documents that 5 Q. 11:45AM have been marked as Exhibit 1 and Exhibit 2. 6 7 Can you identify Exhibit 1 for the Court, 8 please. 9 Α. Yes, it's my CV. Is it a true and correct copy of your CV? 10 Q. 11:45AM It is. 11 Α. Can you identify Exhibit 2 for the Court, 12 Q. please. 13 Exhibit 2 is the order appointing me as the 14 Α. Harris County Elections Administrator. 15 11:45AM 16 Q. Is that a true and correct copy of the order? It appears to be. 17 Α. 18 MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, we offer 1 and 2 into the off the record. 19 THE COURT: And this should be Intervenor's 20 11:45AM 21 1 and 2? 22 MR. SCHECHTER: Yes, Your Honor. 23 THE COURT: Intervenor's 1 and 2 are 24 admitted. 25 (Intervenor's Exhibits 1 and 2 admitted) 11:45AM

	1	Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) Mr. Tatum, so you were not
	2	actually able to start the position as election
	3	administrator until after that order was issued on
	4	August 16th.
11:46AM	5	A. That's correct.
	6	Q. I have some just general questions for you.
	7	How many counties, currently, have a county elections
	8	administrator as opposed to relying on a clerk or a
	9	voter tax assessor collector to registered voters?
11:46AM	10	A. Roughly 136, I believe.
	11	Q. It's over 50 percent of the counties?
	12	A. I believe so, yes
	13	Q. And Senate Bill 1750 affects how many of those
	14	counties currently with elections administrators?
11:46AM	15	A. Just one.
	16	Q. Harris County?
	17	A. Harris County.
	18	Q. If other counties grow to a population that
	19	exceeds 3.5 million people and they have an election
11:46AM	20	administrator before they hit 3.5 million people, how
	21	many of those counties will have that position
	22	abolished?
	23	A. As I understand, none, except for Harris
	24	County.
11:47AM	25	Q. So this is a statute that's aimed at Harris

	1	County; only affects Harris County, and will never
	2	affect any other county in the history of the State of
	3	texas?
	4	MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor. This
11:47AM	5	calls for a legal conclusion.
	6	THE COURT: Overruled.
	7	Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) I'm going to hand
	8	THE REPORTER: I'm sorry, what
	9	MR. SCHECHTER: May I approach the witness?
	10	THE COURT: Excuse me one moment.
	11	THE REPORTER: The witness started an
	12	answer, but there was an objection, so I'm not sure if
	13	he wants to restate his answer.
	14	THE COURT: That is, we did not receive the
11:47AM	15	actual answer from the witness, so if you would, please,
	16	you may respond to the question.
	17	Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) Any other county in the
	18	history of Texas going to be affected by this?
	19	A. None, other than Harris.
11:47AM	20	Q. If 3.5 million people is such an important
	21	marker, can you think of any rational reason why once
	22	another county reached 3.5 million people, the election
	23	administrator position wouldn't be abolished, and return
	24	duties the duties return to the County Clerk and Tax
11:48AM	25	Assessor-Collector?

	1	MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor; calls
	2	for legal conclusion.
	3	MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, just asking for
	4	his experience, as running elections for 20 years, if
11:48AM	5	there's a rational reason why only on September 1, 2023,
	6	the population of 3.5 million is important. It is the
	7	key question in this case.
	8	THE COURT: He may answer based on his own
	9	experience.
11:48AM	10	A. There's no rational basis for that.
	11	Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) Is something unique
	12	happening on September 1, 2023 so that the universe is
	13	shifting, and if you had a population of 3.5 million
	14	people before, you can not have an elections
11:48AM	15	administrator, but if you have a population of 3.5
	16	million after September 1, 2023, you can, because
	17	there's some magical or mystical change happening in the
	18	word?
	19	A. No, none that I'm aware of.
11:49AM	20	Q. I'm going to show
	21	MR. SCHECHTER: May I approach again,
	22	Your Honor?
	23	THE COURT: You may.
	24	Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) And, by the way, Mr. Tatum,
11:49AM	25	have you heard anybody posit that there is any rational

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	1	reason why there is this specific date, September 1,
	2	2023, so if you had an elections administrator before
	3	that date, you cannot have one after you're barred
	4	from having one, but if you have one if you get to a
11:49AM	5	population of 3.5 million after that date, you can
	6	continue to have an elections administrator. Has any
	7	peer-reviewed article or substantive expert in this area
	8	ever advanced any reason for that?
	9	A. Not that I'm aware.
11:50AM	10	Q. I'd like you to look at tab 2 of the notebook,
	11	please. Under this is the Senate Bill 30 SB17
	12	section 31.050. And the first sentence, it says on
	13	September 1, 2023, all powers and duties of the county
	14	elections administrator of a county with a population of
11:50AM	15	more than 3.5 million under this subchapter transferred
	16	the tax assessor-collector and county court clerk.
	17	Do you see that?
	18	A. Yes, I do.
	19	Q. Does it anywhere say that the employees are
11:50AM	20	transferred to those positions?
	21	A. No, it does not.
	22	Q. Okay. Are you being transferred to either the
	23	County Clerk or the Tax Assessor-Collector?
	24	A. No, I am not.
11:50AM	25	Q. Is it your understanding, sir, that when SB1750

	1	goes into effect, you will lose your job as Harris
	2	County Elections Administrator?
	3	A. Yes, that is my understanding.
	4	Q. And is it your understanding that and you've
11:51AM	5	been told this by the county, have you not? You've been
	6	told that by the county?
	7	A. That is correct.
	8	Q. Okay. You know that you are going to lose your
	9	job if there this injunction is not issued until the
11:51AM	10	constitutionality of this bill is determined, correct?
	11	A. That is correct.
	12	Q. And along with losing your job, do you lose
	13	your salary?
	14	A. Yes.
11:51AM	15	Q. Do you lose all the other economic benefits you
	16	have such as health insurance and retirement?
	17	A. Yes.
	18	Q. Are there noneconomic benefits you will lose?
	19	A. Yes.
11:51AM	20	Q. Will you please explain to the Court what those
	21	noneconomic benefits include.
	22	A. The stature of being the election administrator
	23	of the third largest jurisdiction of the country is a
	24	a career pinnacle. There's only two others, and if the
11:51AM	25	office is abolished, then I would I would not be the

	1	no 2 in the country and I make corresp decisions based
		no. 3 in the country, and I make career decisions based
	2	on my altruism for the process. I'm in elections
	3	because I want to be in elections, and my peers
	4	recognize me as being capable being capable and
11:52AM	5	competent, a competent election official. The fact that
	6	the office is being abolished is really a reputational
	7	blow to me, meaning it's being abolished. I'm not
	8	being terminated for cause. I'm being terminated
	9	because someone decided they want to abolish the office.
11:52AM	10	Q. Your opinion, sir, based on your experience, is
	11	if this injunction is not issued, is it going to
	12	potentially affect your future employability?
	13	A. I believe so.
	14	Q. Now, if the office is abolished if 1750 goes
11:53AM	15	into the effect, the office is abolished, it's disbursed
	16	on many different places, how easy would it be to
	17	reassemble the office if six months from now a court
	18	declared the statute to be unconstitutional?
	19	A. It would be a mess. Forgive me. It it
11:53AM	20	would be like trying to put Humpty Dumpty back together
	21	again.
	22	Q. So in terms, not just of irreparable harm to
	23	you, but irreparable harm to the public, in general, if
	24	this bill is unconstitutional, then reassembling this
11:53AM	25	office will be extremely difficult, costly and like

	1	it's like trying to reassemble Humpty Dumpty.
	2	A. Correct.
	3	Q. Now, you were asked some questions by the
	4	Attorney General regarding what you've heard about
11:54AM	5	problems in Harris County since the elections
	6	administrator ran the elections; is that correct?
	7	A. Yes.
	8	Q. So I'm going to ask you some questions. You
	9	heard about Harris County having problems with elections
11:54AM	10	administrations long before that when county clerks and
	11	tax assessor-collectors were running elections and voter
	12	registration.
	13	A. Yes, I am.
	14	Q. For example, you've heard that there were
11:54AM	15	employees in the tax assessor-collector's office who
	16	were destroying applications to be a registered voter
	17	leading to at least one criminal conviction.
	18	A. Yes, I understand that.
	19	Q. You're aware that there were allegations that
11:54AM	20	employees of prior elected tax assessor-collectors were
	21	slow-walking
	22	MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor; leading
	23	the witness.
	24	THE COURT: Sustained.
11:54AM	25	Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) I'm going to ask you

whether you're aware of the following things or not, and 1 if you are great, and if you're not, great. Whatever 2 3 you're aware of. 4 Are you aware there were allegations that employees were slow-walking the process of thousands of 5 11:55AM applications to be a registered voter, thus 6 7 intentionally preventing people from becoming registered voters for elections? 8 9 MS. CELLA: Objection; leading. It's a yes or no question. MR. SCHECHTER: 10 11:55AM THE COURT: Sustained. The objection is 11 12 sustained. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) Are you familiar with other 13 Q. allegations that -- regarding the election registration? 14 Yes, I am. 15 Α. 11:55AM 16 Tell us some of those you're familiar with that Q. -- only that occurred while there was elected tax 17 18 assessor-collector handling the election, the voter 19 registration process. 20 Α. Your Honor, as a result of the allegations that 11:55AM 21 were made against the election administrator's office in 22 2022, myself and my communications team started 23 researching what has occurred in Harris County. So we have reviewed newspaper articles and received -- and we 24 received accounts of election issues that have taken 25 11:56AM

	1	place in Harris since 2006 with either the Clerk's
	2	Office not deploying the voting equipment; not creating
	3	ballots with the correct contest on them; the tax
	4	assessor not registering people to vote; the tax
11:56AM	5	assessors being sued for not registering people to vote.
	6	Criminal allegations against staff within the tax
	7	assessor's office, so we gather this information in
	8	order to speak to the legislatures about what you're
	9	proposing to do is line it out because these type of
11:56AM	10	things that you're accusing the eDection administrator's
	11	office of in 2022 have occurred in Harris County, going
	12	back to 2006, if not further. It just didn't make sense
	13	to us, so I am aware of those issues, and yes, I am
	14	aware.
11:57AM	15	Q. And by the way, have the when you took
	16	office, were you under an injunction from the United
	16 17	States District Court pursuant to a consent agreement
	17	States District Court pursuant to a consent agreement
11:57AM	17 18	States District Court pursuant to a consent agreement with Harris County that had been entered in the early
11:57AM	17 18 19	States District Court pursuant to a consent agreement with Harris County that had been entered in the early 2010s regarding violation of civil rights of certain
11:57AM	17 18 19 20	States District Court pursuant to a consent agreement with Harris County that had been entered in the early 2010s regarding violation of civil rights of certain voters?
11:57AM	17 18 19 20 21	States District Court pursuant to a consent agreement with Harris County that had been entered in the early 2010s regarding violation of civil rights of certain voters? A. Yes, I'm aware of that.
11:57AM	17 18 19 20 21 22	<pre>States District Court pursuant to a consent agreement with Harris County that had been entered in the early 2010s regarding violation of civil rights of certain voters? A. Yes, I'm aware of that. Q. These were all things that happened when they</pre>
11:57AM 11:57AM	17 18 19 20 21 22 23	<pre>States District Court pursuant to a consent agreement with Harris County that had been entered in the early 2010s regarding violation of civil rights of certain voters? A. Yes, I'm aware of that. Q. These were all things that happened when they were elected officials running elections?</pre>

	1	A. That's correct.
	2	Q. Are there other counties with election
	3	administrators who had problems with administering
	4	elections?
11:57AM	5	A. Yes, there are.
	6	Q. Has Dallas County had problems?
	7	A. Yes.
	8	Q. What kind of problems has Dallas County had?
	9	A. I think it's important to note that it it
11:57AM	10	there's never a perfect election Your Honor. There's
	11	every county has some sort of issues with the voting
	12	systems, the voting systems that have been certified by
	13	the election commission, that's been certified by the
	14	state that nonetheless cause some sort of problems on
11:58AM	15	election day. Paper jams every county had some issue
	16	with paper jams that were using paper in the 2022
	17	election, and that's a system issue that we're now
	18	addressing.
	19	There were counties during the November
11:58AM	20	2022 that had paper issues. Paper getting paper to
	21	polling locations. They were able to get paper to
	22	polling location, just as we were, but the that was
	23	not held against them.
	24	There were polling locations in other
11:58AM	25	counties that did not open on time. In particular, I

	1	think Bell County was the county that had the order
	2	extending its polling place on the hours we did in
	3	Harris, and so there's as we talked with other
	4	election administrators, everyone has a story to tell.
11:59AM	5	The question is how great was the issue and were we able
	6	to mitigate and move forward into the next election.
	7	Q. Mr. Tatum, in your current status, as Harris
	8	County Election Administrator, under the law, the only
	9	way you can be discharged is for good and sufficient
11:59AM	10	cause; is that correct?
	11	A. That's correct.
	12	Q. Has any and has any member of the Harris
	13	County Commissioner's Court come to you and said there's
	14	good and sufficient cause for your discharge. We want
11:59AM	15	to fire you?
	16	A. No.
	17	Q. Okay. Has anybody associated with county
	18	attorney's office come to you said we've had allegations
	19	of good sufficient cause. We're going to move for
11:59AM	20	procedures to fire you?
	21	A. No.
	22	Q. So at this moment in time, the only reason,
	23	legally, you could be fired from your job is for good or
	24	sufficient cause, or if SB1750 goes into effect.
11:59AM	25	A. That is correct.

	1	Q. And there is no current good and sufficient
	2	cause to fire you, so the only way you could lose your
	3	job is if this SB1750 goes into effect.
	4	A. That's correct.
12:00PM	5	Q. And I want to ask you just a few questions
	6	based on your experience as a reason as an election
	7	administration. Is it rational that a county with a
	8	population of 3.5 million on September 1, 2023 cannot
	9	have an election administrator, but a county that
12:00PM	10	reaches that population on September 2, 2023 can?
	11	MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor; calls
	12	for a legal conclusion.
	13	THE COURT: Overruled.
	14	A. No, it's not.
12:00PM	15	Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) Is there any rational basis
	16	for a decision that a county with a population on
	17	9-1-2023 must have its county clerk run elections, but
	18	if the county grows so 9-2-2023 its population reaches
	19	3.5 million, it may have an election administrator run
12:00PM	20	its elections?
	21	A. No.
	22	Q. Same questions for voter registration. Is it
	23	rational that a county with a population of 3.5 million
	24	on September 1, 2023 cannot have an elections
12:01PM	25	administrator handling voter registration, but a county

	1	that reaches that population level on September 2, 2023
	2	can?
	3	A. No.
	4	Q. Have you ever heard anybody advance a rational
12:01PM	5	explanation for those other than they wanted to get rid
	6	of the Harris County elections administrator?
	7	A. No.
	8	Q. The technology you've described problems
	9	that you had with some with the technology that
12:01PM	10	existed, correct?
	11	A. Yes.
	12	Q. That technology had exhibit existed for a
	13	number of years; is that correct?
	14	A. Yes M ^{DEM}
12:01PM	15	Q. Were the technology was the lack of
	16	technology that you needed in your view to effectively
	17	run elections a problem that predated the elections
	18	administrator and dated back to when the county clerk
	19	was running election?
12:02PM	20	MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor; leading
	21	the witness.
	22	THE COURT: Overruled.
	23	A. Yes.
	24	Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) You were asked some
12:02PM	25	questions about some of the things that you do you

	1	have to have funding for your equipment; you have to
	2	have funding for your staff; you have to get election
	3	judges; you have to set voting locations. All those
	4	things.
12:02PM	5	Who control all of those things? Who
	6	controls your budget?
	7	A. The county commissioners control my budget.
	8	Q. Who controls whether you get funding for your
	9	equipment?
12:02PM	10	A. The commission court.
	11	Q. Who actually approves appointment of judges and
	12	voting locations?
	13	A. The commissions court.
	14	Q. So if somebody doesn't show up on time to own a
12:02PM	15	vote to open the voting location, who is the person
	16	that selected that judge?
	17	A. It depends on the election. The parties
	18	nominate the judges, so from a primary location, the
	19	parties are appointing the judges or dispatching the
12:03PM	20	judges. For the general election, the election
	21	administrators dispatch the judges.
	22	Q. And who selects who has to approve those
	23	elections?
	24	A. The county commissioners the commission
12:03PM	25	court approves the judges.

	1	Q. Okay. In 2022, there was a change in how
	2	elections were conducted in terms of where you had to
	3	vote; is that correct? That is, countywide versus
	4	precinct.
12:03PM	5	A. Countywide, I think took place in 20 in '19
	6	or '20.
	7	Q. Okay. Can you explain that difference please
	8	to the Court.
	9	A. So under the Election Code, Your Honor, there's
12:03PM	10	a precinct-based voting which means you open a polling
	11	location within a particular voter's precinct. And
	12	under countywide voting, you open precincts countywide
	13	so that a voter can go anywhere they would like to go to
	14	vote as opposed to voting at their home precinct
12:04PM	15	location.
	16	Q. So 2022 was the first gubernatorial election
	17	where there was countywide voting; is that correct?
	18	A. That is correct.
	19	Q. So people could vote anywhere they wanted to in
12:04PM	20	the county, not at their local precinct?
	21	A. That's correct.
	22	Q. Did that make prediction of exactly what
	23	turnout was going to be at every voting location more
	24	difficult because you had no historical basis?
12:04PM	25	A. That in conjunction with the redistricting

process that took place in 2020. 1 2 Q. You heard some reports that voters were turned 3 away because there were insufficient paper. Have vou heard any evidence from the voters, sworn under oath 4 that said they were unable to vote? 5 12:04PM I have not heard. 6 Α. 7 Q. Okay. And, in fact, there was actually a --8 there's a gentleman in Houston named Mr. McIngvale. He 9 runs of the leading furniture businesses in the United States, and he actually posted a peward saying if you 12:05PM 10 didn't vote, come tell me so we can use your testimony 11 12 as evidence. 13 I am aware of that. Α. Anybody take him up on the reward, that you 14 Q. know of? 15 12:05PM I don't know. 16 Α. 17 There was a republican county chair named Cindy Q. 18 Siegel, a very fine person that testified your office 19 needed to be changed before the Senate. Do you know 20 that? 12:05PM 21 Α. Yes. 22 Okay. You know Ms. Siegel, when asked -- and Q. she was portrayed and she is portrayed in the states 23 24 brief, as an election expert. Did you know that in the 25 recent trial currently ongoing, she admitted she was not 12:05PM

1 an elections expert? Objection, Your Honor. 2 MS. CELLA: 3 Relevance and leading. THE COURT: Sustained. 4 5 Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) I want to ask you just a 12:05PM couple more questions and then I'm done: As I 6 7 understand it, now is a critical moment, and if there is 8 any -- the transition is going to occur, it has the 9 serious potential of disrupting the November elections in Harris County. Is that what you're -- you've 12:06PM 10 , YDOCKE testified to? 11 12 Α. Yes. And, in fact, did I hear you correctly in your 13 Q. direct with the county that there -- you've been unable 14 to actually bring on people you need because of the 15 12:06PM 16 uncertainty about who is going to be able to run the election? 17 18 Α. That's correct. 19 Q. Okay. So the legislation -- 1750 that was 20 passed, are you telling us that is causing a problem 12:06PM 21 already with running the Harris County election? Α. 22 Yes. Then, under 1933, that applies only to counties 23 Q. with over four million in population; is that correct? 24 25 That's correct. Α. 12:06PM

	1	Q. That's only Harris County, in the State of
	2	Texas?
	3	A. That is correct.
	4	Q. The state, if there is any problem, with an
12:06PM	5	election, the Secretary of State can come in and seize
	6	control over that election over that that county's
	7	election process from either the county election
	8	administrator or can seize control over from the
	9	county clerk or tax assessor-collector; is that correct?
12:07PM	10	MS. CELLA: Objection; calls for legal
	11	conclusion.
	12	MR. SCHECHTER; Just if he knows that's
	13	what the statute says.
	14	THE COURT: Overruled.
12:07PM	15	You should answer, if you know, but don't
	16	answer if you don't.
	17	A. That is correct.
	18	Q. (BY MR. SCHECHTER) So if there is a problem,
	19	the Secretary of State can come in and seize Harris
12:07PM	20	control over Harris County and the legislation 1750 is
	21	creating a problem.
	22	A. That is correct.
	23	Q. And there's a there was a lot of testimony
	24	that's important to have an elected official running
12:07PM	25	elections in a county of 3.5 million people or more.

	1	You're familiar with that testimony?
	2	A. Yes, I am.
	3	Q. The Secretary of State or the State of Texas
	4	elected or appointed?
12:08PM	5	A. The Secretary of State is appointed.
	6	Q. So under 1933, they are returning if that
	7	goes into effect, it's simply returns control of the
	8	election to an appointed official, just a different one.
	9	A. That is correct.
12:08PM	10	MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, I have no
	11	further questions.
	12	At this time, we offer Exhibit 3 into
	13	evidence, which is the bill analysis, that would
	14	THE COURT: Any objection to intervenor
12:08PM	15	Exhibit 3?
	16	MS. CELLA: Yes, Your Honor, we object as
	17	irrelevant.
	18	THE COURT: What's the relevance?
	19	MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, the bill
12:08PM	20	analysis says the whole purpose of 1750 this was
	21	written after it was passed. The whole purpose was to
	22	effect counties that have over one million persons in
	23	population, but the statute only limits it to 3.5
	24	million, making it very clear the statute did not
12:09PM	25	does not have a rational purpose.

THE COURT: Anything else? 1 MS. CELLA: Your Honor, that's a legal 2 argument for the Court to decide, not -- it's just 3 simply not relevant to the --4 THE COURT: I think it's more -- the Court 5 12:09PM will accept it and take judicial notice of the bill 6 7 analysis for SB17 and 50. I won't admit it as evidence, 8 but certainly the Court will consider it in the purpose 9 requested. Thank you, Your Honor. MR. SCHECHTER: 10 12:09PM 11 No further questions. 12 THE COURT: Thank you. Cross -- any cross? Recross? 13 MS. CELLA: 14 Just give me one second, Your Honor. 15 12:09PM 16 ME COURT: Sure. And the time is 12:09, just so everybody's... 17 18 MS. CELLA: I have just two questions, 19 Your Honor. 20 THE COURT: Sure. 12:10PM 21 **RECROSS-EXAMINATION** BY MS. CELLA: 22 23 The tax assessor-collector and the clerk are Q. 24 elected officials; is that correct? 25 Α. That's correct. 12:10PM

1 Q. So they are accountable to the voters? Α. That is correct. 2 Q. 3 Thank you. MS. CELLA: Thank you, Your Honor. 4 THE COURT: 5 Thank you. 12:10PM 6 Anything else? 7 MR. SARKAR: No further questions, Your Honor. 8 MR. SCHECHTER: 9 No further questions from 10 12:10PM intervenor. Thank you for your time and 11 THE COURT: testimony. You're free as a witness to return to your 12 13 chair. THE WITNESS: 14 Thank you, Your Honor. THE COURT: Do plaintiffs call any other 15 12:10PM witnesses at this time? 16 MR. MILLER: The county calls Christina 17 18 Adkins. 19 THE COURT: Is Ms. Adkins in the courtroom? 20 Good morning -- - good afternoon. The 12:10PM time is 12:10, so you may approach the bench to be 21 22 sworn. 23 (The witness was sworn) 24 THE COURT: State your name for the record. 25 THE WITNESS: Christina Adkins. 12:10PM

	1	THE COURT: Thank you very much. You may
	2	have a seat to my right in the witness chair.
	3	MR. MILLER: May I approach?
	4	THE COURT: You may.
12:11PM	5	And you're Mr. Miller?
	6	MR. MILLER: Matt Miller.
	7	THE COURT: Thank you.
	8	CHRISTINA ADKINS,
	9	having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:
12:11PM	10	CROSS-EXAMINATION
	11	BY MR. MILLER:
	12	Q. Ready?
	13	A. Yes, I am.
	14	Q. Please state your name.
12:11PM	15	A. My name is Christina Adkins.
	16	Q. And what is your position?
	17	A. I'm the current director of elections for the
	18	Texas Secretary of State.
	19	Q. Are you testifying today on behalf of the
12:11PM	20	Secretary of State's office?
	21	A. I believe so.
	22	Q. Okay. Does that include the Secretary of State
	23	herself, Jane Nelson?
	24	A. I'm testifying in my official capacity as an
12:11PM	25	employee an employee of the Secretary of State's

office. 1 THE COURT: I think this is probably a good 2 3 time for the Court just to read the final stipulation of facts, which was that the testimony of Christina Adkins, 4 Texas, in fact, Elections Director will be on behalf of 5 12:11PM the office of the Texas Secretary of State combined 6 office of the office's official position. 7 8 Is that the agreement of the parties? MR. MILLER: Yes, Your Honor. 9 Yes, Your Honor. 10 MR. ELDRED: 12:12PM THE COURT: 11 Thank you very much. (BY Mr. Miller) 12 Q. If I say SB1750, do you know what that is? 13 14 I do. Α. 15 Q. What is it? 12:12PM 16 SB1750 was a bill that passed out of this past Α. legislative session. It's the bill that we've been 17 18 discussing today pertaining to the abolishment of the 19 Office the Elections Administrator. 20 Q. Correct. And SB1750 requires the abolishment 12:12PM 21 of the Election Administrator in Harris County. Is that 22 your understanding? 23 That's correct. Α. 24 Q. And SB1750 requires the tax assessor-collector 25 to become the voter registrar; is that correct? 12:12PM

	1	A. I believe that's correct.
	2	Q. Okay, and it also returns certain electoral
	3	duties and functions to the County Clerk; is that
	4	correct?
12:12PM	5	A. That's correct.
	6	Q. And if Harris County refused to abolish the EA
	7	position and give those duties to the tax assessor
	8	collector and the county clerk, it would violate the
	9	express terms of 1750, right?
12:13PM	10	A. On the face of the law, D believe that's
	11	correct.
	12	Q. On September 1st, 2023, will the Secretary of
	13	State consider the Harris County Clerk the entity
	14	responsible for certain duties and functions under the
12:13PM	15	Texas Elections Code?
	16	A. I think, on the face of the law, that's what
	17	that's what that change in the law implies.
	18	Q. Okay. The Texas Election Code requires the
	19	County Clerk to certify county election returns; is that
12:13PM	20	correct?
	21	A. That's correct.
	22	Q. After September 1, 2023, can the Secretary of
	23	State's Office commit to accept the Harris County
	24	Elections Administrator Certification?
12:13PM	25	A. I would take whatever returns were provided to

	1	our office by the county, regardless of who's providing
	2	those returns.
	3	Q. With regards to the Harris County to Harris
	4	County's duty to submit voting information on election
12:14PM	5	night, does the Secretary of State agree to commit
	6	commit to accept results from Harris County election
	7	administrator as if 1750 had never passed?
	8	A. Again, I'm going to take whatever data's
	9	provided to me on behalf of the county as long as it's
12:14PM	10	data that was that's being provided to our office
	11	pursuant to statutory obligations related to the broader
	12	election.
	13	Q. Okay. Election information and materials like
	14	the returns we're discussing have to be submitted
12:14PM	15	through the Secretary of State's electronic systems,
	16	correct?
	17	A. That's correct.
	18	Q. And is that the TEAM system?
	19	A. That's what we refer to as the TEAM system.
12:14PM	20	Q. Okay. Will the Secretary of State commit to
	21	continue allowing the Harris County elections
	22	administrator to designate the person with access to
	23	TEAMS after September 1, 2023?
	24	A. I think the individuals that have access to
12:14PM	25	TEAM, as long as we're not notified by the county that

	1	their access has been revoked, then they will continue
	2	to have access.
	3	Q. Okay. So nobody at the county is going to have
	4	to redesignate anyone?
12:15PM	5	A. I don't believe so.
	6	Q. Okay. On September 1st, 2023, who will the
	7	Secretary of State's Office consider the voter registrar
	8	of Harris County?
	9	A. By law, it would be the tax assessor-collector.
12:15PM	10	Q. Are you familiar with Chapter 19 funds?
	11	A. Iam.
	12	Q. Okay. Chapter 19 funds require the voter
	13	registrar to submit vouchers in order to get reimbursed
	14	by the state; is that correct?
12:15PM	15	A. That's correct.
	16	Q. Okay. After September 1st, is the Secretary of
	17	State's office going to accept those vouchers from the
	18	Harris County Administrator's Office?
	19	A. If there's no competing claims from the tax
12:15PM	20	assessor-collect's office if all of the registration
	21	duties are being performed by the same office, and they
	22	are the ones making those claims, I think I have no
	23	reason to assume that the processing would happen in any
	24	other way. This is not unlike the situation where the
12:16PM	25	office of the elections administrator was created. For

the most part, those individuals that were performing 1 those duties under the tax assessor-collector continue 2 3 to perform those duties under the elections administrator, and so if -- if that's the process that's 4 continuing, we have the same people acting in those 5 12:16PM We're not going to change anything. 6 roles. 7 What if we change it? What if we change the Q. 8 person who is designated -- what if the Harris County 9 Elections Administrator decides that Rodney Ellis should be the person who should return $-\mathfrak{O}$ should be submitting 10 12:16PM that, will the Secretary of State commit to accepting 11 12 that information? I think that I would have to have a little more 13 Α. 14 I think it depends on what -- why that facts than that. designation was changed, like to what individuals within 15 12:16PM 16 the office. And I think -- I mean, I think, yeah, it 17 would depend on who the change was -- like to who the 18 change was made. 19 Q. I guess I'm a little confused by your answer. If the Harris County Elections Administrator, as of 20 12:17PM 21 right now, can change the designation of who has TEAMS 22 access or who can submit the vouchers under the Chapter 19 reimbursements, is that going to change on September 23 1st, 2023? 24 25 The example you gave was Rodney Ellis, which Α. 12:17PM

	1	is, I believe, not somebody that would be authorized to
	2	perform election duties under the Election Code, so I
	3	think that's what I mean it's a little fact specific
	4	because of who they are changing that designation to.
12:17PM	5	Q. Right, but
	6	A. If it's another employee within the office,
	7	then we're going to continue to process as we did
	8	before.
	9	Q. If it's another employee within the election
12:17PM	10	administrator office?
	11	A. Sure, or the tax assessor-collector's office,
	12	whatever is going on with that local transition I
	13	assume that there would be some kind of transition
	14	process in place, and I mean, that's that's up to
12:17PM	15	the county to determine what that process is going to
	16	be. We're not going to stop providing funds or stop
	17	we're not going to prevent people from completing their
	18	statutory duties because of a transition that's
	19	happening locally.
12:18PM	20	Q. I guess I'm a little confused by your answer.
	21	Why is why is it different for someone like Rodney
	22	Ellis?
	23	A. Well, because by law, there are certain offices
	24	that are designated as those that can perform election
12:18PM	25	duties. There isn't anything in the law that says you

	1	can transfer your election duties to a county
	2	commissioner, a county judge. I mean, we're talking
	3	about either the office of the elections administrator
	4	or a tax assessor-collector when we're talking about
12:18PM	5	Chapter 19.
	6	Q. Right. I understand that, but the election
	7	administrator is the one who is in power to designate
	8	and they can designate anyone, can't they?
	9	A. If they are acting in their official capacity
12:19PM	10	for that office.
	11	Q. Right, and after September 1, 2023, will the
	12	Harris County Election Administrator be operating in
	13	that capacity to be able to appoint whoever he wants?
	14	A. I mean, I don't know. I think that's what
12:19PM	15	we're part of why we're here today is I think we're
	16	trying to figure out what happens on September 1.
	17	Q. Right. So you can't commit to to accepting
	18	whoever Harris County elections administrator would
	19	designate as having access to the TEAMs system or to
12:19PM	20	submit Chapter 19 vouchers.
	21	A. I think when you're asking me in a very broad
	22	way like that, I'm a little concerned because I want to
	23	make sure if we're talking about the transfer of
	24	government funds, that it's those individuals or there
12:19PM	25	is some authority in the law for them to receive those

	1	funds on behalf of the county, but I don't think we're
	2	going to I have no plans on cutting access to the
	3	county on September 1 because there's a dispute as to
	4	who is holding that authority under the law, with
12:20PM	5	respect to a tax assessor-collector or an elections
	6	administrator. They are making legal requests. If they
	7	are complying with Chapter 19 and submitting the right
	8	documentation, as long as I don't have two different
	9	offices competing for the same funds, then I think we
12:20PM	10	would make a distribution as we normally would.
	11	Q. Are you familiar with Texas Election Code
	12	18.061? It deals the statewide computer voter
	13	A. It's
	14	Qregistration list.
12:21PM	15	A. Yes. Uh-huh.
	16	Q. Okay, Under under Section C of that 18.061
	17	of the Texas Election Code, it states that each voter
	18	registrar shall provide to the Secretary of State on an
	19	expedited basis the information necessary to obtain the
12:21PM	20	registration list.
	21	Does that coincide with your
	22	understanding of
	23	A. Yes, sir, it does. Uh-huh.
	24	Q. If that information that the voter registrar's
12:21PM	25	supposed to submit is submitted by the Harris County

	1	Elections Administrator, will the Secretary of State
	2	commit to accepting that information?
	3	A. As long as there's no competing data coming
	4	from another office, like the County Clerk's Office or
12:21PM	5	the Tax Assessor-Collector Office, then absolutely, yes.
	6	Q. Okay. So would the Secretary of State's Office
	7	then commit to refraining from referring any submission
	8	issues to the Attorney General under 18.065 as it
	9	relates to the secretary of as it relates to the
12:22PM	10	voter registrar provision, the basis of which is that
	11	the Harris County elections administrator had been
	12	abolished under 1750?
	13	A. I think as long as we're not getting competing
	14	data from two different offices purporting to fulfill
12:22PM	15	the same role, we re going to take the data that the
	16	county provides.
	17	Q. Are you familiar with 1933 SB1933?
	18	A. Iam.
	19	Q. Okay. And you're aware that under SB1933, the
12:23PM	20	Secretary of State can investigate complaints filed
	21	against Harris County, correct?
	22	A. That's correct .
	23	Q. Okay, and you're also aware that under 1933,
	24	the Secretary of State has the ability to impose
12:23PM	25	administrative oversight of Harris County elections?

	1	A. That's correct.
	2	Q. Will the is it fair to say that the
	3	Secretary of State cannot commit to refraining to use
	4	1750's abolishment as a basis for investigation under
12:23PM	5	1933?
	6	A. If you look at 1933, they have a very discrete
	7	list of individuals who can submit complaints. They
	8	also have to establish a recurring pattern of problems
	9	specific to election administration and voter
12:23PM	10	registration. I think an act of the legislature doesn't
	11	necessarily conform to the requirements of 1933. So
	12	that act of the legislature doesn't meet the
	13	requirements for triggering 1933 in the administrative
	14	oversight under 1933
12:24PM	15	Q. Okay. So you would not use the abolition of
	16	the EA's office under 1750 as a basis to investigate
	17	Harris County under 1933.
	18	A. That's correct. I don't see that as anything
	19	that would be that 1933 would authorize.
12:24PM	20	Q. Okay. And is that the same for the as a
	21	basis for administrative oversight of Harris County's
	22	elections you wouldn't use abolishment under 1750?
	23	A. I would agree with that. I don't think there
	24	is anything in the law that says that that's something
12:24PM	25	that could be considered.

MR. MILLER: Okay. Pass the witness, 1 Your Honor. 2 THE COURT: Direct? How much time do you 3 need for direct? 4 MS. CELLA: Probably not very much, Your 5 12:24PM Honor. Maybe five minutes or so, but I would request 6 7 the intervenor take testimony before the defendants. 8 THE COURT: Are there any cross-examination 9 questions from the intervenor? How much time do you 10 need? 12:25PM Yes, Your Honor. MR. BIRNBERG: 11 Werre almost at 12:30. 12 THE COURT: I need to provide a comfort break to everyone, including our 13 court reporter. 14 15 MR. BIRNBERG: I'd take a comfort break. 12:25PM 16 THE COURT: Why don't we take a 10-minute Court's in recess until 12:35. You may step 17 recess. 18 down. Thank you. 19 And you-all are excused. Please be back 20 and ready to go at 12:35. Thank you. 12:25PM 21 Court's in recess. 22 (Recess) 23 THE COURT: You may proceed. 24 Thank you, Your Honor Gerald MR. BIRNBERG: 25 Birnberg on behalf of the intervenor Cliff Tatum, by the 12:36PM

	1	way.
	2	CROSS-EXAMINATION
	3	BY MR. BIRNBERG:
	4	Q. Ms. Adkins, you are the Director of Elections
12:36PM	5	in the Elections Division of the Texas Secretary of
	6	State's office; is that correct?
	7	A. Yes, sir; that's correct.
	8	Q. What does Director of Elections do?
	9	A. So, my responsibility is to oversee the
12:36PM	10	elections division, which consists of several different
	11	parts. We've got our team that manages the TEAM system,
	12	the Texas Election Management System, which is voter
	13	registration and management system provide support to
	14	counties on utilizing that system to make sure that the
12:37PM	15	state has the data that we're required to have.
	16	We have a team of attorneys that provide
	17	advice and assistance to counties with respect to what
	18	the laws are, pertaining to Texas elections. We've got
	19	a training team that provides training for county
12:37PM	20	election officials on best practices, security issues,
	21	chain of custody. We have our elections funds
	22	management team that oversees the administration of
	23	funds to the state or to the parties, applicable parties
	24	to our counties when appropriate, so a lot of different
12:37PM	25	moving parts, and I oversee all of that.

1 Q. And how long have you been with the Elections Division of the Texas Secretary of State's office? 2 3 I have been with the elections division since Α. 2012. 4 So have you and I dealt with one another? 5 Q. Ι 12:37PM used to be the chair of Harris County Democratic party--6 7 Yes, sir, I believe we have corresponded Α. 8 before. Even spoken on the phone. 9 Q. We have, indeed. So your position now is the director of elections is one basically of the overseeing 10 12:38PM all election activities over of the 254 counties in the 11 State of Texas. Is that fair? 12 I think that's a little bit broad. I mean, my 13 Α. obligations and duties, first and foremost, fulfilling 14 the statutory obligations that are placed on our office 15 12:38PM 16 and service to the counties. You know, we have a very decentralized system of elections in Texas, and so there 17 18 is limitations on what I can do with respect to telling 19 the counties how to run their election. 20 Q. When a local county has any issue associated 12:38PM 21 with running of an election, they call you or your office; is that correct? 22 23 Α. We hope they do. 24 And that includes approval of budgets for Q. 25 running primaries is an example, correct? 12:38PM

	1	A. That well, that is correct. Well, I would
	2	say it's not so much on the county's part, but the state
	3	does fund the primary election to a certain extent and
	4	so there are funding mechanisms in place for
12:38PM	5	redistributing funds to local party chairs.
	6	Q. And you only distribute them once you approve
	7	the expenditure; isn't that correct?
	8	A. Yes, sir.
	9	Q. You, in fact, propose budgets of for the
12:39PM	10	running of elections. How many Thow much money can be
	11	devoted to paying for voting sites and for equipment,
	12	and rental equipment. Those sorts of thing?
	13	A. Yes, sir. There are some rules that provide
	14	some boundaries on how the primary funds can be spent.
12:39PM	15	Q. One of the things your office does is it
	16	suggests how a bit more than suggests. Suggests by
	17	regulatory suggestion, the the number of how to
	18	predict the number of voters who will show up and vote
	19	in any given voting location. Isn't that true?
12:39PM	20	A. I I believe you're referring to there's a
	21	statutory provision in the Election Code that talks
	22	about supplies and how much ballot paper how many
	23	ballots you're supposed to provide at a given location;
	24	that's correct.
12:39PM	25	Q. And in addition to how many you know, the

	1	election workers should be assigned, your office
	2	provides the guidance through the at least in primary
	3	elections, the local parties in that regard?
	4	A. Yes, sir, and that is what I was going to say.
12:40PM	5	With respect to the primary, we have more of a say in
	6	the funding. A little bit more control there, but as
	7	far as locally, most of those decisions are made by
	8	local county commissioners or local entities, ordering
	9	the election.
12:40PM	10	Q. And you mention the most of those decisions are
	11	also made by the local commissioners. In fact, most of
	12	the work that is undertaken by county elections
	13	administrator has to be approved by the commissioner's
	14	court. Isn't that true?
12:40PM	15	A. I would agree with that, yes, sir.
	16	Q. So the elections administrator does receive
	17	some significant control in supervision by the
	18	commissioner's court. They control all the money?
	19	A. They control the budget.
12:40PM	20	Q. They control who gets appointed to be precinct
	21	presiding judges or alternate judges of election
	22	sites, correct?
	23	A. There are some statutory appointments they
	24	make. Often times, with in conjunction with
12:41PM	25	information provided by political parties.

	1	Q. They decide how many voting locations there
	2	should be?
	3	A. Yes, sir.
	4	Q. Or at least they approve the decision the
12:41PM	5	recommendation in that regard in the elections?
	6	A. Yes, sir, as long as it's compliant with the
	7	law.
	8	Q. Pretty much everything that the election
	9	administrators does has to be approved by the elected
12:41PM	10	commissioners. Isn't that fair?
	11	A. I wouldn't say everything that they do, but a
	12	lot of the big decisions related to specific elections
	13	have to go through that public process of being
	14	validated by Commissioners Court.
12:41PM	15	Q. Okay. The Secretary of State's Office provides
	16	guidance on how counties should predict how many people
	17	that are going to appear at vote in any given election
	18	at any given polling site. You got a formula
	19	published
12:41PM	20	A. Yes, sir.
	21	Qin the Administrative Code.
	22	A. Yes.
	23	Q. So your office is at least making suggestions
	24	as to how the number of voters is to be determined.
12:42PM	25	A. I would say that our office has a statutory

	1	obligation to do two very large things in the election
	2	process. We provide advice and assistance regarding the
	3	application of laws in Texas and how they relate to
	4	elections, and it's also our job to maintain uniformity
12:42PM	5	in the administration of elections in Texas and so we
	6	issue a lot of guidance and directives to try to meet
	7	the statutory obligation.
	8	Q. And, by the way, your boss is the Secretary of
	9	State; isn't that correct?
12:42PM	10	A. Yes, sir.
	11	Q. The Secretary of State is the chief elections
	12	officer of this of this state; isn't that right?
	13	A. That's correct
	14	Q. What does that duty entail?
12:42PM	15	A. Well, I've given you a little preview of that.
	16	If you look in the Texas Election Code, Chapter 31 of
	17	the Election Code, it details many of the obligations
	18	that are on the Office of Secretary of State's Office.
	19	It provides the express statutory authority for the
12:43PM	20	creation of the elections division to help administer
	21	those statutory obligations, such as: Providing advise
	22	and assistance; obtain and maintain uniformity;
	23	promulgation of official forms; administering certain
	24	types of funding to the county; state funding or certain
12:43PM	25	types of federal grants that may come down. We

	1	administer a voting rights hotline where people can call
	2	in with questions, and then we do a number of other
	3	things like the certification of electronic voting
	4	systems. I mean, all of this is defined in the Texas
12:43PM	5	Election Code.
	6	Q. You actually are the ones to certify the voting
	7	equipment that the counties can purchase if they wish to
	8	do so; is that right?
	9	A. Yes, sir; that's correct.
12:43PM	10	Q. It sounds like relatively comprehensive
	11	responsibility with the Secretary of State has to assure
	12	that the elections in the state are secure and
	13	efficiently and effectively performed. Would that be a
	14	fair overview of the role of the Secretary of State
12:43PM	15	running elections?
	16	A. I think that that is our intention to try to do
	17	that. We can provide that information. We can provide
	18	that guidance, and when appropriate, we can, you know,
	19	meet certain statutory obligations, but it's up to the
12:44PM	20	county to take our guidance.
	21	Q. And is your office accessible to the public?
	22	A. I believe so.
	23	Q. Is it transparent?
	24	A. As much as we can be, yes, sir.
12:44PM	25	Q. Is it headed by an elected official?

	1	A. No, it's a our secretary is appointed by the
	2	governor.
	3	Q. Appointed; is that correct?
	4	A. Yes, sir.
12:44PM	5	Q. So apparently all of these Texas's elected
	6	system in which the ultimate responsibility for its
	7	elections so the smooth running of its elections is
	8	placed upon an appointed official, not an elected
	9	official; is that correct?
12:44PM	10	A. That's correct.
	11	Q. Are you familiar with you are familiar,
	12	you've already testified that you are, with Senate Bill
	13	1750, right?
	14	A. Yes, sir.
12:44PM	15	Q. What is the underlying theory or basis of 1750?
	16	What's it about?
	17	🥙 MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor; calls
	18	for
	19	MR. BIRNBERG: That was I agree. That
12:45PM	20	was a poorly-worded question.
	21	I'm sorry. Do you want to rule on that
	22	or
	23	THE COURT: It sounds like you're going to
	24	withdraw.
12:45PM	25	MR. BIRNBERG: I'm withdrawing that

1 question for sure.

	2	THE COURT: So no ruling needed.
	3	Q. (BY MR. BIRNBERG) Here's what I'm getting at:
	4	Isn't the notion of 1750 we had some problems in
12:45PM	5	River City; we had some problem in Harris County, so we
	6	think that the way to fix problems in big population
	7	centers is to increase accessibility and transparency by
	8	making the person who is in charge of the elections
	9	accountable to the voters, and so we're going to move
12:45PM	10	those responsibilities by the way, moving the
	11	personnel, we're just going to change who's ultimately
	12	responsible for those two functions to an elected
	13	official.
	14	Isn't that the whole underlying notion
12:46PM	15	that 1750 seeks to achieve?
	16	MS. CELLA: Objection, Your Honor; calls
	17	for a legal conclusion.
	18	THE COURT: Overruled.
	19	A. I think 1750 is taking an appointed office and
12:46PM	20	moving it back to two elected official, and as for the
	21	intention behind that, that's more a legislative
	22	question.
	23	Q. (BY MR. BIRNBERG) Well, isn't the reason for
	24	that because that would increase transparency and
12:46PM	25	accessibility?

	1	A. I think that was the argument that was made in
	2	several hearings with respect to that bill, but putting
	3	that putting the power of those positions back to
	4	somebody that has accountability to voters.
12:46PM	5	Q. To voters.
	6	A. Uh-huh.
	7	Q. And I think the state argued that Harris County
	8	is a super big county and; therefore, it needs an
	9	elected head of each of the divisions, joining these
12:46PM	10	offices. But Texas is a super big state, isn't it?
	11	A. I would agree with that.
	12	Q. Can you explain to me why it's rational to say
	13	that Harris County needs to have these functions being
	14	performed by elected official as opposed to an appointed
12:47PM	15	official, but the entire State of Texas can have its
	16	chief election official be an appointed official rather
	17	than elected official.
	18	A. Those are decisions that were made by the Texas
	19	Legislature. I mean, those aren't decisions I can
12:47PM	20	really speak to.
	21	Q. From your perspective, as the Director of
	22	Elections in Texas, can you posit a rational explanation
	23	why the Secretary of State can handle these as an
	24	appointed official without being accountable to the
12:47PM	25	voters, but Harris County can't?

	1	A. We have a decentralized nature of elections in
	2	Texas. The State doesn't run elections; our counties
	3	run election. When we have a large election, for
	4	example, or general election for state and county
12:48PM	5	officers November of 2022 or 2024, we don't really have
	6	one election that's taking place that day. We have 254
	7	elections that are taking place. We coordinate the
	8	dissemination of certain types of data. We have
	9	statutory obligations related to voter registration
12:48PM	10	lists and collecting election retorns.
	11	Q. And auditing.
	12	A. Correct. Now we have that obligation as well.
	13	But the day-to-day operations of an election, actually
	14	conducting the election, that's all done by counties.
12:48PM	15	Q. Except for 1933. 1933 Senate Bill 1933
	16	becomes effective, then if there's a complaint at least
	17	by any number of individuals, you have authority to
	18	not only authority, but an obligation to seize
	19	supervisory control of how the elections are run in
12:48PM	20	those counties, if your investigation confirms the
	21	allegations. Is that true?
	22	A. I disagree with your characterization of that.
	23	Q. Okay. Re correct it.
	24	A. I don't believe that the text of that bill has
12:49PM	25	anything to do with our office seizing control or

	1	seizing decisionmaking from the county. If you look at
	2	the text of the bill, administrative oversight involves
	3	reviewing policies and procedures. It it involves
	4	monitoring. It involves helping those that county
12:49PM	5	that may be impacted be compliant with the law. That's
	6	not the same thing as taking over and making decisions
	7	on their behalf. It's not the same thing as taking over
	8	and stepping into that role. Running day-to-day
	9	operations of the county. If you read the text of the
12:49PM	10	bill, it reads, to me, as though ot's about ensuring
	11	legal compliance.
	12	Q. What about Section 31.021B, for example, and
	13	Section 31.037, for example, both of which provide that
	14	if at the conclusion of your audit, you determine that
12:49PM	15	an elections administrator in a county with more than
	16	four million people hasn't performed the duties of the
	17	office adequately, you terminate the office.
	18	A. Well, I think that there's a lot of steps
	19	between initiating administrative oversight, and that
12:50PM	20	part of the bill that leads to that point.
	21	Q. But it but the bill does give you that
	22	authority, doesn't it?
	23	A. Eventually. After after a number of other
	24	actions, and
12:50PM	25	Q. And only

	1	A. Involvement.
	2	Q. It only applies to a county of four million
	3	population or greater, right?
	4	A. That's how the bill reads.
12:50PM	5	Q. How many of those are there?
	6	A. I'm not aware of any other in Texas that meet
	7	the population threshold other than Harris County.
	8	Q. Harris County, just that one.
	9	So under 7 under 1933, the Secretary
12:50PM	10	of State will have the authority ∞ terminate the
	11	elections administrator after this investigation is
	12	completed, right?
	13	A. After an investigation and ongoing monitoring
	14	and periodic reports. There's a number of transparency
12:50PM	15	measures in place in that bill that I think are
	16	important to highlight.
	17	Q. After that happens, the Secretary of State
	18	could terminate the elections administrator in Harris
	19	County, correct?
12:50PM	20	A. That's correct.
	21	Q. How can that be if the elections administrator
	22	has already been terminated by 1750?
	23	A. You're right. If there is no elections
	24	administrator in place and there's no election
12:51PM	25	administrator for our office to terminate.

	1	Q. So those two sections from 1933 I mentioned are
	2	inherently inconsistent with 1750, aren't they?
	3	A. I believe there's some other provisions in 1933
	4	speaking to elected officials in there too.
12:51PM	5	Q. Oh, there are additional 1933
	6	A. Uh-huh.
	7	Qbut the two provisions that I mentioned give
	8	the Secretary of State the authority to terminate the
	9	elections administrator in Harris County are meaningless
12:51PM	10	if 1750 is in effect, aren't they
	11	A. I would say the specific office of elections
	12	administrator, but if you look at 1933, it addresses
	13	potentially elected official as well.
	14	Q. Not to be argumentative, but certainly that's
12:51PM	15	true with other sections of the bill that's specifically
	16	with the regards to section 31.021B and 31.037B, those
	17	apply only to the elections administrator, and the
	18	ability to terminate and suspend, discipline that office
	19	in Harris County.
12:52PM	20	A. I would agree that those particular provisions
	21	that you're that you are referencing, specifically
	22	mention the office office of elections administrator,
	23	but I think if you're trying to characterize the bill,
	24	you need to look at the rest of the provisions in that
12:52PM	25	subsection.

	1	Q. Okay.
	2	So the state was arguing earlier by
	3	the way because well, first, if you didn't have
	4	1750, you still have control over the office; control is
12:52PM	5	too strong of a term. If you have an ability to do
	6	something to modify a misbehavior in the office, or
	7	under the former office of elections administrator, if
	8	you don't have 1750, you still have 1933 that gives the
	9	Secretary of the State the ability to terminate those
12:53PM	10	offices after the investigation supervision, right?
	11	A. I would agree that 1933, following that process
	12	that's in place there, it does ultimately give the state
	13	the ability to terminate elections administrator if 1750
	14	weren't in place.
12:53PM	15	Q. So if 1750, for example, were temporarily
	16	enjoined from going into effect, you still have 1933
	17	that the Secretary of State could exercise some
	18	supervisory authority over the Elections Administrator
	19	based upon would that not be a fair statement?
12:53PM	20	A. I would agree assuming administrative oversight
	21	is triggered. You know, there are things that would
	22	have to have happen before administrative oversight is
	23	ordered.
	24	Q. Misconduct
12:53PM	25	A. Assuming all of that were to happen, in this

	i	
	1	hypothetical, yes, that ability for the Secretary of
	2	State's Office to terminate Elections Administrator
	3	exists.
	4	Q. And earlier when 1933 was being discussed, the
12:54PM	5	State's objection was, well, wait a minute, that's not a
	6	good enough remedy for us because the earliest the
	7	Secretary of State could regulate by firing the
	8	Elections Administrator, under 1933, would be December,
	9	2024.
12:54PM	10	Do you recall that testimony of that
	11	effect?
	12	A. I recall that, yes, sir.
	13	Q. What would be the earliest that the voter could
	14	regulate the misperformance or under-performance by the
12:54PM	15	Tax Assessor-Collector of Harris County, about firing
	16	that person by not reelected her?
	17	A. The earliest?
	18	Q. Yes.
	19	A. 2024.
12:54PM	20	Q. Well
	21	A. I think.
	22	Q. The election November 7, 2024, but that
	23	wouldn't replace the office until January, 2025; isn't
	24	that correct?
12:54PM	25	A. That's correct.

Q. All right. So on one hand, we could have 1933,
when we could get rid of somebody in December of 2024,
or on the other hand, we could have voters regulate by
firing the tax assessor, which would be effective in
12:55PM 5 2025.

Well, there's also another provision in the 6 Α. 7 local Government Code relating to removal of somebody 8 from office, and it could -- a voter that's within that 9 territory, if they find that -- if they think that there's grounds for removal, it's dictated in the local 10 12:55PM Government Code they could file suit to have somebody 11 12 removed prior to the end of their term.

Q. Correct, but if the premise of 1750 is we need
to give the voters the ability to basically get rid of
somebody who's not performing the election functions
properly, the earliest that could happen, that the
voters replacing the tax assessor-collector in Harris
County would be January 1st, 2025.

A. I would say the earliest that any action that
could occur as a result of election, that's correct, but
I don't want to discount the other provisions in law
that do provide for voters being able to initiate suits
for bad actions on the part of--

Q. What's the earliest date the voters could fire12:56PM 25 the County Clerk in Harris County?

	1	A. 2026.
	2	Q. Pardon?
	3	A. I think it's they were just elected in 2022,
	4	so 2026.
12:56PM	5	Q. Well, actually yes?
	6	A. Is that right?
	7	Q. January 2026, so 1933 is not never mind.
	8	Withdraw that. Let me move on.
	9	Who was the last person who was in the
12:56PM	10	office of county clerk at the time of the county clerk
	11	in Harris County was running elections?
	12	A. I believe that was Chris Hollins.
	13	Q. Yes, Mr. Hollands. During Mr. Hollins'
	14	administration of elections in Harris County, how many
12:56PM	15	times did the State of Texas sue him?
	16	A. Oh, I don't
	17	Q. Six-month period of time relating to 2020
	18	election?
	19	A. I don't know the answer to that question.
12:56PM	20	Several times, I believe.
	21	Q. Several times. He was sued over issues
	22	relating to mailing out ballot providing mail-in
	23	ballot applications to all everybody in Harris
	24	County, do you recall that?
12:57PM	25	A. I do recall that.

	1	Q. He was sued over his willingness to accept a
	2	fear of COVID as a disability. Do you remember that?
	3	A. That sounds right.
	4	Q. He was sued over 24-hour voting. Do you recall
12:57PM	5	that?
	6	A. I do.
	7	Q. He was sued over drive-through voting. Do you
	8	recall that?
	9	A. Yes.
12:57PM	10	Q. And, in fact, in 2020, he was sued because over
	11	a dozen of the voting locations didn't open timely, and;
	12	therefore, there was a lawsuit to extend the voting
	13	hours by an hour in Harois County. Do you remember
	14	that?
12:57PM	15	A. Yes.
	16	Q. That was all when it was a county clerk who was
	17	in charge of running the elections, right?
	18	A. That's correct.
	19	Q. Okay. So why never mind. I'll leave it at
12:57PM	20	that and deal with that.
	21	The you made an observation that
	22	moving from the elections administrator back to tax
	23	assessor-collector and county clerk would be not not
	24	unlike what happened previously when we moved from those
12:58PM	25	two offices to the elections administrator.

	1	Do you recall that comment?
	2	A. Yes, that the transition that we're talking
	3	about is not entirely dissimilar from that.
	4	Q. It's not dissimilar. And a point in fact there
12:58PM	5	is a statutory transition that's provided for to allow
	6	several months for an elections administrator to become
	7	acclimated to the job or the duties are turned over to
	8	that person; isn't that right?
	9	A. That's correct. They can institute that.
12:58PM	10	Q. And in fact?
	11	A. That transition period.
	12	Q. Sorry. The statute itself says that's an order
	13	to facilitate a smooth transition, right?
	14	A. That's correct.
12:59PM	15	Q. Would you agree that a smooth transition
	16	requires something other than a sudden and instant
	17	turning over. It requires several months and should not
	18	be undertaken in the middle or near the end of an
	19	ongoing election.
12:59PM	20	A. I would say that any transition like that that
	21	has to occur, the parties need to plan and prepare for
	22	that, so whenever that target date is for that
	23	transition happening, they should work backwards to
	24	figure out what they need to do to make that transition
12:59PM	25	happen.

	1	Q. If the notion in 1750 is that voters can
	2	basically pressure public officials to get better
	3	results in the running of elections, how many public
	4	officials supervise Clifford Tatum?
12:59PM	5	A. Well, the Office of Elections Administrator,
	6	for the most part, it's county commissioners that handle
	7	the budget issues related to that office.
	8	Q. And that's five elected officials, isn't it,
	9	right there?
01:00PM	10	A. That's correct.
	11	Q. And he can be fired by the Elections
	12	Commission, correct?
	13	A. They can recommend termination, but they can't
	14	actually fire him, if I recall.
01:00PM	15	Q. Well
	16	A. I believe it has to be ratified by commissioner
	17	court.
	18	Q. Yeah, not quibbling over terminology. I think
	19	they actually pass a resolution to fire which has to be
01:00PM	20	approved by commissioners before
	21	A. Correct.
	22	Qit becomes in effect. You would agree?
	23	A. It's a two-part process.
	24	THE COURT: Mr. Birnberg, you've gone well
01:00PM	25	over your requested time.

	1	MR. BIRNBERG: This is going to be my last
	2	question, Your Honor.
	3	Q. (BY MR. BIRNBERG) So that ten elected
	4	officials that he is answerable to, right? The five
01:00PM	5	elected officials on the commission of the on the
	6	commissioners court.
	7	A. Yes, I think the math is correct there.
	8	MR. BIRNBERG: And the Court is correct,
	9	and I apologize.
01:01PM	10	THE COURT: Thank you.
	11	MR. BIRNBERG: I pass the witness.
	12	THE COURT: Okay. Direct examination, if
	13	the State chooses.
	14	MS. CELLA: Thank you, Your Honor, I'll be
01:01PM	15	brief.
	16	DIRECT EXAMINATION
	17	BY MS. CELLA:
	18	Q. Good afternoon. Can you explain how 1933
	19	works.
01:01PM	20	A. Senate Bill 1933, this is the bill that we've
	21	been discussing that involves administrative oversight.
	22	In order for the state to institute any kind of
	23	administrative oversight, there has to be something that
	24	triggers that. What the bill outlines, the first part
01:01PM	25	of the bill discusses complaints that are filed by, you

know, discrete list of individuals, individuals that
 typically have a little bit of a higher interaction with
 the county with respect to elections, they can submit
 this complaint.

5 If the complaints indicate a recurring 01:01PM pattern of problems in the administration of elections 6 7 and voter registration activities, then the state can 8 initiate a process like an investigative process where 9 we go back and forth with the county to try to determine If we're not able to obtain a resolution 01:01PM 10 the issue. 11 through that process, then the state can place the county under administrative oversight for a defined 12 period of time. 13

14 Q. So there has to be a complaint or can the01:02PM 15 Secretary of State also initiate that action?

A. There's another provision in Senate Bill 1933
regarding auditing activities, and the state, based on
preliminary findings from some of the audits that we
have to conduct that by statute we have to conduct that
could be used as a vehicle also to place a county under
administrative oversight.

Q. We talked earlier, or you talked earlier about
 competing claims for funds or competing returns came in.
 Things of that nature. Has that ever happened?
 01:02PM 25 A. To my knowledge, we have not had multiple

	1	offices request funds on behalf of the same county.
	2	Q. And how about for returns?
	3	A. To my knowledge, we've never had that problem.
	4	Q. Are you aware of any problems with Harris
01:03PM	5	County's elections during any of the time from 2020
	6	through the current through the last election, I
	7	should say, which is when they had the elections
	8	administrative position?
	9	A. I think there have been very public accounts of
01:03PM	10	some issues that have occurred, specifically in their
	11	preliminary election and in their November 2022
	12	election. Both elections in 2022, but the primary and
	13	general election.
	14	Q. And can you do you know do you personally
01:03PM	15	know of those issues or some of those problems?
	16	A. There are some issues that I can speak to.
	17	Q. Okay. Can you tell the Court what those issues
	18	were.
	19	A. With respect to the primary election, there was
01:03PM	20	an issue with respect to the accuracy of their returns.
	21	The initial information that was reported on their
	22	reconciliation form was missing some information that
	23	had a discrepancy of about 10,000 votes. We worked with
	24	the county over the next, you know, week or so to try to
01:04PM	25	help address that issue, but they did have to do some

	1	things to fix the or address the 10,000 vote
	2	discrepancy. In the primary, itself, they also had a
	3	situation where the reporting of their returns were
	4	they were delays because they needed more time to count.
01:04PM	5	That was an issue that we worked with county, or
	6	attempted to work with the county on prior to election
	7	day, but subsequently became a problem on election
	8	night, when they identified that they were not going to
	9	be able to complete their returns by the statutory
01:04PM	10	timeframe.
	11	In November of 2022, the two big problems
	12	that were publicly known, there were some equipment
	13	issues out in the field, during early voting and
	14	election day. They were having problems with ballots
01:04PM	15	scanning properly, and so that was something that the
	16	county I knew worked to address with their workers to
	17	make sure that the right process was followed, and I
	18	think there was some, you know, differing instructions
	19	or processes that were followed with respect to that
01:05PM	20	issue, and then there were allegations of ballot paper
	21	shortages in some locations that may have impacted the
	22	ability for these locations to accept and process
	23	voters.
	24	Q. And were there any other issues that you're
01:05PM	25	aware of during those elections?

	1	A. Those are the broad issues. With respect to
	2	the primary, we had a lot of concern on the part of the
	3	political parties from kind of on the administrative
	4	side of elections with the assignment of workers and how
01:05PM	5	that information was being communicated, and whether
	6	workers were being the proper workers provided by the
	7	parties were being utilized. We did have to work with
	8	the party chairs, both Republican and Democratic chair
	9	on that issue to make sure the county was compliant in
01:05PM	10	that area.
	11	And I think - Think beyond that, just
	12	the kind of day-to-day problems that you normally have
	13	in an election where you may have difficulty opening a
	14	location because of equipment problems in that location
01:06PM	15	or problems with individual places itself. Those are, I
	16	think, the larger issues that we were involved in that I
	17	have direct knowledge of those, and some of those
	18	allegations.
	19	Q. Thank you.
01:06PM	20	MS. CELLA: That's all the questions I
	21	have, Your Honor.
	22	THE COURT: Thank you.
	23	Anything else?
	24	MR. MILLER: Yes, very brief recross,
01:06PM	25	Your Honor.

	1	THE COURT: Very brief, please.
	2	RECROSS-EXAMINATION
	3	BY MR. MILLER:
	4	Q. Ms. Adkins, Texas Election Code 678.034
01:06PM	5	requires the county clerk to transmit election results
	6	for the county unless county has lawfully transferred
	7	election administrative duties to a tax assessor or a
	8	county election administrator; is that right?
	9	A. I believe that's what that code provision says.
01:06PM	10	Q. After September 1st, 2023, Harris County
	11	Elections Administrator Clifford Tatum, will no longer
	12	be the authorized elections administrator
	13	administration official in Harris County, right?
	14	A. By law; that's correct.
01:07PM	15	Q. He will no longer legal be legally
	16	authorized to submit election results; is that right?
	17	A. Weil, I would say that based on what you're
	18	saying that the law says, there, it defines certain
	19	individuals, but it's not uncommon for us to take
01:07PM	20	information from individuals other than that named
	21	election official, for example that county clerk
	22	administrator is not often the one that provides that
	23	data. To us, it's usually other individuals in the
	24	office that transmit the data.
01:07PM	25	Q. I don't really think that answers my question.

	1	Clifford Tatum will no longer be the legally-authorized
	2	person to submit election results; is that correct?
	3	A. I think, by law, I would agree that that's what
	4	that provision says.
01:07PM	5	Q. And your testimony is that despite that, you
	6	will accept election results from Clifford Tatum in a
	7	legally defunct office?
	8	A. Absolutely. I'm not going to be in a position
	9	where we're disenfranchising up to 2.5 million
01:08PM	10	registered voters.
	11	Q. So you'll accept those, regardless of whether
	12	accepting those results follows the Election Code.
	13	A. Provided that we're not getting conflicting
	14	data from another office, yes, I would take that data.
01:08PM	15	Again, I'm not going to jeopardize a statewide election.
	16	I'm not going to jeopardize a mayoral race in Houston.
	17	I'm not going to put those elections in jeopardy because
	18	an administrative issue like this.
	19	Q. And is it your testimony that the Secretary of
01:08PM	20	State will take no action if Mr. Tatum continues to run
	21	elections despite being a legally defunct office?
	22	A. I can't commit to that.
	23	Q. You cannot commit.
	24	A. I cannot commit to that because I don't know
01:08PM	25	what might happen in the next few months that might

	1	warrant or necessitate some clarification.
	2	Q. You would agree with me there would be no legal
	3	authority for for example the Harris County
	4	Commissioner Adrian Garcia to run elections in Harris
01:08PM	5	County, right?
	6	A. I would agree with that.
	7	Q. And if Commissioner Garcia were to submit
	8	election results to the Secretary of State, it would run
	9	afoul of that Section 68.034 and possibly other election
01:09PM	10	codes, correct?
	11	A. That's possible.
	12	Q. And for that reason, the Secretary of State
	13	would not accept results submitted by Commissioner
	14	Garcia, right?
01:09PM	15	A. Again, I think when you're looking at the plain
	16	language of the law, considering what happens in
	17	practice, the question for me as to whether or on I take
	18	returns could be twofold. One, was the election
	19	conducted properly, and under the laws of Texas? Do we
01:09PM	20	have competing elections going on, or do we know that
	21	the county is operating and conducting election as they
	22	should? And I think the second component to that is:
	23	Is we're talking about county returns, we're talking
	24	about canvas totals at the end of an election. These
01:09PM	25	have been canvassed by commissioners court. The

	1	county's already signed off and authorized these
	2	returns. I'm not going to reject returns that come from
	3	the county, just because of who's submitting them.
	4	There's a number of factors we're going to look at
01:09PM	5	there. Just as a matter law, I'm not going to
	6	necessarily refuse it from somebody if there are other
	7	things that have validated the accuracy and the
	8	integrity of those returns.
	9	Q. Is there a difference between Commissioner
01:10PM	10	Garcia submitting election returns despite having no
	11	authority and Clifford Tatum doing so?
	12	A. I think there's a difference. I think the
	13	difference is that the daw right now provides for
	14	certain offices to perform those duties related to an
01:10PM	15	election. If we're talking about a transition that's
	16	occurring, or with whatever's in place with the legal
	17	proceedings that are going on, these are the individuals
	18	that are performing the duties of that office. They are
	19	not just doing an isolated act, but they are running the
01:10PM	20	election in the county, and if the county is providing
	21	funding for those individuals to conduct that election,
	22	the voters have voted. They are relying on those
	23	results to know who their leaders are. Again, I'm not
	24	going to disenfranchise the voters in Harris County
01:10PM	25	because we have a dispute as to who's submitting that

information to the state. 1 Okay. So your binding testimony on the 2 Q. Secretary of State's office is that you will accept 3 results in conflict with the Texas Election Code. 4 5 Α. Possibly, yes. 01:11PM 6 Q. Okay. 7 MR. MILLER: No further questions. 8 THE COURT: Anything else for this witness? 9 Mr. Birnberg? Birnberg, Your Honor. 10 MR. BIRNBERG: 01:11PM It's okay. I've heard worse. 11 12 We have nothing from the intervenor. Nothing further for the intervenor. 13 THE COURT: Anything else? 14 MS. CELLA: No, Your Honor. 15 01:11PM THE COURT: Thank you for your time and 16 your testimony. It's appreciated. You're excused as a 17 18 witness and free to step down. 19 Any other witnesses from Plaintiff's 20 side? 01:11PM 21 No, Your Honor. MR. FOMBONNE: 22 THE COURT: Thank you. Plaintiffs rest? 23 MR. FOMBONNE: Your Honor, I have a short 24 argument on the standing jurisdictional question still 25 haven't been addressed in rebuttal. I'm happy to do 01:11PM

that real quickly. I want to be mindful of the Court's 1 time, and so if you tell me you don't need to hear it, I 2 won't do it. 3 4 THE COURT: In terms of evidence though? No, in terms of evidence we MR. FOMBONNE: 5 01:12PM 6 rest. 7 THE COURT: Mr. Tatum? MR. BIRNBERG: No further from Mr. Tatum. 8 THE COURT: Okay. 9 Thank you. And the defendants? 10 01:12PM MS. CELLA: 11 Nothing, Your Honor. 12 THE COURT: Defendants rest? 13 Okay. Brief argument from plaintiffs, 14 please. 15 MR. FOMBONNE : Thank you, Your Honor and 01:12PM again for the record Jonathan Fombonne for Harris 16 County. 17 18 We'll largely rely on the arguments in 19 our TI brief and also in the opposition to the Plea to 20 the Jurisdiction that we filed last night, but I want to 01:12PM 21 go briefly over what the rebuttal argument is to these 22 jurisdiction guestions so the -- the defendants are challenging the county's standing to sue the Secretary 23 24 of State, to sue the State and to sue the Attorney 25 General. 01:12PM

	1	To go back to the base of the standing,
	2	we have to plead an actual or threatening injury in fact
	3	traceable to Defendant's conduct, re-addressable and
	4	favorable decision, we think we've done that here.
01:13PM	5	Now, it is clear with respect to the
	6	state that we're not seeking an injunction against the
	7	state. That's not an issue here. What we're doing is
	8	preserving arguments to to eventually get declaratory
	9	judgment against the state. We acknowledge the Supreme
01:13PM	10	Court's decision in MALC from last year suggesting that
	11	you can't do that anymore, but that's we think that
	12	was wrongly decided, and can be limited in this
	13	circumstance, and we'll address that as this case
	14	proceeds.
01:13PM	15	With respect to the Harris County's
	16	injury, you've heard testimony from Mr. Tatum about what
	17	would happen, if, for example, the Attorney General's
	18	Office files a lawsuit in the middle of September if he
	19	continues to be the elections administrator. If that
01:13PM	20	happens it would cause the election to go to
	21	disarray; would increase cost of the county. These are
	22	bread and butter points of standing. I think there is
	23	un-rebutted evidence today, and; therefore, we think
	24	we've met that requirement and shown an injury in fact.
01:13PM	25	We also have pled a constitutional

	1	injury, and, again, we briefed this in our response to
	2	the plea to the jurisdiction, but if you the Court
	3	could look at the case law from Texas Supreme Court in
	4	Neeley and Nootsie where the Court specifically rejected
01:14PM	5	the idea of political subdivision standing depends on
	6	the challenged law violating constitutional rights
	7	belonging to that subdivision. The harm suffered by the
	8	district in Nootsie in implementing the constitutional
	9	law, itself, provided the district with sufficiency, and
01:14PM	10	the controversy to assure the presence of an actual
	11	controversy. So again we think that we pled injury in
	12	fact.
	13	With respect to traceability, which is
	14	what the evidence today was all about so first of
01:14PM	15	all, I'd like to again redirect the Court to the
	16	stipulation that was entered into between the parties
	17	regarding the Attorney General's Office, which is they
	18	cannot commit that they will not follow a lawsuit
	19	against Harris County on the basis that Harris County
01:14PM	20	has violated Senate Bill 1750, and they cannot commit
	21	they will not seek civil penalties against county
	22	officials, including its election official in Harris
	23	County, election administrator continues to perform the
	24	functions of the registering voters.
01:15PM	25	Now, all of the testimony you heard and

1 the exhibits that we've provided the Court all show a
2 pattern and practice by the Attorney General's Office of
3 suing Harris County whenever they think there is some
4 violation of the Election Code. Nobody disputes that if
01:15PM 5 Harris County continues to use elections administrator
6 after September 1st it will be in violation of the
7 Election Code.

8 We don't believe that Abbott v. Harris 9 *County*, which is what my friends on the other side have cited, contradicts that requirement. Abbott v. Harris 01:15PM 10 *County* said that because the Attorney General said that 11 because the Attorney General had sent some letters that 12 was the enforcement of GA38 which was the governor's ban 13 14 on the local mask mandates, that was sufficient for It didn't set a clear test for what was 15 standing. 01:15PM 16 sufficient; however, and what we've seen here is repeated pattern of practice -- pattern of practice of 17 18 taking legal action against Harris County whenever 19 there's a perceived violation of the Election Code. We think that more than demonstrates a threatened action, 20 01:16PM 21 and that's all we have to show to connect the defendants 22 to the harm suffered by the county here. 23 Clearly redressability, if the Attorney 24 General is prevented from filing a lawsuit, 25 redressability will be met, so with respect to the AG's 01:16PM

	1	Office, I think we've more than shown a threat to
	2	enforce.
	3	With respect to the Secretary of state's
	4	office, now, we've heard the testimony here that the SOS
01:16PM	5	will apparently accept any election return, no matter
	6	who provides them, as long as they think the election
	7	was run well, it's not clear by what standard. That
	8	doesn't provide Harris County with enough comfort.
	9	Frankly, the Election Code does not seem
01:16PM	10	to give the SOS any discretion to do so. It may be that
	11	the SOS is representing today that they will; however,
	12	we have never seen the situation before. The SOS can
	13	certainly not recall any situation that had happened in
	14	the past, and what we are weighing that againstand
01:16PM	15	again the brief is the talk of the balance of equities
	16	is the possibility that an election would be thrown out.
	17	That would be truly harmful to the county. It would be
	18	harmful to the voters. It will be harmful to the many
	19	contracts that govern some of the county elections that
01:17PM	20	are going to be happening in November.
	21	So, again, I think with respect to the
	22	SOS, we've also established traceability, and because we
	23	have an injunction in place, the SOS wouldn't be able to
	24	refuse to accept the county's returns or provide certain
01:17PM	25	funds. We think that we've been through redressability,

	1	and with that, I would rest unless there are any
	2	questions from the Court.
	3	THE COURT: No questions from the Court at
	4	this time. Thank you very much.
01:17PM	5	On behalf Mr. Tatum.
	6	MR. BIRNBERG: Yes. Thank you, Your Honor.
	7	It seems to me what our relief that we're
	8	asking is temporary injunction that prohibits the county
	9	from terminating Mr. Tatum solely on the base of 1750
01:17PM	10	until we have a final hearing, the ruling court can make
	11	a final determination as to whether it's constitutional
	12	or not. That's the relief we're seeking, and that's
	13	what all we're here about. It seems to me, in that
	14	regard, it's a relatively simple straightforward case.
01:18PM	15	There's no question about the fact that if the Court
	16	doesn't grant this temporary injunction, Mr. Tatum loses
	17	his job three weeks from now. The consequences of that
	18	are not merely economic, but substantially noneconomic
	19	as well, and he testified as to what those noneconomic
01:18PM	20	disabilities are to him, which would be irreparable.
	21	The Court can't come back and put Humpty Dumpty together
	22	six or eight or nine months from now something final
	23	on the merits, so the question is: Is that
	24	unconstitutional under the Texas Constitution? And the
01:18PM	25	answer to that is clearly it is a general or a special

	1	law. We've briefed that. I'm not going to take the					
	2	Court's time in going over why it is, discussing that					
	3	any further. I think that's all relatively					
	4	So here's the underlying question, here's					
01:18PM	5	the really what it's all about for the Court, and that					
	6	is whether the classificatory criteria is rational or					
	7	irrational. That is, does the 3.5 million population on					
	8	September 1st, 2023 bear any rational relationship to					
	9	solving the problem that they are trying to solve? So					
01:19PM	10	what's the problem they are trying to solve, and what's					
	11	the solution? They say, well, we've got all these					
	12	problems in Harris County, and so the solution is to					
	13	increase transparency and accessibility. That's in the					
	14	bill analysis, for example, that you have, and we					
01:19PM	15	haven't heard any suggestion that's not what the bill is					
	16	all about. Increase accessibility and transparency by					
	17	making the administration elections answerable to the					
	18	voters, the person who is in charge of it, accountable					
	19	to the voters. At least you'll have some improvement in					
01:19PM	20	the outcome.					
	21	Well, the the problem is that notion					
	22	is rebutted by amongst other things the very fact that					
	23	the chief elections officer of the State of Texas, the					
	24	super elections administrator, if you will, is an					
01:20PM	25	appointed position, not an elected position. There is					

no evidence whatsoever that suggests having an elected
 official do it will improve conditions at all and
 certainly not one that ties to the 3.5 million on
 September 1st.

5 Look, Your Honor, if somehow or another, 01:20PM Governor DeSantis moved in busloads of -- of unlawful 6 7 immigrants to Dallas on September the 10th, and now --8 Dallas has a population of 3.5 notice, the population 9 --not voting age population, not registered voter, not even just population -- if Dallas moved to 3.5 a week 01:20PM 10 11 after the September 1st or a year or five years after, they still get to keep the ir k elections administrator. 12 In any other of the 205° well, the 136 counties in 13 14 Texas that has election administrator reaches 3.5, they can continue to have their elections administrator. 15 The 01:21PM only one that can't is Harris County. Why? 16 What's the rational explanation for that? Size? 17 Well, no, the 18 fact that you could grow to the same size and still have 19 an elections administrator means it ain't about size. There's absolutely nothing magical 20 Date? 01:21PM 21 about the fact that September 1st, 2023 is the -- the 22 date in question here. So the -- our point is, it seems 23 to us that more likely than not, at the end of the day, 24 Mr. Tatum is going to prevail on -- and get an ultimate 25 finding, declaratory judgment from this Court that 1750 01:21PM

	1	is a unconstitutional local law because the
	2	classificatory criteria is not rationally related; it's
	3	arbitrary. Just picked out of the air, and for that
	4	reason we, think he's going to prevail on that issue.
01:21PM	5	So that's really what it's all about.
	6	It's whether the Court will preserve the status quo and
	7	say, Harris County, you can't fire Mr. Tatum yet until
	8	I, the Court, can decide whether this law is
	9	constitutional or not.
01:22PM	10	Balance the equities, there's going to be
	11	a mess in the November election. The Court really knows
	12	this, if there is some sudden change in transfer from
	13	this office to two other offices in the middle of an
	14	election, so the public interest is not going to be
01:22PM	15	served by failing to grant the temporary injunction.
	16	Irreparable harm. The Court's heard testimony of that
	17	and knows that it's clearly there.
	18	For those reasons, we ask the Court to
	19	grant the temporary injunction enjoining Harris County
01:22PM	20	during the pendency of this lawsuit from terminating
	21	Mr. Tatum solely on the basis of 1750.
	22	THE COURT: Thank you very much.
	23	On behalf of the defendants?
	24	MS. DOKUPIL: Thank you, Your Honor.
01:23PM	25	We've heard a lot today about population

	1	brackets and necessableness and all of these different
	1	brackets and reasonableness, and all of these different
	2	ways that anyone might possibly coulda shoulda woulda
	3	had intention to pass SB17. In the end, none of that
	4	matters. The legislative history doesn't matter. The
01:23PM	5	populations brackets don't matter. What matters is
	6	whether or not the legislative had a reasonable basis
	7	and by reasonable basis, I mean anything that we could
	8	possibly imagine might have been reasonable in passing
	9	that statute. That's because the statements of
01:23PM	10	individual senators or even individual chambers of the
	11	legislature do not embody the entire compromise as well
	12	as the text.
	13	So, in this case, Harris County elections
	14	had problems. Our witnesses have both said so. Returns
01:24PM	15	were delayed; machines malfunctioned. Most importantly,
	16	10,000 votes weren't counted in the final tally.
	17	The legislature was very had a
	18	reasonable basis for saying Harris County's problems are
	19	fundamentally different than Dallas or Bexar or Tarrant.
01:24PM	20	Harris County's problems made the New York Times.
	21	Harris County's problems were national news. So maybe
	22	other counties with election administrators had issues
	23	that didn't raise to the same level of Harris County's,
	24	and for that reason, the legislature needed to single
01:24PM	25	out Harris County for a particular solution.

	1	Could reasonable minds differ about was					
	2	this the correct solution? Absolutely, but is that what					
	3	we're here to do in determining constitutionality?					
	4	Absolutely not.					
01:24PM	5	The legislature's prerogative is to					
	6	decide how to solve these problems. They heard					
	7	everybody's different ideas. I believe I heard					
	8	Mr. Tatum say he even spoke with the legislature about					
	9	it. And they decided, as a body, what the correct					
01:25PM	10	answer was. It could be the case that one of the					
	11	reasonable bases underlying their new rule was that it					
	12	was better to have the accountability to the people of					
	13	an elected official.					
	14	Reasonable minds could disagree, but that					
01:25PM	15	is not our place to question the legislature and					
	16	determine and overturn an otherwise constitutional rule					
	17	because someone could think a reasonable basis was not a					
	18	reasonable basis.					
	19	Couple of other quick points. The text					
01:25PM	20	of 1750 says that the legislature is transferring the EA					
	21	from an appointed county official to an elected					
	22	official, and abolishing the Harris County Administrator					
	23	on September 1st. The other side has made much of the					
	24	fact that this could not never apply to any other					
01:26PM	25	counties could potentially be grandfathered in. For					

	1	example, if Dallas County, which has a EA grew to the
	2	three and a half million, then somehow but that's not
	3	in the Texas statute. It's completely unclear of what
	4	would in fact, what would happen.
01:26PM	5	We you know, and if that alone is a
	6	reason to conclude the statute is unconstitutional,
	7	then, we cannot do that because in a the statute must
	8	be presumed constitutional if there are two possible
	9	interpretations. Second, to the extent that people are
01:26PM	10	concerned that, well, wait a minute. What happened to
	11	all the other counties. What if they have they grow
	12	and have elections administrators, then to some degree,
	13	the legislature doesn't address that with 1933. 1933
	14	applies to very big counties. Clearly the legislature
01:26PM	15	is focused on the election administration problems of
	16	very large counties, and so even if there are some
	17	concerns that 1750 only targets Harris County now and
	18	what's going to happen in the future. Well, the
	19	legislature absolutely did have a reasonable basis in
01:27PM	20	thinking that there was a problem with large counties
	21	because they had this other backup plan that they have
	22	in place.
	23	Further, let's talk about standing for a
	24	minute. In light of the Secretary of State's testimony,
01:27PM	25	the Secretary of State's Office has repeatedly expressed

a willingness to take returns and validate every kind of 1 oath that they could possibly validate as long as it's 2 3 done according to the law. For that reason, we think 4 that Harris County has not proven any harm or enforcement or traceability from the Secretary of 5 01:27PM State's Office, and we would like to request that this 6 7 Court, as you're considering whether or not to grant 8 relief that you consider all of the different defendants 9 separately because the arguments against the Secretary of State are slightly different than the arguments 01:28PM 10 11 against the state or the AG's Office.

12 And also, with regard to the AG, the AG, as we said in the stipulation, we have not committed one 13 14 way or the other to enforcement, so they haven't proven that we were -- that there's a link between their -- any 15 01:28PM 16 potential harm and enforcement by the AG's Office. As I said before, this is done on provision by provision 17 18 basis, and SB1750 is a new statute, and there has been 19 no evidence that the AG has been out there advertising 20 enforcement on that, and, finally, we haven't heard any 01:28PM 21 opposition from Harris County today on Mr. Tatum's 22 temporary injunction. So it doesn't seem that the 23 parties are particularly adverse on that point. 24 So in conclusion, we do not think that

01:29PM 25 either Harris County nor Mr. Tatum have met their burden

	1	to prove unconstitutionality or likelihood of success on				
	2	the merits for standing. Thank you.				
	3	THE COURT: The last thing you said: You				
	4	haven't heard any opposition from Harris County?				
01:29PM	5	MS. DOKUPIL: Well, right. You know,				
	6	throughout the testimony and everything, I haven't				
	7	necessarily heard anybody from Harris County I'm				
	8	sorry, I haven't heard any testimony or arguments				
	9	saying, oh, Mr. Tatum shouldn't get an injunction				
01:29PM	10	against Harris County.				
	11	MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, we just heard				
	12	the State of Texas make that argument for almost all				
	13	four hours.				
	14	MS. DOKUPIL: But from you.				
01:29PM	15	MR. SCHECHTER: From you. You intervened				
	16	in Mr. Tatum's case. You're making the justiciable				
	17	issue before the Court.				
	18	THE COURT: Okay. I just wanted to make				
	19	sure I heard you correctly.				
01:30PM	20	The Court has everything that the Court				
	21	needs in order to make all of the decisions before me.				
	22	I have, however, granted the parties some				
	23	leave to file a response to the following, and that is:				
	24	The Defendant's Motion to Strike Clifford Tatum's				
01:30PM	25	Intervention; and pursuant to the agreement of the				

	1	parties, the Court has allowed briefing to be sent to				
	2	the Court through Thursday at 5:00 p.m.				
	3	Is that the agreement of the parties, and				
	4	that means that I'm going to receive the briefing from				
01:30PM	5	you, Mr. Schechter, by tomorrow 5:00 p.m., and then the				
	6	the State defendants by Thursday 5 p.m.; is that				
	7	right?				
	8	MR. ELDRED: Yes, Your Honor.				
	9	THE COURT: Okay.				
01:31PM	10	MR. SCHECHTER: Yes, Judge.				
	11	THE COURT: And to be clear, what I have				
	12	under advisement, and for which you will have rulings as				
	13	quickly as I can get them to you, in light of the fact				
	14	that time is obviously of the essence right now,				
01:31PM	15	Defendant's Plea to the Jurisdiction and Plaintiff's				
	16	request or Application For Temporary Injunction,				
	17	Intervenor Clifford Tatum's Request For Injunctive				
	18	Relief.				
	19	Are there any other requests for relief				
01:31PM	20	today that I did not just list?				
	21	MR. FOMBONNE: Not from Plaintiff Harris				
	22	County.				
	23	THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.				
	24	Mr. Tatum?				
01:31PM	25	MR. SCHECHTER: Not from Mr. Tatum,				

Your Honor. 1 THE COURT: And on behalf of defendants? 2 3 MR. ELDRED: We also have the PTJ against the Intervenor's claims. We talked about a little 4 before we submitted the pleading filed last night. 5 01:32PM Anyway at 7:45. The style does not say that, I agree 6 7 the paragraph says we are challenging both request for 8 temporary injunction and challenging the jurisdiction. 9 THE COURT: And do you now have that plea? MR. SCHECHTER: Your Honor, that's in a 10 01:32PM 11 brief, but not in a pleading, entitled Challenge to the I don't think that raises the issue. 12 Jurisdiction. You can't just throw something out in a brief. You've got 13 to plead it. 14 MR ELDRED: It is just a miss- --15 01:32PM 16 THE COURT: Where is your pleading? 17 MR. ELDRED: It's just a miss-title. The 18 style is -- the style does not reflect that we also 19 asked for that relief. 20 THE COURT: Can you direct me specifically 01:32PM 21 to where that request for relief may be found in a 22 briefing or a pleading? 23 MR. BIRNBERG: We think they are referring 24 to their brief in opposition to our plea and 25 intervention. 01:33PM

THE COURT: Okay. 1 Cross-action. 2 MR. BIRNBERG: But there is 3 a paragraph somewhere in there that -- that might be 4 interpreted as -- as the question. That relief -- but it's not even in a motion. Certainly not in a plea to 5 01:33PM the jurisdiction. 6 7 THE COURT: Do you have a plea that's in 8 anywhere -- other than in a plea entitled Intervenor's 9 Office of the Attorney General's and State of Texas' Brief in Opposition to Intervenor Clifford Tatum's 01:33PM 10 Application For Temporary Injunction? 11 dt's in the footer, actually, 12 MR. ELDRED: 13 Judge. MS. DOKUPIL: 14 It says just--MR. ELDRED: And I'm sorry we didn't put it 15 01:33PM 16 in the title as well. 17 THE COURT: I cannot find that there's 18 sufficient notice of a request for hearing on plea that 19 is in a footer of a brief in opposition to an 20 application for temporary injunction, okay, so that's 01:34PM 21 not before the Court right now. Not properly before the Court. 22 23 If you need it considered, then it has to 24 be set for hearing. 25 MR. ELDRED: Yes, Your Honor. 01:34PM

1 THE COURT: Okay. Anything else before I excuse you-all? It is very late. It is 1:34, so I ask 2 for any very brief final requests of the Court at this 3 4 time, if you have any. MR. FOMBONNE: None from us, and thank you 5 01:34PM very much for indulging us and going above the three 6 7 hour. 8 THE COURT: I know some folks have long 9 distances to travel. Glad we could get it finished. On behalf of Mr. Tatum? 10 01:34PM 11 MR. BIRNBERG: No, Your Honor, we do very much appreciate the Court's \mathcal{V} indulgence for all of the 12 13 parties. THE COURT: Certainly. Anything on behalf 14 of the defendants? 15 01:34PM 16 MR. ELDRED: No, Your Honor. 17 THE COURT: Thank you all very much. 18 You-all are excused. The Court will get you rulings as 19 quickly as I can. I'll look for your briefing as 20 discussed. Thank you. You're excused. 01:34PM 21 (Proceedings concluded) 22 23 24 25

1	REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE
2	
3	STATE OF TEXAS
4	COUNTY OF TRAVIS
5	I, Jamie Foley, Official Court Reporter in and for
6	the 250th District Court of Travis County, State of
7	Texas, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing
8	contains a true and correct transcription of all
9	portions of evidence and other proceedings requested in
10	writing by counsel for the parties to be included in
11	this volume of the Reporter's Record, in the
12	above-styled and numbered cause, all of which occurred
13	in open court or in chambers and were reported by me.
14	I further certify that this Reporter's Record of
15	the proceedings truly and correctly reflects the
16	exhibits, if any, offered in evidence by the respective
17	parties. 📯
18	WITNESS MY OFFICIAL HAND this the 10th day of
19	August, 2023.
20	
21	<u>/s/ Jamie Foley</u> Jamie Foley, Texas CSR No. 8764
22	Expiration Date: 11/30/2023 Official Court Reporter
23	250th District Court Travis County, Texas
24	P.O. Box 1748, Austin, Texas 78767 Telephone (512) 854-9321
25	

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KEN PAXTON ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS

November 25, 2020

VIA E-MAIL

Vince Ryan Harris County Attorney 1019 Congress, 15th Floor Houston, TX 77002 713-755-5101 vince.ryan@cao.hctx.net

Dear Mr. Ryan:

We are in receipt of the attached letter, dated November 20, 2020, from Director of Elections Keith Ingram with the Texas Secretary of State's Office, which identified multiple deficiencies concerning the appointment of Isabel Longoria as Harris County Election Administrator. *See* Exhibit A. After investigating the matter, we concur that Harris County officials failed to follow proper procedures under Sections 31.031(d) and 31.032(c) of the Texas Election Code, thereby exceeding their statutory authority. The purported creation of the Office of Election Administrator and subsequent appointment of Ms. Longoria to the position therefore constitute *ultra vires* actions and are both unlawful and null and void.

This letter is to inform you that Harris County must take corrective action to cure the deficiencies identified by the Secretary of State. Should Harris County fail to comply within fourteen days of receiving this letter, the State will pursue appropriate legal remedies.

The Election Code lays out in clear and precise terms the procedure that a Texas county must adhere to should it decide to create the office of county election administrator and appoint someone to the position. As part of that procedure, the Election Code requires the county to timely notify the Secretary of State when it completes certain milestones. Specifically, the Election Code states, "Not later than the third day after the date the order [establishing the office of county elections administrator] is adopted, the county clerk shall deliver a certified copy of the order to: (1) the secretary of state; and (2) each member of the county election commission." TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.031(d). The Election Code continues, "Not later than the third day after the date an administrator is appointed, the officer who presided at the meeting shall file a signed copy of the resolution or order with the county clerk. Not later than the third day after the date the county clerk shall deliver a certified copy of the resolution or order with the county clerk. Not later than the third day after the date the county clerk shall deliver a certified copy of the resolution or order with the county clerk. Not later than the third day after the date the copy is filed, the county clerk shall deliver a certified copy of the resolution or order to the secretary of state." *Id.* § 31.032(c).

It is apparent from the information raised by the Secretary of State that Harris County violated these two provisions.

As per Director Ingram's letter, the Secretary of State received documentation from the Harris County Clerk's office on July 28, 2020. The documentation included an order, ratified by the Harris County

Commissioners Court on July 14, 2020, purportedly "establishing the Office of Election Administrator." Exhibit B. According to the order, the "effective date for the office to begin operations shall be November 18, 2020." The order specified, however, that the process for instituting and appointing an election administrator would not proceed until the Commissioners Court voted on and approved of a study—prepared by several elected officials—which detailed the budget, facilities, equipment, and personnel needed to maintain the office. The Secretary of State has since learned from news reports that the Commissioners Court received the study and approved it at a meeting on August 11, 2020.¹

Because the Commissioners Court conditioned the July 14, 2020 order on a subsequent vote, the County Clerk's office had an obligation under Section 31.031(d) to inform the Secretary of State of the study's receipt and adoption within three days of the August 11, 2020 meeting. It failed to do so. In addition, even if Section 31.031(d) only applied to the July 14, 2020 order, the Secretary of State did not receive any communication from County Clerk's office concerning the creation of an election administrator until fourteen days after its ratification. Thus, under either interpretation, Harris County is in violation of its obligations under the Election Code.

Shortly after the Commissioners Court approved of the requisite study, the Harris County Election Commission moved to appoint Ms. Longoria to the position of Harris County Elections Administrator. According to the resolution, as well as multiple outside sources,² the vote took place on October 30, 2020. *See* Exhibit C. The Election Commission, however, did not file the resolution pertaining to Ms. Longoria's appointment with the County Clerk's office until November 20, 2020, based on the receipt stamp. This is a violation of Section 31.032(c), which requires the presiding officer to file a signed copy of the resolution within three days of its passage. As a result of the delay, the Secretary of State was not timely informed of the Election Commission's actions. The Secretary of State instead received notice of Ms. Longoria's purported appointment on November 20, 2020, when County Clerk's office emailed the attached resolution. *Id.*

In neglecting its obligations under Sections 31.031(d) and 31.032(c), Harris County failed to meet the requisites stipulated in the Election Code. As a result, neither the Commissioners Court's July 14, 2020 order nor the Election Commission's October 30, 2020 appointment of Ms. Longoria to the position holds any legal weight. In short, the Harris County Office of Election Administrator does not exist. And the duties that would typically be delegated to it pursuant to Sections 31.043, 31.044, and 31.045 remain with the County Clerk and County Tax Assessor-Collector.

It has come to the State's attention that as of November 18, 2020, Ms. Longoria assumed the role and responsibilities of Election Administrator in violation of the Texas Election Code. As a result, her appointment is a nullity and should be rescinded. Please take corrective action to remedy this matter within fourteen days of receipt of this letter. Otherwise, the State will proceed with appropriate legal action to address her unlawful appointment.

¹ See, e.g., Hannah Zedaker, Harris County Moves Forward With Creation of Elections Administrator Office, Community Impact (Aug. 12, 2020), <u>https://communityimpact.com/houston/spring-klein/vote/2020/08/12/harris-county-moves-forward-with-creation-of-elections-administrator-office/</u>.

² See, e.g., Zach Despart, *Harris County Appoints Isabel Longoria as First Elections Administrator as Hollins Prepares to Step Down*, Houston Chronicle (Oct. 30, 2020), <u>https://www.houstonchronicle.com/politics/houston/article/Harris-County-appoints-Isabel-Longoria-as-first-15689377.php</u>.

Respectfully,

|s| Kathleen Hunker

Kathleen T. Hunker Special Counsel Special Litigation Unit Office of the Texas Attorney General 209 W. 14th Street Austin, Texas 78701 512-936-2275

CC: C. Robert Heath Bickerstaff Heath Delgado Acosta LLP 3711 S. Mo-Pac, Building One, Suite 300 Austin, TX 78746 512-404-7821 bheath@bickerstaff.com

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Press Release FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE November 30, 2020

Contact: Robert Flanagan (318) 349-3993 Robert.Flanagan@senate.texas.gov

Sen Bettencourt Joins in Call for Harris County Elections Administrator Appointment to be Rescinded

Texas Attorney General letter gives Harris County until December 10th to take action or face legal action

Houston, TX – Senator Bettencourt (R-Houston) is joining the call for the appointment of the Harris County Elections Administrator to be rescinded. A recent letter from Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton's (R-Texas) office to County Attorney Vince Ryan (D-Harris County) stated, "...Ms. Longoria assumed the role and responsibilities of Election Administrator in violation of the Texas Election Code. As a result, her appointment is a nullity and should be rescinded."

This process was started when a letter from the Texas Secretary of State highlighted multiple "**deficiencies**" surrounding the process in which Harris County created this office and appointed Isabel Longoria as their first Elections Administrator. (See attached letters)

"Harris County voters deserve an open and transparent process and unfortunately these letters from the Secretary of State and the Attorney General show that the Election Code was violated," said Senator Bettencourt. "Therefore, I am calling for the appointment of the Harris County Elections Administrator to be rescinded."

Some of the "deficiencies" noted by the Texas Secretary of State in their November 20th letter:

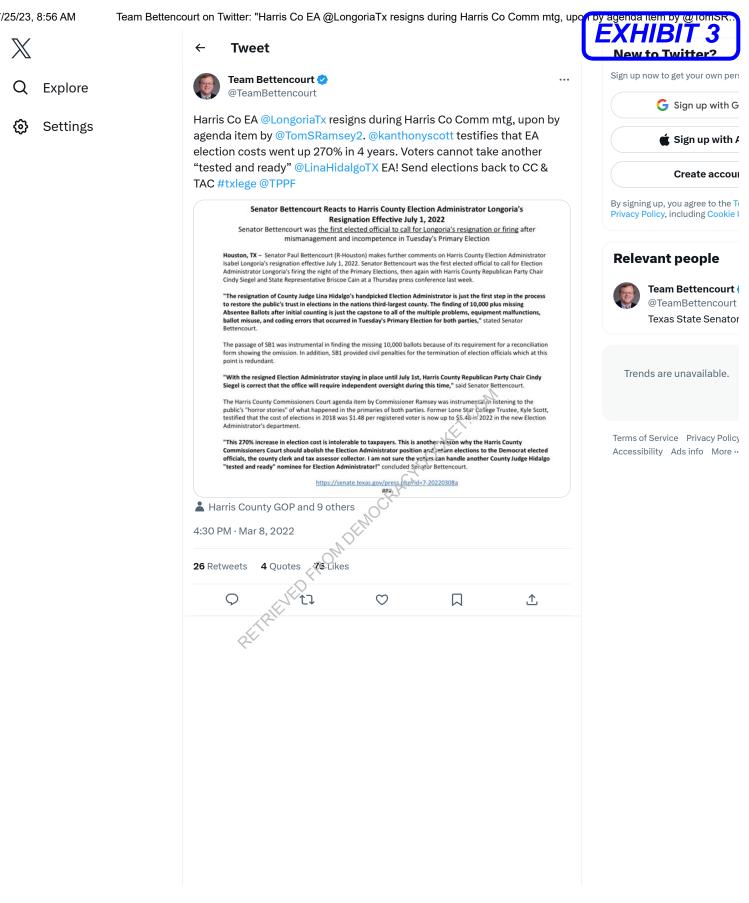
- 1. Harris County did not send notice to the Texas Secretary of State in accordance with Section 31.031(d) of the Texas Election Code regarding their actions on August 11th.
- 2. Harris County did not provide a notice of appointment to the Texas Secretary of State as required by Section 31.032(c) when Isabel Longoria was appointed as Elections Administrator.

In their November 25th letter, the Attorney General's office notes, *"In neglecting its obligations under Section 31.031(d) and 31.032(c), Harris County failed to meet the requisites stipulated in the Election Code. As a result, neither the Commissioner's Court July 14, 2020 order nor the Election Commission's October 30, 2020 appointment of Ms. Longoria to the position holds any legal weight. In short, the Harris County Office of Elections Administrator does not exist."*

"Appointing an administrator of elections in the nation's third largest county should have been made by following the prescribed legal process to the letter," continued Senator Bettencourt. "The Attorney General's letter is specific that the duties of that office should be returned to the elected County Clerk and Tax Assessor-Collector," he added.

###

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Press Release FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE March 7, 2023

Contact: Michael Geary (512) 463-0107 michael.geary@senate.texas.gov

Sen Bettencourt & Rep Cain file bills to return Management of Elections back to Elected Officials!

SB 1750 & HB 3876 returns Election Administrator duties & power back to the County Tax Assessor & County Clerk for Counties with populations of more than one million

Austin, TX – Senator Paul Bettencourt (R-Houston) and Representative Briscoe Cain (R-Deer Park) filed SB 1750 & HB 3876 to restore voter trust, accountability, and transparency in large county elections by returning the management of elections back to elected officials. "Voters should have confidence in their elections, and when they see Harris County Elections Administrators botch election after election in 2022 that confidence is shaken." Said Senator Bettencourt. "Let's return Harris County Elections to the way it used to work with the County Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector!" He added.

Currently, Harris, Dallas, Tarrant, Bexar, and Collin County elections are run by appointed Election Administrators (EA). There is nearly no oversight from County Election Commissions. SB 1750 & HB 3876 will return power and duties of the EA to the County Tax Assessor-Collector and County Clerk in counties with populations over one million. Under SB 1750 & HB 3876 the County Tax Assessor-Collector will serve as the voter registrar and the election administration duties will revert to the County Clerk. With elections under two different elected officials, the cost of an independent department will go away and the broad support from the rest of the office will provide professionalism, consistency, and stability to the election staff. Former House Election Committee Chair Representative Briscoe Cain had this to say:

"The Elections Administrator experiment in Harris County has failed. It doesn't matter which election or Election Administrator – Texans know that Harris County will have issues and won't report returns accurately or on time. As larger counties try to use this position as another bureaucrat meant to grow government, it's important that voters have a say in who is running their elections. These counties have had ample opportunities to justify this position. The only thing they have done is dodge questions and find a way to blame someone else." Said Representative Cain.

On November 8, 2022, Harris County's EA failed to deliver enough paper ballots to over 120 voting centers, as reported by KHOU 11 (*https://www.khou.com/video/news/investigations/khou-11-analysis-election-ballot-paper-shortage-bigger-than-estimated/285-3806ba23-a4f5-4ed2-8b41-cc0ad4c18861*), despite having millions of paper ballots available for distribution in an EA office warehouse. Now, the EA and the County Judge who appointed him are refusing to answer questions from the public despite the thousands of Election Irregularities that occurred, which led to a record 21 election challenges filed in Harris County.

"In 2022 the former Harris County Election Administrator 'found' 10,000 votes and released a statement at 10:30 p.m. on a Saturday night that led to her resignation. Then the current Elections Administrator either wouldn't or couldn't get millions of paper ballots out of the warehouse and to the polls with thousands of voters being turned away for lack of ballots. The Nation's third largest county cannot have third world elections anymore! Bring back accountability and elected officials running elections." Concluded Senator Bettencourt.

SB 1750 is the latest Election Integrity legislation Senator Bettencourt filed this session. He will file more Election Integrity legislation soon. See previous press releases for more information.

- Senator Bettencourt reacts to record number of election challenges filed in Harris County
- Senator Bettencourt Reacts to Harris County Election Administrator Longoria's Resignation Effective July 1, 2022

https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230307a&print=1

SENATE COMMITTEE ON STATE AFFAIRS In Re: SB 1750

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SENATE COMMITTEE ON STATE AFFAIRS In Re: SB 1750

1	author, Senator Bettencourt, to explain the bill.
2	SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Thank you, Ms. Chairman and
3	the Members. We do have a committee substitute
4	presented, Bill 750. I'll explain it very
5	MADAM CHAIR: Chair sends up the committee
6	substitute for Senate Bill 1750.
7	SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Thank you.
8	I think we've talked about the problems in Harris
9	County. This bill would effectively transition the
10	Election Administrator back to the Harris County Clerk
11 -	and Tax Assessor Collector from the appointed position
12	of Elections Administrator.
13	The the bill as originally filed had actually
14	had other counties involved. We sent out a survey
15	request to the other major election administrators,
16	received positive responses from three of them. I
17	think a fourth was verbal or came in that we use the
18	four category or five major categories of issues.
19	The information came back there were not problems
20	in the other major counties using an Election
21	Administrator, but there is in Harris County.
22	So as a result, we got a committee substitute
23	that basically says we'd abolish the role of Elections
24	Administrator in counties with a population of over
25	three and a half million.



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3	I, Robin L. Deal, Florida Professional Court
4	Reporter and Transcriptionist, do hereby certify that I
5	was authorized to and did listen to and transcribe the
6	foregoing recorded proceedings and that the transcript is
7	a true record to the best of my professional ability.
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9	Dated this 15th day of June, 2023.
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Press Release FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE April 18, 2023

Contact: Michael Geary (512) 463-0107 michael.geary@senate.texas.gov

Senator Bettencourt's bill returns Harris County Elections back to Elected Officials!

SB 1750 returns Harris County EA duties & power back to the County Tax Assessor & County Clerk

Austin, TX – Senator Paul Bettencourt (R-Houston) passed SB 1750 out of the Texas Senate on Tuesday, April 18, 2023. SB 1750 will restore voter trust, accountability, and transparency in Harris County elections by returning the management of elections back to elected officials. "Voters should have confidence in their elections, and when they see Harris County Elections Administrators botch election after election in 2022 that confidence is shaken. Let's return Harris County Elections to the way it used to work with the County Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector!" Said Senator Bettencourt. "It passed with Bipartisan support 20-11," he added.

SB 1750 will return power and duties of the Harris County Elections Administrator to the County Tax Assessor-Collector and County Clerk. Under SB 1750 the County Tax Assessor-Collector will serve as the voter registrar and the election administration duties will revert to the County Clerk. With elections under two different elected officials, the cost of an independent department will go away and the broad support from the rest of the office will provide professionalism, consistency, and stability to the election staff. Senator Bettencourt served as the Tax Assessor-Collector with County Clerk Kaufman for 10 years.

On November 8, 2022, Harris County's EA failed to deliver enough paper ballots to over 120 voting centers, as reported by KHOU 11 (*https://www.khou.com/video/news/investigations/khou-11-analysis-election-ballot-paper-shortage-bigger-than-estimated/285-3806ba23-a4f5-4ed2-8b41-cc0ad4c18861*), despite having millions of paper ballots available for distribution in an EA office warehouse. Now, the Harris County EA and the County Judge who appointed him are suing the Attorney General's Office to block the release of the election records that will shed light on why the November 8 election in Harris County turned into a fiasco. Currently, there are a record 21 election challenges filed in Harris County. County Officials refuse to answer media questions on the matter.

"In 2022 the former Harris County Election Administrator 'found' 10,000 votes and released a statement at 10:30 p.m. on a Saturday night that led to her resignation. Then the current Elections Administrator either wouldn't or couldn't get millions of paper ballots out of the warehouse and to the polls with thousands of voters being turned away for lack of ballots. The Nation's third largest county cannot have third world elections anymore! Bring back accountability with elected officials running elections." Concluded Senator Bettencourt.

Senator Bettencourt has passed 10 election and voter integrity bills out of the Texas Senate so far, and expects to pass more out in the next couple of weeks.

- Senator Bettencourt passes best election audit bill in the USA per Heritage Foundation, SB 1039
- Two more important bills to fix what ails Harris County Elections pass out of Texas Senate!

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Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "House Elections Committee Chairman @Reggie4Tx posts my SB ;



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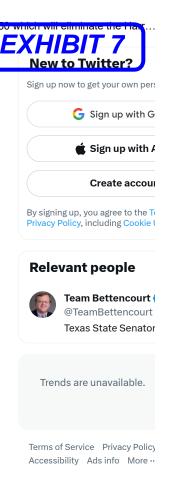
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Team Bettencourt @TeamBettencourt

House Elections Committee Chairman @Reggie4Tx posts my SB 1750 which will eliminate the Harris County Elections Administrator office in Harris County for Thursday! The bill returns all election duties BACK to the elected County Clerk and Tax-Assessor. Ag Chair @BriscoeCain will lay out the bill, which passed the Texas Senate with a bipartisan 20-11 vote. The Senate State Affairs Committee (Chair @SenBryanHughes) took testimony on botched Harris County elections in 2022. The former Harris County EA had to resign due to a primary election fiasco and the current EA either couldn't or wouldn't get ballot paper to the polls for thousands of voters to vote on in the Nov. 8th election. Importantly, this is the ONLY time I've ever seen the @HarrisCountyRP & @TexasGOP testify for returning election duties to elected officials...OH that's Republicans returning elections to Democrat Elected Officials!! Interesting hearing at #txlege @ValoreeforTexas @ManoForStateRep @Burrows4TX @VoteGiovanni @BucyForTexas @EddieMoralesJr @Christian4Texas @HubertVo149





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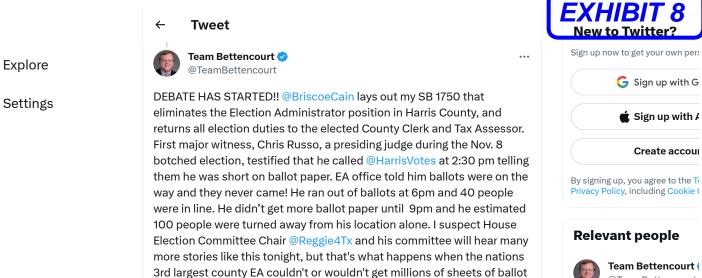
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Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "DEBATE HAS STARTED!! @BriscoeCain lays out my SB 1750 that e



suppression ! @tppf @tfrw @cindySiegel5 @TexasSenateGOP @HarrisCountyRP @TexasGOP @kwteaparty @TXGOPCaucus 10:26 PM · Apr 27, 2023 · 1,898 Views

paper out of the warehouse and to polls. As a result, that's REAL voter



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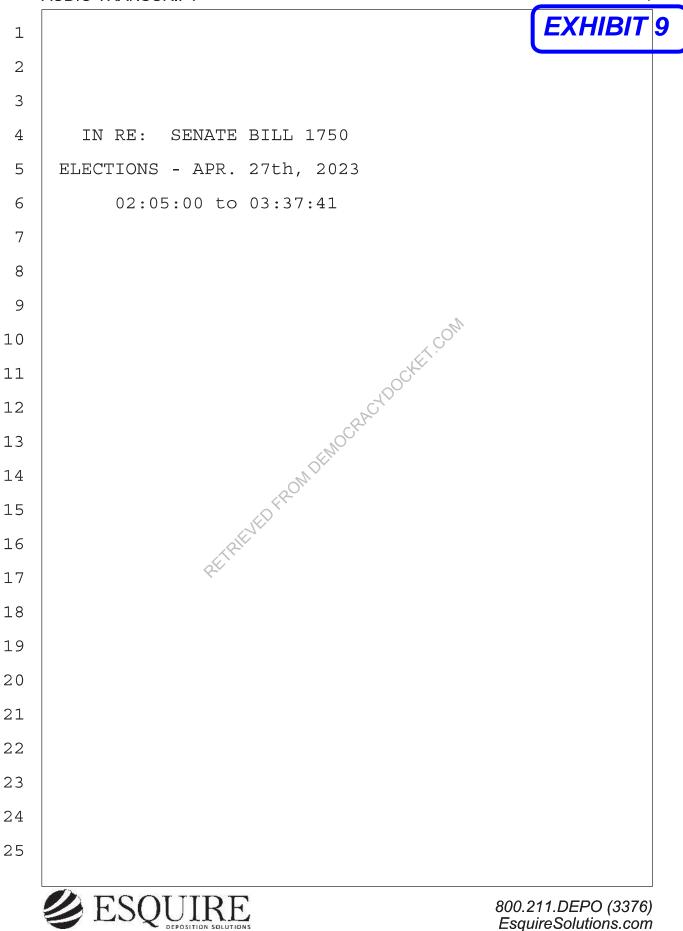
@TeamBettencourt

Texas State Senator

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1	* Start of Recording *
2	CHAIRMAN SMITH: The Chair lays out Senate Bill
3	1750 and recognizes Representative Cain to explain the
4	bill. Chairman Cain.
5	CHAIRMAN CAIN: Chairman Smith, Vice Chair Bucy,
6	and committee members of normally, I have really
7	short layouts, but I'm going to go through this full
8	one.
9	In 2020, shortly after the November election,
10	Harris County changed the leadership of the elections
11	operations from the elected office of the Harris
12 -	County Clerk and Tax Assess Collector to the pointed
13	position of Elections Administrators.
14	(Indecipherable) subsequent administrators
15	appointed had little to no experience of Texas
16	election laws and, obviously, multiple action
17	disasters including equipment malfunctions and
18	incorrect ballots.
19	First Elections Administrator point has little
20	over five months of experience administrating
21	elections for the second largest election entity in
22	the nation.
23	After resignation, she was replaced by someone
24	who had zero experience with Texas election laws and
25	no experience with Harris County, moving from



Washington DC to Houston only three months before the 1 2 second largest election in -- you know, in the 3 country. Since the implementation of an EA elections, 4 elections -- each election has been a disaster in 5 Harris County. Each election results with more votes 6 7 than voters, malfunctioning equipment, inadequate 8 training, counter-effective election work or replacement, poor polling place acquisition, incorrect 9 ballots, poorly maintained voter rolls, and more. 10 The Harris County leadership has done nothing to 11 remedy -- remedy this embarrassingly poor quality of 12 13 operation of the election department. 14 I believe it's time for Harris County elections to return the accountability of elected officials, the 15 16 Harris County Clerk and Harris County Tax Assessor Collector. 17 18 Yes, two people that are on opposite parties of 19 mine, but I believe because of who they are, because 20 they're elected, they'll be more accountable to 21 voters.

In fact, one of those reasons the bill relates to Harris County only is because Senator Bettencourt's office conducted a survey of other large counties in Texas and found that while each of those counties



1	VICE CHAIR BUCY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
2	Chairman Cain, I just want to I just I
3	think there was a version and I know this is
4	Bettencourt's bill Senator Bettencourt's bill. <mark>But</mark>
5	at one point, it was a million threshold. I think
6	it's been changed to three and a half million. Was
7	there a reason for that change?
8	CHAIRMAN CAIN: Yeah. So my bill is filed it
9	only was for Harris County, but this was a committee
10	substitute in the Senate. Look, after they talked to
11	all of the other counties, those large counties, they
12	found that they didn't have the problems Harris County
13	did. They had problems. They corrected them very
14	efficiently. They haven't had the constant issues.
15	And so for that reason, they decided to settle it only
16	on the county that seems not to be able to get their
17	act together. 🔍
18	VICE CHAIR BUCY: Who did that survey?
19	CHAIRMAN CAIN: Bettencourt's office.
20	VICE CHAIR BUCY: Senator Bettencourt's office.
21	I just I've heard about some issues on the in
22	the November election in Bell County. Just curious
23	what the feedback was there, where a Court had to step
24	in to keep elections open. 20 percent of Election Day
25	polling places required a court order to keep the

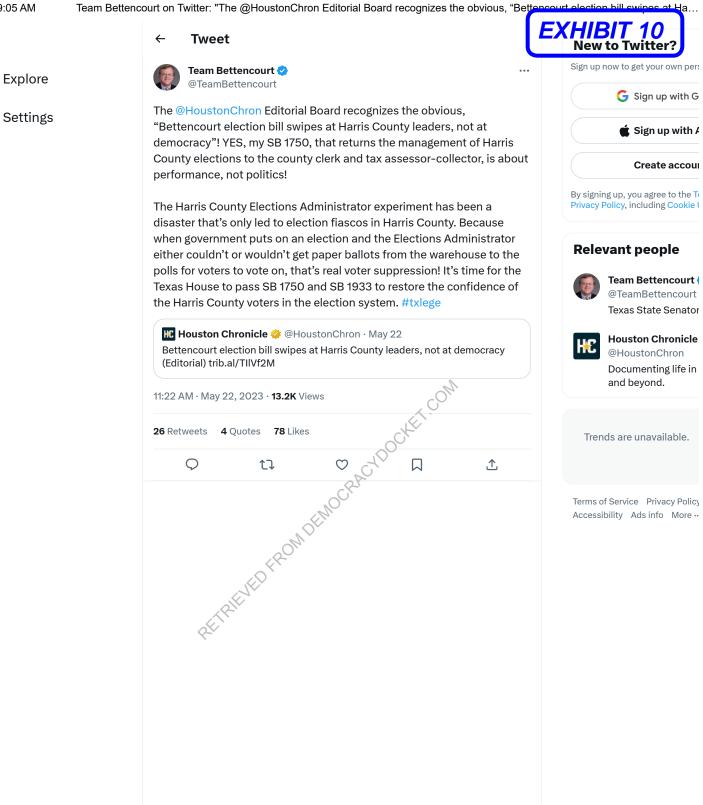


1	CERTIFICATE
2	
3	I, Robin L. Deal, Florida Professional Court
4	Reporter and Transcriptionist, do hereby certify that I
5	was authorized to and did listen to and transcribe the
6	foregoing recorded proceedings and that the transcript is
7	a true record to the best of my professional ability.
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9	Dated this 16th day of June, 2023.
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Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "The @HoustonChron Editorial Board recognizes the obvious, "Better



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Press Release FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 24, 2023 UPDATED

Contact: Michael Geary (512) 463-0107 michael.geary@senate.texas.gov

Sen. Bettencourt's bills return Harris County Elections from EA back to Elected Officials passes!

SB 1750 passes Texas House & returns EA duties & power back to the County Tax-Assessor & County Clerk

SB 1933 passes TX House and Texas SOS has oversite of Elections back to Texas

<u>Senate</u>

Austin, TX – Senator Paul Bettencourt's (R-Houston) SB 1750, sponsored by Representative Briscoe Cain (R-Deer Park) in the Texas House of Representatives, passed out of the Texas House on Tuesday, May 23, 2023. SB 1750 will restore voter trust, accountability, and transparency in Harris County elections by returning the management of elections back to elected officials. "An appointed Elections Administrator that either couldn't or wouldn't get millions of sheets of ballot paper from the warehouse to the polls for voters to vote on, on November 8th, will be gone by September 1st," said Senator Bettencourt. "Now voters in Harris County can be assured that the officials running their elections are elected and accountable to the public, with expected final passage of SB 1750," added Senator Bettencourt.

SB 1750 will return power and duties of the Harris County Elections Administrator to the County Tax Assessor-Collector and County Clerk. Under SB 1750, the County Tax Assessor-Collector will serve as the voter registrar and the election administration duties will revert to the County Clerk. With elections under two different elected officials, the cost of an independent department will be spread among the two offices providing professionalism, consistency, stability, and better customer service for elections. Senator Bettencourt served as the Tax Assessor-Collector with County Clerk Kaufman for 10 years.

"Both Elections Administrators that were appointed by the Harris County Judge bombed their elections. In 2022, the former Harris County Election Administrator 'found' 10,000 votes and released a statement at 10:30 p.m. on a Saturday night that led to her resignation. Then, the current EA either wouldn't or couldn't get millions of paper ballots out of the warehouse and to the polls with thousands of voters being turned away for lack of ballots. And after six months, the current EA still hasn't publicly explained what happened," stated Senator Bettencourt.

SB 1933, sponsored by House Rep. Tom Oliverson, grants authority of administrative oversight over a county. This will allow the Secretary of State's office to review complaints from candidates, county state party chairs, presiding or alternate judges, and the head of a specific-purpose political committee. In the complaint, if they find merit SOS can investigate using the authority of administrative oversight. An amendment limited this to Harris County only.

"SB 1933 will ensure the failures, or the fiasco of the general election never occurs again with the Texas Secretary of State oversight of the election process, if necessary," Senator Bettencourt concluded with. "A late amendment was added to SB 1933 in the Texas House limiting it to Harris County, this will be reviewed in the Texas Senate."

SB 1750 now heads back to the Texas Senate for Senator Bettencourt's review and or concurrence. Please see previous press releases below for more information.

- Senator Bettencourt's bill returns Harris County Elections back to Elected Officials!
- Sen Bettencourt & Rep Cain file bills to return Management of Elections back to Elected
 Officials!

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https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230524a&print=1

Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "Breaking news! Public Information Request revealed by @WaypeDelecting, show 115 Herris Cou...



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Breaking news! Public Information Request revealed by @WayneDolcefino, show 115 Harris County polls turned away voters in the Nov. 8th 2022 election!!

Late openings, lack of ballot paper, election machine failures, you name it... it happened and that's why Judge @LinaHidalgoTX wouldn't tell the public what really happened. Now that her hand-picked Elections Administrator Office is "adios" per, my Senate Bill 1750 and elections are being returned to the Elected County Clerk or County Tax Assessor, the truth is coming out, finally! 60 plus Election Judges of both parties said they ran out of paper per the @HarrisVotes EA info. It could be 10K plus voters suppressed or higher, big difference for election contests! Shocking, even though "Uncle Paul" and "Aunt Cindy" @cindySiegel5 predicted this in November and December repeatedly! See the report now! #txlege @TPPF @HarrisCountyRP @TexasGOP

Dolcefino Consulting OWayneDolcefino · Jun 1 Hidalgo's Latest Meltdown...

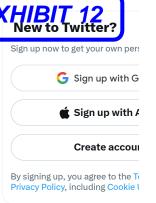
Shocking new internal Harris County election records show voters at more than 115 polling locations were turned away when they tried to vote last November.

WATCH/SHARE to spread the word.

LINK -- > youtube.com/watch?v=7T-jnS







Relevant people



Team Bettencourt (@TeamBettencourt Texas State Senator



Dolcefino Consulti

@WayneDolcefino Houston-based inve company led by awa investigative reporte Dolcefino.

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Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "Once again the Leftist Progressive Majority on the Harris County Commissioners Court authorized a



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Once again the Leftist Progressive Majority on the Harris County Commissioners Court authorized a lawsuit against the State of Texas @TXAG. This time without even waiting for Governor @GregAbbott_TX to even sign my SB 1750, (House sponsor @BriscoeCain) & SB 1933, (House sponsor @TomOliverson), the needed election reforms in Harris County! These bills replace the failed Elections Administrations Office with two Elected Officials, @harriscotxclerk and @HarrisCountyTAC and provide @TXsecofstate oversight over @HarrisVotes administration. Debated, amended, and passed by #txlege, these bills will soon be law and Harris County should comply with them, so, the election fiascos of 2022 are never repeated in the Nation's 3rd largest county. It was the "gang of 4" versus @TomSRamsey2 LOL!!

@GeraldHarrisTV @jen_rice_ @KPRC2Mario @JRogalskiKHOU @TPPF @HarrisCountyRP @TexasGOP



▲ Holly Hansen and 9 others
5:22 PM · Jun 6, 2023 · 7,208 Wews
33 Retweets 3 Quotes 70 Likes 1 Bookmark

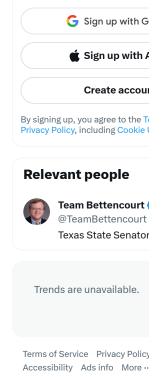


EXHIBIT 13

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Don't miss what's happening People on Twitter are the first to know.

Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "Major progress on Election Reform for Harris County! My pair of two bits that return the County E



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Major progress on Election Reform for Harris County! My pair of two bills **County Election** Administration back to the elected County Clerk and Tax Assessor-Collector with @TXsecofstate oversight, SB 1750 and SB 1933, were signed by Governor @GregAbbott_TX and go into effect no later than September 1st, 2023..!

It means that an appointed @HarrisVotes Elections Adminstrator's office, which either couldn't or wouldn't get millions of sheets of ballot paper out of the County Warehouse to the polls for voters to vote on Nov. 8th, will be replaced by two Democrat Elected Officials.

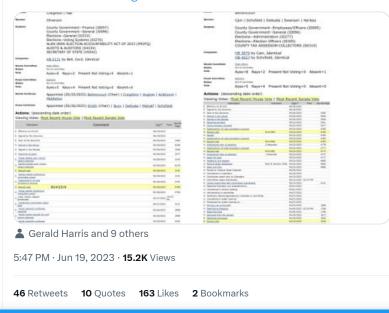
I want to thank both @HarrisCountyRP and @TexasGOP for supporting these bills, as about half the counties in Texas use their two elected officials to run their elections successfully, like what used to happen in Harris County!

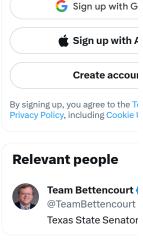
See the links below showing the bills and their House sponsors, Rep. @BriscoeCain and Rep. @TomOliverson, plus all those who voted for these critical reforms in #txlege!

SB 1750: capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/His... (capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/His...)

SB 1933: capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/His... (capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/His...)

Thanks to everyone who came and testified in committee on these "good government" bills. The last bill was named for Al Vera, who testified for them. His and everyone's voice was loud and clear helping to bring back accountability, transparency, and performance to Harris County elections. It's time for the Harris County Commissioners Court to look forward, support the County Clerk and Tax Assessor-Collector, and drop their political frivolous lawsuits against SB 1750 and SB 1933. Elections matter! #txlege





EXHIBI

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Team Bettencourt (@TeamBettencourt Texas State Senator

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8/4/2023 6:16 PM Velva L. Price District Clerk Travis County D-1-GN-23-003523 Daniel Smith

CAUSE NO. D-1-GN-23-003523

HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS	§	IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
Plaintiff,	§	
v.	§	
THE STATE OF TEXAS, OFFICE	§	
OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS, ANGELA	§	TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS
COLMENERO, in her Official	§	
Capacity as Interim Attorney	e	
General of Texas, OFFICE OF THE	§	
TEXAS SECRETARY OF STATE, JANE NELSON, in her Official	§	
Capacity as Texas Secretary of State	§	345TH JUDICIAL DISIRICT
Defendants.		OCKET
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PLAINTIFF'S VERIFIED SECOND AMENDED PETITION AND APPLICATION FOR TEMPORARY INJUNCTION AND PERMANENT INJUNCTION

Plaintiff Harris County, Texas files this Verified Second Amended Petition and Application for Temporary Injunction and Permanent Injunction against the State of Texas; Office of the Attorney General of Texas; Angela Colmenero, in her Official Capacity as Interim Attorney General of Texas; Office of the Texas Secretary of State; and Jane Nelson, in her Official Capacity as Texas Secretary of State (collectively, "Defendants") and states as follows:

INTRODUCTION

The State has singled out Harris County, to the exclusion of the other 253 Texas counties, to disrupt its local control over elections. Senate Bill 1750¹ ("SB1750"), which abolishes the Harris County elections administrator, can never apply to any other county because its relevant provision

¹ TEXAS LEGISLATURE ONLINE, SENATE BILL 1750, *available at:* https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/88R/billtext/pdf/SB01750F.pdf#navpanes=0.

applies only to counties the size of Harris County on a single date. This intentional targeting violates the Texas Constitution, as interpreted by clear Supreme Court of Texas precedent. Harris County seeks declaratory and injunctive relief protecting its local control over elections from this unconstitutional interference.

To prevent legislators from "granting [] special privileges and to secure the uniformity of law throughout the State as far as possible,"² Article III, section 56 of the Texas Constitution bars the legislature from passing local or special laws targeting certain jurisdictions (including counties) and subject matters (including elections). That prohibition exists to "stop the legislature from meddling in local matters" and to prevent legislators from "trading votes to advance personal rather than public interests."³

Elections for every public office in Texas—from Governor to Justice of the Peace to city council—are run by county governments. In every Texas county, volunteers and county officials work in tandem to run polling sites, educate voters on the process, and tabulate results. For nearly 50 years, Texas has given *every* county the power to create an elections administrator position to manage voter registration and elections. This structure is designed to add professionalism and remove partisanship from a county's management of elections and voter registration, placing these duties in the hands of a nonpartisan official who is prohibited from making campaign contributions, publicly supporting candidates, or any similar political activity. Creating distance between elections and partisan officials has become increasingly important to protect the electoral process from bad faith actors and conspiracy theorists who have, in many instances, targeted

² Miller v. El Paso Cnty., 136 Tex. 370, 150 S.W.2d 1000, 1001 (1941).

³ City of Austin v. City of Cedar Park, 953 S.W.2d 424, 432 (Tex. App.—Austin 1997, no writ) (quoting 1 George D. Braden, *The Constitution of the State of Texas: An Annotated and Comparative Analysis* 276 (1977) and citing *Miller*, 150 S.W.2d at 1001).

election officials with baseless claims of fraud and issued death threats to people who are providing the public service of administering an election. Nearly half of Texas counties—including nine of the ten largest, representing nearly 40% of registered voters—use an elections administrator system.

Since November 2020, Harris County's election administrator's office has run the County's elections. The current elections administrator, Clifford Tatum, is an experienced election official recruited to the County from out of state. He runs an office of more than 170 employees with a budget of more than \$30 million.

SB1750 will abolish that office in Harris County—and only Harris County. This surgical targeting of Harris County's elections operations was the express intention of the bill's drafter, its House sponsor, and other legislators who supported it. The Legislature prohibits counties with a population of 3.5 million or greater—a category that describes Harris County alone—from creating the office of elections administrator. But crucially, SB1750's provision abolishing existing elections administrator positions will apply exactly once: to a county that has a population over 3.5 million <u>on September 1, 2023</u> The provision thus applies to Harris County on that date, and then it will never apply again.

The Texas Constitution's plain text prohibits this sort of legislative meddling in a single county's local affairs. Harris County therefore requests that this Court declare that SB1750 violates the Texas Constitution and enjoin state officials from enforcing it.

PARTIES

1. Harris County, Texas is the largest county in Texas and operates through the Harris County Commissioners Court, the County's principal governing body.

2. Defendant, the State of Texas, may be served with process through the Texas Secretary of State, 1019 Brazos Street, Austin, TX 78701.

3

3. Defendant, Office of the Attorney General of Texas ("Attorney General's Office"), may be served at 300 West 15th Street, Austin, Texas, 78701.

4. Defendant Angela Colmenero (the "Attorney General" or "Attorney General Colmenero") is the Interim Attorney General of Texas and is sued in her official capacity. She may be served at 300 West 15th Street, Austin, Texas, 78701.

5. Defendant, Office of the Texas Secretary of State ("Secretary of State's Office"), may be served at 1019 Brazos Street, Austin, TX 78701.

6. Defendant Jane Nelson (the "Secretary of State" or "Secretary of State Nelson") is the Texas Secretary of State and is sued in her official capacity. She may be served at 1019 Brazos Street, Austin, TX 78701.

DISCOVERY CONTROL PLAN

7. Pursuant to Rule 190.4 of the Texas Rules of Civil Procedure, Plaintiff intends that discovery be conducted under Level 3.

JURISDICTION AND VENUE

8. This Court has personal jurisdiction over each Defendant because Defendants reside in Texas.

9. This Court has jurisdiction over the subject matter pursuant to article V, section 8,

of the Texas Constitution and Section 37.004 of the Civil Practice and Remedies Code.

10. Venue is appropriate in Travis County pursuant to sections 15.002(a)(1), 15.014,

and 65.023 of the Texas Civil Practice and Remedies Code.

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

I. Harris County created its elections administrator office in 2020 over the objection of state officials.

11. The Texas Election Code charges counties with managing voter registration and

election administration under one of three systems.

12. The default system places the county's tax assessor-collector in charge of voter registration, and the county's clerk in charge of administering elections. *See, e.g.*, Tex. Elec. Code \$\$ 12.001, 43.002, 67.007, 83.002. These are both elected positions.

13. A county commissioners court may decide to place both voter registration and election administration duties under either the tax assessor-collector or county clerk, if those two officials agree. Tex. Elec. Code §§ 12.031, 31.071.

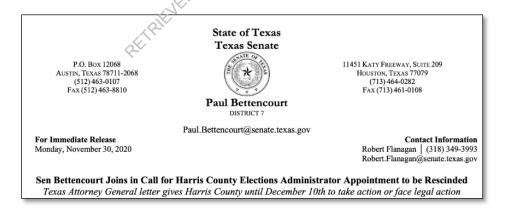
14. Finally, counties have a third option: a county commissioners court may create an elections administrator position to administer both voter registration and elections. Tex. Elec. Code § 31.031–.049. This is the option chosen by nearly half of Texas's 254 counties, including nine of the State's ten largest. This structure is designed to add professionalism and remove partisanship from a county's management of elections and voter registration, placing these duties in the hands of a nonpartisan official who is prohibited from making campaign contributions, publicly supporting candidates, or any similar political activity. Tex. Elec. Code § 31.035. This structure also has the added benefit of consolidating all elections-related duties in a single official, rather than splitting those duties between two offices that may not always be in sync.

15. When a commissioners court creates the elections administrator position, a statutorily created five-person "election commission" is responsible for hiring and firing the county's elections administrator. Tex. Elec. Code § 31.032. The election commission consists of (1) the county judge, (2) the county clerk, (3) the county tax assessor-collector, and (4) the county chair of each political party. *Id.* A commissioners court continues to control the funding for voter registration and election administration through its funding of the elections administrator.

16. In July 2020, the Harris County Commissioners Court created the Harris County

Elections Administrator position (the "Harris County EA"), transferring voter registration and election administration duties to that office. The order provided the office would begin operations on November 18, 2020, so as not to interrupt the then-ongoing November 2020 general election. Following that election, Harris County completed the transition, with the office receiving more than 100 employees and an eight-figure budget.

17. Republican state officials—including Senator Paul Bettencourt, the author of SB1750—immediately began working to abolish the Harris County EA. In November 2020, the Texas Secretary of State alleged Harris County violated the election code in creating the Harris County EA and appointing an individual to that position. Then-Attorney General Ken Paxton then sent Harris County a letter asserting that due to a minor paperwork error, the Harris County EA was "null and void" and "[did] not exist," threatening legal action if the office continued operating and the County refused to rescind the appointment of its first elections administrator.⁴ That same day, Senator Bettencourt publicly⁵ called on Harris County to abolish the office and rescind the administrator's appointment:



⁴ Letter from Ken Paxton, Att'y Gen. of Tex. to Vince Ryan, Harris County Att'y (Nov. 25, 2020) <u>https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/20418715/states-letter-to-harris-county.pdf</u>.

⁵ Press Release, Paul Bettencourt, Sen Bettencourt Joins in Call for Harris County Elections Administrator Appointment to be Rescinded (Nov. 30, 2020), <u>https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20201130a&ref=1</u>.

18. The current Harris County EA is Clifford Tatum, who the election commission appointed in August 2022.

19. Following the November 2022 general election, 22 losing candidates filed election contests to overturn the results of those elections, alleging issues with how the Harris County EA ran the election. Senator Bettencourt encouraged them, expressed his support for the suits, and started the process of leveraging those allegations to achieve his longstanding goal of abolishing the Harris County EA.

II. By Senator Bettencourt's design, SB1750 abolishes the elections administrator in only Harris County.

20. Unable to bully the Harris County Commissioners Court to undo its decision to create the elections administrator position, Senator Bettencourt devised a new plan: use the Texas Legislature to do precisely what Harris County Commissioners Court would not.

21. As originally enacted in 1977, the elections administrator statute allowed "*any* county in this state" to transfer election duties to an election administrator.⁶ In the almost half century since, the Legislature has never diminished that equal treatment—until now. Senator Bettencourt's SB1750 has two main provisions, both of which impact only Harris County—and one of which will *only* ever affect Harris County. Section 2(a) prohibits a county with more than 3.5 million residents—currently only Harris County—from creating an elections administrator for the county:

⁶ Act of May 28, 1977, 65th Leg., R.S., ch. 609, § 3, sec. 56a, 1977 Tex. Gen. Laws 1497, 1499.

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8 SECTION 2. Section 31.031(a), Election Code, is amended to
9 read as follows:
10 (a) The commissioners court <u>of a county with a population of</u>
11 <u>3.5 million or less</u> by written order may create the position of
12 county elections administrator for the county.
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22. This is an "open" bracket provision because although it will be binding on only Harris County when SB1750 goes into effect (because Harris County is the only county with a population greater than 3.5 million), it could be binding on other counties in the future. For example, if Travis County—which currently has a population of 1.3 million and does not have an elections administrator—reaches 3.5 million residents at some point in the future, Section 2 would preclude Travis County from "creat[ing]" a county elections administrator position.

23. Section 3 provides that if (1) a county has a population of more than 3.5 million <u>on</u> <u>September 1, 2023</u>, and (2) the county has an elections administrator, then (3) the administrator's office is abolished, and the county's voter registration and election administrator duties transfer to the county tax-assessor collector and clerk, respectively.

13	SECTION S. Subchapter B, Chapter 31, Election Code, is
14	amended by adding Section 31.050 to read as follows:
15	Sec. 31.050. ABOLISHMENT OF POSITION AND TRANSFER OF DUTIES
16	IN CERTAIN COUNTIES. On September 1, 2023, all powers and duties of
17	the county elections administrator of a county with a population of
18	more than 3.5 million under this subchapter are transferred to the
19	county tax assessor-collector and county clerk. The county tax
20	assessor-collector shall serve as the voter registrar, and the
21	duties and functions of the county clerk that were performed by the
22	administrator revert to the county clerk, unless a transfer of
23	duties and functions occurs under Section 12.031 or 31.071.

24. This is a "closed" bracket provision—it will apply to Harris County on September 1, 2023, and then never again, even if some other county with an elections administrator passes

the 3.5 million threshold. This is because the abolishment and transfer occur only "[o]n September 1, 2023." And on that date, Harris County will be the only county fitting the population criteria. Thus, other large counties will be able to avoid SB1750's effect entirely by creating an elections administrator before passing the population threshold—as all but one of Texas's large counties already have. Their existing elections administrators are grandfathered in, unlike Harris County's.

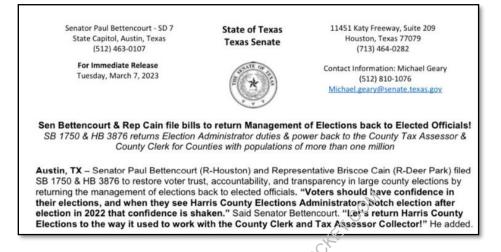
25. The plain text of SB1750 permits no other reading. The "On September 1, 2023" clause in Section 3 cannot be a mere effective-date provision because SB1750 explicitly already takes effect September 1, 2023. Thus, to create a broadly applicable abolishment/transfer provision taking effect on the law's effective date, the Legislature could have stayed silent—as the Legislature did in Section 2.

26. That SB1750's abolishment provision can only ever apply to Harris County is further apparent when read in combination with Senate Bill 1933⁷ ("SB1933"), another bill Senator Bettencourt sponsored this legislative session. SB1933 applies to only counties "with a population of more than 4 million," and empowers the Secretary of State to "terminate the employment of a county elections administrator, in a county that has the position." *See* Tex. Elec. Code §§ 31.017, 31.021 (effective September 1, 2023). This law would be superfluous if SB1750 automatically abolished the elections administrator position in any county that grows to a population of more than 3.5 million after September 1, 2023.

27. The Legislature's decision to ensure that SB1750 applies only to Harris County, while offering other large counties an escape valve, shows the explicit intention of the bill's sponsor and other officials. An early draft of SB1750 would have applied to counties with over

⁷ TEXAS LEGISLATURE ONLINE, SENATE BILL 1933, *available at:* https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/88R/billtext/pdf/SB01933F.pdf#navpanes=0.

one million residents. Yet Senator Bettencourt stated publicly that his intended target was the Harris County EA: "Let's return Harris County Elections to the way it used to work with the County Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector!"⁸



28. Senator Bettencourt quickly revealed that the one million population bracket was a smoke screen. At the start of SB1750's first and only senate committee hearing, Senator Bettencourt announced that the committee would not consider a bill with a one-million-person population bracket, but instead a committee substitute that increased the population threshold to 3.5 million. And at that hearing he made clear his reason for doing so: "This bill will effectively transition the election administrator back to the Harris County clerk and tax assessor-collector."⁹

29. When the entire Senate passed SB1750 a few weeks after the hearing, Senator Bettencourt reaffirmed the goal of his bill in a press release, stating "[1]et's return Harris County Elections to the way it used to work with the County Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector!".¹⁰

⁸ Press Release, Paul Bettencourt, Sen Bettencourt & Rep Cain file bills to return Management of Elections back to Elected Officials! (Mar. 7, 2023), <u>https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230307a&ref=1</u>.

⁹ Hearing on S.B. 1750 Before the Senate Committee on State Affairs, 88th Leg., R.S. (March 30, 2023) (tape available at https://tlcsenate.granicus.com/MediaPlayer.php?view_id=53&clip_id=17555) (quote at 4:09:41).

¹⁰ Press Release, Paul Bettencourt, Senator Bettencourt's bill returns Harris County Elections back to Elected Officials! (Apr. 18, 2023), <u>https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230418a&ref=1</u>.

30. He did so again¹¹ a week later, when SB1750 was posted for hearing in the House Elections Committee:

٢	Team Bettencourt @TeamBettencourt · Apr 26 ···· House Elections Committee Chairman @Reggie4Tx posts my SB 1750 which will eliminate the Harris County Elections Administrator office in Harris County for Thursday! The bill returns all election duties BACK to the elected County Clerk and Tax-Assessor. Ag Chair @BriscoeCain will Show more
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31. In that hearing, Representative Briscoe Cain, the bill's House sponsor, reaffirmed

that SB1750 was intended to impact only Harris County:

CAIN: In 2020, shortly after the November election, Harris County changed the leadership of the elections operations, from the elected office of the Harris County Clerk and Tax Assessor-Collector to an appointed position of the elections administrator.

•••

CAIN: I believe it's time for Harris County elections to return the accountability of Harris County elected officials, the Harris County Clerk and the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector ...

¹¹ Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (Apr. 26, 2023, 10:31 AM), <u>https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1651247641987096578?s=20</u>.

BUCY: ... at one point it was a million threshold, I think it's been changed to three and a half million. Is there a reason for that change?

. . .

CAIN: *Yea, so, my bill was filed only for Harris County*. This is a committee substitute in the Senate.¹²

32. After the Texas House of Representatives passed SB1750, Senator Bettencourt publicly reaffirmed multiple times that the bill's goal was to abolish only the Harris County EA. On May 22, he tweeted "The @HoustonChron Editorial Board recognizes the obvious, 'Bettencourt election bill swipes at Harris County leaders, not at democracy'! YES, my SB1750, that returns the management of Harris County elections to the county clerk and tax assessor-collector, is about performance, not politics!".¹³ On May 24, he stated, "SB1750 will restore voter trust, accountability, and transparency in Harris County elections by returning the management of elections back to elected officials."¹⁴ On June 2, he tweeted the "[Harris County] Elections Administrator Office is 'adios' per, my Senate Bill 1750 and elections are being returned to the Elected County Clerk or County Tax Assessor."¹⁵ On June 6, he tweeted SB1750 "replace[s] the failed Elections Administrations Office with two Elected Officials, @harriscotxclerk and @HarrisCountyTAC."¹⁶

¹² Hearing on S.B. 1750 Before the House Committee on Elections, 88th Leg., R.S. (April 27, 2023) (tape available at https://tlchouse.granicus.com/MediaPlayer.php?view_id=78&clip_id=24729) (testimony at 2:05:35 - 2:08:32) (emphasis added).

¹³ Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (May 22, 2023, 11:22 AM), https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1660682439176355841?s=20.

¹⁴ Press Release, Paul Bettencourt, Sen. Bettencourt's bills return Harris County Elections from EA back to Elected Officials passes! (May 24, 2023), <u>https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230524a&ref=1</u>.

¹⁵ Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (June 2, 2023, 6:14 PM), https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1664772385487085568.

¹⁶ Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (June 6, 2023, 5:22 PM), https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1666209017322954759?s=20.

33. Governor Abbott signed SB1750 on June 18, 2023. The next day, Senator Bettencourt took a victory lap over successfully passing a bill that targeted only Harris County¹⁷:

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34. Senator Bettencourt's SB1750 is even more harmful to Harris County when paired with SB1933. As previously discussed, SB1933 empowers the Secretary of State to terminate the elections administrator in only Harris County. The law also grants the Secretary of State the authority to oversee only Harris County's elections and to initiate lawsuits to remove from office Harris County's Clerk and Tax Assessor-Collector.¹⁸

III. Harris County will be harmed if SB1750 takes effect.

35. Pursuant to SB1750, the Harris County EA is set to be abolished effective

September 1, 2023. Harris County will be harmed considerably, in a variety of ways.

¹⁷ Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (June 19, 2023, 5:47 PM), <u>https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1670926247713439746</u>.

¹⁸ As SB1933 provides for different penalties for an elections administrator versus a county clerk and tax assessor, the courts' rulings in this case will guide how SB1933 impacts Harris County. Harris County will challenge any potential action taken by the Secretary of State pursuant to SB1933.

36. First, because SB1750 is unconstitutional, Harris County will be harmed by having to implement a statute that it believes violates the Texas constitution. Harris County also suffers by being singled out by SB1750. Article III, section 56's intent is in part to protect counties from baseless attacks from legislators with a grudge. SB 1750 does just that, and thus deprives Harris County from a right granted by the Texas Constitution.

37. Beyond being required to implement an unconstitutional statute, Harris County would also suffer harm because implementing SB1750 would require massive transfers of employees and resources from the EA's office to the Harris County Clerk and the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector just 6 weeks before voters will go to the polls in elections run by Harris County. Not only will this transfer lead to inefficiencies, disorganization, confusion, office instability, and increased costs to the County, but it will also disrupt an election the Harris County EA has been planning for months. The County is fegally required to host a Texas constitutional amendment election as well as a countywide bond election and will also be conducting elections for the City of Houston and 50 other entities (e.g., other municipalities, municipal utility districts, other local government entities). The County anticipates providing around 700 polling sites to more than 2.5 million registered voters in the County. The deadline to finalize in person and absentee ballots is September 23, which is also the deadline to mail absentee ballots to Military and Overseas voters. The last day to register to vote is October 10, and early voting by personal appearance begins on October 23.

38. The county tax assessor and clerk have had no role in preparing for the November election. Transferring responsibility for that election just weeks before voting starts will therefore disrupt existing processes and risk the efficient administration of the election.

39. Over the next few months, the elections department will have to undertake a

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multitude of tasks, including the following: inventorying election supplies, learning and implementing new election laws, training election workers, testing voting equipment, designing and proofing ballots, mailing ballots to overseas military voters, preparing a mass mail out of voter registration cards, submitting appointment lists for presiding and alternate judges, making emergency appointments of presiding and alternate judges, serving as early voting clerk, ensuring a sufficient number of facilities to use as polling locations, and allocating election supplies among the polling places.

40. Harris County will be forced to hire additional permanent and temporary workers, as well as consultants, at a great cost to ensure it can meet its many obligations and to navigate the management structure to be used, the personnel to be retained, and the numerous decisions that need to be made in hopes of orderly administering the county as well as this November's election.

41. Harris County seeks court intervention because it does not wish to comply with an unconstitutional law. But should Harris County run the November 2023 election and March 2024 primary elections through its elections administrator's office without a court order related to SB1750's constitutionality, the trill weight of the Election Code and the Secretary of State's mandatory rules are set to come crashing down on the County. Dozens of provisions in the code and rules require that counties manage voter registration and administer elections through a legally defunct office would jeopardize not only the results of those elections, but the validity of voter lists, polling locations, thousands of financial transactions, and contracts with other entities (including the City of Houston, the Harris County Republican Party, and the Harris County Democratic party). Funds for registering voters owed by the Secretary of State to the Harris County EA under Tex. Elec. Code § 19.002 would be withheld. The County's voter registration activities

would be impacted if the Secretary of State refuses to check voter registration applications against the state's TEAM (Texas Election Administration Management) system, which is an essential part of the voter registration process. In all facets of the upcoming election (e.g., voter outreach, voter registration, ballot language, candidate verification, election technology, election administration, vote tallying), to ensure positive outcomes, the Secretary of State's Office must work hand-inhand with the Harris County EA; without an injunction, Harris County's entire election apparatus is plunged into uncertainty. Ultimately, without court intervention, the public's selection of their elected representatives—the core process on which our democracy rests—will be risked in Harris County.

42. The County is at immediate risk of harm through enforcement actions by Defendants. The Attorney General's Office has explicitly made enforcement of the Election Code a priority in recent years.¹⁹ Harris County is at significant risk of suit, including civil penalties, by the Attorney General's Office for its refusal to follow an unconstitutional law.

43. In fact, there is a clear precedent for such action. As referenced above, the Secretary of State's Office referred the creation of the Harris County EA to the Attorney General's Office.²⁰The Attorney General's Office demanded the rescission of the EA's appointment and threatened legal action. The Attorney General's Office has made a cottage industry out of suing

https://twitter.com/TXAG/status/1561716384794542081?s=20; Attorney General Ken Paxton (@KenPaxtonTX), Twitter (Nov. 4, 2021, 4:38 PM), https://twitter.com/KenPaxtonTX/status/1456375255530889225?s=20. The Attorney General's Office has sent out cease and desist letters based on perceived election code violations and provided legal advice on criminal liability for third parties providing mail-in ballots. The Attorney General's Office formed an Election Integrity Unit to litigate election laws. *See* https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/news/releases/ag-paxton-announces-formation-2021-texas-election-integrity-unit .

¹⁹ See, Texas Attorney General (@TXAG), Twitter (Aug. 22, 2022, 9:06 AM),

²⁰ Letter from Ken Paxton, Att'y Gen. of Tex. to Vince Ryan, Harris County Att'y (Nov. 25, 2020) <u>https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/20418715/states-letter-to-harris-county.pdf</u>.

Harris County for any perceived violation of state law or regulation.²¹ Even while suspended, Ken Paxton has noted his interest in litigation involving SB1750 and Harris County elections.²²

44. Harris County is also under threat of enforcement by the Secretary of State. After September 1, 2023, SB1933 provides the Secretary of State with the power to order administrative oversight of a "county office administering elections or voter registration." *See* Tex. Elec. Code § 31.017(a) (effective September 1, 2023). This grant of authority includes the authority to demand responses from county election officials, conduct investigations of county election officials, impose administrative oversight over county elections, and remove county election officials. *See id.* §§ 31.017(b), 31.019, 31.020, 31.021. The Secretary of State may also take action to harm Harris County by actively refusing to take part in the process for the November election, including by: refusing to accept from the Harris County Elections Administrator the results of any Harris County Elections Administrator; refusing to provide official election reporting forms and voting by mail forms; refusing to provide funds entitled under Tex. Elec. Code § 19.002; refusing to check voter registration applications against the state's TEAM system; taking any actions under SB1933 on the sole basis that the Harris County Elections Administrator position is abolished; and refusing

https://twitter.com/TXAG/status/1300525513237245954?s=20; Press Release, Texas Attorney General's Office, AG Paxton Sues Harris County Clerk to Prevent Him from Unlawfully Sending Out Millions of Unsolicited Mail-In Ballot Applications (August 31, 2020), <u>https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/news/releases/ag-paxton-sues-harris-county-clerk-prevent-him-unlawfully-sending-out-millions-unsolicited-mail;</u> Texas Attorney General (@TXAG), Twitter (Sep. 12, 2020, 10:58 AM), https://twitter.com/TXAG/status/1304811527250350080?s=20; Texas Attorney General (@TXAG), Twitter (Sep. 15, 2020, 5:36 PM),

²¹ See Texas Attorney General (@TXAG), Twitter (Aug.31, 2020, 3:06 PM)

https://twitter.com/TXAG/status/1305998951448031237?s=20; Petition in Intervention by the State of Texas, *Texas Organizing Project v. Harris County, Texas, et al.*, Cause No. 2022-73765 in the 295th Judicial District; Appellants' Emergency Motion for Temporary Order, *Abbott, et al. v. Harris County, Texas, et al.*, Cause No. 03-21-00429-CV, Third Court of Appeals; Relator's Emergency Motion for Temporary Relief, *In re Greg Abbott*, Cause No. 21-0923, Texas Supreme Court.

²² See Attorney General Ken Paxton (@KenPaxtonTX), Twitter (July 29, 2023, 7:27 PM), https://twitter.com/KenPaxtonTX/status/1685446868933709825?s=20.

to cooperate with the Harris County Elections Administrator to perform election-related responsibilities.

CAUSES OF ACTION

DECLARATORY JUDGMENT: SB1750 VIOLATES ARTICLE III, SECTION 56 OF THE TEXAS CONSTITUTION

45. Plaintiff incorporates by reference and re-alleges the facts and allegations contained in the foregoing paragraphs, as if set forth verbatim herein

46. Under the Uniform Declaratory Judgments Act ("UDJA"), a person "whose rights, status, or other legal relations are affected by a statute . . . may have determined any question of construction or validity arising under [] statute . . . and obtain a declaration of rights, status, or other legal relations thereunder." Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code § 37.004(a). The UDJA is properly used to "settle and afford relief from uncertainty and insecurity with respect to rights, and [is] to be liberally construed." *City of Waco v. Tex. Nat. Res. Conservation Comm* '*n*, 83 S.W.3d 169, 177 (Tex. App.—Austin 2002, pet. denied). The State, the Attorney General's Office, Interim Attorney General Colmenero, the Secretary of State's Office, and Secretary of State Nelson, believe that SB1750 is constitutional and that Harris County must abolish its elections administrator's office on September 1, 2023, creating a live controversy between the parties. The UDJA is thus a proper vehicle for challenging the constitutionality of SB1750.

47. Article III, section 56(a) of the Texas Constitution provides that "[t]he Legislature shall not, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, pass any local or special law, authorizing," and then lists 30 prohibited subject matters, including:

- "(2) regulating the affairs of counties, cities, towns, wards or school districts";
- "(12) for the opening and conducting of elections, or fixing or changing the places of voting";

- "(14) creating offices, or prescribing the powers and duties of officers, in counties, cities, towns, election or school districts"; and
- "(30) relieving or discharging any person or set of persons from the performance of any public duty or service imposed by general law".

TEX. CONST., art. III, § 56(a).

48. Similarly, Article III, section 56(b) of the Texas Constitution provides "[t]he Legislature shall not, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, pass any local or special law ... where a general law can be made applicable, no local or special law shall be enacted" TEX. CONST., art. III, § 56(b).

49. Although the Legislature may pass laws that apply to a class more limited than all of Texas, courts have consistently held unconstitutional laws that apply to only one locality and make it impossible for other localities to later be subject to the law. *See, e.g., City of Fort Worth v. Bobbitt*, 36 S.W.2d 470, 471-72 (Tex. 1931) ("ine act is so constructed that it is absolutely impossible for any other city in the state to ever be included within the terms or under the provisions of the act. It is therefore our opinion that this act is confined in its application to the city of Fort Worth only, just as clearly, and just as effectively as if the stipulation with reference to population had been omitted and the name 'Fort Worth' written therein in its stead. The Constitution in plain and simple terms prohibits the enactment of any local or special law regulating the affairs of cities, or changing their charters"). Courts have similarly struck down laws that exempt one locality from a law that applies to all of Texas. *See, e.g., Hall v. Bell Cnty.*, 138 S.W. 178 (Tex. App.—Austin 1911), *aff'd*, 105 Tex. 558 (1913) (holding unconstitutional a law that abolished the county auditor's office in only Bell County).

50. Laws that apply to a limited class pass constitutional muster only if there is a "reasonable basis" for the classification—*i.e.*, the classification must be broad enough to include a substantial class and must be based on characteristics legitimately distinguishing such class from

others with respect to the public purpose sought to be accomplished by the law. *Maple Run at Austin Mun. Util. Dist. v. Monaghan*, 931 S.W.2d 941, 945 (Tex. 1996).

51. SB1750 cannot withstand constitutional scrutiny. By setting a population threshold of 3.5 million, the law abolishes the elections administrator office in only Harris County, and in no other locality in this state. *See* Tex. Elec. Code § 31.050 (effective September 1, 2023). Moreover, it is impossible for SB1750's abolition of the elections administrator's office to be binding on counties other than Harris County in the future because the provision applies only to counties that have a population of 3.5 million on September 1, 2023, and not to counties that grow to a population above 3.5 million residents after September 1, 2023.

52. The law's population bracket is thus permanently closed, no different than if the statute purported to apply to "Harris County and only ever Harris County" or only "counties with a population of more than 3.5 million people according to the United States Census of 2020." The law is not creating a classification that happens to capture only Harris County; it is instead using a sham classification to evade the constitutional ban on local laws and make Harris County the only county to which it applies.

53. Accordingly, pursuant to the UDJA, Harris County seeks the following prospective declaratory judgment from the Court:

- SB1750 violates article III, section 56(a) of the Texas Constitution by abolishing the elections administrator office in only counties that have a population of more than 3.5 million on September 1, 2023.
- SB1750 violates article III, section 56(b) of the Texas Constitution by abolishing the elections administrator office in only counties that have a population of more than 3.5 million on September 1, 2023.
- SB1750 violates article III, section 56(a) of the Texas Constitution by prohibiting counties with a population of more than 3.5 million from creating an elections administrator position.

• SB1750 violates article III, section 56(b) of the Texas Constitution by prohibiting counties with a population of more than 3.5 million from creating an elections administrator position.

INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

54. Harris County expressly incorporates by reference each of the foregoing paragraphs of the pleading as if fully set forth herein.

55. Harris County intends to seek temporary and permanent injunctive relief to enjoin state officials from enforcing SB1750 against the County.

56. Harris County has properly pleaded a cause of action for declaratory judgment.

57. Harris County has a probable right to relief because, for the reasons set forth above, SB1750 violates article III, section 56 of the Texas Constitution.

58. If the Court does not grant temporary relief in this case pending a decision on a permanent injunction and declaratory judgment. Harris County will suffer imminent and irreparable harm. Should Harris County run the November 2023 election through its elections administrator's office without a court order declaring SB1750 unconstitutional, it will run afoul of the dozens of provisions in the Election Code and Secretary of State rules requiring that counties manage voter registration and administer elections through the proper, statutorily authorized elections officials. The Attorney General's Office, the Attorney General, the Secretary of State's Office, and the Secretary of State will be the lead agents enforcing SB1750, putting the County at risk of a suit to remove its EA, civil penalties, the disruption of election processes for the November 2023 election, the invalidation of contracts and financial transactions, and the potential rejection of results for the November election.

59. A temporary injunction maintains the *status quo* for the upcoming November election.

60. Harris County has no other adequate remedy at law.

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CONDITIONS PRECEDENT

61. All conditions precedent have been performed or have occurred.

REQUEST FOR HEARING

62. Plaintiff requests that upon the filing of its application for temporary injunction, the Court set it for hearing, and after hearing the application, issue a temporary injunction against Defendants enjoining them from the acts described above. Plaintiff further requests that the Court set this matter for trial and, upon final hearing, issue the foregoing declarations and permanently enjoin Defendants from the acts described above.

BOND

63. Harris County is exempt by law from the requirement to file a bond for a request for an injunction. *See* Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code § 6.001(c).

PRAYER

64. For these reasons, Harris County asks that Defendants be cited to appear and answer

and, on final trial, that Harris County have judgment against Defendants for:

- A declaration that \$\mathbf{SB1750}\$ violates article III, section 56(a) of the Texas Constitution by abolishing the elections administrator office in only counties that have a population of more than 3.5 million on September 1, 2023.
- A declaration that SB1750 violates article III, section 56(b) of the Texas Constitution by abolishing the elections administrator office in only counties that have a population of more than 3.5 million on September 1, 2023.
- A declaration that SB1750 violates article III, section 56(a) of the Texas Constitution by prohibiting counties with a population of more than 3.5 million from creating an elections administrator position.
- A declaration that SB1750 violates article III, section 56(b) of the Texas Constitution by prohibiting counties with a population of more than 3.5 million from creating an elections administrator position.

- Temporary and permanent injunctions preventing the Office of the Texas Secretary of State and the Secretary of State from refusing to recognize the Harris County Elections Administrator's Office as a lawful elections office on account of SB1750's purported efficacy after SB1750's effective date. including by, on the basis of SB1750: refusing to accept from the Harris County Elections Administrator the results of any Harris County election; refusing to coordinate with, and approve election action taken by, the Harris County Elections Administrator: refusing to provide official election reporting forms and voting by mail forms; refusing to provide funds entitled under Tex. Elec. Code § 19.002; refusing to check voter registration applications against the state's TEAM system; taking any actions under SB1933 on the sole basis that the Harris County Elections Administrator position is abolished; refusing to cooperate with the Harris County Elections Administrator perform election-related to responsibilities.
- Temporary and permanent injunctions preventing the Office of the Attorney General of Texas and the Attorney General from enforcing SB1750 by seeking civil penalties against the County or its elections officials.
- 65. Plaintiff requests such other and further relief, general or special, whether in law or

equity, to which it may be justly entitled.

[SIGNATURE PAGE BELOW]

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Christian D. Menefee

Christian D. Menefee Harris County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24088049 Christian.Menefee@harriscountytx.gov **Jonathan Fombonne** First Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24102702 Jonathan.Fombonne@harriscountytx.gov **Tiffany S. Bingham** Managing Counsel Texas Bar No. 24012287 Tiffany.Bingham@harriscountytx.gov Neal Sarker Special Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24093106 Neal.Sarkar@harriscountytx.gov Christopher Garza Senior Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24078543 Christopher.Garza@harriscountytx.gov **Matthew Miller** Senior Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24051959 Matthew.Miller@harriscountytx.gov Moustapha Gassama Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24083058 Moustapha.Gassama@harriscountytx.gov Neeharika Tumati Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24101168 Neeharika.Tumati@harriscountytx.gov

Office of Harris County Attorney

1019 Congress, 15th Floor Houston, Texas 77002 Office: 713-755-5101 Fax: 713-755-8924

ATTORNEYS FOR PLAINTIFF

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VERIFICATION

My name is Rachelle Obakozuwa. I am an employee of the following governmental agency: Harris County Elections Administration Office. I am executing this declaration as part of my assigned duties and responsibilities as the Director of Logistics. Based on my experience, my assigned duties and responsibilities, and my review of County documents, I have personal knowledge of the facts contained in the **Plaintiff's Verified Second Amended Petition and Application for Temporary Injunction and Permanent Injunction**. I declare under penalty of perjury that the facts stated therein are true and correct.

Executed in Harris County, State of Texas on August 4, 2023.

Rechelle Qbapoyun

Rachelle Obakozuwa

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on August 4, 2023, a copy of this Plaintiff's Verified Second Amended Petition and Application for Temporary Injunction and Permanent Injunction was transmitted in accordance with the Texas Rules of Civil Procedure to all parties of record as follows:

Lief Olson, Chief Litigation Division Leif.Olson@oag.texas.gov Susanna Dokupil Susanna.Dokupil@oag.texas.gov

Office of the Attorney General

P.O. Box 12548 (MC-009) Austin, Texas 78711-2548 Phone: (512) 463-4139 **Attorneys for Defendants**

> <u>/s/ Neal A. Sarkar</u> Neal A. Sarkar

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Associated Case Party: HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

Associated Case Party: CLIFFORD TATUMS

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Alyce Young		alyce@rs-law.com	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT
Richard Schechter		richard@rs-law.com	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT
Gerald Birnberg		gbirnberg@wba-law.com	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT

Associated Case Party: THE STATE OF TEXAS

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Charles Kenneth Eldred	793681	Charles.Eldred@oag.texas.gov	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT
Sharron Lee		sharron.lee@oag.texas.gov	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT

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Associated Case Party: THE STATE OF TEXAS

		N	
Christina Cella	christina.cella@oag.texas.gov	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT
Leif Olson	leif.olson@oag.texas.gov	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT
Jessica Yvarra	Jessica.Yvarra@oag.texas.gov	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT
Susanna Dokupil	Susanna.Dokupil@eag.texas.gov	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT

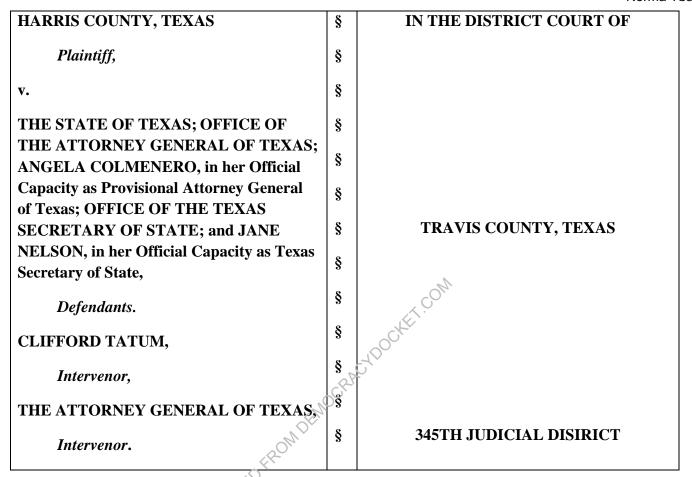
Associated Case Party: JANE NELSON TEXAS SECRETARY OF STATE

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Charles Kenneth Eldred	793681	Charles.Eldred@oag.texas.gov	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT
Christina Cella	24106199	christina.cella@oag.texas.gov	8/4/2023 6:16:45 PM	SENT



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CAUSE NO. D-1-GN-23-003523



PLAINTIFF'S AMENDED BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF TEMPORARY INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

Christian D. Menefee Harris County Attorney State Bar No. 24088049 Christian.Menefee@harriscountytx.gov

Tiffany S. Bingham Managing Counsel State Bar No. 24012287 Tiffany.Bingham@harriscountytx.gov

Christopher Garza Assistant County Attorney State Bar No. 24078543 Christopher.Garza@harriscountytx.gov Jonathan Fombonne First Assistant County Attorney State Bar No. 24102702 Jonathan.Fombonne@harriscountytx.gov

Neal A. Sarkar Special Assistant County Attorney State Bar No. 24093106 Neal.Sarkar@harriscountytx.gov

Matthew Miller Assistant County Attorney State Bar No. 24051959 Matthew.Miller@harriscountytx.gov Moustapha Gassama Assistant County Attorney State Bar No. 24083058 Moustapha.Gassama@harriscountytx.gov Neeharika Tumati Assistant County Attorney State Bar No. 24101168 Neeharika.Tumati@harriscountytx.gov

Office of Harris County Attorney 1019 Congress, 15th Floor

1019 Congress, 15th Floor Houston, Texas 77002 Office:713-755-5101 Fax: 713-755-8924

COUNSEL FOR HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

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Under Texas law, county governments run elections. Volunteers and county officials work in tandem to run polling sites, register voters, and calculate election results. For nearly 50 years, Texas has given every county the authority to take elections and voter registration duties away from the elected county clerks and tax-assessor collectors who by default run elections and transfer them to an appointed elections administrator position who may be removed at any time. More than half of Texas's 254 counties have chosen to create an elections administrator position, including nine out of the ten largest counties in the state. But in enacting Senate Bill 1750 ("SB1750") just a few months ago, Texas has taken this option away from Harris County—and only Harris County. Harris County therefore seeks a temporary injunction to prevent state officers from enforcing and implementing the provisions of SB1750 because it (i) plainly violates the Texas Constitution's prohibition on laws that apply only to one locality and (ii) will cause Harris County financial harm, throw its elections into disarray, and disrupt normal governmental operations less than 53 days before a major election.

To prevent legislators from "granting [] special privileges and to secure the uniformity of law throughout the State as far as possible," Article III, section 56 of the Texas Constitution bars the legislature from the passing of any "local or special law" that: (1) regulate the affairs of counties; (2) regulate the conducting of elections; (3) prescribe the powers and duties of officers in counties; and (4) relieve or discharge any person from the performance of any public duty or service. *Miller v. El Paso Cnty.*, 136 Tex. 370, 150 S.W.2d 1000, 1001 (Tex. 1941). SB1750 manages to accomplish all the above, thereby violating a constitutional provision that seeks to "stop the legislature from meddling in local matters" and to prevent legislators from "trading votes to advance personal rather than public interests." *City of Austin v. City of Cedar Park*, 953 S.W.2d 424, 431 (Tex. App.—Austin 1997, no writ) (citations omitted).

Courts have repeatedly declared unconstitutional laws that can only ever apply to a specific locality, even when the legislature does so without naming its target. SB1750 does just that. On paper, it abolishes the position of elections administrator in a county that has a population over 3.5 million on September 1, 2023. In practice Harris County is the only county to which that law will ever apply because it is the only county that will have over 3.5 million on September 1 of this year. Designed to disrupt Harris County's elections to settle personal scores, this surgical targeting was the express intention of the bill's drafter, its House sponsor, and other legislators who supported it. And that is precisely the kind of law that has never withstood constitutional scrutiny because it does exactly what Article III, Section 56 was designed to avoid.

Abolishing Harris County's Elections Administrator's Office on September 1, 2023 will drastically alter the status quo and could have serious consequences for the county's ability to conduct elections in November, which include statewide constitutional amendments, countywide bond propositions, and municipal races for the City of Houston, the largest city in Texas. The Harris County Elections Administrator has been planning the November election since January, and SB1750 forces a transfer of duties to leadership that has not been able to prepare adequately for this election. This issue is of urgent concern as early voting begins in October and logistics and operations are currently managed by an office which may cease to exist in short order.

Because SB1750 violates the Texas Constitution, and because Harris County is at risk of imminent, irreparable harm, Harris County respectfully requests that this Court (i) enjoin the Office of the Texas Secretary of State, including Secretary of State Nelson from refusing to recognize the Harris County Elections Administrator in connection with her duties as the state's top election officer, and (ii) enjoin the Office of the Attorney General of Texas, including Interim Attorney General Colmenero from taking any action to enforce SB1750.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

I. Until SB1750, the Election Code afforded every county in Texas the same options for administering elections.

Under Texas law, counties are tasked with administering elections and registering voters. The Texas Election Code sets forth three systems under which a county may administer elections and register voters.

The default system places the County Clerk in charge of administering elections and the County Tax Assessor-Collector in charge of voter registration. *See, e.g.*, Tex. Elec. Code §§ 12.001, 43.002, 67.007, 83.002. Both positions are created by the Texas Constitution and are elected countywide. Alternatively, a county commissioners court may decide to place both election administration and voter registration duties under either the County Clerk or the Tax Assessor-Collector, as long as those two officials agree to the chosen allocation of duties. Tex. Elec. Code §§ 12.031, 31.071.

Counties also have a third option. A county commissioners court may create an elections administrator position to both administer elections and oversee voter registration. Tex. Elec. Code § 31.031–.049. When a commissioners court creates the elections administrator position, a statutorily created "election commission" is responsible for hiring that individual. Tex. Elec. Code § 31.032. The election commission consists of: (1) the County Judge, (2) the County Clerk, (3) the County Tax Assessor-Collector, and (4) County Chair of each major political party. *Id.* At any time, an elections administrator may be suspended or terminated on a four-fifths vote of the county election commission and ratification by commissioners court. *Id.* § 31.037.

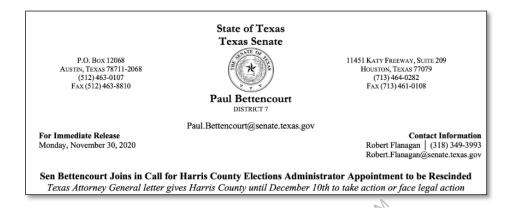
Nearly half of Texas's 254 counties have chosen the elections administrator model, including nine of the ten largest. This structure adds professionalism and removes partisanship

from a county's management of elections and voter registration, placing these duties in the hands of a nonpartisan official who is prohibited from making campaign contributions, publicly supporting candidates, or any similar political activity. Tex. Elec. Code § 31.035. These regulations reduce bias and conflicts of interest for the individual in the role, minimize risks to fair election results, and bolster public confidence in elections. Elections administrators also take on all election-related duties, rather than splitting those duties between two separately-elected offices that may not always be in sync, allowing for smoother elections. Finally, an elections administrator position allows for immediate accountability: rather than having to wait until the next election to hold a County Clerk or County Tax Assessor-Collector accountable, the bipartisan election commission can take immediate action to suspend or terminate an elections administrator.

II. State officials have sought to undermine Harris County's elections administrator's office since it was created in 2020.

In July 2020, the Harris County Commissioners Court created the Harris County Elections Administrator position (the "Harris County EA"), transferring voter registration and election administration duties to that office. The Commissioners Court order provided that the office would begin operations on November 18, 2020, so as not to disrupt preparations for the November 2020 general election. Following that election, Harris County completed the transition, with the elections administrator's office receiving more than 10 employees and an eight-figure budget.

Republican state officials—including Senator Paul Bettencourt, the author of SB1750 immediately began working to abolish the Harris County EA. In November 2020, the Texas Secretary of State alleged Harris County violated the election code by creating the Harris County EA and appointing an individual to that position. Then-Attorney General Ken Paxton sent Harris County a letter asserting that due to a minor paperwork error, the Harris County EA was "null and void" and "[did] not exist," threatening legal action if the office continued operating and the County refused to rescind the appointment of its first elections administrator.¹ That same day, Senator Bettencourt publicly² called on Harris County to abolish the office and rescind the administrator's appointment:



Senator Bettencourt has never wavered in his quest for his white whale. In March 2022, after the primary election, Senator Bettencourt called for sending "elections back to [the County Clerk] and [the Tax Assessor-Collector]."³ Following the November 2022 general election, 22 losing candidates filed election contests to overurn the results of those elections, alleging issues with how the Harris County EA ran the election. Senator Bettencourt encouraged them, expressed his support for the suits, and aggressively attempted to leverage those allegations to achieve his longstanding goal of abolishing the Harris County EA.

III. By Senator Bettencourt's design, SB1750 abolishes the elections administrator only ever in Harris County.

Unable to bully Harris County Commissioners Court (or the Harris County electorate) to

¹ Exhibit 1, Letter from Ken Paxton, Att'y Gen. of Tex. to Vince Ryan, Harris County Att'y (Nov. 25, 2020) https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/20418715/states-letter-to-harris-county.pdf.

² Exhibit 2, Press Release, Paul Bettencourt, Sen Bettencourt Joins in Call for Harris County Elections Administrator Appointment to be Rescinded (Nov. 30, 2020), <u>https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20201130a&ref=1</u>.

³ Exhibit 3, Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (Mar. 8, 2022, 4:30 PM), <u>https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1501324577846087687</u>.

undo its decision to create the elections administrator position, Senator Bettencourt devised a new plan: use the Texas Legislature to do precisely what Harris County Commissioners Court would not.

Senator Bettencourt's SB1750 has two main provisions, both of which impact only Harris County today—and one of which will only *ever* affect Harris County. Section 2(a) prohibits a county with more than 3.5 million residents—currently only Harris County—from <u>creating</u> an elections administrator for the county.

This is what courts refer to as an "open" population bracket provision because although it will apply only to Harris County when SB1750 goes into effect (because Harris County is the only county with a population greater than 3.5 million), it will apply to other counties in the future when their populations exceed 3.5 million residents. For example, when Travis County, which currently has a population of 1.3 million and does not have an elections administrator, reaches a population of 3.5 million, Section 2 will preclude Travis County from "creat[ing]" a county elections administrator position. Until it reaches that 3.5 million threshold, Travis County remains free to create the county elections administrator position.

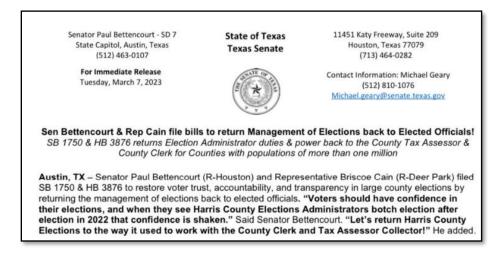
Section 3, in meaningful contrast to Section 2, provides that if (1) a county has a population of more than 3.5 million <u>on September 1, 2023</u>, and (2) the county has an elections administrator, then (3) the administrator's office is abolished, and the county's voter registration and election administrator duties transfer to the county tax-assessor collector and clerk, respectively.

13	SECTION 3. Subchapter B, Chapter 31, Election Code, is
14	amended by adding Section 31.050 to read as follows:
15	Sec. 31.050. ABOLISHMENT OF POSITION AND TRANSFER OF DUTIES
16	IN CERTAIN COUNTIES. On September 1, 2023, all powers and duties of
17	the county elections administrator of a county with a population of
18	more than 3.5 million under this subchapter are transferred to the
19	county tax assessor-collector and county clerk. The county tax
20	assessor-collector shall serve as the voter registrar, and the
21	duties and functions of the county clerk that were performed by the
22	administrator revert to the county clerk, unless a transfer of
23	duties and functions occurs under Section 12.031 or 31.071.

This is what courts refer to as a "closed" population bracket provision—it will apply on September 1, 2023, and then never again, even if some other county with an elections administrator later passes the 3.5 million threshold. On September 1, 2023 Harris County will be the only county with more than 3.5 million residents, meaning that it will be the only county forced to abolish its elections administrator. Other counties will be able to avoid SB1750's effect entirely by creating an elections administrator before passing the population threshold. Counties that already have elections administrators are unaffected because, unlike Harris County's elections administrator, their elections administrators are grandfathered in.

The Legislature's decision to ensure that SB1750 applies only to Harris County, while providing other large counties an escape valve, shows the explicit intention of the bill's sponsor and other officials. An early draft of SB1750 would have applied to counties with over one million residents, which would have both broadened the universe of counties the law would have applied to on September 1, 2023 (Harris, Dallas, Tarrant, Bexar, Travis, and Collin). Yet, on March 7, Senator Bettencourt stated publicly that his intended target was the Harris County EA: "Let's return Harris County Elections to the way it used to work with the County Clerk and Tax Assessor

Collector!"⁴



Just three weeks later, when the relevant senate committee met for its first and only hearing, Senator Bettencourt distilled his mission into a revised bill, announcing that the committee would instead consider a committee substitute that increased the population threshold to 3.5 million. At that hearing, he made clear his reason for doing so: "This bill will effectively transition the election administrator back to the Harris County clerk and tax assessor-collector."⁵

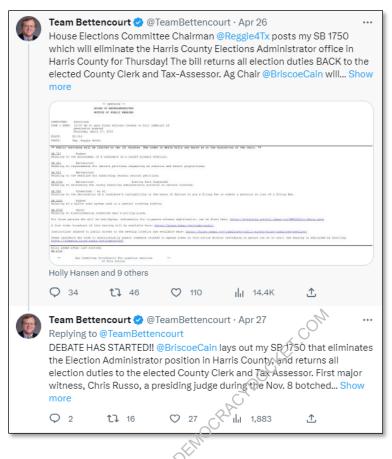
When the entire Senate passed \$B1750 a few weeks after the hearing, Senator Bettencourt reaffirmed the goal of his bill in a press release, stating "[1]et's return Harris County Elections to the way it used to work with the County Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector!".⁶ He did so again⁷ a week later, when SB1750 was posted for hearing in the House Elections Committee:

⁴ Exhibit 4, Press Release, Paul Bettencourt, Sen Bettencourt & Rep Cain file bills to return Management of Elections back to Elected Officials! (Mar. 7, 2023), <u>https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230307a&ref=1</u>.

⁵ Exhibit 5, Transcript of Senate Committee on State Affairs, 18:8-12.

⁶ Exhibit 6, Press Release, Paul Bettencourt, Senator Bettencourt's bill returns Harris County Elections back to Elected Officials! (Apr. 18, 2023), <u>https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230418a&ref=1</u>.

⁷ Exhibit 7, Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (Apr. 26, 2023, 10:31 AM), <u>https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1651247641987096578?s=20;</u> Exhibit 8, Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (Apr. 27 10:26 PM), <u>https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1651789858233282561?s=20</u>.



In that hearing, Representative Briscoe Cain, the bill's House sponsor, reaffirmed that

SB1750 was intended to impact only Harris County:

CAIN: In 2020, shortly after the November election, Harris County changed the leadership of the elections operations, from the elected office of the Harris County Clerk and Tax Assessor-Collector to an appointed position of the elections administrator.

CAIN: I believe it's time for Harris County elections to return the accountability of Harris County elected officials, the Harris County Clerk and the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector ...

•••

. . .

BUCY: ... at one point it was a million threshold, I think it's been changed to three and a half million. Is there a reason for that change?

CAIN: Yea, so, my bill was filed only for Harris County. This is a

committee substitute in the Senate.⁸

After the Texas House of Representatives passed SB1750, Senator Bettencourt publicly reaffirmed multiple times that the bill's goal was to abolish only the Harris County EA. On May 22, he tweeted "The @HoustonChron Editorial Board recognizes the obvious, 'Bettencourt election bill swipes at Harris County leaders, not at democracy'! YES, my SB1750, that returns the management of Harris County elections to the county clerk and tax assessor-collector, is about performance, not politics!".9 On May 24, he stated, "SB1750 will restore voter trust, accountability, and transparency in Harris County elections by returning the management of elections back to elected officials."¹⁰ On June 2, he tweeted the "[Harris County] Elections Administrator Office is 'adios' per, my Senate Bill 1750 and elections are being returned to the Elected County Clerk or County Tax Assessor."¹¹ On June 6, he tweeted SB1750 "replace[s] the failed Elections Administrations Office with two Elected Officials, @harriscotxclerk and LONDE @HarrisCountyTAC."12

Governor Abbott signed SB1750 on June 18, 2023. The next day, Senator Bettencourt took

⁸ Exhibit 9, Transcript of House Elections Hearing, 2:9-13, 3:14-17, 5:4-10 (emphasis added)

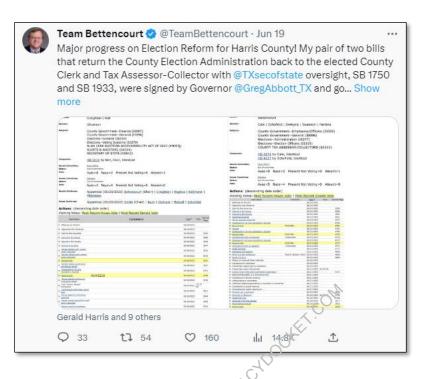
⁹ Exhibit 10, Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (May 22, 2023, 11:22 AM), https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1660682439176355841?s=20

¹⁰ Exhibit 11, Press Release, Paul Bettencourt, Sen. Bettencourt's bills return Harris County Elections from EA back to Elected Officials passes! (May 24, 2023), https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230524a&ref=1.

¹¹ Exhibit 12, Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (June 2, 2023, 6:14 PM), https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1664772385487085568

¹² Exhibit 13, Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (June 6, 2023, 5:22 PM), https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1666209017322954759?s=20

a victory lap:13



IV. SB1933 builds on SB1750 to further regulate elections in only Harris County.

Senate Bill 1933 ("SB1933") passed during the same legislative session as SB1750 and also covers the administration of elections and voter registration. Broadly speaking, SB1933 grants the Secretary of State the authority to oversee elections and to take steps to remove elections officials in only Harris County.

SB1933 applies to any county with more than four million residents.¹⁴ *See* Tex. Elec. Code § 31.017 (effective September 1, 2023). It currently applies only to Harris County, but, unlike SB1750, it is written to apply to counties as they break the 4 million population threshold—an

¹³ Exhibit 14, Paul Bettencourt (@Team Bettencourt), Twitter (June 19, 2023, 5:47 PM), https://twitter.com/TeamBettencourt/status/1670926247713439746.

¹⁴ Exhibit 15, TEXAS LEGISLATURE ONLINE, SENATE BILL 1933, *available at:* <u>https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/88R/billtext/pdf/SB01933F.pdf#navpanes=0.</u> As SB1933 provides for different penalties for an Elections Administrator versus a County Clerk and County Tax Assessor-Collector, the courts' rulings in this case will guide how SB1933 impacts Harris County. Harris County will challenge any potential action taken by the Secretary of State pursuant to SB1933.

"open" bracket. SB1933 grants the Secretary of State a role in removing election officials, depending on the manner chosen by the county to run its elections. If a county uses its clerk and/or tax assessor-collector to run its elections, then the Secretary of State "may file a petition for the removal under Section 87.015, Local Government Code, of the applicable county officer with authority over election administration or voter registration." *See* Tex. Elec. Code § 31.021(a) (effective September 1, 2023). If a county has an elections administrator, then the Secretary of State "may enter a written order to terminate the employment of a county elections administrator." *See id.* at §§ 31.021(b), 31.037(b) (effective September 1, 2023).

SB1933's grant of authority to the Secretary of State to remove elections administrators in counties with a population of over four million means that, even though SB1750 prohibits Harris County from having an elections administrator, other counties with over four million residents, whenever that time comes, will continue to have elections administrators.

V. Harris County will be harmed if it is forced to comply with SB1750 on September 1 because the transfer of duties from the Harris County EA to two departments that have not prepared for a massive November election will cause confusion, instability, inefficiencies, and increased costs.

SB1750 will severely harm Harris County if it is forced to transfer duties away from the Harris County EA on September 1. Abolishing the Harris County EA will require massive transfers of employees and resources from the Harris County EA's office to the Harris County Clerk and the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector just six weeks before voters go to the polls in elections run by Harris County.¹⁵ Not only will this transfer lead to inefficiencies, office instability, and increased costs to the County, but it will also disrupt an election the Harris County EA has been planning for months. The County is legally required to host a Texas constitutional amendment election, a countywide bond election, and municipal elections through a contract with the City of

¹⁵ The last day to register to vote is October 10, and the first day of voting in these elections is October 23.

Houston (the largest city in Texas) and other entities. The County anticipates providing around 700 polling sites to more than 2.5 million registered voters in the County.

If Harris County refuses to comply with this unconstitutional law without this Court's protection, the Secretary of State and Attorney General are highly likely to take action throwing Harris County's November election into disarray. As described further below, the Secretary of State will likely enforce this law by refusing to recognize the Harris County EA's election activities, calling into question the entire election and potentially opening the County up to election challenges and suits from the entities that contract with the County. The Attorney General is also likely to bring a civil action against the County and its officers to seek civil penalties and other remedies. This is untenable for Harris County and would also cause great harm to its residents.

LEGAL STANDARD

A temporary injunction's purpose is to preserve the status quo of the litigation's subject matter pending a trial on the merits. *Butnaru v, Ford Motor Co.*, 84 S.W.3d 198, 204 (Tex. 2002). The status quo is the "last, actual, peaceable, non-contested status which preceded the pending controversy." *In re Newton*, 146 S W.3d 648, 651 (Tex. 2004) (quoting *Janus Films, Inc. v. City of Fort Worth*, 358 S.W.2d 589 (Tex. 1962)).

"The decision to grant or deny a temporary injunction lies in the sound discretion of the trial court." *Walling v. Metcalfe*, 863 S.W.2d 56, 58 (Tex. 1993). "A reviewing court should reverse an order granting injunctive relief only if the trial court abused that discretion." *Butnaru*, 84 S.W.3d at 204. "The trial court does not abuse its discretion if some evidence reasonably supports the trial court's decision." *Id.* at 211. More specifically, the trial court does not abuse its discretion when it bases its decision on conflicting evidence, or when some evidence of substantive and probative character exists to support its decision. *Wright v. Sport Supply Grp., Inc.,* 137 S.W.3d 289, 292 (Tex. App.—Beaumont 2004, no pet.). An abuse of

discretion arises when the trial court misapplies the law to the established facts of the case or when it concludes that the movant has demonstrated a probable injury or a probable right to recovery, and the conclusion is not reasonably supported by the evidence. *Tri-Star Petroleum Co. v. Tipperary Corp.*, 101 S.W.3d 583, 587 (Tex. App. —El Paso 2003, pet. denied).

"To obtain a temporary injunction, the applicant must plead and prove three specific elements: (1) a cause of action against the defendant; (2) a probable right to relief sought; and (3) a probable, imminent, and irreparable injury in the interim." *Butnaru*, 84 S.W.3d at 204. In evaluating these elements, courts also balance the equities and consider the public interest. *Reliant Hosp. Partners, LLC v. Cornerstone Healthcare Grp. Holdings, Inc.*, 374 S.W.3d 488, 503 (Tex. App.—Dallas 2012, pet. denied). For the reasons set forth below, Harris County has established all these elements, and the Court should enter a temporary injunction.

ARGUMENT AND AUTHORITIES

SB1750's intent is clear: it abolishes the Elections Administrator position in only Harris County (the only county in the State with over 3.5 million people on September 1, 2023), and it will never result in the abolishment of another Elections Administrator position (because, forever, Harris County will be the only county that will have had over 3.5 million people on September 1, 2023). This is exactly the type of law that is prohibited by Article III, Section 56 of the Texas Constitution. This law targets a specific county to meddle in its affairs and does not even pretend otherwise by using a classification that could withstand constitutional scrutiny.

Harris County has also established probable, imminent, irreparable harm. The abolishment of the Harris County EA will require massive transfers of employees and resources from the Harris County EA's office to the Harris County Clerk and the Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector just six weeks before voters go to the polls. Moreover, the chaos that would be caused by the Secretary of State's refusal to recognize the Harris County EA after September 1 risks putting the entire voter certification process, as well as the proper administration of the upcoming election, in Harris County in jeopardy—democracy itself is at risk in Harris County. Likewise, the threat of enforcement by the Attorney General could also upend the election process in the weeks before the largest municipal election in the state. Finally, the balance of equities overwhelmingly favors the granting of the temporary injunction.

Temporary injunctive relief is necessary here to preserve the status quo prior to a trial on the merits. The status quo—the last, actual, peaceable, non-contested status preceding the pending controversy—is that Harris County conducts its elections through an elections administrator.

I. Harris County has alleged a valid cause of action for Declaratory Judgment.

Plaintiffs have properly pleaded a cause of action for declaratory judgment. *Butnaru*, 84 S.W.3d at 204. This cause of action is well pleaded and sufficient because it gives "fair and adequate notice of the facts upon which the pleader bases [its] claim." *Troutman v. Traeco Bldg. Sys., Inc.*, 724 S.W.2d 385, 387 (Tex. 1987). Under the Uniform Declaratory Judgments Act ("UDJA"), a person "whose rights, status, or other legal relations are affected by a statute . . . may have determined any question of construction or validity arising under [] statute . . . and obtain a declaration of rights, status, or other legal relations thereunder." Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code § 37.004(a). The UDJA is properly used to "settle and afford relief from uncertainty and insecurity with respect to rights, and [is] to be liberally construed." *City of Waco v. Tex. Nat. Res. Conservation Comm'n*, 83 S.W.3d. 169, 177 (Tex. App.—Austin 2002, pet. denied). The State, the Attorney General's Office, Interim Attorney General Colmenero, the Secretary of State's Office, and Secretary of State Nelson, believe that SB1750 is constitutional, and that Harris County must abolish its elections administrator's office on September 1, 2023, creating a live controversy between the parties.

II. Harris County has shown a probable right to relief.

Harris County has a probable right to relief and recovery against Defendants because SB1750's provision abolishing the elections administrator in only Harris County violates the Texas Constitution's prohibition on local laws.¹⁶ To satisfy this element, Harris County "need not prove that [it] will ultimately prevail in the litigation; rather, the applicant must show [it] has a cause of action for which relief may be granted." *Topheavy Studios, Inc. v. Doe*, 2005 WL 1940159, at *3 (Tex. App.—Austin 2005, no pet.). However, in this case, Harris County can prove it will prevail in this litigation because the case turns on a straightforward matter of constitutional and statutory interpretation.

Article III, Section 56 of the Texas Constitution prohibits the passing of any "local or special law"¹⁷ that: (1) regulates the affairs of counties; (2) regulates the conducting of elections; (3) prescribes the powers and duties of officers in counties; and (4) discharges any person from the performance of any public duty. SB1750 accomplishes all four, and it does so in a way that will only ever impact Harris County. Not only is such a law contrary to plain-as-day constitutional language, but it also contravenes decades of Texas precedent forbidding local laws that can only ever apply to one locale or those that contain wholly arbitrary classifications. Moreover, SB1750 is the type of law that Section 56's language was designed to remedy: allowing a particular legislator to punish a particular locale, destroying uniformity of law throughout the state, and

¹⁶ Though not the basis of its temporary injunction application, Harris County also seeks a declaration that Section 2 of SB1750 is an unconstitutional local law. While recognizing that open bracket provisions have fared better in the courts, Harris County will argue that there is no reasonable basis to barring counties above 3.5 million people from creating an elections administrator position. Of course, should this court (and any appellate court having jurisdiction) grant (and uphold) Harris County's temporary injunction application, Harris County's Section 2 claim will be temporarily moot unless and until Harris County fails to obtain a final, nonappealable judgment on its Section 3 claim because it will not need to create an elections administrator. For that reason, Harris County will not address its Section 2 arguments in this brief but reserves its right to challenge Section 2 at a later time in this litigation.

¹⁷ "A local law is limited to a specific geographic region of the State, while a special law is limited to a particular class of persons distinguished by some characteristic other than geography." *Tex. Boll Weevil Eradication Found., Inc. v. Lewellen*, 952 S.W.2d 454, 465 (Tex. 1997).

discouraging the legislature from devoting its time to interests of the state at large. Accordingly, Harris County is likely to succeed on the merits.

A. Article III, Section 56 of the Texas Constitution prohibits local and special laws.

Article III, Section 56(a) of the Texas Constitution provides that "[t]he Legislature shall not, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, pass any local or special law" in approximately 30 prohibited subject matters. TEX. CONST., art. III, § 56(a). Several of those prohibited categories capture SB1750's abolishment of the Harris County EA, including "(2) *regulating the affairs of counties*, cities, towns, wards or school districts"¹⁸; "(12) *for the opening and conducting of elections*, or fixing or changing the places of voting"; "(14) creating offices, or *prescribing the powers and duties of officers, in counties*, cities, towns, election or school districts"; and "(30) relieving or discharging any person of set of persons from the performance of any public duty or service imposed by general law." *Id.* (emphasis added).¹⁹

"The purpose of Section 56 is to 'prevent the granting of special privileges and to secure uniformity of law throughout the State as far as possible." *Maple Run at Austin Mun. Util. Dist. v. Monaghan*, 931 S.W.2d 941, 945 (Tex. 1996) (quoting *Miller v. El Paso Cnty.*, 136 Tex. 370, 374 (1941)). Section 56 also works to "prevent[] lawmakers from engaging in the reprehensible practice of trading votes for the advancement of personal rather than public interests." *Id.* (internal citations omitted); *see also Kelly v. State*, 724 S.W.2d 42, 47 (Tex. Crim. App. 1987) ("The intent

¹⁸ See Hall v. Bell Cnty., 138 S.W. 178, 183 (Tex. App.—Austin 1911), affd, 105 Tex. 558 (1913) ("The word 'regulating,' as used in [Section 56], should not be given a narrow or technical signification. If the result of legislation is to repeal or materially change any law controlling or affecting the collection, safe-keeping, or disbursement of county funds, such legislation, within the purview of the Constitution, is a law regulating county affairs.").

¹⁹ Similarly, Article III, section 56(b) of the Texas Constitution provides "[t]he Legislature shall not, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, pass any local or special law ... where a general law can be made applicable, no local or special law shall be enacted" *Id.* at § 56(b). "While the terms 'local law' and 'special law' have at times been used interchangeably, a local law is one limited to a specific geographic region of the State, while a special law is limited to a particular class of persons distinguished by some characteristic other than geography." *Maple Run at Austin Mun. Util. Dist.*, 931 S.W.2d at 945.

of Art. III, Section 56, of the Constitution ... was 'to combat corruption, personal privileges, and meddling in local affairs—or, conversely, to prevent a group from dashing to the Capitol to get something their local government would not give them."") (quoting George D. Braden, *The Constitution of the State of Texas: An Annotated and Comparative Analysis* 273 (1977)). Prohibitions on local and special laws found their way into various state constitutions to prevent "special legislation which either deprived the citizens of local autonomy, or permitted local prejudice to nullify state-wide policy." *See* Herman I. Morris, *Population Bills in Texas*, 28 Texas L. Rev. 829, 830 (1950) (citing Horack and Welsh, *Special Legislation: Another Twilight Zone*, 12 IND. L. J. 183, 194 (1937)); *see also* Justin R. Long, *State Constitutional Prohibitions on Special Laws*, 60 Clev. St. L. Rev. 719, 728 (2012) (citations omitted) (noting that a contemporaneous commentator explained that such constitutional changes evinced a "belief that legislatures are by nature utterly careless of the public welfare, if not hopelessly corrupt.").

For more than a century, Texas courts have held that laws that target a specific locale violate Section 56. *See, e.g., Hall*, 138 S.W. at 183 (holding law that abolished the county auditor position in only Bell County violated Section 56); *Sw. Travis Cnty. Water Dist. v. City of Austin*, 64 S.W.3d 25 (Tex. App.—Austin 2000, pet. withdrawn) (holding law that applied only to certain municipality utility districts violated Section 56). Section 56 does not bar the legislature from designing laws to apply to a group or class smaller than the entire state of Texas, however. The legislature may limit a law's applicability based on certain characteristics, including geographic area or population. But "the classification must be broad enough to include a substantial class and must be based on characteristics legitimately distinguishing such class from others with respect to the public purpose sought to be accomplished by the proposed legislation." *Maple Run at Austin Mun. Util. Dist.*, 931 S.W.2d at 945 (quoting *Miller*, 136 Tex. at 372). Thus, "[t]he primary and

ultimate test of whether a law is general or special is whether there is a reasonable basis for the classification made by the law, and whether the law operates equally on all within the class." *Maple Run at Austin Mun. Util. Dist.*, 931 S.W.2d at 945.

B. Courts have consistently held that laws targeting a specific locality are most likely to violate Section 56, even if they do not name the target. No Texas court has ever upheld a population classification that is in effect limited to one locale.

Texas courts have consistently ruled that laws that use "pretended" or "arbitrary" classifications fail this test because such laws would give the legislature carte blanche to circumvent Section 56's ban on local laws. See, e.g., Smith v. Decker, 312 S.W.2d 632, 636 (Tex. 1958) (holding that law imposing special bail bond rules in counties with population between 73,000 and 100,000 violated Section 56 because "[t]he portion of the Act[limiting its application to that population range] provides an arbitrary classification of counties and cities to be affected by the law"). Courts have been highly skeptical of "closed" population classifications—*i.e.*, classifications that apply to locales that meet the population threshold on the day the law goes effective but are closed to other locales in the future. Suburban Util. Corp. v. State, 553 S.W.2d 396, 399 (Tex, App.—Houston [1st Dist.] 1977, writ ref'd n.r.e.) ("The statute is unconstitutional as a special or local law if at the time of its enactment, the classification by population is based entirely upon existing circumstances and the application of the statute is 'closed' to other local units in the future").²⁰ That is because a closed classification undermines any contention that the law was intended to apply to a "substantial class" based on objective characteristics, rather than merely serving as a numerical workaround for Section 56's ban on local laws. See Maple Run at Austin Mun. Util. Dist., 931 S.W.2d at 946 ("Here, there is no dispute that

²⁰ "Open" classifications are those that apply not only to those locales that meet the population threshold on the day the law goes effective, but also those that may later grow into the threshold. *Juliff Gardens, L.L.C. v. Tex. Comm'n on Envtl. Quality*, 131 S.W.3d 271, 284 (Tex. App.—Austin 2004, no pet.).

the Legislature singled out Maple Run for special treatment. No one contends that the brackets selected by the Legislature have anything to do with the purpose of the statute; rather, these brackets serve solely to restrict section 43.082 to the District without actually identifying it by name"). For example, a law applying to all cities with a population of at least 2 million people on a specific date or as measured by a specific census constitutes a "closed" classification because other cities that may later grow to over 2 million would not be subject to that law.

When a law uses a closed classification, constitutional scrutiny is at its apex. In fact, counsel for Harris County has not identified a single case upholding a population classification that would only ever apply to one locale. Indeed, courts have consistently held these types of laws violate Section 56.

In *City of Fort Worth v. Bobbitt*, the court held unconstitutional a bond law that applied to "cities in the State of Texas having not less than 106,000 inhabitants and not more than 110,000 inhabitants, *according to the United States Census of 1920*," which would only ever include the city of Fort Worth. 121 Tex. 14, 19 (Comm'n App. 1931) (emphasis added). The court reasoned that a law applying a population bracket that captured only a single city and was tied to a single census and no future census was indistinguishable from the law simply naming the city as the sole locale to which it applied—both violate Section 56:

We think, however, that an act which is so drawn that by its plain and explicit provisions it is made to apply to one city only in the state, and can never in any contingency apply to any other city, is just as repugnant to the constitutional provisions under discussion as though the name of the city to which the act does apply had been written into the act in the first instance. In other words, we think that a city can be designated by description just as effectively as it can be named.

Id. at 22.

Similarly, in *State v. Hall*, the court held that Section 56 barred a law that curbed anticompetitive milk practices in only Harris County by limiting its applicability to "a county

having a population in excess of 350,000 inhabitants according to the last preceding Federal census." 76 S.W.2d 880, 881 (Tex. App.—Galveston 1934, writ dism'd). Despite Harris County being the only county exceeding 350,000 at the time the law was passed, the state argued other locales could become subject to the law if they grew into the population threshold after a future census. *Id.* The court rejected that argument, noting that (1) the law expired by its own terms after "a period of two years from and after its passage on March 6, 1934," (2) federal censuses are conducted decennially, and thus (3) "it is self-evident that [Harris County] is the only such county that ever can have during the brief lifetime of this law [350,000] people according to the census already so held". *Id.*

And in *Suburban Utility Corp. v. State*, the court held unconstitutional a utilities law that applied to counties with a "population of more than 1.500,000, according to the last preceding federal census," which included only Harris County. 553 S.W.2d 396 (Tex. App.—Houston [1st Dist.] 1977, writ ref'd n.r.e.). The court reasoned that "when population is used as a basis for classification, the population bracket must not be based on existing circumstances only, and other local units of the state should be able to come within the application of the act upon meeting the qualifications of the population bracket." *Id.* at 399. That was not the case with the utilities law, given that the legislature passed another law that repealed the utilities law effective one year later. *Id.* at 400. Since those two laws were passed during "the same session of the legislature," they had to be "construed together as if embodied in a single act"—the utilities law was "limited in its application to Harris County for the one year period of its duration, and [] it, therefore, must be declared unconstitutional." *Id.*

These cases highlight two important principles. First, when the legislature uses a population classification ensuring that a law will only ever apply to one locale, that is strong

evidence that the legislature intended to pass a local law. These laws violate Section 56 because even if they do not identify the locality at issue, they have the same effect as a law naming that locality. Second, laws employing such population classifications generally fail the reasonable basis test courts apply in Section 56 challenges. If there were really a reasonable basis for a law that applies to a specific population bracket, the law would need to apply to any county that enters that bracket.

C. SB1750 violates Section 56 because it is based on a closed population classification that will only ever apply to Harris County.

All roads lead to the conclusion that SB1750 is an unconstitutional local law because its closed population classification cannot have a reasonable basis. Like in *Bobbitt*, *Hall*, *Suburban Utility*, and all other cases to address closed population brackets, SB1750 violates Section 56 because it will only ever apply to Harris County.

SB1750 is unambiguous: Section 3 provides that if (1) a county has a population of more than 3.5 million on September 1, 2023, and (2) the county has an elections administrator, then (3) the administrator's office is abolished, and the county's voter registration and election administrator duties transfer to the county tax-assessor collector and clerk.²¹ It will apply to Harris County on September 1, 2023, and then never again, even if some other county with an elections administrator passes the 3.5 million threshold. This is because the abolishment and transfer occur only "[o]n September 1, 2023," and whether a county fits that statute's population criteria is evaluated only on that date. Other counties will be able to avoid SB1750's effect entirely by creating an elections administrator before passing the population threshold. And those counties that already have elections administrators are unaffected because, unlike Harris County's elections

²¹ Exhibit 16, TEXAS LEGISLATURE ONLINE, SENATE BILL 1750, *available at:* <u>https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/88R/billtext/pdf/SB01750F.pdf#navpanes=0</u>.

administrator, their elections administrators are grandfathered in.

The plain text of SB1750 permits no other reading. *See Fitzgerald v. Advanced Spine Fixation Sys. Inc.*, 996 S.W.2d 864, 865 (Tex. 1999) ("If the meaning of the statutory language is unambiguous, we adopt, with few exceptions, the interpretation supported by the plain meaning of the provision's words and terms."). The "[o]n September 1, 2023" clause in Section 3 cannot merely be an effective-date provision because that already exists in Section 5 ("This Act takes effect September 1, 2023").²² Indeed, given that SB1750's effective date is September 1, 2023, had the legislature simply omitted the date from Section 3, the statute would have unambiguously abolished elections administrator offices in counties that eclipse the 3.5 million population threshold *after* September 1, 2023:

Sec. 31.050. ABOLISHMENT OF POSITION AND TRANSFER OF DUTIES
IN CERTAIN COUNTIES. On September, 1, 2023, All powers and duties
of the county elections administrator of a county with a population
of more than 3.5 million under this subchapter are transferred to
the county tax assessor collector and county clerk. The county tax
assessor-collector shall serve as the voter registrar, and the
duties and functions of the county clerk that were performed by the
administrator revert to the county clerk, unless a transfer of
duties and functions occurs under Section 12.031 or 31.071.

The only reason to include September 1, 2023 in Section 3 is to establish, in no uncertain terms, that the 3.5 million threshold is to only ever to be calculated on that date.

SB1750's unambiguous application to only Harris County is further illuminated when the law is read together with SB1933, which also amends Chapter 31 of the Texas Election Code and

²² Exhibit 16, Texas Legislature Online, Senate Bill 1750, *available at:* <u>https://capitol.texas.gov/tlodocs/88R/billtext/pdf/SB01750F.pdf#navpanes=0</u>.

will also go into effect September 1, 2023.²³ SB1933 applies to counties "with a population of more than 4 million," and empowers the Secretary of State to "terminate the employment of a county elections administrator, in a county that has the position." *See* Tex. Elec. Code §§ 31.017, 31.021 (effective September 1, 2023). This law would be superfluous if SB1750 automatically abolished the elections administrator position in any county that grows to a population of more than 3.5 million after September 1, 2023. *See Spradlin v. Jim Walter Homes, Inc.*, 34 S.W.3d 578, 580 (Tex. 2000) (rejecting statutory interpretation that would render provision superfluous). Put another way: if SB1750 applied to all counties that reach 3.5 million, there would never be a county that could reach 4 million with an elections administrator in place.

Because SB1750 will only ever apply to Harris County, the law fails the reasonable basis test because its population classification is mere subterfuge for a law that applies to only one locality. *Hall*, 138 S.W. at 184 ("If it is meant by that that the Legislature cannot evade the prohibition of the Constitution as to special laws by making a law applicable to a pretended class which is, in fact, no class, we concur in the proposition."). This makes sense. If SB1750 bars counties larger than 3.5 million people from creating an elections administrator because such counties are innately unable to run elections through an elections administrator, the law should apply equally to counties that grow to over 3.5 million after September 1. *Cf. City of San Antonio v. State ex rel. Criner*, 270 S.W.2d 460, 462 (Tex. App.—Austin 1954, writ ref'd) (noting that "if the classification made by the law 'is not based upon a reasonable and substantial difference in kind, situation or circumstance bearing a proper relation to the purpose of the statute,' it is [a]

 $^{^{23}}$ SB1750 and SB1933 must be read in harmony together since they were passed during the same legislative session. *See Garrett v. Mercantile Nat. Bank at Dallas*, 140 Tex. 394, 397 (1943) ("The two Acts...were enacted at the same session of the Legislature, and consequently, under well-established principles of law, they are in pari materia, and it is presumed that they were actuated by the same policy and imbued with the same spirit; and accordingly, in ascertaining the legislative intent, they will be read together, each in the light of the other, as though they were embraced in one Act or were supplemental to each other").

special law" and finding that the statute at issue did not violate Article III, Section 56 because it " is not closed but it is one into which cities not only may but have grown"). But it does not. That is because SB1750 is merely an attempt to displace Harris County Commissioners Court members and make the decision to abolish the Harris County EA for them.

The legislative history of SB1750 further supports this reading. *See Juliff Gardens, L.L.C. v. Tex. Comm'n on Envtl. Quality*, 131 S.W.3d 271, 282 n.7 (Tex. App.—Austin 2004, no pet.) ("In determining whether a statute is a local or special law, it is appropriate to examine the statute's legislative history."). SB1750's Senate author expressed his intent to abolish the position in Harris County since Harris County created the position. Both SB1750's Senate author and House sponsor testified at committee hearings that Harris County was the law's intended target. *See* Exhibit 5, Transcript of Senate Committee on State Affairs, 18:8-12; Exhibit 9, Transcript of House Elections Hearing, 2:9-13, 3:14-17, 5:4-10. And the Senate author publicly expressed that intent on at least 10 different occasions between the bill's filing and the filing of this brief. This is the exact type of meddling in local affairs Section 56 is designed to prevent.

SB1750's place in the Election Code's greater framework for elections administrators further shows that it violates Section 56. Courts have routinely struck down laws that exempt only one locale from a law that more broadly applies to jurisdictions across the state. *See Anderson v. Wood*, 152 S.W.2d 1084, 1087 (Tex. 1941) (holding unconstitutional a law that exempted Tarrant County, through a population bracket, from a general law setting a cap on the number of traffic officers a county could hire); *Bexar County v. Tynan*, 128 Tex. 223, 228 (Comm'n App. 1936) (holding unconstitutional a law that, through a population bracket, reduced compensation for county officers in only Bexar County, despite a law that set a compensation schedule for counties throughout the state based on population); *Hall*, 138 S.W. at 183 (holding unconstitutional a law

that exempted only Bell County from a law that created the office of county auditor).²⁴ The Election Code authorizes *all* counties to create an elections administrator role, but SB1750 would exempt only Harris County from that framework.

For these reasons, SB1750 is an unconstitutional local law in violation Section 56 of the

Texas Constitution.

III. Harris County has shown probable, imminent, and irreparable injury if it cannot secure temporary injunctive relief.

Harris County will show probable, imminent, and irreparable injuries absent injunctive

relief prior to a trial on the merits.

Abolishing the Harris County EA on September 1, 2023 will require massive transfers of employees and resources from the Harris County EA's office to the Harris County Clerk and the

²⁴ See also Morris v. City of San Antonio, 572 S.W.2d 831, 833-34 (Tex. Civ. App. 1978, no writ) ("Not only must a legislative classification of municipalities be broad enough to include a substantial class based on characteristics legitimately distinguishing that class from others, but the legislation must be intended to apply uniformly to all the municipalities that may in the future come within the classification designated." (internal citation omitted)); Suburban Util. Corp., 553 S.W.2d at 399 ("The fact that a statute may have application to only one county at time of its passage does not compel a determination that it is a special or local law if it is framed so as to apply to other counties in future." (internal citation omitted)); Culberson County v. Holmes, 513 S.W.2d 126, 127-28 (Tex. Civ. App. El Paso 1974) (statute abolishing the office of county auditor of Culberson County, and providing that abolishment should take effect when and if an election was called and held by the Commissioners Court of Culberson County, violated constitutional section providing that the legislature shall not pass a local or special law regulating the affairs of counties); Creps v. Bd. Of Firemen's Relief & Ret. Fund Trs. Of Amarillo, 456 S.W.2d 434, 437 (Tex. Civ. App. -Amarillo 1970, writ ref'd n.r.e.) ("The legislature may properly enact laws pertaining to cities by population classification so long as the law does not by its terms limit application to one city with no possible application to others of a like classification or population." (internal citations omitted)); Gould v. City of El Paso, 440 S.W.2d 696, 700 (Tex. App.-El Paso 1969, writ ref'd n.r.e.) ("[W]e believe the law to be well established that when a statute relating to cities is passed, even though there is only one city that could qualify, such statute is constitutional and not repugnant to any constitution if it is possible for other cities to enter the classification[;] it is only unconstitutional when it can never apply to any but one city in any possible event."); Ex parte Heiling, 82 S.W.2d 644, 644-45 (Tex. Crim. App. 1935) (Statute was not applicable to arrest made within incorporated limits of city or town having population of less than 10,000 by federal census of 1920 was unconstitutional as "local" or "special law."); Brownfield v. Tongate, 109 S.W.2d 352, 354 (Tex. Civ. App.—Amarillo 1937, no writ) ("Under the authorities of this state it is apparently settled that a classification of counties, cities, or school districts based on population, in order to be valid, must not exclude counties, cities, and school districts which thereafter acquire the specified population.); Tynan, 97 S.W.2d at 469-70 (1936) ("The Legislature may, on proper and reasonable classification, enact general law, which at time of enactment is applicable to only one county provided application is not so inflexibly fixed as to prevent it ever being applicable to other counties."); Womack v. Carson, 65 S.W.2d 485, 488-89, rehearing denied, 70 S.W.2d 416 (Tex. Comm'n App. 1933, judgment adopted) (statute fixing county commissioners' salaries, classifying counties according to population based on 1920 census area, and assessed valuation, and excluding nine counties, was invalid as "special" or "local" legislation).

Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector just six weeks before voters go to the polls in elections run by Harris County. Not only will this transfer lead to inefficiencies, office instability, and increased costs to the County, but it will also disrupt an election the Harris County EA has been planning for months. The County is legally required to host a Texas constitutional amendment election, a countywide bond election, and municipal elections for the City of Houston (the largest city in Texas) and other local entities. The last day to register to vote is October 10; the first day of voting is October 23. The County anticipates providing around 700 polling sites to more than 2.5 million registered voters in the County.

Clearly, transferring the duties to the Harris County Clerk and Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector will upend this process and risks jeopardizing the November election. That is why Harris County does not intend to comply with SB1750 and seeks a declaration that the statute is unconstitutional. But Harris County is caught between a rock and a hard place. Without an injunction, the Secretary of State and the Attorney General will likely cause a different type of harm through their roles in applying the Election Code and enforcing state law.

The Secretary of State is the state's "chief election officer," Tex. Elec. Code § 31.001(a), and is authorized and required by several provisions of the Election Code to oversee elections throughout Texas. Importantly, the Secretary of State's office is at the center of vote tabulation and canvassing results for statewide elections, like the constitutional amendment election Harris County is hosting this November. Tex. Elec. Code §§ 67.013, 68.001(a). For constitutional amendment elections, the "secretary of state shall tabulate the unofficial results." Tex. Elec. Code § 68.001(a). First, the "county clerk shall transmit periodically, by telephone or other electronic means, to the secretary of state the results for the races." *Id.* § 68.034. This transmission can only be made by an official other than the county clerk if the county has lawfully created an elections

administrator and the county has lawfully transferred the clerk's duties to the administrator. Id. §§ 31.043-31.044. The Election Code then requires that the Secretary of State tabulate those results, while providing display terminals of the tabulation to the news media and state officers, and periodic reports to the public. Tex. Elec. Code §§ 68.002-68.004. The county clerk "prepare[s] county election returns," certifies them, and delivers them to the Secretary of State. Id. § 67.007. The Governor acts as the "final canvassing authority," with the Secretary of State serving as the "presiding officer" of that authority. Id. § 67.010. The Secretary of State sets the time of the canvass, gives the public notice, prepares the tabulation, and provides the tabulation to the Governor for his certification. Id. §§ 67.012-67.013. Finally, after September 1, 2023, SB1933 provides the Secretary of State with the power to order administrative oversight of a "county office administering elections or voter registration. See Tex. Elec. Code § 31.017(a) (effective September 1, 2023). This grant of authority includes the authority to demand responses from county election officials, conduct investigations of county election officials, impose administrative oversight over county elections, and remove county election officials. See id. §§ 31.017(b), 31.019, 31.020, 31.021.

This entire vote certification process falls apart if Harris County proceeds with hosting the November 2023 constitutional amendment election and processing the results through a legally defunct elections administrator's office (instead of the county clerk's office). If a person with no legal authority to oversee county elections attempts to submit returns, the Secretary of State is fully authorized—and, arguably legally required—to reject those returns. Without court intervention, this disastrous scenario will come to a head in Harris County's November 2023 elections. The county runs the risk of running an election for which its residents' votes will not be included in the final statewide count. That harm will impact not just the county and its voters, but the entire state

of Texas—the public's participation in our democracy will be at risk. Harris County running elections through a legally defunct office could also jeopardize the validity of voter lists, polling locations, thousands of financial transactions, and contracts with entities (including but not limited to the City of Houston and other local government entities) relying on the county to run their elections.

Harris County is also under threat of enforcement by the Secretary of State. After September 1, 2023, SB1933 provides the Secretary of State with the power to order administrative oversight of a "county office administering elections or voter registration." *See* Tex. Elec. Code § 31.017(a) (effective September 1, 2023). This grant of authority includes the authority to demand responses from county election officials, conduct investigations of county election officials, impose administrative oversight over county elections, and remove county election officials. *See id.* §§ 31.017(b), 31.019, 31.020, 31.021. The Secretary of State may use Harris County's refusal to comply with SB1750 as the basis for invoking the takeover of Harris County's elections office.

The Secretary of State may also withhold funds due to the Harris County EA under Texas Election Code § 19.002, which provides additional funding to county voter registrars for increased voter registrations activities. The County's voter registration activities would also be impacted if the Secretary of State refuses to check voter registration applications against the state's TEAM (Texas Election Administration Management) system, which is an essential part of the voter registration process. In all facets of the upcoming election (e.g., voter outreach, voter registration, ballot language, candidate verification, election technology, election administration, vote tallying), to ensure positive outcomes, the Texas Secretary of State's Office must work hand-in-hand with the Harris County EA; without an injunction, Harris County's entire election apparatus is plunged into uncertainty. Ultimately, without court intervention, the public's selection of their elected

representatives-the core process on which our democracy rests-will be risked in Harris County.

Finally, the Attorney General is likely to enforce SB1750. If Harris County continues to run its elections through the Harris County EA after September 1, 2023, the Attorney General will almost certainly file suit against the County to enforce SB1750 and remove the Harris County EA. That lawsuit would have grave consequences for the County's November 2023 election—the courts would likely not weigh in on SB1750's enforceability until after the Harris County EA has already administered important parts of the election, including finalizing the voter roll, recommending polling locations to commissioners court, sending out mail ballots, and conducting logic and accuracy testing on voting machines. Should the courts rule that the Harris County EA is indeed a legally defunct office after these events have already taken place, the county's elections could be called into question.

Moreover, the Attorney General's Office has explicitly made enforcement of the Election Code a priority in recent years and there is clear precedent for its targeting of Harris County.²⁵ As referenced above, the Secretary of State's Office referred the creation of the Harris County EA to the Attorney General's Office.²⁶ The Attorney General's Office demanded the rescission of the EA's appointment and threatened legal action. The Attorney General's Office has generally made

https://twitter.com/TXAG/status/1561716384794542081?s=20; Attorney General Ken Paxton (@KenPaxtonTX), Twitter (Nov. 4, 2021, 4:38 PM), https://twitter.com/KenPaxtonTX/status/1456375255530889225?s=20. The Attorney General's Office has sent out cease and desist letters based on perceived election code violations and provided legal advice on criminal liability for third parties providing mail-in ballots. The Attorney General's Office formed an Election Integrity Unit to litigate election laws. *See* https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/news/releases/ag-paxton-announces-formation-2021-texas-election-integrity-unit .

²⁵ See, Texas Attorney General (@TXAG), Twitter (Aug. 22, 2022, 9:06 AM),

²⁶ Letter from Ken Paxton, Att'y Gen. of Tex. to Vince Ryan, Harris County Att'y (Nov. 25, 2020) <u>https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/20418715/states-letter-to-harris-county.pdf</u>.

a cottage industry out of suing Harris County for any perceived violation of election law.²⁷

The Attorney General may enforce SB1750 by seeking civil penalties against Harris County under the Election Code. The Attorney General is empowered to seek civil penalties from Harris County after the Secretary of State completes an audit of the County's voter registration list. Tex. Elec. Code § 18.065(f). Harris County could be liable to the state if it persists with using its elections administrator—under SB 1750's terms—as its voter registrar because it will be noncompliant with "Sections 15.083, 16.032, [...] 18.061 and with rules implementing the statewide computerized voter registration list." *Id.* § 18.65(a). The Attorney General is also empowered to seek penalties against election officials and election employees for Election Code violations—violations which would necessarily follow from Harris County running its elections through an elections administrator after September 1, 2023. *Id.* §§ 31.006, 31.049, and 31.129.

"An injury is irreparable if the injured party cannot be adequately compensated in damages or if the damages cannot be measured by any certain pecuniary standard." *Butnaru*, 84 S.W. 3d at 204. Harris County is unlikely to be able to recover any damages from the Attorney General or the Secretary of State for their unlawful actions, so Harris County's injuries are necessarily irreparable. The harms are also irreparable because there is no adequate remedy at law that will give Harris County complete, final, and equitable relief from the effects of the state's unlawful

https://twitter.com/TXAG/status/1300525513237245954?s=20; Press Release, Texas Attorney General's Office, AG Paxton Sues Harris County Clerk to Prevent Him from Unlawfully Sending Out Millions of Unsolicited Mail-In Ballot Applications (August 31, 2020), <u>https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/news/releases/ag-paxton-sues-harris-county-clerk-prevent-him-unlawfully-sending-out-millions-unsolicited-mail;</u> Texas Attorney General (@TXAG), Twitter (Sep. 12, 2020, 10:58 AM), https://twitter.com/TXAG/status/1304811527250350080?s=20; Texas Attorney General (@TXAG), Twitter (Sep. 15, 2020, 5:36 PM),

²⁷ See Texas Attorney General (@TXAG), Twitter (Aug.31, 2020, 3:06 PM)

https://twitter.com/TXAG/status/1305998951448031237?s=20; Petition in Intervention by the State of Texas, *Texas Organizing Project v. Harris County, Texas, et al.*, Cause No. 2022-73765 in the 295th Judicial District; Appellants' Emergency Motion for Temporary Order, *Abbott, et al. v. Harris County, Texas, et al.*, Cause No. 03-21-00429-CV, Third Court of Appeals; Relator's Emergency Motion for Temporary Relief, *In re Greg Abbott*, Cause No. 21-0923, Texas Supreme Court.

interference with its elections.

Because the County will suffer probable, imminent, and irreparable harm, the Court should enjoin SB1750 from taking effect.

IV. The public interest and balance of the equities favors injunctive relief.

The Court should consider the relative effects on an injunction on the parties and the public at large. *See Reliant Hosp. Partners*, 374 S.W.3d at 503. "Because an injunction is an equitable remedy, the trial court weighs the respective conveniences and hardships of the parties and balances the equities." *Int'l Paper Co. v. Harris County*, 445 S.W.3d 379, 395 (Tex. App.— Houston [1st Dist.] 2013, no pet.). Given that the democratic process is at stake here, the court must "weigh[] the public interest against the injury to the parties from the grant or denial of injunctive relief." *Id.* "The harm to the public includes public convenience and necessity." *Id.* The public interest and the balance of equities between Harris County and Defendants favors issuing temporary injunctive relief.

If the injunction is not issued, a severe and rapid change in Harris County's election structure will occur a mere month and a half before a major election. Such upheaval is not warranted, especially considering the repeal of Harris County's EA is unconstitutional. Should Harris County run the November 2023 election through its EA's office without a court order declaring SB1750 unconstitutional, it will run afoul of the dozens of provisions in the Election Code and Secretary of State rules requiring that counties manage voter registration and administer elections through the proper, statutorily authorized elections officials. This could jeopardize the election results, expose the county to liability (including from the more than 50 entities for which it is conducting local elections), and throw local government into disarray.

When compared to the harm the County will be subject to without an injunction, the state defendants risk no equivalent injury—indeed, no injury at all. The defendants will suffer no

pecuniary loss or deprivation of rights if SB1750 is enjoined pending a final decision on its constitutionality.

CONCLUSION AND PRAYER

The evidence presented to the Court will show that Harris County and the public will suffer

irreparable harm absent a temporary injunction. On the merits, Plaintiffs have demonstrated a

probable right to relief on its claim that that SB 1750 is unconstitutional. Plaintiffs pray the Court

grant its application for a temporary injunction in the above-captioned cause and order

- Temporary injunctions preventing the Office of the Texas Secretary of State and the Secretary of State from refusing to recognize the Harris County Elections Administrator's Office as a lawful elections office on account of SB1750's purported efficacy after SB1750's effective date, including by, on the basis of SB1750: refusing to accept from the Harris County Elections Administrator the results of any Harris County election; refusing to coordinate with, and approve election action taken by, the Harris County Elections Administrator; refusing to provide official election reporting forms and voting by mail forms; refusing to provide funds entitled under Tex. Elec Code § 19.002; refusing to check voter registration applications against the state's TEAM system; taking any actions under SB1933 on the sole basis that the Harris County Elections Administrator position is abolished; refusing to cooperate with the Harris County Elections Administrator to perform election-related responsibilities.
- Temporary injunctions preventing the Office of the Attorney General of Texas and the Attorney General from enforcing SB1750 by seeking civil penalties against the County or its elections officials.

Plaintiff requests such other and further relief, general or special, whether in law or equity,

to which it may be justly entitled.

[SIGNATURE PAGE FOLLOWS]

/s/ Jonathan Fombonne

Christian D. Menefee Harris County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24088049 Christian.Menefee@harriscountytx.gov **Jonathan Fombonne** First Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24102702 Jonathan.Fombonne@harriscountytx.gov **Tiffany S. Bingham** Managing Counsel Texas Bar No. 24012287 Tiffany.Bingham@harriscountytx.gov Neal Sarker Special Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24093106 Neal.Sarkar@harriscountytx.gov **Christopher Garza** Senior Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24078543 Christopher.Garza@harriscountytx.gov **Matthew Miller** Senior Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24051959 Matthew.Miller@harriscountytx.gov Moustapha Gassama Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24083058 Moustapha.Gassama@harriscountytx.gov Neeharika Tumati Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24101168 Neeharika.Tumati@harriscountytx.gov

Office of Harris County Attorney

1019 Congress, 15th Floor Houston, Texas 77002 Office: 713-755-5101 Fax: 713-755-8924

ATTORNEYS FOR PLAINTIFF

RETRIEVED FROMDEN

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on August 7, 2023, a true and correct copy of the foregoing document was served via the Court's electronic filing system to all counsel of record.

<u>/s/Neal A. Sarkar</u> Special Assistant County Attorney

PETRIFUED FROM DEMOCRACY DOCKET, COM



November 25, 2020

VIA E-MAIL

Vince Ryan Harris County Attorney 1019 Congress, 15th Floor Houston, TX 77002 713-755-5101 vince.ryan@cao.hctx.net

Dear Mr. Ryan:

We are in receipt of the attached letter, dated November 20, 2020, from Director of Elections Keith Ingram with the Texas Secretary of State's Office, which identified multiple deficiencies concerning the appointment of Isabel Longoria as Harris County Election Administrator. *See* Exhibit A. After investigating the matter, we concur that Harris County officials failed to follow proper procedures under Sections 31.031(d) and 31.032(c) of the Texas Election Code, thereby exceeding their statutory authority. The purported creation of the Office of Election Administrator and subsequent appointment of Ms. Longoria to the position therefore constitute *ultra vires* actions and are both unlawful and null and void.

This letter is to inform you that Harris County must take corrective action to cure the deficiencies identified by the Secretary of State. Should Harris County fail to comply within fourteen days of receiving this letter, the State will pursue appropriate legal remedies.

The Election Code lays out in clear and precise terms the procedure that a Texas county must adhere to should it decide to create the office of county election administrator and appoint someone to the position. As part of that procedure, the Election Code requires the county to timely notify the Secretary of State when it completes certain milestones. Specifically, the Election Code states, "Not later than the third day after the date the order [establishing the office of county elections administrator] is adopted, the county clerk shall deliver a certified copy of the order to: (1) the secretary of state; and (2) each member of the county election commission." TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.031(d). The Election Code continues, "Not later than the third day after the date an administrator is appointed, the officer who presided at the meeting shall file a signed copy of the resolution or order with the county clerk. Not later than the third day after the date the county clerk shall deliver a certified copy of the resolution or order with the county clerk. Not later than the third day after the date the county clerk shall deliver a certified copy of the resolution or order with the county clerk. Not later than the third day after the date the copy is filed, the county clerk shall deliver a certified copy of the resolution or order to the secretary of state." *Id.* § 31.032(c).

It is apparent from the information raised by the Secretary of State that Harris County violated these two provisions.

As per Director Ingram's letter, the Secretary of State received documentation from the Harris County Clerk's office on July 28, 2020. The documentation included an order, ratified by the Harris County

Commissioners Court on July 14, 2020, purportedly "establishing the Office of Election Administrator." Exhibit B. According to the order, the "effective date for the office to begin operations shall be November 18, 2020." The order specified, however, that the process for instituting and appointing an election administrator would not proceed until the Commissioners Court voted on and approved of a study—prepared by several elected officials—which detailed the budget, facilities, equipment, and personnel needed to maintain the office. The Secretary of State has since learned from news reports that the Commissioners Court received the study and approved it at a meeting on August 11, 2020.¹

Because the Commissioners Court conditioned the July 14, 2020 order on a subsequent vote, the County Clerk's office had an obligation under Section 31.031(d) to inform the Secretary of State of the study's receipt and adoption within three days of the August 11, 2020 meeting. It failed to do so. In addition, even if Section 31.031(d) only applied to the July 14, 2020 order, the Secretary of State did not receive any communication from County Clerk's office concerning the creation of an election administrator until fourteen days after its ratification. Thus, under either interpretation, Harris County is in violation of its obligations under the Election Code.

Shortly after the Commissioners Court approved of the requisite study, the Harris County Election Commission moved to appoint Ms. Longoria to the position of Harris County Elections Administrator. According to the resolution, as well as multiple outside sources,² the vote took place on October 30, 2020. *See* Exhibit C. The Election Commission, however, did not file the resolution pertaining to Ms. Longoria's appointment with the County Clerk's office until November 20, 2020, based on the receipt stamp. This is a violation of Section 31.032(c), which requires the presiding officer to file a signed copy of the resolution within three days of its passage. As a result of the delay, the Secretary of State was not timely informed of the Election Commission's actions. The Secretary of State instead received notice of Ms. Longoria's purported appointment on November 20, 2020, when County Clerk's office emailed the attached resolution. *Id.*

In neglecting its obligations under Sections 31.031(d) and 31.032(c), Harris County failed to meet the requisites stipulated in the Election Code. As a result, neither the Commissioners Court's July 14, 2020 order nor the Election Commission's October 30, 2020 appointment of Ms. Longoria to the position holds any legal weight. In short, the Harris County Office of Election Administrator does not exist. And the duties that would typically be delegated to it pursuant to Sections 31.043, 31.044, and 31.045 remain with the County Clerk and County Tax Assessor-Collector.

It has come to the State's attention that as of November 18, 2020, Ms. Longoria assumed the role and responsibilities of Election Administrator in violation of the Texas Election Code. As a result, her appointment is a nullity and should be rescinded. Please take corrective action to remedy this matter within fourteen days of receipt of this letter. Otherwise, the State will proceed with appropriate legal action to address her unlawful appointment.

¹ See, e.g., Hannah Zedaker, Harris County Moves Forward With Creation of Elections Administrator Office, Community Impact (Aug. 12, 2020), <u>https://communityimpact.com/houston/spring-klein/vote/2020/08/12/harris-county-moves-forward-with-creation-of-elections-administrator-office/</u>.

² See, e.g., Zach Despart, *Harris County Appoints Isabel Longoria as First Elections Administrator as Hollins Prepares to Step Down*, Houston Chronicle (Oct. 30, 2020), <u>https://www.houstonchronicle.com/politics/houston/article/Harris-County-appoints-Isabel-Longoria-as-first-15689377.php</u>.

Respectfully,

|s| Kathleen Hunker

Kathleen T. Hunker Special Counsel Special Litigation Unit Office of the Texas Attorney General 209 W. 14th Street Austin, Texas 78701 512-936-2275

CC: C. Robert Heath Bickerstaff Heath Delgado Acosta LLP 3711 S. Mo-Pac, Building One, Suite 300 Austin, TX 78746 512-404-7821 bheath@bickerstaff.com

300 20m REFRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM Press Release FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE November 30, 2020

Contact: Robert Flanagan (318) 349-3993 Robert.Flanagan@senate.texas.gov

Sen Bettencourt Joins in Call for Harris County Elections Administrator Appointment to be Rescinded

Texas Attorney General letter gives Harris County until December 10th to take action or face legal action

Houston, TX – Senator Bettencourt (R-Houston) is joining the call for the appointment of the Harris County Elections Administrator to be rescinded. A recent letter from Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton's (R-Texas) office to County Attorney Vince Ryan (D-Harris County) stated, "...Ms. Longoria assumed the role and responsibilities of Election Administrator in violation of the Texas Election Code. As a result, her appointment is a nullity and should be rescinded."

This process was started when a letter from the Texas Secretary of State highlighted multiple "**deficiencies**" surrounding the process in which Harris County created this office and appointed Isabel Longoria as their first Elections Administrator. (See attached letters)

"Harris County voters deserve an open and transparent process and unfortunately these letters from the Secretary of State and the Attorney General show that the Election Code was violated," said Senator Bettencourt. "Therefore, I am calling for the appointment of the Harris County Elections Administrator to be rescinded."

Some of the "deficiencies" noted by the Texas Secretary of State in their November 20th letter:

- 1. Harris County did not send notice to the Texas Secretary of State in accordance with Section 31.031(d) of the Texas Election Code regarding their actions on August 11th.
- 2. Harris County did not provide a notice of appointment to the Texas Secretary of State as required by Section 31.032(c) when Isabel Longoria was appointed as Elections Administrator.

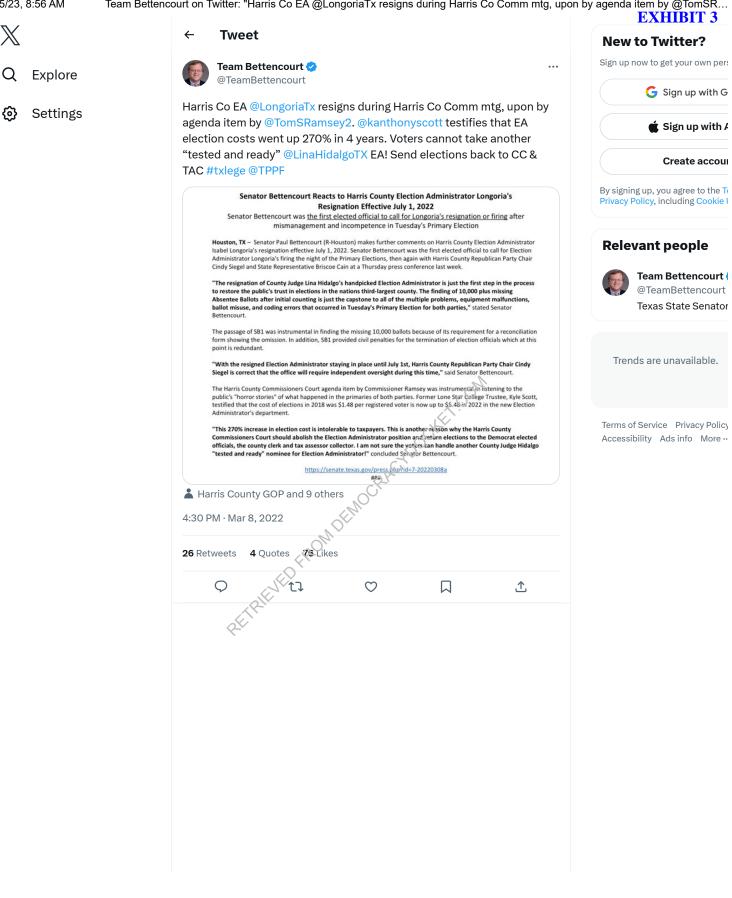
In their November 25th letter, the Attorney General's office notes, *"In neglecting its obligations under Section 31.031(d) and 31.032(c), Harris County failed to meet the requisites stipulated in the Election Code. As a result, neither the Commissioner's Court July 14, 2020 order nor the Election Commission's October 30, 2020 appointment of Ms. Longoria to the position holds any legal weight. In short, the Harris County Office of Elections Administrator does not exist."*

"Appointing an administrator of elections in the nation's third largest county should have been made by following the prescribed legal process to the letter," continued Senator Bettencourt. "The Attorney General's letter is specific that the duties of that office should be returned to the elected County Clerk and Tax Assessor-Collector," he added.

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Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "Harris Co EA @LongoriaTx resigns during Harris Co Comm mtg, upon by agenda item by @TomSR...



Don't miss what's happening People on Twitter are the first to know.

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Press Release FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE March 7, 2023

Contact: Michael Geary (512) 463-0107 michael.geary@senate.texas.gov

Sen Bettencourt & Rep Cain file bills to return Management of Elections back to Elected Officials!

SB 1750 & HB 3876 returns Election Administrator duties & power back to the County Tax Assessor & County Clerk for Counties with populations of more than one million

Austin, TX – Senator Paul Bettencourt (R-Houston) and Representative Briscoe Cain (R-Deer Park) filed SB 1750 & HB 3876 to restore voter trust, accountability, and transparency in large county elections by returning the management of elections back to elected officials. "Voters should have confidence in their elections, and when they see Harris County Elections Administrators botch election after election in 2022 that confidence is shaken." Said Senator Bettencourt. "Let's return Harris County Elections to the way it used to work with the County Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector!" He added.

Currently, Harris, Dallas, Tarrant, Bexar, and Collin County elections are run by appointed Election Administrators (EA). There is nearly no oversight from County Election Commissions. SB 1750 & HB 3876 will return power and duties of the EA to the County Tax Assessor-Collector and County Clerk in counties with populations over one million. Under SB 1750 & HB 3876 the County Tax Assessor-Collector will serve as the voter registrar and the election administration duties will revert to the County Clerk. With elections under two different elected officials, the cost of an independent department will go away and the broad support from the rest of the office will provide professionalism, consistency, and stability to the election staff. Former House Election Committee Chair Representative Briscoe Cain had this to say:

"The Elections Administrator experiment in Harris County has failed. It doesn't matter which election or Election Administrator – Texans know that Harris County will have issues and won't report returns accurately or on time. As larger counties try to use this position as another bureaucrat meant to grow government, it's important that voters have a say in who is running their elections. These counties have had ample opportunities to justify this position. The only thing they have done is dodge questions and find a way to blame someone else." Said Representative Cain.

On November 8, 2022, Harris County's EA failed to deliver enough paper ballots to over 120 voting centers, as reported by KHOU 11 (*https://www.khou.com/video/news/investigations/khou-11-analysis-election-ballot-paper-shortage-bigger-than-estimated/285-3806ba23-a4f5-4ed2-8b41-cc0ad4c18861*), despite having millions of paper ballots available for distribution in an EA office warehouse. Now, the EA and the County Judge who appointed him are refusing to answer questions from the public despite the thousands of Election Irregularities that occurred, which led to a record 21 election challenges filed in Harris County.

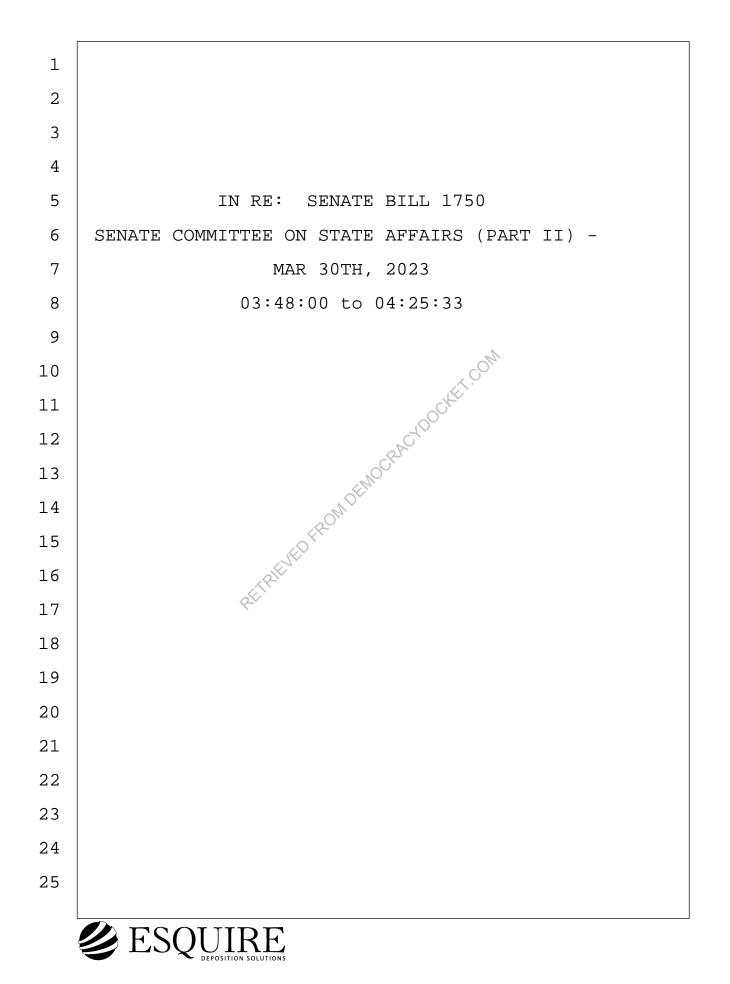
"In 2022 the former Harris County Election Administrator 'found' 10,000 votes and released a statement at 10:30 p.m. on a Saturday night that led to her resignation. Then the current Elections Administrator either wouldn't or couldn't get millions of paper ballots out of the warehouse and to the polls with thousands of voters being turned away for lack of ballots. The Nation's third largest county cannot have third world elections anymore! Bring back accountability and elected officials running elections." Concluded Senator Bettencourt.

SB 1750 is the latest Election Integrity legislation Senator Bettencourt filed this session. He will file more Election Integrity legislation soon. See previous press releases for more information.

- Senator Bettencourt reacts to record number of election challenges filed in Harris County
- Senator Bettencourt Reacts to Harris County Election Administrator Longoria's Resignation Effective July 1, 2022

https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230307a&print=1

EXHIBIT 5



* Start of Recording *

MADAM CHAIR: Senator Bettencourt, you are recognized to lay out Senate Bill 1933.

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SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Thank you, Ms. Chair --Madam Chairman and Members. I do have a committee (indecipherable) for Senate Bill 1933. As a result of the 2021 legislature, the Secretary of State is auditing four counties' elections every two years, two large counties and two smaller counties.

The math of this, there's approximately 20 larger counties, and so they're on a path of being audited once every 10 years. However, the smaller counties are 2 out of 234, which would mean they would be audited once every 117 years, which seems to be an extended period of time.

The -- this bill would allow the Secretary of State to randomly select additional smaller counties to audit during a two-year period to complete the audit of the smaller counties.

Additionally, this bill would only require an audit of all elections on uniform dates. The committee (indecipherable) would allow the Secretary of State to expand the audit on the uniform dates to other elections if the results of the audit indicate concerns.



The first SOS performed (indecipherable) in Harris County of 2020 found a literally appalling recordkeeping scenario where lack of documentation for 309,629 cast thousand cast votes. That 639 -- I mean 309,629 casted votes. 20 percent of the vote. Poor training.

This was back when drive-thru voting was being used, which was not supported by the Election Code. Misplaced records including 46,000 mail ballots. And lists can go on because records were un-retrieved because the machines that they used were effectively not able to reuse the data disk drives. So they didn't have the software to be able to run the data disks after -- after the election, so all that information was lost.

So under the committee substitute, if an audit of the Secretary of State identifies a pattern of recurring problems with the Election Administrator, they can impede free exercise of a citizen's vote.

The Secretary would be required to recommend the County for administrative oversight. The committee (indecipherable) would allow the Secretary to order administrative oversight if there is an im -- an administrative election complaint, and the Secretary has good cause to believe for the same five or six



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issues that we've seen in the last bill.

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Oversight period would be for a stated period of time, not shorter than a year. This conservatory period is the same theory as the school district conservators.

The oversight would be terminated (indecipherable) the Secretary of State reports no further oversight is required.

Additionally, Secretary of State determines the free exercise of a substantial number of citizens' voting rights were impeded during two countywide elections during the preceding two years.

13 The Secretary of State may immediately appoint a 14 conservator. Secretary then would include 15 administrative oversight in conjunction with the 16 conservators.

So you have basically two steps here to go through. One is as administrative oversight. The second is a conservator. However, with Harris County has suffered, you know, constant election issues for the last two cycles, which demands immediate problem.

Harris County leadership has failed to respond, and we'll talk about that in another bill because we've requested information from -- from legislative office. Still haven't gotten it.



So the committee substitute Senate Bill 1933 would put the responsibility of elections and voter registration back in the responsible hands of the County Clerk and Elections Administrator, and I don't -- and at some point in time, we have one invited speaker, Cindy Siegal, Harris County Republican Party Chair.

MADAM CHAIR: Thank you, Senator Bettencourt. Senator Bettencourt sends up the committee sub to Senate Bill 1933.

Members, are there any questions? All right. If not, the Chair calls Cindy Siegal. Please state your name for the record. Welcome, again.

(Indecipherable).

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15 CINDY SIEGAL: My name is Cindy Siegal. I'm the 16 chairman of the Harris County Republican Party here in 17 support of this bill.

Thank you, Vice Chair, Senators that are still with us.

You know, Harris County is -- has become the poster child of everything that you don't want, how an election shouldn't be run. I felt a lot this last year. The kids game that they call Whac-A-Mole, that was the way we were dealing with the election in Harris County.



There's no recourse for us other than to pursue the Courts. That's why we need to have a mechanism. When they fail an audit or they grossly mismanage an election that there's a mechanism that the Secretary of State, which is, I think, the obvious group, the obvious entity to put this oversight with.

You know, people in prior testimony talked about voter rights and voter suppression, and everyone throws that around today. But, you know, my voter rights were infringed upon when I went to vote in a primary, and the EA had moved my judge and told her that she couldn't work there. So they didn't have a poll. My voter rights were infringed upon.

The people who went to vote, the soccer mom who, you know, has the kids in the car, they're tired, they've been at practice, they need to go home and do homework and it's 6:00, and they go to vote. And there's no voting -- you know, there's no ballot paper. And they don't want to spend the next hour driving around.

The voter rights -- the rights of my election judge, you heard testimony from him, the woman who was election judge and they ran out of paper and the voter got so mad that they spit on her and it wasn't her fault.



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I mean, I would echo what Alan Vera said earlier. When is enough enough? And you can sit and say this is Harris County's problem, but the reality is it could be everyone's problem.

There's nothing to stop for the same sort of behavior, the same sort of mismanagement, whether it was intentional or unintentional, happening in other counties. There has to be a mechanism other than suing or an election challenge to be able to get elections that are run fairly and according to the law.

You know, they talked about the Secretary of State being an appointed position, and you have someone overseeing a county. Well, the reality is our county commissioners took away a few years ago my right as a voter.

I voted for a County Clerk to run the elections.
They took that right away from the voters, and they
gave it to an Election Administrator who is appointed.
And now I serve on that Election Commission, but I'm
one of five people.

And what's happening in Harris County is they're trying to shut down and not talk about it. They won't shine the light on it, and that's why we're suing. That's why there are 21 election challenges.



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1 But it's ridiculous that we're -- we've gotten to 2 the point that that's the only way that we can get a 3 fair election in Harris County. Enough is enough. We we need your help. 4 MADAM CHAIR: 5 Thank you so much. 6 Senator Bettencourt, you're recognized. 7 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Thank you. I want to 8 correct my record here because this -- there was a line I read that this would put the responsibility to 9 election voters back into the responsible -- into the 10 county elected officials. 11 That's actually another bill that's coming up. 12 13 So I want to withdraw that because, see, when you make a mistake, you need to be able to admit it. 14 15 The problem we've got in Harris County is they make a mistake, and they won't admit it. And then 16 17 you've got multiple TV streams, the entire media 18 chasing the -- the county judge and chasing the 19 Election Administrator. And to your knowledge, 20 besides releasing one report that said that the Astros were responsible for part of the problem because of 21 22 their parade, have they made any public statements, to 23 your knowledge? 24

24CINDY SIEGAL: I mean, everything is we don't25know, we're looking at it. It'll be interesting next



1 Wednesday to see if (indecipherable) answers those 2 questions.

But the county commissioners, they won't let him answer.

> SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Right.

CINDY SIEGAL: County Commissioner Tom Ramsey tried to get in an open meeting, a public meeting. Ι mean, the voters deserve an answer, and they're shutting them down.

And if we can't get our duly elected officials to clean up the mess and -- and run fair elections, you're left with pursuing an alternative through the courts or legislatively, and that's why I'm here.

SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Right, and thank you 14 because you've consistently stood and for the truth, 15 16 just like the candidates that have filed because they're really trying to find the truth and what 17 18 happened in the election.

So I just want to make it clear to the public 20 that this bill would -- would allow additional audits for smaller counties plus allow the Secretary of State to include administrative oversight in conjunction 23 with the conservator at that point in time. And so I 24 want to thank you for your testimony.

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CINDY SIEGAL: Can I add one thing, Senator?



SENATOR BETTENCOURT: I would (indecipherable)
 like to add, Ms. Siegal.

CINDY SIEGAL: The audit that came back, I mean, what they were reporting -- and I think you've got people from -- representing the Secretary of State. But the Election Administrator at that time, Isabel Longoria, didn't -- didn't -- wouldn't let any of her staff speak to them.

The other thing was this election, the Secretary of State said we're going to send in -- and I'm probably not using the right term, but an observer. I mean, the County Commissioner, the county Judge, the Election Administrator, they went ballistic.

Why are you sending him in? They went to, I think, the Department of Justice and were trying to get them to come in and stop it, you know, which is already in the law where the Secretary of State can send someone in to observe the election. We need to shine the light.

20 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: No, I agree, and thank you 21 for your testimony because this bill and Senate Bill 22 823 are looking at statewide issues and what happens 23 when you have an Election Administrator that either 24 couldn't or wouldn't or don't or simply cannot 25 function in their job.



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1	We do have another bill that's going to be
2	specific to Harris County, a solution coming up
3	shortly.
4	MADAM CHAIR: Thank you for your testimony.
5	Thank you, Senator Bettencourt.
6	All right. The Chair opens public testimony and
7	calls Yasmine Smith, Lori Gallagher, Elizabeth Geretz,
8	Valerie De Bill, Ruei Tuo, and Alice Yee, Charles
9	Crews, Kimiya Factory, Marcia Strickler, Denita Jones,
10	Laura Pressley.
11	All right. And if anyone else is making their
12	way, go on and keep doing that, but we'll go on and
13	get started.
14	Thank you for being here. Please state your name
15	and for the record and then give us your testimony,
16	please.
17	KIMIYA FACTORY: Thank you. My name is Kimiya
18	Factory. I'm the Central Texas Regional Organizer for
19	Black Voters Matter Fund, and I'm here to oppose this
20	bill today.
21	I'm also going to be testifying on behalf of my
22	colleague unofficially because I understand it's
23	(indecipherable) my time.
24	My name is Denita Jones. I'm here today
25	representing Black Voters Matter and I live in



Garland, Texas. I'm here today to oppose Senate Bill 1933 because it is a blatant attempt to use baseless evidence of problems during the 2022 general election in Harris County to justify disenfranchising voters of color for partisan gain.

Over 60 percent of Texans white population live in the 248 counties not covered by this bill whose election results cannot be canceled on baseless claims.

On the other hand, around 66 percent of Texans of color live in the six counties that will be covered by this bill and can have their elections canceled on a whim.

As an organizer in many of the affected counties, I spend my time speaking with residents and grassroots organizations on various ways to empower their communities by utilizing their vote as their voice.

Bills like SB 1933 are written to silence these voters. There is not one day that goes by that I do not hear a resident state "Why bother to vote? They" -- meaning you -- "will only find a way to silence us," which is extremely ridiculous, and that's exactly what this bill does.

As a mother to four eligible voters, I too have this conversation with my children on the importance



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of continuing to vote. But as young adults, they are very honest with me, telling me, "Mom, you're fighting for something they never wanted us to have to begin with."

Because this bill will nullify the notion of one person, one vote, on behalf of all Texas, black and brown voters, please do not silence us. Let our vote be our voice as it is guaranteed by the Constitution. Please, vote no on this bill.

Thank you.

MADAM CHAIR: Thank you for your testimony. Senator Bettencourt, you're recognized. SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Ms. Jones, this bill is not bracketed. This Bill 1933 applies to all 254 counties. It does not apply to the -- just to four or six counties that you -- as alleged here. It is a bill that applies in the entire state.

So I -- I respect everybody's -- that they have an opinion, but it has to be based upon fact. So this is not correct because this bill is a 254 county bill. It's not bracketed to six counties. And I'm sorry, this written testimony is incorrect and your verbal testimony is. I just want to make sure you understand.

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KIMIYA FACTORY: I -- if I understand correctly,



1 you're saying that my individual experience as a black 2 woman in the state of Texas is incorrect? 3 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: No, ma'am. What I'm saying exactly -- and I'm going to read it into the record. 4 5 KIMIYA FACTORY: I understand the factual claim 6 that you're making. 7 MADAM CHAIR: Thank you. Thank you for your 8 testimony. SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Right. Is that over 60 9 percent of Texas white population lives in 248 10 counties not covered by this bild. Ms. Jones, this is 11 just not correct. The bill is 254 counties. It 12 13 applies to everywhere in Texas. Thank you. 14 KIMIYA FACTORY: Thank you. MADAM CHAIR: Please state your name for the 15 record and give us your testimony. 16 17 LAURA PRESSLEY: Thank you, Madam Chairman. This 18 is Dr. Laura Pressley. 19 Thank you, Senator -- Senator Bettencourt for 20 this bill. 21 It really begs the question, should we -- with 22 regard to the Secretary of State audits, should we do 23 breadth versus depth? I think we really should 24 consider that. 25 I actually have read the 359-page audit that the



Secretary of State did for the 2020 elections, and I want to let you know what the audit did not include. The audit did not include auditing the physical ballots versus the computerized vote results.

That was shocking to me, that there was no looking at the physical ballots and double-checking if that matched what the computer said.

The second thing it did not include -- and I've got this in my attachment on the pages of the audit where this is -- this is documented. The early vote results tapes which document 70-65 to 70 percent of the vote. It's a memorialization of the vote results. They never compared those tapes to what the main computer put out as a public result. I was a little surprised, very surprised at that.

The third one that was very concerning to me, the audit log that shows the number of ballots counted, which is all done by polling location, was never compared to the precinct level canvassed results because the audit logs in vote center and the report to the public and canvasses by precinct. You cannot apples-to-apples compare that.

And there's one more thing I'd like to say if you would ask me a question. I got four seconds, and two of my people are not here, so you get that four



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1 minutes. 2 MADAM CHAIR: Thank you for your testimony, 3 Dr. Pressley. Members, any questions? All right. 4 5 Thank you so much. I appreciate you being here. 6 Go ahead and state your name, and I --7 RUEI TUO: My name is Ruei Tuo. 8 MADAM CHAIR: Yeah, great. RUEI TUO: Sorry, I apologize for interrupting 9 10 you. I'm from Katy, Texas, and 11 My name is Ruei Tuo. I'm registering to -- against this bill. So I -- in 12 my previous two testimonies, I did not bring up that I 13 also worked as an election worker for several 14 elections. And the amount of work that we put in, 15 16 including the election office, is tremendous to make 17 sure that all the votes are counted, everybody gets to 18 vote. 19 I personally had -- I personally had -- being on 20 the phone with the Election Administration to make 21 sure that I -- that we find the voter registration 22 because sometimes the -- the machine doesn't -- is --23 doesn't have all the election voter registrations. So 24 sometimes you call in, and they will find the voters.

And that's the extent of everybody. Everybody



trying to make sure that election is free and fair. And for somebody to come in -- I don't know what doctor she is, but I don't know what she's talking about when she says all these things. Maybe she's misunderstanding. Maybe it's just something she heard. I don't know.

But I was on the ground. I was working the elections. And the elections always have winners or losers. And in a democracy, that's okay because, you know, eventually some will win and some will lose.

And then you switch parties, and you turn around. And that's how we voters keep parties in check. And y'all's party have been in power for 30 years, and look at where we are at right now.

And you're even doubling down on taking away our voting rights using these voter suppression tactics. I as an -- as an individual voter am very disheartened.

MADAM CHAIR: Thank you for your testimony. Appreciate you being here. Thank you, both.

Is there anyone else wishing to testify on, for, or against the committee substitute to Senate Bill 1933? Seeing none, public testimony is closed.

24The Chair recognizes Senator Bettencourt. The25Chair lays out Senate Bill 1750 and recognizes the



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author, Senator Bettencourt, to explain the bill.

SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Thank you, Ms. Chairman and the Members. We do have a committee substitute presented, Bill 750. I'll explain it very --

MADAM CHAIR: Chair sends up the committee substitute for Senate Bill 1750.

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SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Thank you.

I think we've talked about the problems in Harris County. This bill would effectively transition the Election Administrator back to the Harris County Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector from the appointed position of Elections Administrator.

The -- the bill as originally filed had actually had other counties involved. We sent out a survey request to the other major election administrators, received positive responses from three of them. I think a fourth was verbal or came in that we use the four category -- or five major categories of issues.

The information came back there were not problems in the other major counties using an Election Administrator, but there is in Harris County.

22 So as a result, we got a committee substitute 23 that basically says we'd abolish the role of Elections 24 Administrator in counties with a population of over 25 three and a half million.



The County Clerk would assume, again, the role of Election Administrator, and the Tax Assessor Collector would again assume the role of a voter registrar.

I had the former County Clerk, Sam (indecipherable), was here to speak. His wife became ill so they've just left the building, apparently.

But I want to point out that this is a bill that's designed to return elections to elected representatives in Harris County. They happen to be of a different party of mine, but I believe that the incompetence shown by the Election Administrator in both of them in 2022 demands (indecipherable).

13 This is a bill that was brought to me by Representative Briscoe Cain. It is now bracketed to 14 Harris County only. And if this bill, if adopted, 15 16 would return elections to the elected officials who I 17 might say -- and with my experience of at least 30 18 years of having almost no problems compared to the 19 massive problems that we have here. So this bill 20 would return elections back to the elected representatives, the County Clerk and the Tax 21 22 Assessor. That, I think, will have a -- Al Vera will 23 be, I think, replacing Mr. Standard.

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MADAM CHAIR: Thank you, Senator Bettencourt. Do you have any other questions for yourself?



SENATOR BETTENCOURT: No, but unless you would
 like to ask them.
 MADAM CHAIR: I think you did such a great job, I

do not have any questions for you, so thank you very much.

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So the Chair calls Alan Vera.

Thanks for being here, Mr. Vera, and please state your name for the record and give us your testimony.

9 ALAN VERA: Alan Vera, Chairman, Harris County
10 Republican Party, Ballot Security Committee,
11 testifying in support of SB 1750.

We've kind of brought this bill on ourselves. For decades in Texas, elections were well run by the County Clerks. In midsize and larger counties, the County Clerk had an employee whose primary responsibility was to run the elections.

That person worked directly under the authority and supervision of the elected County Clerk, and things went pretty well.

But then, in statute, we established the appointed office of Elections Administrator in Texas. And when we established that office, we created absolutely no requirements in terms of education, experience, credentials, basic math skills, reading comprehension, logistics, data analysis, nothing.



Look at the code and you'll see. The only qualifications for this office are must be a registered voter of the county served, cannot make contributions to candidates or parties, cannot serve as an officer of a party, and the office is not accountable to the voters.

Well, that guarantees us the cream of the crop. The qualifications in the code are no indication at all of whether the individual can consistently plan and execute an increasingly complex election process in a large county. In Texas we've essentially declared that anybody can be an Election Administrator, anybody. Shame on us.

We've now seen two successive years of third world elections run by an Elections Administrator in the state's largest county, and there's nothing in statute or practice that guarantees that blight might not spread to other large counties as they continue to grow and as the election process becomes even more complex.

The problems are inherent in statute and in the lack of accountability that we've engineered, we've purposely engineered into the office. We need to step back and rethink the entire concept. Band aids aren't going to work.



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1 While we're thinking about restructuring it, we 2 shouldn't expect the voters in our largest county to suffer further because of our lack of foresight. 3 So we urge you to support SB 1750 or report 4 5 SB 1750 favorably to the full Senate. Thank you. 6 MADAM CHAIR: Thank you so much for your 7 testimony. 8 Senator Bettencourt, any questions? 9 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Thank you, Al, for your testimony. Al, you've been in elections for how long? 10 11 14 years? Right. 12 ALAN VERA: SENATOR BETTENCOURT: The -- the election 13 division of the County Clerk was repeatedly 14 acknowledged as one of the premier election outfits in 15 the country. Tony Civello, you know, Beverly Kaufman, 16 I had a chance to work with them as the voter 17 18 registrar, but they were nationally recognized on 19 election methodology. And -- and -- and, obviously, Beverly was a well 20 known elected official. 21 True? 22 ALAN VERA: True. 23 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Now, as voter registrar at 24 the time, I can remember handling 55,000 live phone 25 calls and answering them within four seconds. And if



1 we had an election judge on the line, we answered them like that with the county attorney. 2 3 Do you remember that period? ALAN VERA: I remember. 4 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: So 20 years later, we've 5 seen effectively a denouement of elections acumen that 6 7 has been accelerated by an Election Administrator that resigned, fired many of the middle management, and 8 then a new Election Administrator appointed. 9 And after that appointment, we now have the first 10 ever major election in the country that had 127 -- 121 11 unsupport -- undersupplied polls of ballot paper. 12 Am I missing anything? 13 ALAN VERA: You're not. And what's frustrating 14 to me was I went and made a presentation to the 15 16 Election Commission while the search was on for a new And I laid out a very clear list of 17 ΕA. 18 qualifications and proven experiences that they should 19 look for in the next person. Unfortunately, they --20 they ignored those and simply picked someone on the

21 | basis of political connections.

22 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: And you're a Republican,23 Al, (indecipherable) chairman?

That's correct.

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SENATOR BETTENCOURT: And you're supporting a



ALAN VERA:

bill that would return the elections to two Democrat
 elected officials?

ALAN VERA: That's correct.

SENATOR BETTENCOURT: And you believe that's a better solution than leaving it in the hands of the current Election Administrator that either couldn't or wouldn't get 4 million ballot sheets out of -- out of the warehouse to the polls on Election Day?

9 ALAN VERA: Without question, if only because
10 they're accountable to the voters, I believe the two
11 Democrats currently holding the Offices of County
12 Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector voter registrar would
13 do a much better job than the current EA.

14 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Thank you for your 15 testimony.

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ALAN VERA: Thank you.

MADAM CHAIR: Thank you for your testimony.

Thank you, Senator Bettencourt.

19And we will now open public testimony for Senate20Bill -- committee substitute to Senate Bill 1750.

The chair calls Susanna Carranza, Lori Gallagher,
Elizabeth Geretz, Valerie De Bill, Ruei Tuo, Alice
Yee, Charlie Crews, Lucy Trainor, Marcia Strickler,
Palwasha Sharwani, Laura Pressley, Cindy Siegal,
Charles Reed, James Keller.



1 All right. Thank you all for -- for coming. We 2 look forward to hearing your testimony. Please state 3 your name for the record and give us your testimony. CHARLES REED: Hi, my name is -- excuse me. Hi, 4 5 my name is Charles Reed. I'm here on behalf of the 6 Dallas County Commissioners Court. I missed the 7 layout because I left at a very unfortunate time, but 8 I think I heard that the substitute changes the 9 bracket to a single county? SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Three and a half million. 10 CHARLES REED: Great. I would like to change my 11 position to on this bill because --12 13 MADAM CHAIR: So you're in your position to on? Yes CHARLES REED: 14 Twe got it noted. Thank you. 15 MADAM CHAIR: CHARLES REED. We're no longer in it. We support 16 our Elections Administrator model. It's great 17 18 bipartisan model. And so I really appreciate Chairman 19 Bettencourt and his efforts on this. 20 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Have a good week. CHARLES REED: Thank you, sir. I'll see you on 21 22 Monday. 23 MADAM CHAIR: Thank you so much. 24 Please state your name for the record and give us 25 your testimony.

LUCY TRAINOR: Lucy Trainor, Republican Party in Texas. I'm representing myself in this capacity. Senate Bill 1750 offers an excellent solution to the many problems we witnessed during the primary and the general with unelected bureaucrats making important decisions for our electorate that they don't even represent.

8 We witnessed this time and again in our suburban 9 counties. Grassroots activists would walk away 10 feeling very disillusioned and discouraged when 11 serving as election workers and poll watchers when 12 they were dismissed with question -- when they had 13 legitimate questions about possible fraud and what 14 they had witnessed.

If this position is accountable to the public, the chances of our workers who want to serve in the election and getting placed are significantly higher.

So many people I personally know had wanted to work but were told no. They served as a poll watcher instead, but then were dismissed even in that capacity by election officials who seemed -- which really seemed like an exclusive club of longtime friends who would not take input from new people.

24 1750 is a good solution to an embedded problem we25 have witnessed in the running of elections. Thank



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MADAM CHAIR: Thank you for your testimony.

Please state your name for the record and give us your testimony.

CINDY SIEGAL: My name is Cindy Siegal. I'm the chairman of the Harris County Republican Party here in support of this bill representing the Republican Party.

9 I would just echo what Senator Bettencourt said. 10 This would return this -- the running of elections in 11 Harris County to elected County Clerk and Tax 12 Assessor.

I serve on the elections commission with both of those women. They are on the other -- from the other party, but they have experience. And I can tell you that they would run an election a lot better than what we've experienced in the last year or two years.

And furthermore, if they don't there isn't this layer in between an Election Administrator and the voter. They would be having to directly report to the voters if they failed, as bad as the Election Administrator has been doing. Thank you.

23

24 25 MADAM CHAIR: Thank you.

Senator Bettencourt, any questions?

SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Now, I just want to make



1 sure that I want everyone to hear this. Okay? T've 2 got the state Republican Party and the local County 3 Republican Party. And looking at the problems in 4 Harris County are so severe that a solution you would 5 consider is returning it back to elected officials because they're, A, accountable to the public; and, B, 6 performance matters; and, C, the historical record is 7 clearly the elected officials had a much better 8 performance by any measurement humanly possible than 9 these last few Election Administrators. 10

And they do happen to be Democrats, even though you two ladies are Republican. Just want to make sure. Shocking, but true. But that tells you it's not about politics. It's about performance.

Y'all want to comment? Both of -- either one? CINDY SIEGAD: I would just -- I would agree with that. I mean, and knowing both -- you know, basically the last year getting to know both of those elected officials, they would do a lot better job.

And they have the, you know, voters that are going to hold them accountable. There's no in between. There's no, you know, buffer that -- where the voters with the EA --

24 SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Right, they don't have 25 to --



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CINDY SIEGAL: -- (indecipherable) do anything. SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Right. These elected officials stand every two years. They -- while their budgets are approved by commissioner's court, they're not a complete thrall as the Elections Administrator apparently is at this point, at least in my opinion. And -- and they do have some independence, and they are -- and they are responsible.

So I just wanted to make sure because this is, again, Madam Chair and the audience that's listening, 10 this is about performance. It's about a lack of performance. It's a catastrophic lack of performance in Harris County.

And one more election -- and I'll ask both of you 14 this. One more election cycle like this where we have 15 16 thousands of people turned away from the polls, where we have these type of total lack of transparency, 17 18 where we have 21 election challenges, in your opinion, 19 you know, what would happen to the public's belief in 20 elections in the nation's third largest county if we 21 take no action at all and leave the Elections 22 Administrator without a conservator, without a 23 replacement, without any oversight at all.

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CINDY SIEGAL: People won't show up to vote. SENATOR BETTENCOURT: I think that's a very good



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CINDY SIEGAL: And I've been fighting that battle for the last two years. When I took over in December 2020, you know, I heard from the voters saying -- you know, people that I've known for a long time saying, you know: I'm just really frustrated, I'm not sure my vote is going to count.

And when things like this happen, that just reinforces the belief, like why bother? I've heard it from our election judges. I've heard it from our precinct chairs. I've heard it from our activists. I hear it from candidates.

They're not going to want to run because they feel like, well, you know, was it -- was it fair? What -- you know, it's one thing to lose and you know that the election fairly reported the results. But you wouldn't have 21 challenges if they -- if they didn't believe that there's some question there.

SENATOR BETTENCOURT: I want to thank you all, both, for coming because Harris County is not too big to fail. It's already failed in 2022 miserably. But it's too big to ignore because the State can't afford this type of problem in Harris County, and neither can the residents of Harris County because one more cycle like this, there will be no -- absolutely no belief



1	that elections matter in Harris County, I don't think,
2	regardless of what party you're in. And I want to
3	thank you for your testimony.
4	CINDY SIEGAL: Thank you, Senator, for your work
5	on this.
б	SENATOR BETTENCOURT: Yeah.
7	MADAM CHAIR: Thank you both for your testimony.
8	Thank you, Senator Bettencourt.
9	Is there anyone else wishing to testify on, for,
10	or against the committee sub for Senate Bill 1750?
11	Seeing none, public testimony is now closed.
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Press Release FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE April 18, 2023

Contact: Michael Geary (512) 463-0107 michael.geary@senate.texas.gov

Senator Bettencourt's bill returns Harris County Elections back to Elected Officials!

SB 1750 returns Harris County EA duties & power back to the County Tax Assessor & County Clerk

Austin, TX – Senator Paul Bettencourt (R-Houston) passed SB 1750 out of the Texas Senate on Tuesday, April 18, 2023. SB 1750 will restore voter trust, accountability, and transparency in Harris County elections by returning the management of elections back to elected officials. "Voters should have confidence in their elections, and when they see Harris County Elections Administrators botch election after election in 2022 that confidence is shaken. Let's return Harris County Elections to the way it used to work with the County Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector!" Said Senator Bettencourt. "It passed with Bipartisan support 20-11," he added.

SB 1750 will return power and duties of the Harris County Elections Administrator to the County Tax Assessor-Collector and County Clerk. Under SB 1750 the County Tax Assessor-Collector will serve as the voter registrar and the election administration duties will revert to the County Clerk. With elections under two different elected officials, the cost of an independent department will go away and the broad support from the rest of the office will provide professionalism, consistency, and stability to the election staff. Senator Bettencourt served as the Tax Assessor-Collector with County Clerk Kaufman for 10 years.

On November 8, 2022, Harris County's EA failed to deliver enough paper ballots to over 120 voting centers, as reported by KHOU 11 (*https://www.khou.com/video/news/investigations/khou-11-analysis-election-ballot-paper-shortage-bigger-than-estimated/285-3806ba23-a4f5-4ed2-8b41-cc0ad4c18861*), despite having millions of paper ballots available for distribution in an EA office warehouse. Now, the Harris County EA and the County Judge who appointed him are suing the Attorney General's Office to block the release of the election records that will shed light on why the November 8 election in Harris County turned into a fiasco. Currently, there are a record 21 election challenges filed in Harris County. County Officials refuse to answer media questions on the matter.

"In 2022 the former Harris County Election Administrator 'found' 10,000 votes and released a statement at 10:30 p.m. on a Saturday night that led to her resignation. Then the current Elections Administrator either wouldn't or couldn't get millions of paper ballots out of the warehouse and to the polls with thousands of voters being turned away for lack of ballots. The Nation's third largest county cannot have third world elections anymore! Bring back accountability with elected officials running elections." Concluded Senator Bettencourt.

Senator Bettencourt has passed 10 election and voter integrity bills out of the Texas Senate so far, and expects to pass more out in the next couple of weeks.

- Senator Bettencourt passes best election audit bill in the USA per Heritage Foundation, SB 1039
- Two more important bills to fix what ails Harris County Elections pass out of Texas Senate!

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Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "House Elections Committee Chairman @Reggie4Tx posts my SB 1750 which will eliminate the Harr...

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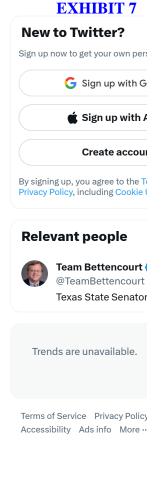
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Team Bettencourt @TeamBettencourt

House Elections Committee Chairman @Reggie4Tx posts my SB 1750 which will eliminate the Harris County Elections Administrator office in Harris County for Thursday! The bill returns all election duties BACK to the elected County Clerk and Tax-Assessor. Ag Chair @BriscoeCain will lay out the bill, which passed the Texas Senate with a bipartisan 20-11 vote. The Senate State Affairs Committee (Chair @SenBryanHughes) took testimony on botched Harris County elections in 2022. The former Harris County EA had to resign due to a primary election fiasco and the current EA either couldn't or wouldn't get ballot paper to the polls for thousands of voters to vote on in the Nov. 8th election. Importantly, this is the ONLY time I've ever seen the @HarrisCountyRP & @TexasGOP testify for returning election duties to elected officials...OH that's Republicans returning elections to Democrat Elected Officials!! Interesting hearing at #txlege @ValoreeforTexas @ManoForStateRep @Burrows4TX @VoteGiovanni @BucyForTexas @EddieMoralesJr @Christian4Texas @HubertVo149

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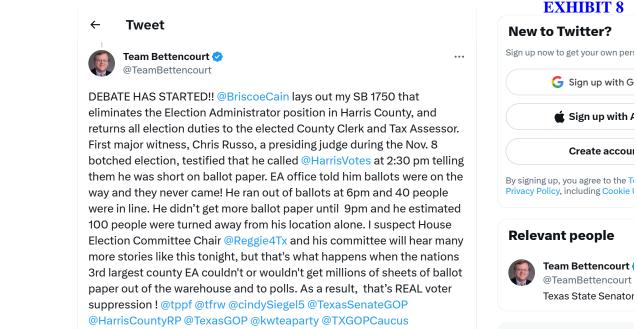
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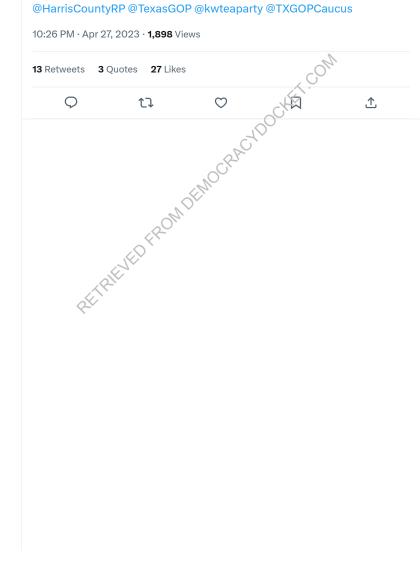
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Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "DEBATE HAS STARTED!! @BriscoeCain lays out my SB 1750 that eliminates the Election Admini...



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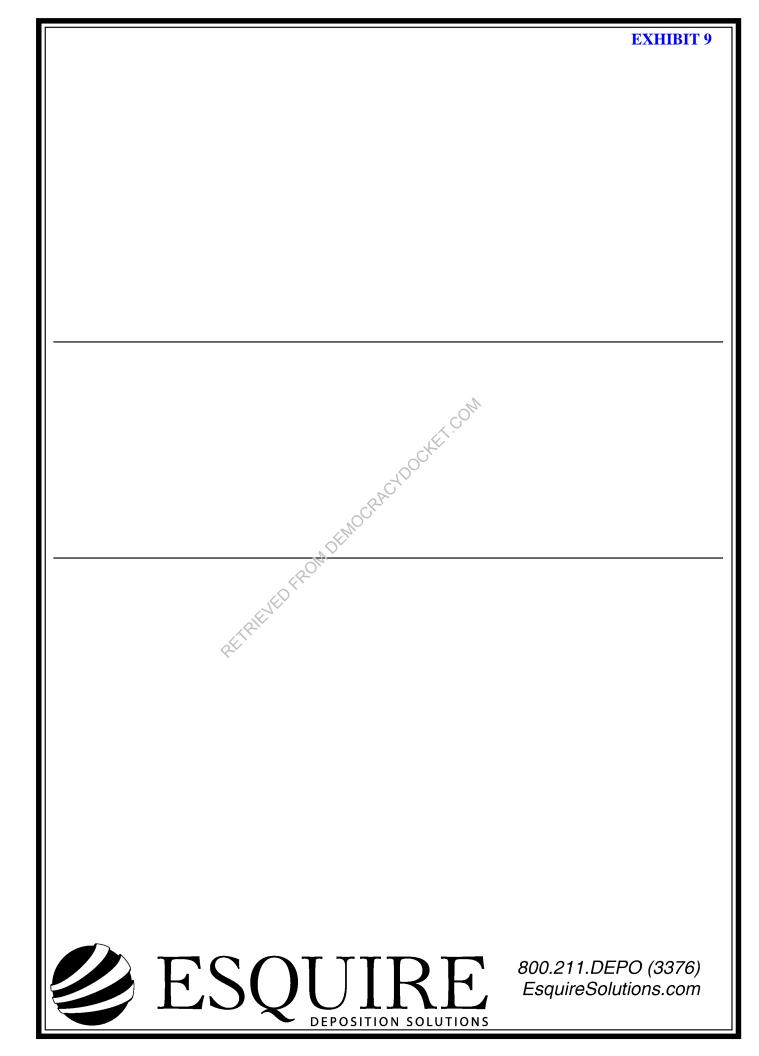


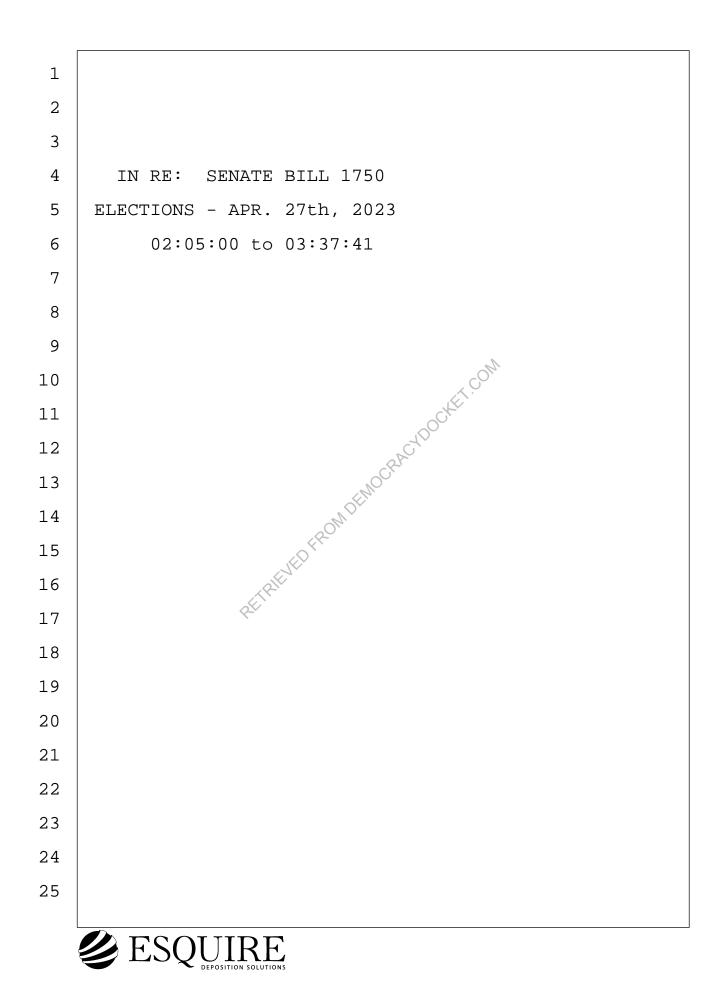
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* Start of Recording *

CHAIRMAN SMITH: The Chair lays out Senate Bill 1750 and recognizes Representative Cain to explain the bill. Chairman Cain.

CHAIRMAN CAIN: Chairman Smith, Vice Chair Bucy, and committee members of -- normally, I have really short layouts, but I'm going to go through this full one.

In 2020, shortly after the November election, Harris County changed the leadership of the elections operations from the elected office of the Harris County Clerk and Tax Assess Collector to the pointed position of Elections Administrators.

(Indecipherable) subsequent administrators appointed had little to no experience of Texas election laws and, obviously, multiple action disasters including equipment malfunctions and incorrect ballots.

First Elections Administrator point has little over five months of experience administrating elections for the second largest election entity in the nation.

After resignation, she was replaced by someone who had zero experience with Texas election laws and no experience with Harris County, moving from



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Washington DC to Houston only three months before the second largest election in -- you know, in the country.

Since the implementation of an EA elections, elections -- each election has been a disaster in Harris County. Each election results with more votes than voters, malfunctioning equipment, inadequate training, counter-effective election work or replacement, poor polling place acquisition, incorrect ballots, poorly maintained voter rolps, and more.

The Harris County leadership has done nothing to remedy -- remedy this embarrassingly poor quality of operation of the election department.

I believe it's time for Harris County elections to return the accountability of elected officials, the Harris County Clerk and Harris County Tax Assessor Collector.

Yes, two people that are on opposite parties of mine, but I believe because of who they are, because they're elected, they'll be more accountable to voters.

In fact, one of those reasons the bill relates to Harris County only is because Senator Bettencourt's office conducted a survey of other large counties in Texas and found that while each of those counties



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encountered problems, the problems were recognized and
 they were addressed.

But not Harris County, though. Each election seems to bring a new and bigger disaster than the last. Elected officials are in the public for -elected officials are in the public. They make public appearances and are much more available to the voters than elected -- than the administrators.

Therefore, this proposal aims to restore accountability to elected officials and provide more experience overseeing the critical task of election operations.

13 The bill would abolish the role of Election 14 Administrator in the counties with a population of 15 over three and a half million. The County Clerk would 16 assume the role of Election Administrator, and the Tax 17 Assessor Collector would assume the role of voter 18 registrar.

With that, Members, if you'd like to bring me back up after for some questions, if you have witnesses, I'd be happy to do so, but I'm finished with my layout.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you.

Members, any questions?

Vice Chair Bucy.



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VICE CHAIR BUCY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Chairman Cain, I just want to -- I just -- I think there was a version -- and I know this is Bettencourt's bill -- Senator Bettencourt's bill. But at one point, it was a million threshold. I think it's been changed to three and a half million. Was there a reason for that change?

CHAIRMAN CAIN: Yeah. So my bill is filed -- it only was for Harris County, but this was a committee substitute in the Senate. Look, after they talked to all of the other counties, those large counties, they found that they didn't have the problems Harris County did. They had problems. They corrected them very efficiently. They haven't had the constant issues. And so for that reason, they decided to settle it only on the county that seems not to be able to get their act together.

VICE CHAIR BUCY: Who did that survey? CHAIRMAN CAIN: Bettencourt's office.

VICE CHAIR BUCY: Senator Bettencourt's office.
I just -- I've heard about some issues on the -- in
the November election in Bell County. Just curious
what the feedback was there, where a Court had to step
in to keep elections open. 20 percent of Election Day
polling places required a court order to keep the



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1	polling place open late in November. Did we get
2	feedback from that county?
3	CHAIRMAN CAIN: Was that for Bell County?
4	VICE CHAIR BUCY: Yeah.
5	CHAIRMAN CAIN: I'm not aware, but maybe the
6	Secretary of State's office might have answers for
7	that.
8	VICE CHAIR BUCY: So just to be clear, and I
9	think you said it pretty clearly, this is just for
10	Harris County? It's no other counties in the state?
11	CHAIRMAN CAIN: It's for any county over three
12	and a half million. Currently that's Harris County.
13	VICE CHAIR BUCY: Just Harris County. All right.
14	Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
15	CHAIRMAN CAIN: Thank you.
16	CHAIRMAN SMATH: Members, any questions? Okay.
17	Thank you.
18	The Chair calls Christina Adkins.
19	You are Christina Adkins. You're here on behalf
20	of the Texas Secretary of State's office, and you're
21	neutral on this bill, is that correct?
22	CHRISTINA ADKINS: Yes, sir.
23	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Do you have any comments
24	prepared or that you want to make concerning this
25	bill?



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1	CHRISTINA ADKINS: No, sir.
2	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. Members, do we have any
3	questions of our resource witness?
4	Representative Morales?
5	REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: Does the bill provide
6	in addition to being an elected official, does the
7	bill provide for any sort of requisite background or
8	experience in the process in the in this field
9	of election?
10	CHRISTINA ADKINS: No, sir.
11	REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: Soctechnically, we could
12	end up with the same exact problem that we currently
13	have or that was described?
14	CHRISTINA ADKINS: I suppose that's possible.
15	Yes, sir.
16	REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: What what is your
17	understanding or what is the percentage of folks that
18	within the state of Texas that actually use an
19	Elections Administrator.
20	CHRISTINA ADKINS: I believe it's a little less
21	than half of our counties or right around that halfway
22	mark that have an Elections Administrator. The
23	alternative is that those in the other counties,
24	those election duties and voter registration duties
25	remain with the elected officials by which that



that's the default.

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Texas law by default provides that elections are run by your County Clerk, and your voter registration activities are with your Tax Assessor Collector. So many counties have opted not to move to an Elections Administrator.

REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: How long have you been working with Secretary of State?

CHRISTINA ADKINS: Almost 11 years.

10 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: Okay. And in those 11 11 years, have you had to deal with issues related to 12 Harris County elections?

CHRISTINA ADKINS: Yes, sir.

REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: And in dealing with 14 those elections, do you believe that by virtue of just 15 having an elected official that's basically based on a 16 17 popularity contest, that that suffices to address the core issues that have been the central focus not only 18 19 of this committee, but I think of many news articles? 20 Is that alone just having a popularity contest and 21 getting that person up there to do the work?

CHRISTINA ADKINS: I understand what you're asking it. It -- that's a hard question to answer, and I think it's a little bit more nuanced than that. You know, I think that there -- Harris County is



always going to have challenges based on population and geography. It's a large county, and there's always going to be, you know, resource concerns.

You know, I know that I have been told that, you know, when they converted to an Elections Administrator office that there were some challenges. I think very publicly the Elections Administrator acknowledged some of the challenge and -- challenges in converting based on not having access to as many -as many resources as they would have had when they were under the County Clerk's Office.

And -- and beyond that, I can't really speak to a whole lot of details because I -- you know, I have some anecdotal experience in dealing with Harris County. I know there have been a large series of complaints that were filed with respect to Harris County. There's a number of election contests that are pending.

And at some point here, you know, our office is also conducting an audit of the 2022 election in Harris County, but I've not been able to review that data myself at this time.

23 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: In a perfect world and 24 if we were to go down this route of using an 25 accounting clerk, what additional -- based on your



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experience in the 11 years and based on the concerns that you've seen and the complaints that have been lodged with respect to Harris County elections, what would you like to see in an individual that would be running an election in a place like Harris County? What type of background? What type of experience? And should we include that in this bill?

CHRISTINA ADKINS: That's an interesting question. I think when we're talking about our larger elections, there's a couple of things that are really critical for our -- for our Elections Administrator or the folks that are running elections.

I think even those of fices where they have an elected official that's running elections, oftentimes they're hiring or bringing in individuals to help with the election process itself.

And there's really two key pieces that I think are very critical that we don't talk enough about with elections. One, our elections officials have to be very good at logistics. They have to be logistics 21 managers.

I mean, it's -- it's a massive operation that 22 they're running, and there's a lot of moving pieces, 23 24 and so they do have to understand how those pieces 25 work together.



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I think managing technology in a polling place and in an election process is also important, so understanding that on some level they are managing, you know, an IT infrastructure is very important.

I think also having a knowledge and understanding of our laws in Texas, you know, it's important. You know, those are some broad categories that I think having an understanding of those areas are the things that I think oftentimes set, you know, certain Election Administrators apart. You know, their willingness to learn and engage in those areas or bring in individuals that have the expertise in that area to support them.

REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: I'm just noting some of the issues here. You probably need a Fortune 500 CEO that understands the dynamics of having to take care of so many vol -- or assistants under you, right?

18 CHRISTINA ADKINS: I think for our larger 19 counties, you know, it's -- there's usually an entire 20 team of individuals, you know, that provide leadership 21 in the elections department.

22 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: Probably you need 23 someone such as -- with the experience of an air 24 traffic controller where everything's hitting you at 25 once, right, with all the complaints coming in, the



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calls, you know, these different ballot locations either missing paper or needing more stuff or having some irate, you know, person there that wants to vote and there's issues.

You need somebody with like UPS, FedEx logistics type experience, training, understanding how to get their employees from one location to another to address some of the concerns.

9 And also somebody that's -- probably has legal 10 experience, a lawyer, understands election law 11 forwards and backwards.

I'd venture to say that I think it's very hard to find someone that would have all of that requisite background.

And then we're dealing with a county that is many times bigger than a number of US states as far as total population.

And so considering all of that, where do you think this falls in terms of -- I mean, it's -- it's bigger than God knows how many US states just Harris County alone.

Where do you think this falls in terms of the issues? Now, when we compare it to that degree, are we talking -- are the issues this big in relation to comparing it to another state, or are they so



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1 extensive and numerous and the complaints that bad that it requires us to make all these changes? 2 3 Because it -- it almost feels like many times we're here just having to deal with complaints and concerns 4 5 over Harris County.

CHRISTINA ADKINS: Yes, sir. I think that that's -- that's a hard comparison to make because we do have states -- we do have states that run elections from the top down. And so there are large states that have a top down model where the state controls everything in the election process. They dictate the equipment, they write the procedures, they manage the programming of the ballots.

And so I think, you know, there are models out 14 there where you can look at large states that 15 successfully do that, and so that's just a different way of running elections. 17

But I think large-scale operations -- running them on a large scale, there are states that do that so that there -- there are models out there where they can be successful.

You know, I think with -- with the situation 23 right now, I think there -- there are some fair questions that are being asked right now.

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In the last couple of elections in Harris County,



1 I think it's very publicly known that there have been 2 some issues, that there have been some problems and some hurdles. And I mean, I'm not saying anything 3 that's not already in the newspaper there. I think 4 5 that's well known, and I think that's why we're having 6 the discussion, and that's why these bills were filed, 7 because there has been a pattern of problems 8 repeatedly in large elections that have the potential 9 to be harmful to voters. REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: But where -- where do 10 they fall in line comparing it to other states when 11 you're -- when you're actually comparing that somebody 12 like Harris County is so big that it's bigger than a 13 good number of US states? And if you don't have an 14 opinion, just let me know you don't have --15 16 CHRISTINA ADKINS: I think that I'm not going to have an opinion on that at the moment. I think -- I 17 18 think I have to -- my job here is to be a resource on 19 the law. 20 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: I hear you. 21 CHRISTINA ADKINS: And just speak to --22 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: And I don't want to put 23 you in a situation. 24 CHRISTINA ADKINS: Yes, sir. 25 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: Last question,



Mr. Chairman. Between an Elections Administrator and a County Clerk, what's been your experience as far as understanding who has the requisite knowledge, background, experience to be able to conduct an election such as this for Harris County?

CHRISTINA ADKINS: That -- I mean, there are some excellent County Clerks out there that are elected and that take that job very seriously. And so I don't think -- I don't think that necessarily I can -- I can quantifiably say one is better than the other, just looking at the numbers of officials that are out there.

It depends on the individual and it -- I mean, we have some excellent County Clerks that do an amazing job running elections, in addition to running the courts, doing probate work, managing the records of the county, you know, where elections is one piece of what they do.

And I think, you know, we have to acknowledge that some people do that quite well, even wearing all of those other hats.

REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: Thank you.

CHRISTINA ADKINS: Yes, sir.

24 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you, sir.

Vice Chair Bucy?



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1 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. VICE CHAIR BUCY: Just 2 a few quick questions.

One, can you talk about -- because as part of this layout we talked about going back to people that are elected. Can you talk about how the EA is picked in accounting?

Yes, sir. So this is actually CHRISTINA ADKINS: defined in the election code. So right now, by law, the default situation is that elections are with the County Clerk.

Voter registration activities are with the Tax It's Subchapter B, Chapter 31 of Assessor Collector. the Texas Election Code that outlines the process for appointing an Elections Administrator.

What's involved there is the County will create 15 The County Election Commission convenes, 16 the office. and the County Election Commission is made up of 17 18 certain individuals, the County Judge, the political 19 party chairs, the County Clerk, and then the Tax 20 Assessor Collector, those individuals that have those 21 responsibilities now.

VICE CHAIR BUCY: Just to catch on what you just said, it's -- it's made up of a bunch of people that 23 are elected officials in their community including the Republican and Democratic county party chairs; is that



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CHRISTINA ADKINS: Yes, sir.

VICE CHAIR BUCY: So in every county that has an EA, no matter what the make of the county is, we've got a bipartisan group that is part of this board, this small board that ASA, correct?

CHRISTINA ADKINS: Yes, sir. The County Election Commission is the one that makes recommendations on the appointment on Elections Administrator, yes.

VICE CHAIR BUCY: Let me -- thank you. Let me transition for a second. One concern with this bill is the enactment date is September, but that runs up on the October registration deadline for the November election.

Administering that election, not to mention the 2024 primaries, J m just -- I'm a little concerned about just the logistics of -- we stalked about how big Harris County is. This takes effect -- this takes effect September 1, and then we turn around and have an election there in November.

Have you all thought through the logistics that this would take effect and what that transition looks like in making -- is the -- I guess I'm asking is the timeline workable with an election right around the corner?



1 CHRISTINA ADKINS: Honestly, sir, I think that's 2 a better question for Harris County. I mean, for the 3 folks that may be impacted by that. I can't really speak to what would happen in that transition and how 4 5 they would navigate that.

VICE CHAIR BUCY: I appreciate that. I guess --I guess my next question would be for them as well, so thank you.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members, any other questions of 9 10 a resource witness?

Thank you.

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REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: I just have one real --12 Yeah Representative De Ayala. 13 CHAIRMAN SMITH: REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: And just following up, 14 Mr. Chairman, if I will, on my colleague, Mr. Morales, 15 who -- who mentioned elected officials are elected by 16 a popularity contest. I hope I'm not sitting here 17 18 because of a popularity contest.

19 But I think that the folks that run for County 20 Clerk and Tax Assessor understand that that is part of 21 the role of their jobs when they run for those 22 offices, especially in Harris County.

23 And has it been your experience that those two 24 elected positions have more -- how can I say --25 they're more closely tied to the voter? When they do



1 not do their jobs, it is more recognizable and 2 understood by the voters, and there's more accountability to the voters when those officials don't do their jobs, as opposed to an Election Administrator. Has that been your experience?

CHRISTINA ADKINS: I think that -- again, I think that's probably a guestion that's better posed to the individuals within that community. I do know that -you know, I -- what I can say is that -- that there are many counties out there that feel like accountability to voters is very important.

And that is why I -- I have been told by a good handful of counties why they have not adopted an Elections Administrator because they want the persons or the individuals in those roles being accountable to voters.

But again, that's going to be a very community-specific issue and, I think, a question that should be directed to the individuals within that community.

REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: And just very generally, without going through this list of audits and problems with Harris County since 2020, in your 24 experience have the complaints with respect to 25 elections in Harris County been more since 2018 or



less since 2018?

CHRISTINA ADKINS: You know, I don't have the
data in front of me to tell you. I mean, I can you
know, we do track our complaints that we receive,
official complaints that come in and our complaint
forms that we, you know, look to see if they're making
allegations of criminal conduct. I don't have those
numbers in front of me, so I couldn't tell you if
we've received more or less.
REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: But for the without
going into all of the details, they've been
considerable since 2018. Is that a true statement, te
complaints?
CHRISTINA ADKINS: Yes, sir. We have had
complaints about Harris County since 2018.
REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Thank you.
CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members, any other questions?
Thank you, Ms. Adkins.
CHRISTINA ADKINS: Thank you.
CHAIRMAN SMITH: Now, we have a number of
witnesses on this particular bill besides Ms. Adkins,
okay.
The issues with Harris County's elections are
fairly well documented. I would ask you that you stay
factual on your testimony. We can get in here and



1 talk a bunch about subjective opinion to -- kind of 2 things, but we'll stay factual on it. If you find yourself unable to do that, maybe we ought to think 3 about cutting our testimony short so we can move 4 5 through this and be respectful of everybody's time. The Chair calls Elizabeth -- Elizabeth Baron. 6 7 Elizabeth Barron? Elizabeth Baron? I show her 8 testifying on behalf of Texas First and herself, and she's for SB 1750 and not here to testify. 9 The Chair calls Wes Bowen. 10 11 Mr. Bowen, I show you're here on behalf of yourself, and you're for SB 1750. 12 Is that correct? 13 WES BOWEN: That is correct. 14 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go ahead. Well, I'll keep it short. So I can 15 WES BOWEN: I'm not in Harris County, but I can 16 relate. 17 sympathize from 2010 to 2020. Dallas County had an 18 Election Administrator that was -- well, let's just 19 say she didn't seem to respect the nature of bipartisan elections. She didn't seem to respect the 20 21 -- the need for transparent elections. And she was 22 hired and there was nothing that could be done about 23 it. 24 So I would think something needs to be done. Ι

would agree, it's not the be-all-end-all solution to



1	the problem. But I'll just leave it at that, and I
2	support the bill.
3	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you.
4	Members, any questions?
5	Thank you.
6	The Chair calls Dr. Susana Carranza. She's a
7	frequent flyer here, folks, in elections.
8	SUSANA CARRANZA: Yes, I am.
9	CHAIRMAN SMITH: You're here on behalf of
10	yourself and you're against SB 1750. Is that correct?
11	SUSANA CARRANZA: Yes. And I'm going to avoid
12	talking about areas that I know other folks will
13	likely be talking about. I want to focus on a couple
14	of things.
15	First, you mentioned the size of Harris County.
16	There are 25 states that have populations smaller than
17	Harris County, so just for perspective.
18	There is no state with higher population density
19	than Harris County, and there are only two counties
20	that are bigger than Harris. One is in Los Angeles
21	County in California, and the other is Cook Cook
22	County in Illinois. So this is just for perspective.
23	It has nothing to do with my testimony.
24	On my test I want to focus on a couple of
25	things. One is this affects Harris County, clearly,



but the bill is being heard today by using a change of the House rules and setting the bill like with 48 hours' notice, which means that it's very hard for sufficient people from Harris County to be able to come here, make plans, and have their voice heard.

So there might be some people from Harris County, but not sufficient people because it's too short of a notice.

The other thing is changing -- constantly changing systems. It's just set places for failure. Like thinking that all of a sudden magically by removing the EA that barely had enough time to kind of go from a system before of County Clerk to Elections Administrators, it's like it's finally kind of starting to get into the motion. Then go back to the other system, think that will solve something.

17 It's a little bit to me illogical. If anything, 18 keep changing systems will set the County for failure. 19 So that is not the solution. If there are problems, 20 you need to address within the system. But every time you change, especially as was mentioned before, the 21 22 short timeline just ahead of massive elections in 2024, it's -- we know what happens when we change 23 24 things too quickly, too drastically, and don't have 25 enough time to do that.



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1	So I oppose this bill. Please don't set Harris
2	County for failure. Thank you.
3	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you, ma'am.
4	Members, any questions?
5	Thank you, Doctor. I appreciate it.
6	Chair calls Russ Long. Mr. Long, I show you're
7	here on behalf of yourself, and you're for SB 1750.
8	Is that correct?
9	RUSS LONG: That is correct.
10	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go ahead.
11	RUSS LONG: Okay. So the map for you is my
12	analysis of 121 polling locations that were short of
13	ballot paper. The map confirms a remarkably high
14	concentration between the undersupplied polling
15	locations and the historic home of Republican voters.
16	This region, that crimson red area on the map,
17	represents 208,000 Republicans. It's striking that
18	111 of the polls land inside that zone.
19	Mathematically, the probability of 111 out of 121 only
20	affecting Republican areas being a random occurrence
21	is less than 1 percent. In fact, it's exactly .00021
22	percent. So we're talking 2/1000 of a of 2/10,000s
23	of a percent, indicating that these predominantly
24	Republican polling locations were intentionally
25	disenfranchised.



Conversely, the math on that means that it's 1 2 99.99979 percent probability that this was intentional. And with that, I'll take your questions. 3 4 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Representative Swanson. 5 REPRESENTATIVE SWANSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 6 And thank you for coming, Mr. Long. I've seen 7 the map before here and find it very, very concerning, 8 very convincing. And wanted to bring up on April 24th the Houston 9 Chronicle ran an article stating that Texas lawmakers 10 are using an imprecise map to pass this bill. 11 Is this map imprecise? 12 RUSS LONG: Heat maps by their nature, are an 13 aggregate function. And so around the edges, it gets 14 fuzzy, okay, but it's not imprecise. 15 16 When you're dealing with engineering and data science, you talk about tolerances. You don't -- you 17 18 know, using the term imprecise is imprecise. Okay? 19 So you set ranges and boundaries. 20 And I can tell you, since I'm the one that generated this, these numbers are bulletproof. Okay? 21 22 That data that you're looking at, both the red heat 23 map area, that's generated from over 12 years and 15 24 million different voters records that have basically 25 just been filtered. No manipulation of any type.



And then the -- and all of this data comes directly from the Harris County Election Administration, as well as the dots, the polling locations that are showing. That -- that came from the Harris County Election Administration's report that they issued here a couple months ago.

And KHOU Channel 11, Jeremy Rogalski, is the one that processed that information originally. And so the map you're looking at is accurate. There's -it's not, quote/unquote, imprecise. It's exactly what it's supposed to be.

You could take a police sketch artist, and the result that he comes up with might be a little bit fuzzy, but it definitely points to the perpetrator, so...yeah.

REPRESENTATIVE SWANSON: Thank you. And I'm certainly very familiar with you, that you're very well respected in Harris County for, what, a decade, decade and a half or more, on -- on your data and your research.

The same article states that 121 polling locations did not run out of paper, so how do you respond to that?

24RUSS LONG: Okay. First off, no one that's25involved with the data or any of the cases or Senator



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1 Bettencourt is saying that 121 ran out of paper. 2 Okay?

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There was 121 locations that were short of paper. They were undersupplied. These 121 roughly received half of what they would need from a normal election cycle, the, you know, historic amount. So they were undersupplied.

And what that undersupplying gets to is intent. Okay? It's like a hammer. You can take a hammer and you can build something or you can take 121 swipes at somebody's head. Okay?

In this case, 26 of those swings were actual blows. They're -- so I'm a very factual quy. I don't normally try to go to intent because you're trying to get into somebody's head.

But when you have actions like this where there's only 10 outside that Republican area, okay, 111 inside, that does go directly to intent with the probability of being so minuscule.

This is -- in a case like this, what you have is either extreme incompetence or malfeasance. That's all you're left with when you have this kind of 23 probability.

24 And looking at, you know, the way that this hit, 25 if it was incompetence then you would expect that it



1 would be all over the county. Okay? But this looks 2 to be directed, and mathematically it backs it up. CHAIRMAN SMITH: 3 Thank you. Yes, ma'am. You have another question? 4 5 REPRESENTATIVE SWANSON: It does kind of all tie 6 together. Thank you. 7 So as I spent about 23 years being a -- an 8 Election Judge. And, of course, I'm not qualified now being an elected official. And during the years way 9 back when we had the punch card system, I remember 10 being amazed, whether we had a Republican or a 11 Democrat running the elections as elections -- the 12 elections -- what do we call it, County Clerk. 13 The amazing number of extra punch card ballots 14 they gave us, we would bring back far more ballots 15 16 than -- than we used. 17 And I remember so many times saying: I don't 18 need all these. I don't need all -- I don't want to 19 lug these to the polling place. I don't want to lug 20 these -- these back. 21 And they go: We don't want you to run out. 22 They literally, I would say, gave us about three times as much as we needed. And it didn't matter who 23 24 was in charge, Republicans, Democrats. 25 And so I find it very disturbing all the people



I've talked to and the -- the affidavits where people -- well, and these stories, the actual articles where they can look at four years ago and pretty much predict. You take that yellow more for population increase, and then I would say double that. This ballot paper is pretty cheap.

And so we had many people who asked when they picked up their supplies like: This isn't enough, this isn't enough.

Didn't matter. They wouldn't give them any more. So I found that really, really disturbing and just wondered like why do you feel like this -- this bill is important to more than just Harris County.

RUSS LONG: Well, as was pointed out, Harris County is larger than a lot of states. And so what happens in Harris County follows throughout the rest of the state. Ever -- all portions of the state are going to be impacted by what happens in Harris County.

But to your point about asking for paper, I was
an election -- the presiding judge on this and have
been the presiding judge for several years.

When I picked up my paper, I instantly recognized that was not enough. That was not what we normally got to go through an election.

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So I requested additional paper, and they told me



that they couldn't give it to me. They would have to -- I would have to call in on Election Day. So I picked up the phone at 7:00 to let them know that my poll was open, and there was no answer. Okay?

We went ahead and had people start to come in that had different issues on casting their ballot. And I attempted to call in. Okay? No answer. I was not able to get a single soul from the Election Administration Office there until after 1:00.

At that point, I asked for more paper because we were already getting short, plus we were having other issues with machines. Had three machines that were breaking down, and we did have a tech come by to repair one of the machines. The others were still down.

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CHAIRMAN SMJTH: Mr. Long, I appreciate that. RUSS LONG: Yeah, yeah.

18 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Like I said earlier, a lot of 19 these issues are well documented. Understand, I don't 20 want this to turn into just a gripe session about it. 21 RUSS LONG: Right.

22 CHAIRMAN SMITH: I appreciate your testimony of23 your factual basis.

If there's no other questions of this witness,
Members, we're going to go to another witness.



Thank you, Mr. Long, for providing us with this 1 2 matter. 3 The Chair calls Alan Vera. ALAN VERA: Mr. Morales, this is for you. 4 You're Alan Vera. You're here 5 CHAIRMAN SMITH: 6 on behalf of the Harris County Republican Party Ballot 7 Security Committee, and you're for SB 1750. Is that 8 correct, sir? ALAN VERA: All correct. 9 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Yes, sir. Gooright ahead. 10 You don't need to hear anymore 11 ALAN VERA: testimony about how bad the elections are in Harris 12 13 County. What you need to know now is that the 14 leadership in Harris County will not fix the problem. 15 They had a chance to do so and refused to do it. 16 The handouts I've given you have three documents. 17 One, my testimony to the Harris County Elections 18 Commission on April 19th, 2022, as the commission was 19 beginning to search for a new Elections Administrator 20 to replace the one that was forced to resign for 21 totally botching the March 1st primary election. 22 Second document with the red ink on it. Our 23 revisions printed in red recommended to the County 24 Elections Commission for changes in the job 25 description versus what they were about to send out.



every finalist for the job. We told them that the 3 definition of insanity is doing the same thing over 4 and over again and expecting different results. 5 We handed them on a silver platter the roadmap to avoid a repetition of the mistakes they made hiring 6 7 the first EA. 8 The county judge actually at that meeting made a motion to incorporate our redline job description 9 changes into the job description given to the search 10 11 firm. It passed five to nothing, and the search firm 12 13 completely ignored it, and the commission let them get away with that. 14 2.55 million registered voters in Harris County. 15 No, account leadership is not going to do anything to 16 17 fix this problem. That's why we need you to step in. 18 When a school district fails year after year, 19 you're authorized -- you authorized TEA to step in. 20 We need you to step in now and report SB 1750 21 favorably to the full House. Thank you. 22 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you. 23 Representative Swanson. 24 REPRESENTATIVE SWANSON: I only have one kind of 25 long question. Since, Mr. Vera, you represent the ESOU

Three, a set of questions we recommended they ask

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Harris County Republican Party and I'm sure you realize if this bill passes, then it'll be two Democrats, so one's running the election. So the Democrat elected as County Clerk and the Democrat who's currently elected as the county Tax Assessor is the voter -- would become back again the voter register.

So my question is: Does that represent a problem for you and the Republican Party?

10 ALAN VERA: Not at all. This addresses something 11 Mr. Bucy asked earlier. Ms. Hudspeth, the current 12 County Clerk, has seven years' experience running 13 elections in Harris County before the County flipped 14 to an EA. I have no concerns about her ability to 15 step in and properly run an election because of the 16 years of experience she's had prior to that.

17 CHAIRMAN SMITH: That's (indecipherable).
18 REPRESENTATIVE SWANSON: All right. Thank you.
19 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members, any other questions?
20 All right. Thank you, Mr. Vera. I appreciate
21 that.

The Chair calls Christopher Russo. Mr. Russo, I see you're here on behalf of yourself and that you're for SB 1750. Is that correct?

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CHRISTOPHER RUSSO: That correct, Mr. Chairman.



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CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go right ahead.

CHRISTOPHER RUSSO: Mr. Chairman, Vice Chairman Bucy, My name is Chris Russo. I'm representing myself, and I am testifying in favor of SB 1750.

On Election Day last November, I was the presiding judge at the City of El Lago City Hall polling place in Harris County. What I experienced should never happen in any election in our great state.

After some initial equipment failures, we started processing voters at a pretty steady clip. And I realized at around 2:30 p.m. that at the pace that we were going, we'd eventually run out of ballot paper.

I called the Elections Administration supply line. And after a dropped call and a long hold, I was eventually told that someone would be on their way with additional supplies. These never materialized.

18 I called several more times throughout the 19 afternoon and was told at least one more time that 20 ballots were on their way.

They never came, however, and we ran out of ballot paper in the middle of the afterwork rush around 6:00 p.m. We had about 40 people in line at the time, most of whom left to find another polling place.



I told the people in line that if they stayed in line, they would be able to vote, but I did not know when we would receive more paper. I kept calling the Elections Administration and was told my case had been elevated and that ballot paper was on its way.

I finally received ballot paper at 9:05 p.m. By that time, only four people remained in line. I would estimate that approximately 100 people who came to the polling place to vote left because of a lack of supplies.

Even worse, two nearby polling places also ran out of ballots making -- making it even more difficult for people in my area to vote.

Many people that came while I had no ballots were on their second or third polling place they had attempted to vote at.

Whether by malfeasance or gross incompetence, this Election Administration disenfranchised many voters across the county at polling places like mine.

This can never be allowed to happen again in Texas. Thanks for your -- thank you for your time, and I urge swift passage for SB 1750.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Russo. It wasegregious, no question.

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Members, any questions?



1 Thank you. 2 The Chair recalls Thomas Burrows. 3 Mr. Burrows, I show you're here on behalf of yourself, and you're for SB 1750. Is that correct? 4 5 THOMAS BURROWS: Yes, sir. That's correct. 6 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go right ahead. 7 THOMAS BURROWS: You know, this is not just 8 Harris County that this is happening in. Dallas 9 County does not -- it's basically a patronage thing. They let the bridge and road crew people have vacation 10 so they can come in and work. 11 12 2020, I worked in Highland Hills. I had my life threatened. I informed the person that threatened me 13 that, you know, one of my relatives is a Texas Ranger, 14 15 you know, One Riot One Ranger concept, so I'm not a 16 good person to kill. 17 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Mr. Burrows, we need you to 18 stick to the bill. THOMAS BURROWS: You know, and so the -- I was 19 20 personally told -- I was being cussed out, yelled at, 21 screamed, had stuff thrown at my car. And on the last 22 day of voting, they -- they had so much -- many 23 ballots in the DS 200 that it wouldn't work anymore. 24 So the election judge told me: You have to leave 25 or I'm having you arrested.



1	Well, I didn't really want to take the ride to
2	Dallas County slammer, Lew Sterrett, you know? I
3	mean, I got better things to do than that.
4	And we had an incompetent I'll be honest with
5	you, an incompetent county chair at the time. And he
6	was having a birthday party with his wife.
7	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Mr. Burrows, I need you to stay
8	on the bill.
9	THOMAS BURROWS: So the point is this goes on air
10	a lot of places. It's not just Houston. Not just
11	Harris County. It's corrupt in Dallas too.
12	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you.
13	Members, any questions?
14	The Chair calls Ken Moore.
15	Mr. Moore, I show you're testifying on behalf of
16	yourself, and you're for SB 1750. Is that correct?
17	KEN MOORE: That is correct.
18	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go right ahead.
19	KEN MOORE: My name is Ken Moore, and I used to
20	be election judge in Harris County back before 2018
21	when things worked pretty well.
22	Over the years, I've watched things decay. I've
23	seen the election process fall apart. And one
24	(indecipherable) I want to give you is on April 5th I
25	was in the commissioner's court, and I was on this
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occasion, Kim Ogg, the Harris County District Attorney, came into the court and gave the commissioners a good dressing down because she just lost money that she was -- that they had taken money out of her account that she planned to use to hire more prosecuting attorneys.

Now, two observations. I've (indecipherable)
that, and I will apply this to the bill. Number one,
she could get away with it because she didn't work for
the commissioners. She worked for the voters, and the
commissioners could not fire here. She could say
whatever she wanted to.

And, number two, she was motivated because she didn't want to go face a bunch of angry voters asking her why rapists, murderers, and thieves are not being prosecuted.

And so she had reason to go in there and argue to get her money back, and my understanding is she got just what she wanted. And that's the difference between someone who is elected as amenable to the voters and someone who is appointed and serves at the pleasure of those who appointed them.

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CHAIRMAN SMITH: Yes, sir.

Members, any questions?

Thank you, Mr. Moore. Appreciate it.



1 The Chair calls Emily Eby French. 2 Ms. French, you're here on behalf of the Texas 3 Civil Rights Project and against SB 1750. Yes, ma'am. Is that correct? 4 EMILY EBY FRENCH: Despite the tone of surprise, 5 6 that is correct. 7 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go ahead. 8 EMILY EBY FRENCH: Yes, sir. I'm here to testify in opposition to SB 1750. This bill would effectively 9 rob the largest county in Texas of the ability to 10 determine who runs their own elections and force other 11 large counties to worry about coming under it -- this 12 13 bill's purview as Texas grows. Currently, every county in Texas chooses whether 14 their elections are run by an appointed Elections 15 Administrator or the combination of a County Clerk and 16 Tax Assessor Collector. 17 18 There are notable note -- notable benefits to the 19 Elections Administrator system, including the fact 20 that they are a nonpartisan appointee who can spend all of their time working to ensure a free and fair 21 22 election without worrying about their own upcoming 23 campaign. 24 Moreover, just because problems arose in an

election administered by an EA does not mean that the



solution is to revert back to the old County Clerk system.

For instance, as TCRP documented in a report on the 2018 election which was administered under a former Harris County clerk, at least 18 polling places in Harris County either opened late or were so plagued by machine errors that they might as well have opened late on Election Day.

This ultimately triggered Election Day litigation that kept the polls open for an additional hour in 2018. The clerk at him -- at the time -- him -- the clerk himself described these massive breakdowns as typical.

Harris County has seen successes and problems
under both County Clerks and Election Administrators.
Like every other Texas County, they deserve the right
to exercise their own choice about how to run their
elections. We ask you not to report this bill
favorably.

20 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members, any questions of 21 Ms. French?

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I think the vice chair does.

VICE CHAIR BUCY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Ms. French, as -- I know it's late, but I just --25 we've been given this flyer here multiple times. It



references a KHOU article that is using the stats based on initial paper sent out and how many votes cast, not taking into account if more shipments of paper were delivered.

I'm not excusing anybody ever getting turned away. I think we could look around the entire state and find hiccups and malfunctions, but that does not justify why we would take over a local county.

I just think, though, as we have this conversation, let's reference the Houston Chronicle article. I did a deep dive into this.

Have you read that article where it talks about actual numbers and -- and how many areas were the original 121 based on a poor data point and where reality is?

EMILY EBY FRENCH: I have. And what I'm about to say I know sounds like I'm saying it just because Chair Cain is here, but I have spent all day Tweeting about this. So I'm sorry in advance, but I -- you know, I'm on Twitter all of the time.

But I -- I -- only 26 of the locations -- I don't even believe all 26 locations are included on that 121 map, but only 26 locations actually made it into the lawsuit.

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For paper shortages, I believe there are three



other locations that are in the -- the lawsuit as well for machine malfunctions. But of those 121, only 26 even have enough proof to -- to be, you know, heard and --

VICE CHAIR BUCY: This lawsuit was brought by the Harris County Republican Party, correct?

EMILY EBY FRENCH: I believe --

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VICE CHAIR BUCY: They didn't bring a lawsuit against 121 sites. They brought it against 26 sites.

EMILY EBY FRENCH: Right. And I also -- I think the map is a little misleading. I understand that it's a heat map and heat is read on heat maps. But I think that there are some places that were -- that were more Democratic traditionally that also experienced some of the shortages, which I think it -it's a little misleading to just look at the map and think, oh, red Republican, this was a conspiracy.

18 VICE CHAIR BUCY: I just think -- I think to 19 everyone's point here, we want to not have anybody 20 ever get turned away. I think everybody agrees with 21 that.

We also have to realize we live in reality. There's going to be hiccups, there's going to be malfunctions, there's going to be little things. And let's talk about facts.



1 And I think when we talk about 121 versus maybe 2 20 and many of those for 15 minutes or less, we need 3 to live in reality when we have this conversation. Т appreciate it. 4 5 EMILY EBY FRENCH: Thanks. 6 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you. 7 Yes, Representative Manuel. 8 REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: So I have a quick question, hopefully. There's been a lot of maps going 9 around, a lot of conversations. Have you seen any of 10 the maps from districts like Sunnyside, Third Ward, 11 Fifth Ward, and they were complaining that machines 12 were not even on, that they weren't functioning, that 13 there would be water shortages where machines would 14 get short circuited. 15 This was under different administrations. 16 This 17 was way past the 12 years. Have you seen those maps? 18 Has anyone brought those maps forward anytime soon? 19 The complaints to the legislator during that time? 20 EMILY EBY FRENCH: Right. I have heard about a lot of those problems especially happening in the 21 22 areas you cite and as well as happening all over 23 Texas. 24

24 We help run the 866-OUR-VOTE hotline, myself and 25 some of my colleagues in my testimony peanut gallery,



1 as well. But we -- we hear from counties all over 2 Texas, big, small, clerks, EAs, about problems like that constantly. It's not just Harris County. It's 3 not just counties with Election Administrators. 4 5 **REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL:** So it's just currently 6 right now, Harris County just is the big target? 7 EMILY EBY FRENCH: We are hearing a lot about --8 **REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL:** In your opinion? EMILY EBY FRENCH: -- Harris County right now, 9 10 yes. But there -- there are 11 **REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL:** problems that are happening throughout the state in 12 certain -- in different areas. Would you --13 EMILY EBY FRENCH: NI would say -- I don't say 14 15 this to put any county on blast. I think elections 16 are incredibly difficult. Sorry, a technical term 17 (indecipherable). I don't say this to bring any 18 county under an additional target. 19 REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: My county, we're suing so 20 I get it. That's why I'm asking. 21 EMILY EBY FRENCH: Right. I think it's just 22 really, really hard to run an election. And when a 23 county does not receive institutional support from its 24 state, when a county comes under fire constantly, it 25 is harder to build an infrastructure that will run



better and better elections as opposed to an infrastructure that faces a lot more problems.

REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: So it could be a multitude from the state, to state laws, to local officials who are having to fund these elections, who are having to make sure that the right person is there. It could -- and I'm not -- again, I'm not making an excuse for any county, but I'm saying could it be more than one avenue that's causing a systematic breakdown?

EMILY EBY FRENCH: Agree, yes. I think it definitely could be more than one -- it definitely is more than one avenue. And I, like you, don't want to excuse any problems.

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REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: Of course.

EMILY EBY FRENCH: I work for -- the Texas Civil Rights Project works for the voters, first and foremost. I'm not here to defend any particular county. I just want to make sure that counties get the support they need to build something that serves the voters.

22 REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: Perfect. Thank you so 23 much.

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EMILY EBY FRENCH: Thank you.

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CHAIRMAN SMITH: Representative De Ayala.



REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Couple of questions. First, we talked about a subset of those polling places on the heat map. And there was a -- 21 specific polling places that had substantial paper shortages of which 19 of those were predominantly red on the heat map, Republican places.

Are you familiar with that analysis as to those -- the larger polling places where the biggest discrepancies occurred? Are you familiar with that?

EMILY EBY FRENCH: If I had the -- the Houston Chronicle map in front of me, I would be able to say with more certainty. What I recall from looking at it earlier today is that there are shades of blue and shades of red, and especially in a countywide polling county you'll get all types of voters at all types of polling places.

17 REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Are you following, with 18 respect to Harris County, the amount of money that has 19 been spent on elections over the past eight years or 20 so?

21 EMILY EBY FRENCH: I'm not following it 22 specifically. I assume it's comparable to other large 23 counties across the --

24 REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Do you understand the 25 increase in spending on elections in Harris County has



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1	been considerable in the last six years?
2	EMILY EBY FRENCH: I would assume it has, in
3	comparison with other similarly large counties across
4	the nation.
5	REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: And then, last thing,
6	you mentioned that the Election Administrator was a
7	maybe I'm not using the right word, but I think you
8	said nonpartisan appointee. Did I say that right?
9	EMILY EBY FRENCH: Uh-huh.
10	REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Would you consider the
11	Secretary of State to be that same type of appointee,
12	a nonpartisan appointee.
13	EMILY EBY FRENCH: That's a good question. I
14	think that the Elections Administrator is appointed by
15	a body of folks, whereas the Secretary of State is
16	only appointed by one. So it's easier to have a
17	nonpartisan appointee well, maybe more like a
18	bipartisan appointee for Election Administrators.
19	REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: And you understand that
20	in Harris County there may be one person on that
21	committee that might be of a different party than the
22	Democrat Party. And when we do a Secretary of State

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EMILY EBY FRENCH: That's true, but that is a

appointee, there's a whole Senate that has to confirm



1 different process. 2 REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: I understand. I just 3 didn't know if in -- in your mind you considered one 4 nonpartisan and one the other -- and one not partisan. 5 EMILY EBY FRENCH: It's a fair question, and I 6 think that the -- the processes are different than 7 that. 8 REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Thank you. Members, any other questions of 9 CHAIRMAN SMITH: 10 Ms. French? Thank you. Good to see you. 11 The Chair calls Cindy Siegel. 12 Good even, Ms. Siegel Good to see you. I 13 understand you're with the Harris County Republican 14 Party, and you're - you're testifying on behalf of 15 the Harris County Republican Party and yourself, and 16 you're for SB 1750. 17 18 CINDY SIEGEL: Correct. 19 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Is that correct? Go ahead. 20 CINDY SIEGEL: Good evening. Ensuring free and fair access to the ballot is fundamental to our 21 22 election process. Voter suppression is when you go to 23 vote and your poll isn't open because equipment 24 doesn't work. 25 Voter suppression is when your ballot doesn't



reflect all the races you can vote in. Voter suppression is when you get the wrong sized ballot paper, and your vote for half the candidates isn't recorded.

Voter suppression is when your ballot is not secured, and it's one of many left in someone's truck, and the EA's office tells the Judge, Just bring it in in the morning.

And of course, voter suppression is when you go to vote and there's not enough ballot paper. It wasn't just ballot paper last year. There was a series of events that went on of how they messed up the elections from the primary on.

We're promised as Americans our right to vote, and this right can only be preserved when elections are secure and run according to the law.

As the Chair of the Harris County Republican Party, I actually sit on the five-member elections commission who has the right to hire and fire the EA.

However, this is the same commission that just a few weeks ago in a vote of four-to-one voted to not discuss the November election and what went wrong and why.

This Commission reports to the Harris County Commissioners Court, the same entity that just sued



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1 the Attorney General using taxpayer dollars to avoid 2 releasing information regarding that November 8th 3 election.

So why should you all care about elections in Harris County? Only three of you actually can vote in Harris County. As the largest county in the state with over two and a half million registered voters, how elections are run in our county can potentially impact statewide races.

10 It's time to give back to the Harris County 11 voters their voice and their right to vote on how 12 elections are run in our county versus a five-member 13 election commission.

14 It's time to put the -- the elections back in the 15 hands of the duly elected County Clerk and Tax 16 Assessor. So I respectfully ask your support for this 17 bill. Any questions?

18 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you, ma'am, for being19 here.

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Members, any questions?

Representative De Ayala.

22 REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Before today this 23 committee has heard a lot about Harris County and a 24 lot about the issues in Harris County. And I don't 25 want to go through those with you.



1	But I think you have a summary in writing from
2	some of the audits from 2020 that perhaps you could
3	share with the committee at some point.
4	CINDY SIEGEL: Yes, we can provide that.
5	REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Thank you.
6	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Any other questions, Members?
7	Thank you, ma'am, for being here.
8	CINDY SIEGEL: Thank you.
9	UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Thank you for coming.
10	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Appreciate it.
11	The Chair calls Katya Ehresman.
12	You're here on behalf of Common Cause Texas and
13	yourself, and you're against SB 1750. Is that
14	correct?
15	KATYA EHRESMAN; Still true, yeah. Thank you.
16	CHAIRMAN SMITH: You can go right ahead.
17	KATYA EHRESMAN: Yeah, thank you so much. I'll
18	try not to repeat. I think Emily did a really good
19	job of opposing or laying out some of the
20	opposition to this bill.
21	I think mechanically this bill is a really
22	dangerous precedent for the legislative body to set.
23	Abolishing the position of the Election Administrator
24	in the third biggest county in the country and the
25	biggest county in Texas as they've begun to gather



information on administering elections post SB 1 under county -- now under countywide polling makes Senate Bill 1750 a problem in search of a solution.

I think if we're talking about, you know, the way that politics has been injected into our Elections Administration and the accountability notion that multiple witnesses have come up here and talked about, under the kind of model outlined by 1750 there would be 3.5 years until there's accountability under a form of an elected official taking over these Election Administration duties, whereas an Election Administrator is more promised to be a professionalized election.

And there is accountability through the way that the officials on the Commission can be elected within the time to oversee the responsibilities better.

The 2022 elections were a completely new baseline for Harris County, and we're not going to get up here and defend the administration of the -- of the, you know, elections in Harris County.

But the fact that, you know, this bill is not going to be setting guardrails to ensure better elections are possible going forward, it doesn't actually establish any, you know, new funding or new resources for the ability for Harris County to



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1	actually administer an election.
2	And what it does is it it asserts a punitive
3	solution as opposed to a productive solution in
4	administering elections going forward.
5	And so, you know, for a lot of reasons we oppose
б	this bill. We can talk more about the map and the
7	data that's been presented so far, but we, you know,
8	urge the committee to oppose 1750.
9	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you, Ms. Ehresman.
10	Members?
11	Representative De Ayala.
12	REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: One question. First of
13	all, Chairman, thank you.
14	Ms. Ehresman, you are one of the fastest talkers.
15	KATYA EHRESMAN: So sorry.
16	REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: And in a very
17	understandable way. Some fast talkers you can't
18	understand. You're wonderful, so that's number one.
19	KATYA EHRESMAN: I've got a lot to pack in.
20	REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Number two is when you
21	say there's no when there's no funding for this, do
22	you have any reason to believe that the problems in
23	Harris County is due to a lack of funding? Has that
24	been shared with you?
25	KATYA EHRESMAN: You know, I think that this is a

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1 good question. I'm glad this is something that we're 2 able to talk about and multiple witnesses. I don't 3 think it's necessarily because of a lack of funding 4 but a lack of the like equitable funding for the resources that we're seeing in multiple elections.

As I think Emily mentioned, you know, 2018 we saw problems in administering elections. 2012 we saw problems in administering elections in Harris County. 2008 we saw problems in administering elections in Harris County. Those were all under the County Clerk model.

But we saw uniquely in 2022, which this bill 12 seems to only be a backlash to, as opposed to a 13 productive solution for is the fact that this was now 14 under paper machines. This was now under countywide 15 This was now under, you know, a new Election 16 voting. Administrator that had a few months to adapt to that 17 18 role.

19 And, you know, I don't think that, you know, 20 spending in regards to the voter education or the new 21 machine adaptions is something that we necessarily 22 know what the line item allotment was for.

23 But it is something that, you know, when we've 24 seen these problems persist under an EA, under a 25 County Clerk (indecipherable) model, under a TAC



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1 model, it seems like as the county continues to grow 2 massively in the context of the nation, maybe 3 continuing to allocate our resources when Texas is noted by the nation to be the most chronically 4 5 underfunded system compared to most models seems to 6 be, you know, a -- you know, a solution that we should 7 be looking towards. 8 REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: Let me just cut into

The quick.

KATYA EHRESMAN: Sure.

11 REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: It's not that we didn't 12 have enough money for paper last cycle. That wasn't 13 the issue, was it?

14 KATYA EHRESMAN: You know, I didn't -- I don't 15 know what the line item for the paper allotment was. 16 We did see in 2018 that Euless and Dallas also had 17 paper, you know, jammings. And so I think --

18 REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: No, no, no. And that's 19 -- my question was very specific. I didn't want to 20 get into a lot. I just-- is there something specific 21 about funding in Harris County that you have been told 22 specifically, not in general but specifically, that 23 led to the problems that Harris County had in the last 24 two or three cycles?

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KATYA EHRESMAN: I'm not privy to that specific



1 answer. 2 REPRESENTATIVE DE AYALA: That was my question. 3 Thank you. Thank you. 4 CHAIRMAN SMITH: 5 Members, any other questions? 6 If not, thank you, Ms. Ehresman. 7 KATYA EHRESMAN: Thank you. 8 CHAIRMAN SMITH: The Chair calls Marcia 9 Strickler. Ms. Strickler, do you have anything to this 10 discussion you want to add? 11 Well of have a little bit of a 12 MARCIA STRICKLER: different perspective here I did --13 If you're going to, I need to CHAIRMAN SMITH: 14 confirm that you are 15 16 MARCIA STRICKLER: Williamson. CHAIRMAN SMITH: No, that you're here on behalf 17 18 of yourself and you're for SB 1750. Is that correct? 19 MARCIA STRICKLER: I am for it. And I testified 20 in the Senate for it, but I did ask Senator Bettencourt to think about changing the 1 million to 21 22 half a million so that it would encompass the top 12 23 counties, the top 12 (indecipherable) -- the top --24 he's behind me. I better watch him. 25 So Williamson County is Number 11 in terms of



population, and we have an Election Administrator, and we've had an Election Administrator for some time. Not the same one always. You know, they do move in and out. I think the one we have now, Bucy, what is it, 12 years, something like that? Has he been with us that long? I think. Rep. Bucy, I think it's 12 years.

I have an interesting thing I want to read to you here. One in five Election Administrators across the country said that they are very or somewhat unlikely to remain in their positions through 2024, according to the March 2022 survey from the Brennan Center for Justice.

So these Election Administrators are hired by five elected officials, and they may be Republicans, they may be Democrats. In our case, there's one Democrat. All the rest are Republicans.

But we still in our -- and I'm a Republican. We're still in our county have a problem talking to those five officials about problems that we have with our Election Administrator.

22 So I do believe that all citizens, we the people, 23 would be served better to have a -- an elected 24 official running our elections because we then can 25 control whether or not we vote that elected official



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in or not.

2 Now that this is a 3.5 million population, we're 3 not going to be there anytime close. I thought a million, well, we're the fastest growing county right 4 5 now, so we will get to that million pretty quick. So 6 I would like it to go back to 1 million. 7 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you, Ma'am. 8 MARCIA STRICKLER: Thank you. Members, any questions? 9 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you, Ms. Strickler. 10 Chair calls Susan Hays. 11 Chair calls Susan Hays. Good evening, Ms. Hays. I show you're here on 12 13 behalf of yourself, and you're against SB 1750. Is 14 that correct? That is correct, Mr. Chairman. 15 SUSAN HAYS: Thank you for having me. My name is Susan Hays. 16 I'm an attorney. I'm board-certified in civil appellate 17 18 law, as well as legislative and campaign law. I've 19 been practicing election law for over 20 years in this 20 state. 21 In the 2020 election cycle, I represented Harris 22 County and the dozens of lawsuits that were filed 23 against it every time the then County Clerk tried to 24 make it easier and safer to vote during the pandemic. 25 I am currently representing Republican clients in



an election contest in Loving County where the County Clerk runs the elections. And I came up here at this late hour both because I believe in democracy, but also to try to warn y'all of what happens if you force a county to keep its Elections Administration out of the hands of a professional, hired, focused Elections Administrator and into the hands of a partisan elected official.

And what I have seen on the other side of this in the current litigation I'm involved is a County Clerk who printed their own ballots, did not keep tracking audits of them because their deputy was in a second election after a tie. And there's not much one can do to fix that during the election.

You can -- you can't fix that between that and the next election of that County Clerk. But an EA who screws up can get fired right after the election.

18 I know we're all -- this whole state has been so
19 submerged in partisan bickering, but this is the
20 structure of our democracy. It's the structure of how
21 we function as a society.

Think twice when you react to this harshly to an election that did not go well.

And Representative, you've had a lot of questions about funding. Funding absolutely does matter. There



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was a lot of private funds that came into our
 Elections Administration during the 2020 cycle, and
 that helped tremendously to help things go more
 smoothly.

But this body chose to ban that. And that, again, was perhaps not a wise thing for democracy, so long as there's transparency on that sort of thing.

8 So if -- unless anyone has any questions, I've 9 had my say.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members?
 Representative Manuel.

REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: Hello.

SUSAN HAYS: Hello.

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14 REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: I have a question, and 15 I'm probably going to play devil's advocate for just a 16 second. We keep talking about funding. We keep 17 talking about we're targeting one county because the 18 bill specifically is addressed to one county.

Do you think the solution would be a centralized voting system or a centralized funding and laws for all 254 counties?

SUSAN HAYS: I think counties do need help, and
they need to make sure they have adequate funding.
And we also need to make sure there's professionalism
in the management of Elections Administration.



Some counties may have a superior County Clerk who can run an election very well. The County Clerk who served here for many years in Travis County, Dana DeBeauvoir, was fantastic.

But in a -- that can turn on an election. You might have a small rural county where somebody simply needs help. They've got a lot of other (indecipherable) responsibilities, and that's one thing -- one reason why Elections Administrators are so important.

I myself grew up in Brown County. It's a medium-sized county, 40,000 people. Even they have an Elections Administrator. It's not that big of a county. It works wonderfully because there's someone focused on that job and doing the planning.

And this has come up in the testimony earlier. Running elections is not an easy thing. In Harris County, there are 6,000 election workers for a general election. That's a lot of people to manage. There ain't no way that's going to go smoothly. There's going to be problems.

It's how you respond to them. And if you don't have the adequate funding to respond to them, to train people to respond to them, to have -- one innovative thing Harris County did in 2020 was send out sort of a



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1 mid management strike force, and that's the wrong phrase for it, to help support election judges who had issues. Somebody they could text or call and come right away and help them. But they were awash in cash 4 because of the extra funding during the pandemic in that cycle. So that's -- absolutely would be 7 important.

REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: How, in your opinion, looking at Harris County, looking at the county that you're representing because of an issue that has happened, how has consistent laws changing either hurt or -- or made voting -- the process for voting in any county either worse or better?

Right, And to clarify one point, SUSAN HAYS: 14 I'm not representing Loving County. I'm representing 15 16 three candidates who were Republican nominees for office. 17

18 And I will say, and please do not take offense to 19 this, I have joked for many years that the problem 20 with the election code in Texas is every member of the legislature thinks they're an expert. 21

22 So every session, the laws change. And unless there's a good reason for change, it's just more for 23 24 all of the staff to learn and figure out and change 25 the forms and change the training, and crotchety old



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election workers might not like that.

So changing laws just to change them isn't always the wisest thing. Adequate training is -- there's never enough of. And also -- and I -- as just an additional piece of my background, I was the Democratic Party Chair in Dallas County 20 years ago.

7 It is no small thing to find enough election 8 workers to work a primary in a county that big or the 9 general election, and they are the full spectrum of 10 humanity. Some of them are lovely. Some of them are 11 not.

So that extra support to -- particularly in the bigger counties or even the fast-growing suburban counties, to have well-trained professional staff would go a long way to avoiding the kinds of inevitable problems in running an election.

17 REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: So just -- and I -- this
18 really should be my last question. I'm just -19 because I'm going to go off of what you were saying.

20 So there's 6,000 employees in Harris County just 21 for the election?

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SUSAN HAYS: Uh-huh.

23 REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: And every single time we 24 have a law or new laws that are put into effect, we 25 then, in effect, have to get people on a dime or in an



instant to learn these laws, understand these laws, implement these laws across the board, not just from Election Administrators, not just from County Clerks, but from every single person every single time those happen, and we have to expect they just have to get it?

SUSAN HAYS: Absolutely. And across the board, not just election law. And one of the unanticipated matters for me I had to handle in 2020 was a sexual harassment issue with election workers hitting on high school clerks that were working the election.

And because during early vote the -- the Election Judge is then the County Clerk or would be the Elections Administrator, so there's a clear boss to hire and fire.

But on Election Day, it's that precinct's election judge. So the guy who was doing the harassing got to come back and work on Election Day.

I mean, you're -- think about putting up a corporation or a business and hiring 6,000 people and expect them to execute it perfectly and not have any problems. And are you putting the right power in the right hands to make it an efficient operation.

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REPRESENTATIVE MANUEL: Okay. Thank you so much. SUSAN HAYS: You're welcome.



-	CULATENAN CATERINE Did non conditors that non had
1	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Did you say earlier that you had
2	represented Harris County?
3	SUSAN HAYS: Uh-huh, during the 2020 election
4	cycle.
5	CHAIRMAN SMITH: In the 2020 election cycle?
6	SUSAN HAYS: Uh-huh.
7	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. And did you represent
8	anyone in connection with Harris County elections in
9	the 2022
10	SUSAN HAYS: I did not during 2022.
11	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Did you
12	SUSAN HAYS: So I what I know I read in the
13	papers.
14	CHAIRMAN SMITH: That's it?
15	SUSAN HAYS: Yeah. Including the Houston
16	Chronicle's very lovely series this last week
17	debunking the neat map.
18	CHAIRMAN SMITH: So would you in your from
19	what you've gleaned from your representation in 2020
20	and then what you have learned about the 2022, would
21	you say that the elections were worse handled worse
22	in 2022 or better?
23	SUSAN HAYS: I think they had more problems.
24	They also had a lot less money to run them because
25	there was, like I said, a lot of private money came in



1 2020, not just for Harris County, but for many 2 counties around the state. I particularly recall 3 Arnold Schwarzenegger giving poor Cameron County a quarter of a million dollars to help them run their 4 5 election, something that's now against the law. 6 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Are you familiar at all with 7 whether or not Harris County reduced -- purposely 8 reduce the funding to its Elections Administrative Office for the 2022 election cycle? 9 SUSAN HAYS: I do not know whether the amount of 10 money the county put in reduced. I know the total 11 budget reduced because that lack of private money. CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay So I we not studied the most recent SUSAN HAYS: budgets on it. CHAIRMAN SMITH: If it were revealed to you that the County had, in fact, reduced the amount of money 17 18 that went into it, would that sound like that made 19 qood sense? 20 SUSAN HAYS: Well, it wouldn't entirely surprise me because we weren't in a pandemic, and it was a 21 22 different election to run. I mean, something incredibly innovative Harris County did in 2020 was 23 24 they moved their whole offices to the Toyota Center so 25 their staff could socially distance. That wasn't



1 cheap.

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They did the drive-through voting so voters could socially distance. That's now been banned. All that innovation costs money. All that extra rental space costs money.

So it would not surprise me at all that the total amount Harris County put it came down because we weren't in an active pandemic at the time.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: Would you agree that there are counties that are larger than Harris County that handled the 2022 election cycle in a much better way?

SUSAN HAYS: I'm sure that's the case. And, you know, I have been somewhat bemused by all of the pearl-clutching over Harris County when I -- I mean, I've got to tell you something. I'm older than I look.

And I remembered many an election where polls shut down back when we had all paper ballots. I'm that old. Whether in Dallas County or you'd hear rumors of Harris County during the election. There -it always seemed to be a shortage and not enough.

And there are pros to electronic voting, there are cons. I'm glad we have paper backups in the systems now. I do believe Harris County was doing their first election with the new election machine,



1 and that is always going to be rough road. 2 No matter what the county, the first cycle has 3 always got some problems. You've got to work the 4 kinks out. But I do not for a minute believe there 5 was any purposeful cutting of the budget to make it 6 more difficult to vote in a county with that political 7 makeup and with the political leanings of the county. 8 That's illogical. CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members, any other questions 9 10 real quick? I just wanted to correct 11 **REPRESENTATIVE SWANSON:** 12 some misinformation that's been mentioned, that in 13 2018 the budget was \$12 million when we had (indecipherable) running it as our County Clerk. 14 Last year, the budget was over \$30 million to run the 15 16 election. So it's not a funding problem. CHAIRMAN SMITH: 17 Thank you. 18 Members, any other questions? 19 Yes. 20 SUSAN HAYS: Yes, sir. 21 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: The 2022 election, was it 22 -- in Harris County (indecipherable) consider that to 23 be a successful election? 24 SUSAN HAYS: I don't know enough --25 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: How would you define it?

1 SUSAN HAYS: Right. I do not know enough details 2 about it. I feel like it wasn't such a successful 3 election because the turnout was not what I would have hoped. And I say that because I was a candidate for 4 5 Agriculture Commissioner. Right. 6 Like I said, there's -- there are always issues. 7 How do you deal with them? How quickly do you 8 mitigate the harm? And does the department have adequate resources to do that? 9 And if somebody is screwing up In management, 10 fire them. You can't do that when accounting clerk is 11 12 running an election. UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Only the voters can. 13 The the a couple of election cycles SUSAN HAYS: 14 15 later. UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Thank you. 16 SUSAN HAYS: 17 Yeah. 18 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members, any other questions? 19 Thank you, Ms. Hays, for being here. 20 SUSAN HAYS: All right. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. 21 22 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Absolutely. 23 Chair calls Robert Kenney. 24 Mr. Kenney, I show you're here on behalf of 25 yourself, and you're for SB 1750. Is that all



1 correct? 2 ROBERT KENNEY: Yes, sir, that is. 3 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go right ahead. 4 ROBERT KENNEY: I just want to say for the last 40 years I've run -- I've worked as a clerk, election 5 6 judge, and alternate judge in Harris County. So if 7 anybody has a question about this, and I'm not going 8 to answer -- well, repeat what all these other people 9 have been saying. CHAIRMAN SMITH: When did you 10 11 ROBERT KENNEY: Pardon? CHAIRMAN SMITH: -- were you employed there? 12 13 ROBERT KENNEY: I'm sorry? 14 CHAIRMAN SMITH: When were you employed there? 15 ROBERT KENNEY: Oh, gosh. The last time was 16 November the 8th of 2022. And then you go back 40 17 vears before then. Carl Smith was the taxes -- Tax 18 Assessor Collector when I first worked the elections. 19 He -- he was followed by Paul Bettencourt. 20 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members, any questions? 21 Thank you. 22 ROBERT KENNEY: Thank you, sir. 23 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Kenney. 24 Chair calls Dr. Laura Pressley. 25 Dr. Pressley, you're here on behalf of True Texas



Elections, and you're for SB 1750?

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LAURA PRESSLEY: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go ahead.

LAURA PRESSLEY: Thank you. I'd like to take what Mr. Vera said and maybe go a little further. The real reason that you're looking at this bill is because the system failed for how to correct the problems that we're seeing in Harris County.

The Election Commission has a very high ceiling for replacing the Election Administrator and to make a decision to correct that issue. It's an 80 percent ceiling. Four out of the five people have to vote and agree to remove the Election Administrator, or the County Commissioners Court has to vote in a majority to remove the position. We are here because that corrective action is not possible, and something's got to be done.

18 What I want to present to you is that these 19 issues going on in Harris County are going on in other 20 counties. Bear County, Dallas, Bell County, medium-sized county, Gillespie County where the 21 22 Elections Administrators are committing criminal -what I would consider, I believe, to be criminal acts. 23 24 And the Election Commission doesn't have the political 25 will to do something.



We're in the same position that Harris County is in. Harris County is just a leading indicator of this Election Administrator problem where you can't get rid of them unless they're under -- this position is under a County Clerk where the voters at 50 -- over 50 percent can remove them.

7 So I would highly, highly recommend to this body 8 that you guys go back and just make this all counties because this is a root cause problem that you can't 9 get rid of them, and this is no different in any other 10 11 county in the state. Okay? Any questions? Thank you, Ms. Pressley. 12 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you. 13 LAURA PRESSLEY: 14 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Appreciate it. The Chair calls Andrew Hendrickson. 15 16 Good evening, Mr. Hendrickson. I show you're here on behalf of the ACLU of Texas and against 17 18 SB 1750. Is that right? 19 ANDREW HENDRICKSON: That's correct. 20 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go right ahead. ANDREW HENDRICKSON: I'm not going to repeat a 21 22 lot of what has already been said. I just want to 23 point to a couple of things. 24 We mentioned earlier that there were 29 locations 25 that were involved in the '22 election contest that



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1 have been filed by Republican candidates. One thing I want to highlight from the Houston Chronicle reporting is that 55 percent of those precincts were won by President -- Former President Donald Trump and 55 4 percent. And 45 percent were won by former -- by current President Biden.

That's not a huge split that shows some sort of intent to have a nefarious partisan scheme when you have those located in, you know, districts that are roughly split Democrat/Republican.

And I think the other thing I just want to add to this conversation is I think a lot of the reasons for having an EA is not only just to prevent that partisanship, but also any appearance of partisan impropriety, right.

You might feel as though the EA just has a little more distance from the -- the election process because they're not on the ballot. They're never running an election that they're also a candidate in.

I think one thing we're seeing, you know, in these hearings, we've -- we've now had -- I've been in a lot of hours of hearings, and I know y'all have too. And we -- we've talked about Harris County quite a bit.

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One thing we haven't heard yet in any of them is



a voter who was prevented from voting. We have heardfrom election judges who have partisan affiliations.We have heard from county party officials who have --who have party affiliations.

We have yet to hear testimony from a voter who was unable to cast a ballot because of the paper shortage in either chamber on any of these bills.

That's not to say that we're okay with delays or any issues that voters face. It should be easy. It should be convenient for everyone to vote.

I think what we're seeing, though, is partisanship bleed into the process of Election Administration which should be a purely administerial function. And the EA's office is one way to create that distance to make sure that this administerial function is running efficiently and in a nonpartisan fashion. Thank you.

18 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Representative Morales? 19 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: You may have said this. 20 I was checking something online. Would you prefer the 21 EA method or the -- what this bill does, the County 22 Clerk along with the Tax Assessor Collector?

ANDREW HENDRICKSON: I think that, as the
Secretary of State mentioned earlier -- a
representative mentioned earlier, that communities are



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best positioned to decide for themselves which model
 works for them.

But I think one thing they should definitely be free to do is to choose the EA model where you do have more of a professional, and you are moving towards a nonpartisan system.

I'd also just note quickly that, you know, it's -- it's inconsistent to suggest that the reason this bill is necessary in Harris County is because they have not addressed problems. Yet the EA was also only there for three months before this selection started.

The current EA has not had another election since the 2020 general election, which was the first election that that EA was in charge of administering, to actually address or correct any of these problems. That's not a persistent pattern under the current EA. And so I think, you know, it's an overreaction in this case to target one county, to abolish one office, under those circumstances.

20 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: So how long has the 21 current EA been there in Harris County?

ANDREW HENDRICKSON: I believe it was three
 months before the --

24 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: Right now, since they25 were appointed.



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1 ANDREW HENDRICKSON: Since they were appointed, 2 so if my math is correct on that, it's a little under a year, if I'm right about that. Anyway, it's -- it's 3 late. I'm trying to think back. So November would 4 5 have been -- yeah, under a year. 6 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: So they were appointed 7 last year in 2022? 8 ANDREW HENDRICKSON: Yeah. So three months prior to the November election. So that would have been, if 9 I am counting backwards, October. Think October, 10 September, or no, sorry, August. Anyway, 11 it's -- it's been a long day. 12 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: The current EA -- just 13 to make it clear and on the record, the current EA was 14 appointed sometime in August --15 16 ANDREW HENDRICKSON: Summer of 2022. Of 2022. And was given 17 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: 18 only three months to prepare for an election in November of 2022? 19 20 ANDREW HENDRICKSON: That's correct. 21 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: That is the same EA that 22 is currently in place? 23 ANDREW HENDRICKSON: Correct. 24 REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: And there's been -- from 25 what you can tell, there's been no movement from, I'm



1	assuming is the commissioner's court?
2	ANDREW HENDRICKSON: The County Elections
3	Commission would be the ones to could appoint
4	had appoint could appoint that person or fire that
5	person on a (indecipherable).
6	REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: And there's no agenda
7	item or anything to have him removed, him or her?
8	ANDREW HENDRICKSON: Not at this time. One thing
9	also highlighted in the Chronicle reporting is that
10	there have been plans proposed by the current EA in
11	Harris County to address some of these problems.
12	Better tracking systems.
13	There are plans in the works to make sure things
14	run smoothly in the future. I think it's appropriate
15	in this case to let those plans play out before we
16	identify a pattern that may not be supported by the
17	(indecipherable).
18	REPRESENTATIVE MORALES: And in those plans, has
19	he been specific to provide a specific budget as far
20	as what he or she would need in order to make sure
21	that they run an election smoothly?
22	ANDREW HENDRICKSON: I don't know about the
23	the budget aspect of it. But so the four proposals
24	that I know have been mentioned as things that they

ESQUIRE DEPOSITION SOLUTIONS

would -- they would want to be done, like

(indecipherable) has specifically identified is the County would have one hotline operator for every three locations in the upcoming May election, which is underway now. A system that tracks calls and requests from judges so that there is a timestamp for when the requests come in, what the requests are. A log to know when the issues are resolved. And monitors for technicians in the field.

9 Those are four solutions. They are concrete and 10 that they are trying to implement now in the current 11 May election that is going on.

So you know, I think this is an overreaction in some ways to a single election. I'm not saying that it's okay. We sued Harris County to keep the polls open an hour later because we were not okay with people not being able to vote in this election.

That is never our position, that it should be difficult for people to vote, that people should face delays, should be turned away at the polls.

I think what we are seeing here is really focusing in on one county that has problems that are not inconsistent with what many on both for and against this bill. That's what happens all over the state and that, you know, the solution here is not changing who is in charge of administering elections.



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1 One other thing noted by the Chronicle article 2 was that the Harris County elections have been 3 administered by five different people in the last five years. And so constantly changing leadership in this 4 way is not a good system for -- for having a cohesive 5 6 way to address the problem. Thank you. 7 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Hendrickson. 8 Members, any other questions? 9 If not, thank you. The Chair calls Charles Crews. 10 Mr. Crews, you're here on behalf of yourself, and 11 12 you're against SB 1750. Is that right? 13 CHARLES CREWS: That is correct. CHAIRMAN SMITH: Go ahead. 14 CHARLES CREWS: Howdy, Chair Smith, Vice Chair 15 Bucy, Members of the Elections Commission. My name is 16 17 Chuck Crews, and I'm a Harris County Democratic 18 Precinct 0103 Chair on the eastern edge of Harris 19 County. I'm here to speak on my own behalf, not the 20 party. I'm here to share my lived experience not as a 21 22 representative of any organization. I served as an 23 early vote presiding judge in 2020 and 2021 in which I 24 accumulated months of experience working 12 and 14 25 hour days as an election judge and witnessed firsthand



various problems in the Harris County ElectionsAdministration, both under Clerk Trotman, TemporaryClerk Hollins, and then Election AdministratorLongoria.

The vast majority of problems encountered were due to inadequate logistics and training. As a retired chemical engineer with over a decade of experience in plant maintenance and risk (indecipherable), I have been severely disappointed by the failures within the Harris County Election Administrations precisely because those problems were largely due to failures of logistics and training.

In the petrochemical industry, processing facilities operate safely and profitably due to successful logistics and training.

While initially hesitant at the creation of the Election Administration Office in late 2020, I am today convinced that the single focus of the Election Administration Office is the superior method of Election Administration in metropolitan counties.

The County Clerk core functions include property records and personal records, which are massive tasks in metropolitan counties. Similarly, the Texas Tax Assessor Collector core functions are assessing and collection of taxes. Neither County Clerk nor Tax



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1 Assessor Collector core functions translates well to 2 Election Administration.

The commissioner's court of every major metropolitan county in Texas, excluding Travis, has seen the benefit of consolidating voter registration and conduct of elections within an Election Administrator role, an option first made available in Texas well over 30 years ago.

Today, two-thirds of Texans vote in elections 9 conducted by an Election Administrator, each of which 10 operates under the authority of the state -- Texas 11 12 Secretary of State.

Now, SB 1750 seeks to revoke the power of the Harris County Commissioners Court to choose the method of Harris County elections and only Harris County.

State Senator Bettencourt plainly stated his intent to punish Harris County. He wants to propagate 18 a new big lie, the multipurpose offices of County Clerk and Tax Assessor Collector will somehow provide smoother elections.

21	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Thank you.
22	Members, any questions?
23	Thank you, Mr. Crews.
24	The Chair calls Joanne Richards. Joanne
25	Richards. I show Joanne Richards testifying on behalf



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of herself. I show Joanne Richards testifying on behalf of herself and against SB 1750 and not here to testify.

Is there anyone else who wishes to testify on, for, or against House -- or Senate Bill 1750? If not, the Chair recognizes Chairman Cain to close.

CHAIRMAN CAIN: (Indecipherable). All right. Members, let's think about this for a moment. You've got the Chair of the Republican Party of Harris County. You've got Paul Bettencourt, a Republican, myself, and others all here before you advocating that you return control of the elections to elected Democrats.

(Indecipherable) need to do. In fact, you want to get away from this -- as someone recently said, we had five in five years. Easy to stop that. Return it to the elected officials.

The Clerk, of course, is not the one running it. They hire people. In fact, it would be very similar to exactly what the EA is doing right now, which be (indecipherable) the clerk.

And when you take heed as yourselves as state reps, you might have to fire somebody who messed it up. It's not the clerk (indecipherable) from the (indecipherable) operations of the Tax Assessor



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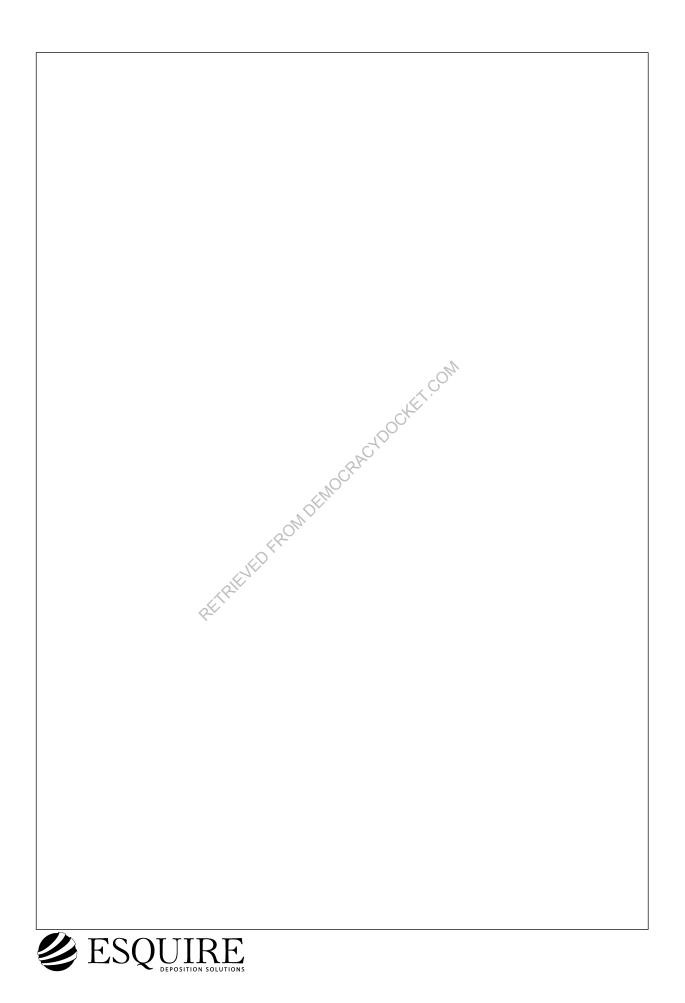
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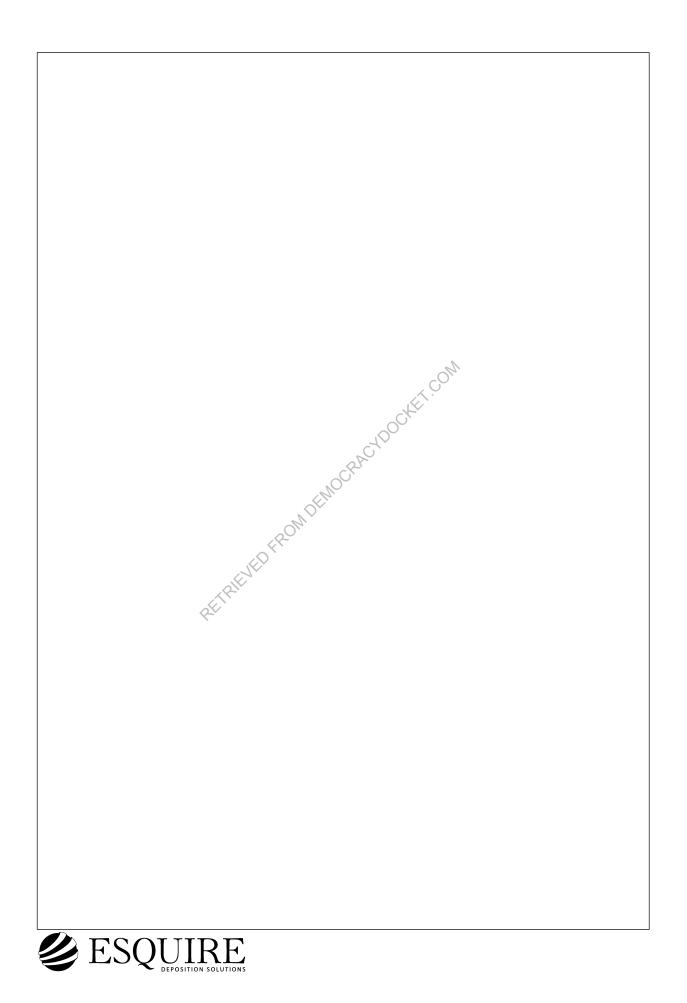
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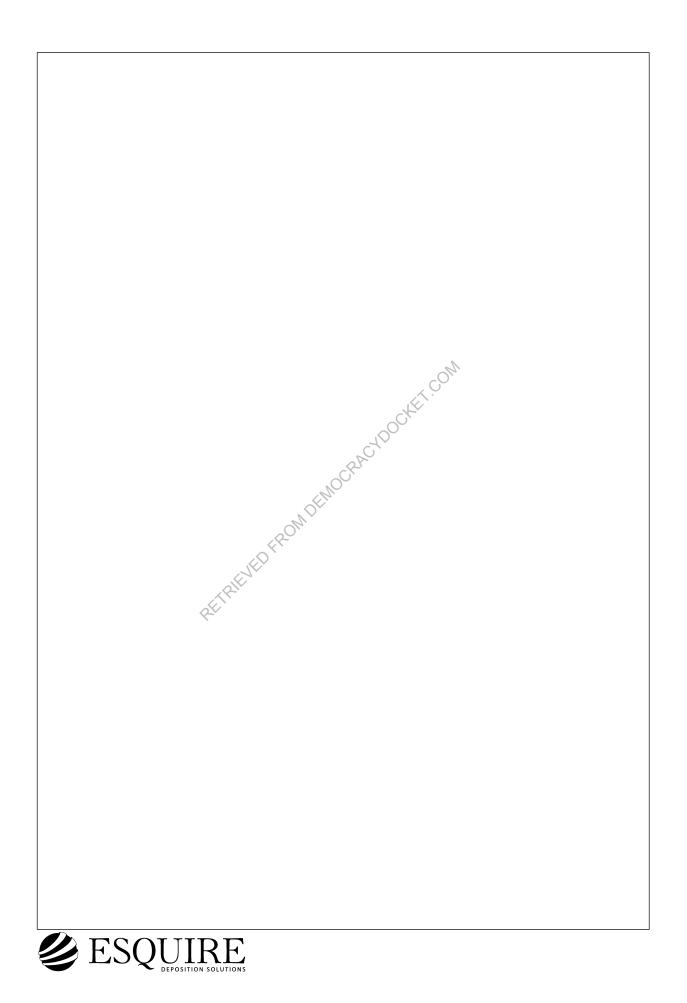
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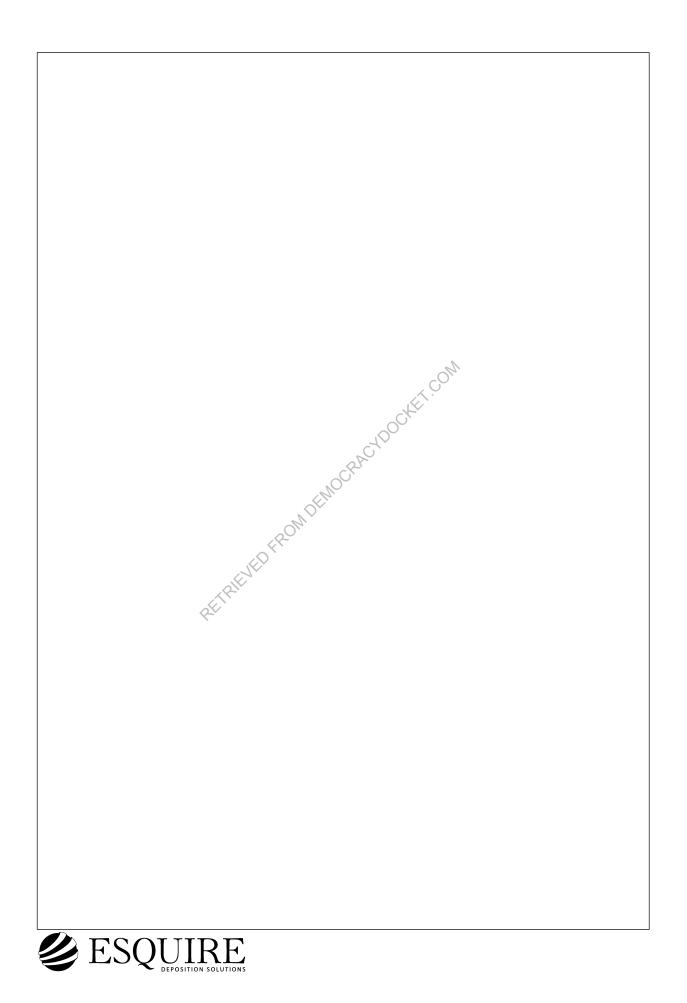
1	Collector running from daily operations. They have
2	employees who do the exact same thing.
3	In fact, it would probably be the employees doing
4	it, but they're responsible and accountable to the
5	voters, and that's why this needs to be done.
6	So with that, I'll save any further time. I
7	close.
8	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members, any questions?
9	Thank you, Chairman.
10	CHAIRMAN CAIN: Thank you, Members.
11	CHAIRMAN SMITH: If there is no objection, Senate
12	Bill 1750 will be left pending. There is no
13	objection. The Chair hears none, so Senate Bill 1750
14	is left pending.
15	I would just note for the record that no one in
16	leadership from Harris County came to defend
17	themselves. They had to rely on Mr. Hendrickson to
18	come up with some ideas that they might have to
19	replace things and to repair things and do things and
20	not Rodney Ellis and not the EA, and nobody else
21	showed up to defend them.
22	* End of Recording *
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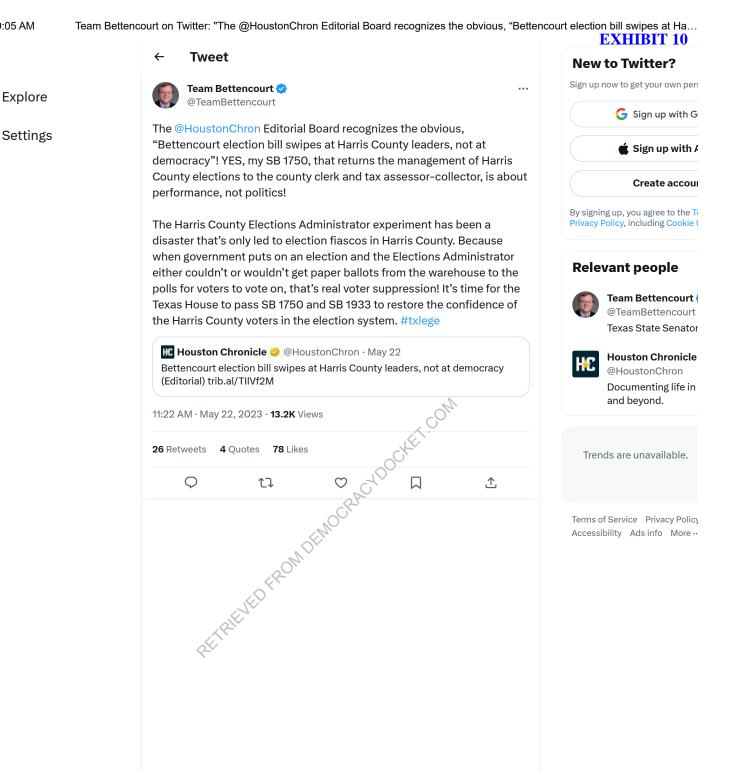






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Press Release FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 24, 2023 UPDATED

Contact: Michael Geary (512) 463-0107 michael.geary@senate.texas.gov

Sen. Bettencourt's bills return Harris County Elections from EA back to Elected Officials passes!

SB 1750 passes Texas House & returns EA duties & power back to the County Tax-Assessor & County Clerk

SB 1933 passes TX House and Texas SOS has oversite of Elections back to Texas

<u>Senate</u>

Austin, TX – Senator Paul Bettencourt's (R-Houston) SB 1750, sponsored by Representative Briscoe Cain (R-Deer Park) in the Texas House of Representatives, passed out of the Texas House on Tuesday, May 23, 2023. SB 1750 will restore voter trust, accountability, and transparency in Harris County elections by returning the management of elections back to elected officials. "An appointed Elections Administrator that either couldn't or wouldn't get millions of sheets of ballot paper from the warehouse to the polls for voters to vote on, on November 8th, will be gone by September 1st," said Senator Bettencourt. "Now voters in Harris County can be assured that the officials running their elections are elected and accountable to the public, with expected final passage of SB 1750," added Senator Bettencourt.

SB 1750 will return power and duties of the Harris County Elections Administrator to the County Tax Assessor-Collector and County Clerk. Under SB 1750, the County Tax Assessor-Collector will serve as the voter registrar and the election administration duties will revert to the County Clerk. With elections under two different elected officials, the cost of an independent department will be spread among the two offices providing professionalism, consistency, stability, and better customer service for elections. Senator Bettencourt served as the Tax Assessor-Collector with County Clerk Kaufman for 10 years.

"Both Elections Administrators that were appointed by the Harris County Judge bombed their elections. In 2022, the former Harris County Election Administrator 'found' 10,000 votes and released a statement at 10:30 p.m. on a Saturday night that led to her resignation. Then, the current EA either wouldn't or couldn't get millions of paper ballots out of the warehouse and to the polls with thousands of voters being turned away for lack of ballots. And after six months, the current EA still hasn't publicly explained what happened," stated Senator Bettencourt.

SB 1933, sponsored by House Rep. Tom Oliverson, grants authority of administrative oversight over a county. This will allow the Secretary of State's office to review complaints from candidates, county state party chairs, presiding or alternate judges, and the head of a specific-purpose political committee. In the complaint, if they find merit SOS can investigate using the authority of administrative oversight. An amendment limited this to Harris County only.

"SB 1933 will ensure the failures, or the fiasco of the general election never occurs again with the Texas Secretary of State oversight of the election process, if necessary," Senator Bettencourt concluded with. "A late amendment was added to SB 1933 in the Texas House limiting it to Harris County, this will be reviewed in the Texas Senate."

SB 1750 now heads back to the Texas Senate for Senator Bettencourt's review and or concurrence. Please see previous press releases below for more information.

- Senator Bettencourt's bill returns Harris County Elections back to Elected Officials!

https://senate.texas.gov/press.php?id=7-20230524a&print=1

Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "ABreaking news! Public Information Request revealed by @WayneDolcefino, show 115 Harris Cou... **EXHIBIT 12**

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4 Tweet **New to Twitter?** Sign up now to get your own per: Team Bettencourt 📀 ... @TeamBettencourt Breaking news! Public Information Request revealed by @WayneDolcefino, show 115 Harris County polls turned away voters in the Nov. 8th 2022 election!! Late openings, lack of ballot paper, election machine failures, you name it... it happened and that's why Judge @LinaHidalgoTX wouldn't tell the By signing up, you agree to the Te public what really happened. Now that her hand-picked Elections Privacy Policy, including Cookie I Administrator Office is "adios" per, my Senate Bill 1750 and elections are being returned to the Elected County Clerk or County Tax Assessor, the **Relevant people** truth is coming out, finally! 60 plus Election Judges of both parties said they ran out of paper per the @HarrisVotes EA info. It could be 10K plus voters suppressed or higher, big difference for election contests! Shocking, even though "Uncle Paul" and "Aunt Cindy" @cindySiegel5 predicted this in November and December repeatedly! See the report now! #txlege @TPPF @HarrisCountyRP @TexasGOP 🚯 Dolcefino Consulting 📀 @WayneDolcefino · Jun 1 Hidalgo's Latest Meltdown... Shocking new internal Harris County election records show voters at more than 115 polling locations were turned away when they tried to vote last November. WATCH/SHARE to spread the word. Trends are unavailable. LINK -- > youtube.com/watch?v=7T-jnS Terms of Service Privacy Policy Accessibility Ads info More .. 6:14 PM · Jun 2, 2023 · 41K Views 180 Retweets 18 Quotes 333 Likes 7 Bookmarks 0 1J \heartsuit 土

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Texas State Senator

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Dolcefino.

Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "Once again the Leftist Progressive Majority on the Harris County Commissioners Court authorized a...

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Once again the Leftist Progressive Majority on the Harris County Commissioners Court authorized a lawsuit against the State of Texas @TXAG. This time without even waiting for Governor @GregAbbott_TX to even sign my SB 1750, (House sponsor @BriscoeCain) & SB 1933, (House sponsor @TomOliverson), the needed election reforms in Harris County! These bills replace the failed Elections Administrations Office with two Elected Officials, @harriscotxclerk and @HarrisCountyTAC and provide @TXsecofstate oversight over @HarrisVotes administration. Debated, amended, and passed by #txlege, these bills will soon be law and Harris County should comply with them, so, the election fiascos of 2022 are never repeated in the Nation's 3rd largest county. It was the "gang of 4" versus @TomSRamsey2 LOL!!

@GeraldHarrisTV @jen_rice_ @KPRC2Mario @JRogalskiKHOU @TPPF @HarrisCountyRP @TexasGOP



▲ Holly Hansen and 9 others
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EXHIBIT 13

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Don't miss what's happening People on Twitter are the first to know.

Team Bettencourt on Twitter: "Major progress on Election Reform for Harris County! My pair of two bills that return the County Ele...



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Major progress on Election Reform for Harris County! My pair of two bills **County Clerk and Tax Assessor-Collector with @TXsecofstate oversight,** SB 1750 and SB 1933, were signed by Governor @GregAbbott_TX and go into effect no later than September 1st, 2023..!

It means that an appointed @HarrisVotes Elections Adminstrator's office, which either couldn't or wouldn't get millions of sheets of ballot paper out of the County Warehouse to the polls for voters to vote on Nov. 8th, will be replaced by two Democrat Elected Officials.

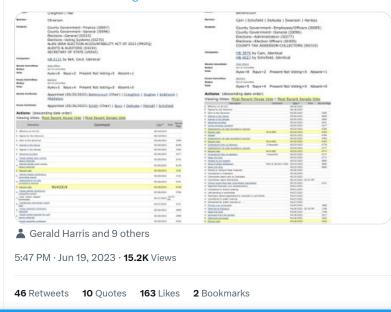
I want to thank both @HarrisCountyRP and @TexasGOP for supporting these bills, as about half the counties in Texas use their two elected officials to run their elections successfully, like what used to happen in Harris County!

See the links below showing the bills and their House sponsors, Rep. @BriscoeCain and Rep. @TomOliverson, plus all those who voted for these critical reforms in #txlege!

SB 1750: capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/His... (capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/His...)

SB 1933: capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/His... (capitol.texas.gov/BillLookup/His...)

Thanks to everyone who came and testified in committee on these "good government" bills. The last bill was named for Al Vera, who testified for them. His and everyone's voice was loud and clear helping to bring back accountability, transparency, and performance to Harris County elections. It's time for the Harris County Commissioners Court to look forward, support the County Clerk and Tax Assessor-Collector, and drop their political frivolous lawsuits against SB 1750 and SB 1933. Elections matter! #txlege



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Texas State Senator

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EXHIBIT 15

S.B. No. 1933

1	AN ACT
2	relating to certain oversight procedures of the state over county
3	elections.
4	BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS:
5	SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the Alan Vera Election
6	Accountability Act of 2023.
7	SECTION 2. Subchapter A, Chapter 31, Election Code, is
8	amended by adding Sections 31.017, 31.018, 31.019, 31.020, 31.021,
9	and 31.022 to read as follows:
10	Sec. 31.017. IMPLEMENTATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE OVERSIGHT OF
11	COUNTY ELECTION. (a) In a county with a population of more than 4
12	million, the secretary of state's office may order administrative
13	oversight of a county office administering elections or voter
14	registration in the county if:
15	(1) an administrative election complaint is filed with
16	the secretary of state by a person who participated in the relevant
17	election as:
18	(A) a candidate;
19	(B) a county chair or state chair of a political
20	party;
21	(C) a presiding judge;
22	(D) an alternate presiding judge; or
23	(E) the head of a specific-purpose political
24	committee that supports or opposes a measure;

	S.B. No. 1933
1	(2) the secretary of state has provided notice to the
2	county election official with authority over election
3	administration or voter registration under Section 31.018; and
4	(3) the secretary of state, after conducting an
5	investigation under Section 31.019, has good cause to believe that
6	a recurring pattern of problems with election administration or
7	voter registration exists in the county, including any recurring:
8	(A) malfunction of voting system equipment that
9	prevents a voter from casting a vote;
10	(B) carelessness or official misconduct in the
11	distribution of election supplies
12	(C) errors in the tabulation of results that
13	would have affected the outcome of an election;
14	(D) violations of Section 66.053;
15	(E) discovery of properly executed voted ballots
16	after the canvass of an election that were not counted; or
17	(F) failure to conduct maintenance activities on
18	the lists of registered voters as required under this code.
19	(b) The secretary of state shall make a determination on
20	whether to implement administrative oversight under Subsection (a)
21	not later than the 30th day after the earliest of:
22	(1) the day a response by the county election official
23	with authority over election administration or voter registration
24	is received by the secretary of state under Section 31.018;
25	(2) the last day the county election official with
26	authority over election administration or voter registration could
27	provide a response to the secretary of state under Section 31.018;

1	<u>or</u>
2	(3) the day the report on the findings of an
3	investigation is provided to the county election official with
4	authority over election administration or voter registration under
5	<u>Section 31.019.</u>
6	Sec. 31.018. NOTICE OF COMPLAINT. (a) In a county with a
7	population of more than 4 million and not later than the 30th day
8	after receiving an administrative election complaint under Section
9	31.017(a)(1), the secretary of state shall provide notice of the
10	complaint to the applicable county election official with authority
11	over election administration or voter registration, including the
12	specific allegations against the election official in the
13	complaint.
14	(b) Subject to Subsection (c), not later than the 30th day
15	after receiving notice of the administrative election complaint
16	under Subsection (a), the county election official with authority
17	over election administration or voter registration may provide a
18	response with any supporting documentation relating to the
19	complaint or the allegations in the complaint to the secretary of
20	state.
21	(c) If the administrative election complaint filed under
22	Section 31.017(a)(1) concerns an election for which voting by
23	personal appearance has begun and the final canvass has not been
24	completed, the county election official with authority over
25	election administration or voter registration must provide a
26	response under Subsection (b) not later than 72 hours after
27	receiving notice of the complaint under Subsection (a).

1	Sec. 31.019. INVESTIGATION OF COMPLAINT. (a) In a county
2	with a population of more than 4 million, the secretary of state may
3	direct personnel in the secretary of state's office to conduct an
4	investigation on an administrative election complaint received
5	under Section 31.017(a)(1) and must consider any response or
6	supporting documentation provided by the county election official
7	with authority over election administration or voter registration
8	under Section 31.018, if applicable.
9	(b) If the secretary of state decides to conduct an
10	investigation under Subsection (a), the secretary must provide the
11	county election official with authority over election
12	administration or voter registration notice of the determination to
13	conduct the investigation.
14	(c) After completing an investigation under this section,
15	the secretary of state must provide a report on the findings of the
16	investigation to:
17	(1) the county election official with authority over
18	election administration or voter registration; and
19	(2) the individual who filed the administrative
20	election complaint under Section 31.017(a)(1).
21	Sec. 31.020. COUNTY ELECTION OFFICE OVERSIGHT BY SECRETARY.
22	(a) If the secretary of state implements administrative oversight
23	under Section 31.017, the secretary shall provide written notice to
24	the county election official with authority over election
25	administration or voter registration and the county judge of the
26	determination by the secretary to implement administrative
27	oversight in the county. The notice must include the specific

1	recurring pattern of problems with election administration or voter
2	registration identified by the secretary under Section
3	<u>31.017(a)(3).</u>
4	(b) The authority of administrative oversight over a county
5	granted to the secretary of state under this subchapter must
6	include:
7	(1) requiring the approval and review by the secretary
8	of state of any policies or procedures regarding the administration
9	of elections issued by the county; and
10	(2) authorizing all appropriate personnel in the
11	secretary of state's office to conduct in-person observations of
12	the county election office's activities, including any activities
13	related to election preparation, early voting, election day, and
14	post-election day procedures.
15	(c) The county election office being overseen by the
16	secretary of state shall provide sufficient access to the
17	appropriate personnel in the secretary of state's office to perform
18	their duties under Subsection (b).
19	(d) Once each quarter during the period when the secretary
20	of state is overseeing elections in a county under Subsection (a),
21	the secretary shall submit a report regarding the activities of the
22	oversight personnel to the members of the county election
23	commission and the county attorney.
24	(e) The secretary of state shall deliver the report required
25	by Subsection (d) in person to the county commissioners court if
26	requested by the commissioners court.
27	(f) The secretary of state shall conduct the administrative

oversight of a county until the earlier of: 1 (1) December 31 of the even-numbered year following 2 the first anniversary of the date the complaint was received under 3 Section 31.017(a)(1); or 4 5 (2) the date on which the secretary of state determines that the recurring pattern of problems with election 6 administration or voter registration is rectified. 7 Sec. 31.021. REMOVAL OR TERMINATION OF COUNTY ELECTION 8 OFFICIAL AFTER ADMINISTRATIVE OVERSIGHT (a) At the conclusion of 9 administrative oversight under this Subchapter, if the recurring 10 pattern of problems with election administration or voter 11 registration is not rectified or continues to impede the free 12 exercise of a citizen's voting rights in the county, the secretary 13 of state may file a petition for the removal under Section 87.015, 14 Local Government Code, of the applicable county officer with 15 16 authority over election administration or voter registration. (b) At the conclusion of administrative oversight under

17 (b) At the conclusion of administrative oversight under 18 this subchapter, the secretary of state may enter a written order to 19 terminate the employment of a county elections administrator, in a 20 county that has the position, under Section 31.037(b).

21 <u>Sec. 31.022. RULES. The secretary of state may adopt rules</u> 22 <u>necessary to implement the administrative oversight of a county as</u> 23 <u>provided under this subchapter.</u>

24 SECTION 3. Section 31.037, Election Code, is amended to 25 read as follows:

26 Sec. 31.037. SUSPENSION OR TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT. (a) 27 The employment of the county elections administrator may be

1 suspended, with or without pay, or terminated at any time for good 2 and sufficient cause on the four-fifths vote of the county election 3 commission and approval of that action by a majority vote of the 4 commissioners court.

5 (b) In a county with a population of more than 4 million, the secretary of state may enter a written order to terminate the 6 7 employment of a county elections administrator at the conclusion of administrative oversight of the county elections administrator's 8 office under Subchapter A if the recurring pattern of problems with 9 election administration or voter registration is not rectified or 10 continues to impede the free exercise of a citizen's voting rights 11 in the county. 12

13 SECTION 4. Section 127.351, Election Code, is amended by 14 amending Subsections (a) and (d) and adding Subsections (e) and (f) 15 to read as follows:

16 (a) Immediately after the uniform election date in November
17 of an even-numbered year, the secretary of state shall conduct an
18 audit of the elections held <u>on the uniform election date</u> in four
19 counties during the previous two years.

20 (d) <u>If the secretary of state completes the audit of a</u> 21 <u>county under Subsection (b)(1) before the end of a two-year period,</u> 22 <u>the secretary may randomly select another county with a total</u> 23 <u>population of less than 300,000 to be audited.</u>

24 (e) If not later than July 31 of the first odd-numbered year
25 following the commencement of an audit under this section, the
26 audit findings demonstrate to the secretary of state that a
27 recurring pattern of problems with election administration or voter

registration, as described under Section 31.017(a)(3), exists in an 1 audited county and the problems impede the free exercise of a 2 3 citizen's voting rights, the secretary: (1) shall: 4 5 (A) publicly release the preliminary findings of 6 the audit; and 7 (B) recommend the county for administrative oversight under Subchapter A, Chapter 31; and 8 (2) may conduct an audit of other elections held in the 9 county in the previous two years, as determined necessary by the 10 NOC 11 secretary. (f) The secretary of state shall adopt rules as necessary to 12 20M implement this section. 13 This Act takes effect September 1, 2023. 14 SECTION 5. RETRI

President of the Senate Speaker of the House I hereby certify that S.B. No. 1933 passed the Senate on April 13, 2023, by the following vote: Yeas 19, Nays 11; May 25, 2023, Senate refused to concur in House amendments and requested appointment of Conference Committee; May 26, 2023, House granted request of the Senate; May 28, 2023, Senate adopted Conference Committee Report by the following vote: Yeas 19, Nays 12.

Secretary of the Senate

2011 I hereby certify that S.B. No. 1933 passed the House, with amendments, on May 23, 2023, by the following vote: Yeas 81, Nays 59, one present not voting; May 26, 2023, House granted request of the Senate for appointment of Conference Committee; May 28, 2023, House adopted Conference Committee Report by the following vote: Yeas 84, Nays 58, two present not voting.

Chief Clerk of the House

Approved:

Date

Governor

EXHIBIT 16

S.B. No. 1750

1	AN ACT
2	relating to abolishing the county elections administrator position
3	in certain counties.
4	BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS:
5	SECTION 1. The heading to Subchapter B, Chapter 31,
6	Election Code, is amended to read as follows:
7	SUBCHAPTER B. COUNTY ELECTIONS ADMINISTRATOR IN CERTAIN COUNTIES
8	SECTION 2. Section 31.031(a), Election Code, is amended to
9	read as follows:
10	(a) The commissioners court <u>of a county with a population of</u>
11	3.5 million or less by written order may create the position of
12	county elections administrator for the county.
13	SECTION 3. Subchapter B, Chapter 31, Election Code, is
14	amended by adding Section 31.050 to read as follows:
15	Sec. 31.050. ABOLISHMENT OF POSITION AND TRANSFER OF DUTIES
16	IN CERTAIN COUNTIES. On September 1, 2023, all powers and duties of
17	the county elections administrator of a county with a population of
18	more than 3.5 million under this subchapter are transferred to the
19	county tax assessor-collector and county clerk. The county tax
20	assessor-collector shall serve as the voter registrar, and the
21	duties and functions of the county clerk that were performed by the
22	administrator revert to the county clerk, unless a transfer of
23	duties and functions occurs under Section 12.031 or 31.071.
24	SECTION 4. On the effective date of this Act, a county that

has a county elections administrator and a population of more than 3.5 million shall transfer employees, property, and records as necessary to accomplish the abolishment of the position of county elections administrator under this Act.

5

SECTION 5. This Act takes effect September 1, 2023.

REPRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACY DOCKET, COM

President of the Senate Speaker of the House I hereby certify that S.B. No. 1750 passed the Senate on April 18, 2023, by the following vote: Yeas 20, Nays 11.

Secretary of the Senate I hereby certify that S.B. No. 1750 passed the House on RIEVED FROM DEMOCRACY May 23, 2023, by the following vote: Yeas 81, Nays 62, two present not voting.

Approved:

Chief Clerk of the House

Date

Governor

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Andrea Mintzer on behalf of Jonathan Fombonne Bar No. 24102702 andrea.mintzer@harriscountytx.gov Envelope ID: 78263544 Filing Code Description: No Fee Documents Filing Description: PLAINTIFF'S AMENDED BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF TEMPORARY INJUNCTIVE RELIEF Status as of 8/9/2023 8:23 AM CST

Associated Case Party: HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Christian D.Menefee		Christian.Menefee@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Andrea Mintzer		andrea.mintzer@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Jonathan Fombonne		Jonathan.Fombonne@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Neal Sarkar		Neal.Sarkar@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Tiffany Bingham		Tiffany.Binghan@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Christopher Garza		Christopher.Garza@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Matthew Miller		Matthew.Miller@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Moustapha Gassama		Moustapha.Gassama@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Neeharika Tumati	4	Neeharika.Tumati@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT

Associated Case Party: CLIFFORD TATUMS

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Alyce Young		alyce@rs-law.com	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Richard Schechter		richard@rs-law.com	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Gerald Birnberg		gbirnberg@wba-law.com	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT

Associated Case Party: THE STATE OF TEXAS

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Charles Kenneth Eldred	793681	Charles.Eldred@oag.texas.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Sharron Lee		sharron.lee@oag.texas.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Christina Cella		christina.cella@oag.texas.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT

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Associated Case Party: THE STATE OF TEXAS

Leif Olson	leif.olson@oag.texas.gov 8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Jessica Yvarra	Jessica.Yvarra@oag.texas.gov 8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Susanna Dokupil	Susanna.Dokupil@oag.texas.gov 8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT

Associated Case Party: JANE NELSON TEXAS SECRETARY OF STATE

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Charles Kenneth Eldred	793681	Charles.Eldred@oag.texas.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT
Christina Cella	24106199	christina.cella@oag.texas.gov	8/7/2023 12:27:38 PM	SENT



Cause No: D-1-GN-23-003523

§	IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF
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§	
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§	TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS
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§	345TH JUDICIAL DISTRICT
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DEFENDANTS' PLEA TO THE JURISDICTION

Intr	oduc	tion	11		
Fac	ts	•••••			
Leg	al Ba	ckg	round7		
Arg	ume	nt			
I.	Harris County has failed to plead facts sufficient to allege standing11				
	А.		rris County has failed to plead an actual, concrete, imminent injury sufficient to ablish standing11		
	B.	any	rris County has failed to demonstrate that the alleged injury is "fairly traceable" to y of the named defendants; thus, the injury is also not redressable by the requested ief		
		1.	The State of Texas is the wrong defendant		
		2.	Provisional Attorney General Colmenero and Secretary Nelson are the wrong defendants		
		3.	Even if Harris County had sued the Secretary of State's office correctly, Harris County lacks standing to sue the Secretary of State		
		4.	Harris County has not pleaded standing as to the Attorney General		
II.	Imn clain	nuni m	ity is not waived because Harris County has pleaded a facially invalid constitutional		
	A.				
		1.	A statute has a reasonable basis if any set of facts could exist that would justify the classification		
		2.	Whether the law targets a single county is the beginning, not the end, of the analysis		
		3.	Courts have held that laws targeting specific areas were constitutional when the classification was related to a larger statewide interest27		
		4.	In addition, SB 1750 could apply to other counties in the future		
	B.		1750's legislative history is irrelevant, as the Texas Supreme Court does not nsider it		
III.) repeals a previous authorization, and as such, is valid regardless of Article III, 56		

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IV.	Provisional Attorney General Colmenero and Secretary Nelson are the wrong defendants. 35
V.	Conclusion
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REPRESED FROM DEMOCRACY DOCKET, COM

TO THE HONORABLE JUDGE OF SAID COURT:

Defendants the State of Texas, Angela Colmenero in her Official Capacity as Provisional Attorney General, and Jane Nelson in her Official Capacity as Texas Secretary of State file their Plea to the Jurisdiction in response to Plaintiff's Verified Amended Petition and Application for Temporary Injunction and Permanent Injunction.

Introduction

Harris County openly states that it will refuse to comply with a law duly passed in the Legislature last session. In so refusing, it has created a crisis for itself. On one hand, it claims irreparable injury from the operation of a law slated to take effect on September 1, 2023, but on the other, it renders that same injury hypothetical because it refuses to comply with the law that would allegedly injure it. Yet, Harris County asks this Court to save it from itself and declare that law unconstitutional.

Harris County has sued the wrong parties, failed to establish an injury, and failed to show that the injury is fairly traceable to the named Defendants. Furthermore, it has not pleaded facts sufficient to overcome immunity because it has not pleaded a viable claim that the challenged statute is facially invalid. This Court should dismiss the suit for lack of jurisdiction.

Facts

In the last legislative session, the Texas Legislature passed SB 1750, which eliminated the ability for counties of 3.5 million or more to create an administrative position whose officers only duty is to run elections:

The Commissioners Court of a county with a population of 3.5 million or less, by written order may create the position of a county elections administrator for the county.

On September 1, 2023, all powers and duties of the county elections administrator of a county with a population of more than 3.5 million under this subchapter are transferred to the county tax-assessor collector and county clerk.

SB 1750, amending TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.031(a); 31.050, eff. Sept. 1, 2023 (emphasis added). It appears that only Harris County will have a population of 3.5 million or more on September 1, 2023, and it is one of several counties that has an elections administrator.¹ Other large counties like Bexar, Collin, Tarrant, and Dallas also have elections administrators, although Travis County does not. Senate Research Center, Committee Report, C.S.S.B. 1750 (Apr. 6, 2023).

The Legislature would have been aware that the history of the position of Elections Administrator in Harris County has been short and troubled. Harris County created the Elections Administrator position in 2020 pursuant to the authority of the County Commissioners Court, and the first elections administrator ever in Harris County took office after the November 2020 elections. *See* TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.031-.049. During the 2022 election cycle, the role of the new elections administrator was publicly controversial in Harris County, leading to the abrupt resignation of Harris County's first Elections Administrator, Isabel Longoria, following the primary.² Although there is far from universal agreement regarding the precise cause of the problem, the Legislature would have been aware that the 2022 election cycle over which Ms. Longoria presided was called "one of the worst-run elections in recent memory."³

² See Harris County Official to Resign after Problems with Primary, NBCDFW (Mar. 8, 2022), https://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/texas-news/harris-county-official-to-resign-after-problems-withprimary/2909960/ (quoting Longoria as saying "Ultimately, the buck stops with me. I didn't meet my own standards.").

¹ Texas Secretary of State, *County Voter Registration Officials*, <u>County Voter Registration Officials</u> (state.tx.us) (last visited July 31, 2023).

³ Michael Hardy, *Why Can't the Biggest County in Texas Run an Election*, TEX. MONTHLY (Mar. 10, 2022), *at* https://www.texasmonthly.com/news-politics/harris-county-elections-2022/; *see also, e.g.*, Amy Gardner, *A Texas county didn't count 10,000 ballots. Now the parties are at war over who's to blame*, THE WASHINGTON POST

The Legislature would have been further aware that, as has been widely reported, problems during the March 2022 primary included polling locations being closed when they should have been open, the website identifying polling locations being down, running out of paper for the ballot machines, having the wrong size paper, allowing people to vote in the wrong precinct's races by giving them the wrong ballot, malfunctioning voting machines which could (among other things) damage or blur the ballots as they were printed and scanned, and providing mail-in ballots to the wrong voters.⁴ And these issues could be more than inconvenient: having letter-size rather than legal-size paper to print the ballots means that about 15-20 races are left off the bottom of the ballot, thus invalidating those votes.⁵ One election judge reported--through a witness to Congress in written testimony—that at least 70 ballots were cast before he realized that he had been given the wrong sized paper.⁶

The Legislature would also have known that some critics of the 2022 primary laid at least some of the problems directly at the Elections Administrator's door. For example, according to later testimony, election judges were reassigned by the Elections Administrator without warning, such that multiple judges were showing up for the same polling location, or judges were told they were not needed when positions elsewhere were vacant. The situation was so bad that both

⁽Mar. 11, 2022), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/03/11/harris-county-primary-uncounted-votes-lawsuit/.

⁴ Id.; see also Testimony of Cindy Siegel, Harris County Republican Party Chair, (Mar. 7, 2022), at https://www.congress.gov/117/meeting/house/114504/witnesses/HHRG-117-HA08-Wstate-SiegelC-

<u>20220317.pdf</u> ("Siegel Testimony"); Alexa Ura, *Harris County's Election Missteps Fuel GOP Lawsuit and calls for investigation*, Texas Tribune (Nov. 15, 2022), https://www.texastribune.org/2022/11/15/harris-county-election-complaints/ (reporting investigation by Harris County Attorney Kim Ogg).

⁵ Siegel Testimony, *supra* n. 3, at 4.

⁶ *Id*. at 4.

Republican and Democrat election judges stepped up in a bipartisan effort to staff vacant polling locations, even when they were helping the other party.⁷

The Legislature would have been aware of further concerns around the administration of the March 2022 primary election. On the weekend before the election, the elections administrator is supposed to distribute supplies to the election judges for the polling location at Supply Weekend. Part of the process is documenting the chain of custody to verify that the ballots were always under proper control from the time they leave the elections administrator until they are returned. None of this happened, either at pick up or at drop-off on election night.⁸

Harris County is required by law to complete the vote tally within 24 hours after the polls close on election day, but they took until Thursday morning to report the results—31 hours after the polls closed—and a petition had to be filed in court for a judge to extend the time.⁹ It took so long to report the votes that Harris County was the last in the State, in contrast with 13.5 hours to count the primary votes in 2020 and 9.5 hours in 2018—before Harris County had an elections administrator.¹⁰ And then, after taking until Thursday to report the results, on Saturday, the elections administrator announced that 10,081 mail-in ballots were not actually counted.¹¹

The Legislature would have been aware of the local concerns over the election administration during the March 2022 primary. The Elections Administrator resigned, telling the Commissioners Court that "I did not meet my own standard, nor the standard set by the

⁷ Siegel Testimony, *supra* n.3, at 10.

⁸ *Id*. at 10.

⁹ *Id*. at 4.

¹⁰ Hardy, *supra* note 1; Siegel testimony, *supra* note 3, at 5.

¹¹ Hardy, *supra* note 1; Siegel testimony, *supra* note 3, at 5.

Commissioners Court.¹² Indeed, the election administration was so obviously incompetent that County Judge Lina Hidalgo, called the issues "unforced errors.¹³ The Harris County Democratic Party chair also expressed concerns, calling for a post-election review to instill confidence in the process.¹⁴ The Republican county commissioners expressed willingness to return the job back to the Democrat county clerk, Teneshia Hudspeth, who had extensive experience running elections.¹⁵ Senator Paul Bettencourt said the same thing, calling on the Harris County Commissioners Court to "decide to return the office to the elected Democrat office holders that it was taken from."¹⁶ But, despite these bipartisan concerns, the County Commissioners Court made clear that they were going to keep the position.¹⁷ The Legislature would have understood that voters were losing trust in the integrity of Harris County elections because they could not trust that the ballots they had cast were counted correctly. And without the chain of custody, they could not trust that every ballot counted was properly cast.

Nevertheless, after the primary election disaster, the Harris County Commissioners Court appointed a new elections administrator, Clifford Tatum, to run the 2022 general election. Again, there were problems with ballot paper shortages—and without paper to print the ballots, voters cannot vote. Allegations were made that thousands of voters had to be turned away, not only

 ¹² Caroline Love, *Harris County Republicans Sue the Elections Administrator*, HOUSTON PUBLIC MEDIA (Mar. 8, 2022) at <u>Harris County Republicans sue the elections administrator over her 2022 primary election</u> management – Houston Public Media.

¹³ Hardy, *supra* note 1.

 ¹⁴ Caroline Love, *Harris County Republicans Sue the Elections Administrator*, HOUSTON PUBLIC MEDIA (Mar. 8, 2022) at <u>Harris County Republicans sue the elections administrator over her 2022 primary election</u> management – Houston Public Media.

¹⁵ Id.

¹⁶ Id.

¹⁷ Mario Diaz, *It Is a Very Difficult Job*, CLICK2HOUSTON, (Mar. 4, 2022), *at* <u>'It is a very difficult job': Support</u> and criticism continue amid fallout from Harris County primary election issues (click2houston.com).

because of the paper, but also because of issues with the machines that closed polling locations.¹⁸ Two weeks after the fact, "officials struggle[d] to defend the county's election from a barrage of criticism and litigation," the county still couldn't "describe how pervasive the problems were at its 782 polling places and whether any were severe enough to prevent people from voting."¹⁹ Ultimately, fourteen candidates filed election contests to challenge the results as a result of the problems on Election Day.²⁰

The *New York Times* reported after the general election that "Democrats have not raised public challenges, but have privately complained that the repeated issues in the election process in Houston were not being adequately addressed "²¹ Ultimately, a post-election report by the elections administrator's office recommended several needed changes, including simplifying voting-day setup, upgrading software, and improving tracking for problems at polling places.²²

The Legislature would also have known that Harris County represents about 16% of the total population of Texas.²³ By contrast, Dallas County accounts for 9%,²⁴ Tarrant County

¹⁸ Natalia Contreras, Almost Two Months After Election Day, Harris County Still Doesn't Know if Polling Site Problems Kept People From Voting, TEXAS TRIBUNE (Dec. 30, 2022), at <u>Harris County's review of voting</u> problems on Election Day "inconclusive" | The Texas Tribune.

¹⁹ Natalia Contreras, *Here's why we still don't know what went wrong in Harris County on Election Day*, The Texas Tribune (Nov. 18, 2022), https://www.texastribune.org/2022/11/18/harris-county-voting-problems/.

²⁰ J. David Goodman, After Election Problems in Houston, Republicans Seek to Overturn Results, NYT (Jan. 6, 2023) at After Election Problems in Houston, Republicans Seek to Overturn Results - The New York Times (nytimes.com).

²¹ Id.

²² Id.

²³ According to the July 2021 Census, Harris County's population was 4,728,030 out of 30,079,522 in the State of Texas. U.S. Census Bureau, *Quick Facts, Harris County, Texas*, <u>www.census.gov</u>, <u>U.S. Census Bureau</u> QuickFacts: Harris County, Texas.

²⁴ See id. (population of Dallas County was 2,600,840).

accounts for 7%,²⁵ Bexar County accounts for 8%,²⁶ and Collin County accounts for 4%.²⁷ Harris County is nearly twice as big as the next largest county with an elections administrator.

This move neither affected the partisan makeup of election officials (as SB 1750 transferred control to Democrat elected officials) nor caused a sea change in how elections are run (because it transferred control back to the offices that had historically administered elections prior to 2022). Nevertheless, the County challenged the law as unconstitutional.

Legal Background

Defendants challenge this Court's subject-matter jurisdiction to hear the case on the grounds of standing and sovereign immunity.

Harris County lacks standing to sue the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the State of Texas. A plaintiff must show (1) an injury in fact that is concrete and particularized, actual or imminent, not conjectural or hypothetical; (2) the injury has to be "fairly traceable" to the challenged action of the defendant, not the result of the independent act of third parties not before the court, and (3) it must be "likely, not speculative, that the injury will be redressed by a favorable decision." *Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife*, 504 U.S. 555, 560-61 (1992); *see also Heckman v. Williamson County*, 369 S.W.3d 137, 155 (Tex. 2012); *Good Shepherd Med. Ctr. v. State*, 306 S.W.3d 825 (Tex. App.—Austin 2010, no writ). Standing is a constitutional prerequisite to suit under both federal and Texas law, therefore, courts "look to the more extensive jurisprudential experience of the federal courts on this subject for any guidance it may yield." *Texas Ass'n of Business v. Tex. Air Control Bd.*, 852 S.W.2d 440, 444 (Tex. 1993).

²⁵ See id. (population of Tarrant County was 2,154,595).

²⁶ See id. (population of Bexar County was 2,059,530).

²⁷ See id. (population of Collin County was 1,066,465).

Harris County has alleged only a speculative, hypothetical injury that is not fairly traceable to the actions of any of the named defendants, and that speculative injury is therefore not redressable by the injunctive relief they seek. In the absence of either (1) an injury that is "concrete and particularized, actual or imminent, not hypothetical"; or (2) an injury that is "fairly traceable to the defendant's conduct," "not the injury that results from the independent action of some third party not before the court," this Court must dismiss the suit for lack of jurisdiction. *Heckman v. Williamson County*, 369 S.W.3d 137, 155 (Tex. 2012).

Harris County has alleged three basic injuries: (1) the hypothetical injury from a disrupted election *if the county followed the statute* (which they have openly announced they will not do); (2) that the Secretary of State would somehow enforce SB 1750 against the County; and (3) that the AG would somehow enforce SB 1750 against the County. None of these injuries are actual or imminent. "Although imminence is a concededly elastic concept, it cannot be stretched beyond its purpose, which is to ensure that the alleged injury is not too speculative for Article III purposes—that the injury is certainly impending." *Clapper v. Amnesty Int'l USA*, 568 U.S. 398, 409 (2013). The injury must be "certainly impending" and "allegations of possible future injury are not sufficient." *Id.* at 409.

In this case, the legislation has not even taken effect yet. And even when it does, Harris County has not properly pleaded what authority the Secretary of State and the Attorney General may have to enforce SB1750, or that any type of enforcement is imminent. Harris County has pointed this Court to no statute allowing the Secretary or the Attorney General to enforce SB 1750, nor pleaded how enforcement is imminent. Thus, Harris County cannot manufacture standing by declaring that County officials will violate the law and that the Defendants will then injure them. Harris County has not pleaded any facts showing that the Secretary of State or the Attorney General have threatened enforcement, so the County has not shown imminent injury. And again, Harris County has declared that it does not intend to follow the statute, so it will not suffer any hypothetical injury from having its election disrupted.

The State of Texas has immunity from suit, and none of Harris County's alleged injuries are fairly traceable to it, either. The "State is not automatically a proper defendant in a suit challenging the constitutionality of a statute merely because the Legislature enacted it." *Abbott v. MALC*, 647 S.W.3d 681, 697 (Tex. 2022). The "State itself has no enforcement authority with respect to election laws." *Id.* at 698. "Declaratory-judgment claims challenging the validity of a statute may be brought against the relevant governmental entity." *Id.* at 698. And for that reason, none of Harris County's alleged injuries are fairly traceable to the State itself. *Id.* at 698.

The Secretary and the Attorney General also retain sovereign immunity from suit because Harris County's constitutional claim is facially invalid. Harris County claims that SB 1750 is unconstitutional under Article III, section 56 of the Texas Constitution, specifically under the following provisions:

The Legislature shall not, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, pass any local or special law authorizing:

(a)(2) regulating the affairs of counties \ldots

(a)(12) for the opening and conducting of elections, or fixing or changing the places of voting;

(a)(14) creating offices, or prescribing the powers and duties of officers, in counties ...

(a)(30) relieving or discharging any person or set of persons from the performance of any public duty or service imposed by general law.

•••

(b) In addition to those laws described by Subsection (a) of this section, in all other cases where a general law can be made applicable, no local or special law shall be enacted.

TEX. CONST. Art. III, § 56 (a)-(b). The Texas Supreme Court has long recognized that the intent of this constitutional provision is to prevent legislatures from "granting special privileges," and "trading votes for the advancement of personal rather than public interests." *Maple Run at Austin Mun. Util. Dist. v. Monaghan*, 931 S.W.2d 941, 945 (Tex. 1996). The fact that the law applies only to Harris County at present (but could eventually apply to other counties in the future) does not render it unconstitutional: "A law is *not* a prohibited local law merely because it applies only in a limited geographical area. . . . *The primary and ultimate test of whether a law is general or special is whether there is a reasonable basis for the classification* made by the law, and whether the law operates equally on all within the class." *Id.* (emphasis added).

Here, Harris County has made no argument that a reasonable basis for the classification does not, nor could not exist. For that reason, sovereign immunity is not waived as to the Secretary and the Attorney General. "Although the UDJA waives immunity for declaratory-judgment claims challenging the validity of statutes, we have held that immunity from suit is not waived if the constitutional claims are facially invalid." *MALC*, 647 S.W.3d at 698. That in itself is a jurisdictional question. *Id.* at 699. "As in every Texas case involving sovereign immunity, this jurisdictional inquiry touches on the merits because . . . courts lack jurisdiction to proceed if the claim appears 'facially invalid.'" *Id.* at 699.

Argument

Harris County has failed to plead facts either sufficient to establish standing or to waive sovereign immunity. It has both named the wrong parties and failed to show an injury fairly traceable to the defendants that would be redressable by a favorable decision. And its challenge to the constitutionality of the statute is facially invalid.

I. Harris County has failed to plead facts sufficient to allege standing.

A. Harris County has failed to plead an actual, concrete, imminent injury sufficient to establish standing.

Harris County's real gripe in this action is that the Legislature has removed a power it previously had to have its elections run by an appointed Elections Administrator rather than an elected official such as the County Clerk. Harris County does not claim the diminution of that power as an injury, however, because one governmental actor typically does not have a justiciable injury based on a generalized claim that another actor's exercise of its own authority on behalf of the same government altered the distribution of power. See United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. v. Reagan, 738 F.2d 1375, 1381-82 (D.C. Cir. 1984) (collecting cases). The one exception is where the challenged action "totally deprivers] the [complainant] of [a] right" granted by the Constitution-typically, the right of an individual legislator to vote on proposed legislation. Chiles v. Thornburgh, 865 F.2 1197, 1206 (11th Cir. 1989) (discussing Barnes v. Kline, 759 F.2d 21 (D.C. Cir. 1984); Kennedy v. Sampson, 511 F.2d 430 (D.C. Cir. 1974)). Harris County does not claim that S.B. 1750 destroyed a right guaranteed by the Constitution to counties because it cannot. It is well established that as "a subordinate and derivative branch of state government," Avery v. Midland County, 406 S.W.2d 422, 426 (Tex. 1966), vacated on other grounds, 390 U.S. 474 (1968); see TEX. CONST. art. IX, §1; TEX. CONST. art. XI, §1, the County "possess[es] only such powers and privileges" as the State confers upon it. Wasson Interests, Ltd. v. City of Jacksonville, 489 S.W.3d 427, 430 (Tex. 2016); e.g., Guynes v. Galveston County, 861 S.W.2d 861, 863 (Tex. 1993); Quincy

Lee Co. v. Lodal & Bain Engineers, Inc., 602 S.W.2d 262, 264 (Tex. 1980). The Legislature gave Harris County the right to appoint an elections administrator, and it could take it away.

Indeed, for similar reasons, it is dubious that counties can ever sue the State on a claim like the one presented here. "Texas counties are legal subdivisions of the State, subordinate and derivative branches of state government that represent no sovereignty distinct from the state and possess only such powers and privileges as have been expressly or impliedly conferred upon them." *State v. Hollins*, 620 S.W.3d 400, 403-04 (Tex. 2020). As a result, it is well established that "the state may use, and frequently does use, a county as its agent in the discharge of the State's functions and duties." *Childress County v. State*, 92 S.W.2d 1011, 1015 (Tex. 1936). Because counties are subordinate components of the sovereign, it makes little sense to allow the county to sue the State because it disagrees with the choices the State makes about what powers the County may or may not exercise.

Instead of claiming a right to appoint an elections administrator in perpetuity, Harris County pleaded that it will be injured because compliance with SB 1750 will be difficult due to disruptions from "massive transfers of employees and resources from the EA's office to the Harris County Clerk and Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector" and increased costs to the County. Plaintiff's Application at 13-14. While compliance costs could potentially constitute an injury-infact, Harris County advertises that it "does not intend to comply" with the statute. *Id.* at 14, 18. Therefore, any alleged hypothetical injury from complying with SB 1750 is wholly irrelevant.

Harris County also asserts that if it fails to comply with SB 1750, it will "jeopardize not only the results of those elections, but the validity of voter lists, polling locations, thousands of financial transactions, and contracts with other entities Without court intervention, the public's selection of their elected representatives . . . will be risked in Harris County." Plaintiff's Application at 14. But this alleged injury assumes an enforcement action, and specifically one in which the remedy would be the invalidation of votes. Harris County has pointed this Court to no statute that would allow either the Secretary of State or the Attorney General to enforce SB 1750 against it, let alone in such a draconian manner. SB 1750 itself has no such enforcement provision, and election law typically goes to great lengths to *avoid* a circumstance where changes to election rules could result in the invalidation of votes. *See, e.g., Allen v. Milligan*, 143 S. Ct. 1487, 1517 (2023) (holding that Alabama's redistricting maps violate the federal Voting Rights Act *without* invalidating the 2022 election). Therefore, Harris County has failed to plead an actual or imminent injury fairly traceable to the named defendants, and this Court should dismiss its claims for lack of jurisdiction.

B. Harris County has failed to demonstrate that the alleged injury is "fairly traceable" to any of the named defendants; thus, the injury is also not redressable by the requested relief.

Even if Harris County had an actual, imminent injury due to potential enforcement of SB 1750 against it, Harris County has not shown a connection between that injury and any of the named defendants. Therefore, it has failed to establish standing.

1. The State of Texas is the wrong defendant.

Under Texas law, the "State is not automatically a proper defendant challenging the constitutionality of a statute merely because the Legislature enacted it." *MALC*, 647 S.W.3d at 697. Harris County has not shown—nor can it show—that its alleged injury is "fairly traceable" to the State of Texas because "the State itself does not enforce election laws." *Id.* at 696. Because the "State itself has no enforcement authority with respect to election laws... [Harris County has] failed to meet the traceability element of standing" as to the State itself." *Id.* at 698.

2. Provisional Attorney General Colmenero and Secretary Nelson are the wrong defendants.

Although the State is not a proper party, it is possible to challenge the validity of a statute by suing the entity that enforces it: "Declaratory-Judgment claims challenging the validity of a statute may be brought against the relevant governmental entity." *Id.* at 698. But, Harris County did not name governmental entities. Rather, it confused *ultra vires* suits with declaratory judgment actions by naming the AG and Secretary of State in their official capacities, and not the Office of the Attorney General or the Office of the Secretary of State.

In an *ultra vires* suit, "because the rule that ultra vires suits are not suits against the State within the rule of immunity of the State from suit derives from the premise that the acts of officials which are not lawfully authorized are not acts of the State, it follows that these suits cannot be brought against the state, which retains immunity, but must be brought against the state actors in their official capacity. This is true even though the suit is, for all practical purposes, against the state." *City of El Paso v. Heinrich*, 284 S.W.3d 366, 373 (Tex. 2009) (cleaned up); *Patel v. Texas Dep't of Licensing and Reg.*, 469 S.W.3d 69, 77 (Tex. 2015) ("because the Threaders challenge the validity of the cosmetology statutes and regulations, rather than complaining that officials illegally acted or failed to act, the ultra vires exception does not apply. The Department and the Commission are not immune from the Threaders' suit.")

Harris County brought a declaratory judgment action, not an ultra vires suit. "For claims challenging the validity of ordinances or statutes, however, the Declaratory Judgment Act requires that the relevant governmental entities be made parties, and thereby waives immunity." *Id.* at 373 n.6. Thus, Harris County should have sued the Office of the Attorney General and the Office of the Secretary of State as entities, not the state officials themselves.

3. Even if Harris County had sued the Secretary of State's office correctly, Harris County lacks standing to sue the Secretary of State.

Even if she could be a proper defendant in a UDJA action, the Secretary of State is not a proper defendant here because the Secretary of State does not generally enforce the entire election code. Harris County must show how the Secretary would enforce SB1750 against the County. Because it has not done so, it lacks standing to sue the Secretary.

The Texas Supreme Court and the Fifth Circuit agree that for traceability purposes, a plaintiff must demonstrate an enforcement connection between the official sued and the challenged statutory provision. Enforcement is directly related to traceability. *City of Austin v. Paxton*, 943 F.3d 993, 1002 (5th Cir. 2019). Although enforcement authority is often discussed in the context of sovereign immunity, "it may be the case that an officials' connection to enforcement is satisfied when standing has been established." *Ia* at 1002.

In any case, "the official must have the requisite enforcement connection of the particular statutory provision that is the subject of the litigation." *Tex. Democratic Party v. Abbott*, 978 F.3d 168, 179 (5th Cir. 2020). When an officials' connection to enforcement is *not* established, "the plaintiff [has] failed to allege sufficient facts to satisfy the traceability element of standing." *MALC*, 647 S.W.3d at 697.

Here, Harris County has failed to establish that enforcement connection: "The Secretary's general duties fail to make him the enforcer of specific election code provisions. More is needed—namely, a showing of the Secretary's connection to the enforcement of the particular statutory provision that is the subject of the litigation." *Lewis v. Scott*, 28 F.4th 659, 664 (5th Cir. 2022) (cleaned up). "That is especially true here because the Election Code delineates between the

authority of the Secretary of State and local officials." *Id.* at 664; *Richardson v. Flores*, 28 F.4th 649, 654 (5th Cir. 2022).

Harris County cannot ask this Court to enjoin the Secretary of State's alleged ability to enforce SB 1750. *See* Plaintiff's Application at 18. On its face, SB 1750 has no enforcement provision, but merely retracts the ability of certain counties to create an elections administrator.

Instead, Harris County points to SB 1933, which provides that the Secretary may terminate an elections administrator under certain circumstances. Plaintiff's Application at 8, 13, 18. But, Harris County misunderstands that statute and has not shown how it establishes traceability. SB 1933 does not empower the Secretary of State to remove the elections administrator at the moment SB 1750 takes effect.

SB 1933 only allows the Secretary of State to remove an elections administrator after a lengthy process of notice and oversight that must be initiated by a third-party complaint. Because SB 1933 cannot even begin to operate without the actions of third parties not before the Court, there is no traceability. *Heckman*, 369 S.W.3d at 154.

First, Texas Election Code § 31.017 (as amended by SB 1933) allows the Secretary of State to require administrative oversight over a county elections administrator only if (1) there is a complaint filed by someone who participated in the election; (2) the secretary gives notice to the election official; and (3) after an investigation, the secretary "has good cause to believe that a recurring pattern of problems with election administration or voter registration exists within the county \ldots ." *Id.* If the Secretary decides to implement administrative oversight after the investigation, the Secretary can do that without removing the election official.

Second, after the administrative oversight period, Texas Election Code §31.037 (as amended by SB 1933) only allows for the Secretary to remove the elections administrator "*if the recurring pattern of problems with election administration or voter registration is not rectified*" *Id.* (emphasis added). If the Secretary is not satisfied with the corrections, the oversight process lasts at least until "December 31 of the even-numbered year following the first anniversary of the date the complaint was received" TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.037(f)(1).²⁸ Thus, the soonest a Secretary of State could possibly remove an election official under this act (assuming the Secretary received an actionable complaint to start the process during this upcoming election) would be December 31, 2024. TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.050(f)(1).

Because none of the procedures of SB 1933 that could result in the removal of an elections administrator will occur remotely close in time to the operation of SB 1750, Harris County has not shown traceability of its purported future injury to the Secretary of State. "Traceability is particularly difficult to show where the proffered chain of causation turns on the government's speculative future decisions regarding whether and to what extent it will bring enforcement actions in hypothetical cases." *A.R. Eng'g & Testing, Inc. v. Scott*, _____ F.4th _____ (5th Cir. July 10, 2023) (citing *Clapper v. Amnesty Int'l*, 568 U.S. 398, 412-14 (2013)).

Next, to the extent that Harris County has pleaded that the Secretary's broad, general authority to oversee elections is sufficient to establish standing, that is incorrect. The Fifth Circuit has specifically rejected that proposition, stating that "our precedent has clarified that the

²⁸ The Secretary also has the option, after the oversight process has failed, to file a petition in the district court in the county where the administrator resides in accordance with Local Government Code § 87.015. TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.021(a) (as amended by SB 1933).

Secretary's general duties under the Texas Election Code fail to make the Secretary the enforcer of specific election code provisions." *Richardson v. Flores*, 28 F.4th 649, 654 (5th Cir. 2022); *see also* TEX. ELEC. CODE § 31.001-.005; *Bullock v. Calvert*, 480 S.W.2d 367, 372 (Tex. 1972) (legislature did not write a "blank check" to the Secretary of State to enforce election laws).

Because Harris County has pleaded no mechanism by which the Secretary would enforce SB1750, Harris County has no standing to sue the Secretary. In order to have standing to sue, there must be an actual or threatened injury that is "fairly traceable" to the defendant, and it must be "likely, not merely speculative, that the injury will be redressed by a favorable decision." *Good Shepherd Med. Ctr. v. State*, 306 S.W.3d 825 (Tex. App.—Austin 2010, no writ) (quoting *Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife*, 504 U.S. 555, 560-61 (1992)). Those requirements are not met here because the Secretary could not remove the Elections Administrator before the November 2023 elections in the first place under SB 1933.

Nor could the Secretary refuse to recognize the votes from Harris County merely on the grounds that the election was administered by the wrong official. The Texas Supreme Court settled this question back in 1887. A candidate alleged certain irregularities in the election rules, one of which was that "the managers of the election were not properly appointed and qualified." *Fowler v. State*, 68 Tex. 30, 34 (1887). The Court set forth a rule that "when it is shown that the irregularities of the officers have in no manner changed the result of the election, or its fair and honest character, the acknowledged rule is to count the returns or ballots, . . . in the same way as if the directory provisions of the statute had been rigorously pursued." *Id.* at 36. The rationale behind this rule is that "[e]lectors must not be deprived of their votes on account of . . . any misconduct on the part of its presiding officers, if these have not affected the true result of the

election." *Id.* at 35. Thus, regardless of who administers the Harris County election in November, no voter risks being disenfranchised so long as their votes otherwise appropriately comply with state law.

For all these reasons, the Secretary of State should be dismissed from this suit for lack of jurisdiction.

4. Harris County has not pleaded standing as to the Attorney General.

Although Harris County has asked this Court to enjoin the Attorney General from enforcing SB 1750, it has pointed this court to no provision that would allow the Attorney General's office to do so, nor has it pleaded facts to establish a credible threat of enforcement. Plaintiff's Application at 19.

Again, as with the Secretary of State, Harris County must demonstrate that its alleged injury is fairly traceable to the Attorney General. In order to demonstrate traceability, Harris County must at least plead facts sufficient to point this Court to the Attorney General's enforcement authority over SB 1750. *Whole Woman's Health v. Jackson*, 142 S. Ct 522, 534-35 (2021); *see also MALC*, 647 S W.3d at 697-98. It has not done so. The County has merely alleged that the Attorney General and the Secretary of State "will be the lead agents enforcing SB 1750." Plaintiffs Application at 18. But this Court should dismiss this suit against the Attorney General because "plaintiff failed to allege sufficient facts to satisfy the traceability element of standing." *Abbott v. MALC*, 647 S.W.3d 681, 687 (Tex. 2022).

The Texas Supreme Court requires that a county plead facts establishing standing to sue the Attorney General. *Abbott v. Harris County*, S.W.3d , 2023 WL 4278763, at *6 (Tex. June 23, 2023). "A plaintiff seeking an injunction against a defendant's enforcement of a governmental enactment may establish injury-in-fact by demonstrating a credible threat of Harris County, Texas v. The State of Texas, et al. Page 19 of 41 Plea to the Jurisdiction prosecution thereunder." *Id.* at *5. In *Abbott*, the Court considered Harris County's standing to sue the Attorney General, and it found standing because the Attorney General had sent a letter to Harris County officials threatening legal action in response to their violations of the executive order at issue in that case. *Id.* at *6. Here, Harris County has pleaded no facts regarding the AG's intent to enforce SB 1750. Harris County's attempt to rely on past actions before SB 1750 existed to predict future actions regarding a new law is hypothetical, speculative, and cannot substitute for an actual threat of enforcement. Therefore, it has not established standing. Again, "[t]raceability is particularly difficult to show where the proffered chain of causation turns on the government's speculative future decisions regarding whether and to what extent it will bring enforcement actions in hypothetical cases." *A.R. Eng'g & Testing, Inc. v. Scott,* F.4th (5th Cir. July 10, 2023) (citing *Clapper v. Amnesty Int'l*, 568 U.S. 398, 412-14 (2013)).

II. Immunity is not waived because Harris County has pleaded a facially invalid constitutional claim.

Harris County has pleaded a constitutional claim under Article III, Section 56 of the Texas Constitution. "Although the UDJA generally waives immunity for declaratory-judgment claims challenging the validity of statutes, we have held that 'immunity from suit is not waived if the constitutional claims are facially invalid.'" *Abbott v. MALC*, 647 S.W.3d 681, 698 (Tex. 2022) (quoting *Klumb v. Houston Municipal Employees Pension System*, 458 S.W.3d 1, 13 (Tex. 2015)). "We also emphasize, however, that our analysis of these constitutional provisions arises as part of our consideration of *jurisdiction*." (emphasis in original). *Id.* at 699. "As in every Texas case involving sovereign immunity, this jurisdictional inquiry touches the merits because, as noted, courts lack jurisdiction to proceed if the claim appears 'facially invalid.'" *Id*. Here, Harris County's argument that SB 1750 is unconstitutional is not facially viable. The injunction application focuses entirely on whether the law is applicable only to Harris County, but that is the wrong test. *See* Plaintiff's Application at 14-17. The test is not whether a law is only applicable to a single county, but whether there could have been any possible reasonable basis for the classification. Harris County has not even made the argument—much less alleged facts to demonstrate—that no reasonable basis could have existed for the classification.

Indeed, many reasonable bases exist for treating Harris County differently for election administration purposes. Harris County is the largest county in Texas with a larger population than 26 states. Its sheer size warrants special consideration, as does its outsized impact on statewide elections. Further, after the Harris County Commissioners Court changed the election administration system for the 2022 election cycle, new problems emerged in Harris County that made national news, created local controversy, and led to numerous election contests. Solving Harris County-specific issues could also provide a reasonable basis. But Harris County has not even addressed any of the reasonable bases that could exist – much less demonstrated that none of them could exist. Therefore, the constitutional claim is facially invalid, immunity is not waived, and this Court "lacks jurisdiction to proceed." *MALC*, 647 S.W.2d at 699.

A. SB 1750 has a reasonable basis for treating Harris County differently; therefore, it is a general law and outside the purview of Article III, section 56.

Since 1899, the Texas Supreme Court has consistently stated that when a legislature has a reasonable basis for drawing a classification—even when that classification only affects a single county—the law is considered a general law, and therefore not prohibited by Article III, section 56. This principle was first stated in *Clark v. Finley*, in which the Court "adopt[ed] the rule that, in

order to make an act a general law, the classification adopted should be reasonable *Clark v*. *Finley*, 54 S.W. 343, 346 (Tex. 1899).

Over the last century, Texas courts have consistently evaluated Article III, section 56 claims based on the reasonable basis for the classification—even when a statute targets a single county or territory, the constitutional determination still rises and falls based on the reasonable basis test.²⁹ "*The 'primary and ultimate test' of whether a law is an impermissible special or local law is whether the legislature has a reasonable basis for the classification used.*" *Robinson v. Hill*, 507 S.W.2d 521, 525 (Tex. 1974) (emphasis added) (quoting *Smith v. Davis*, 426 S.W.2d 827, 830 (Tex. 1968)). More recently, the Texas Supreme Court reaffirmed that "Legislation does not violate Article III, Section 56, however, as long as there is a reasonable basis for its classifications." *Texas Boll Weevil Eradication Foundation, Inc. v. Lewellen*, 952 S.W.2d 454, 465 (Tex. 1997).

²⁹ Even cases declaring statutes unconstitutional under Article III, section 56 have done so not only because a single county, territory, or small group was targeted, but also because there was no reasonable basis. *See, e.g., Anderson v. Wood*, 152 S.W.2d 1084,1087 (Tex. 1941)(finding unconstitutional a limit on hiring of traffic officers targeting only Tarrant County when counties of both smaller and larger populations faced no such restrictions); *Miller v. El Paso County*, 136 Tex. 370, 374 (Tex. 1941) (finding unconstitutional a statute authorizing the El Paso Commissioners Court to levy a 5% tax for county development where other counties of similar size were not authorized); *Bexar County*, 97 S.W.2d at 470-71 (finding no reasonable basis to reduce Bexar County officials' pay below the level of counties with similar population); *City of Fort Worth v. Bobbitt*, 36 S.W.2d 470, 471-72 (Tex. 1931)(noting that the need for a "fair basis" to support the classification); *Smith v. State*, 49 S.W.2d 739, 743-44 (Tex. Crim. App. 1932)(holding a jury rule targeting McClennan County *Water Dist. v. City of Austin*, 64 S.W.3d 25, 31-32 (Tex. App.— Austin 2000, no writ) (noting the need for a reasonable basis, but declining to find a reasonable basis in a broader statewide interest); *City of Austin v. City of Cedar Park*, 953 S.W.3d 424, 432-435 (Tex. App.— Austin 1997, no writ)(finding unconstitutional a statute with a single-county population bracket that annexed extraterritorial land from Austin to Cedar Park because there was no reasonable basis).

1. A statute has a reasonable basis if any set of facts could exist that would justify the classification.

Reasonable basis is a low bar: "If there could exist a state of facts justifying the classification or restriction complained of, we will assume that it existed." *Scurlock Permian Corp. v. Brazos County*, 869 S.W.2d 468, 485 (Tex. App.—Houston [1st Dist.] 1993, reh'g denied)(citing *Inman v. R.R. Comm'n*, 478 S.W.2d 124, 126 (Tex. App.—Austin 1972, writ ref'd n.r.e.)); *see also Smith v. Davis*, 426 S.W.2d 827, 831 (Tex. 1968) ("It is to be presumed that the Legislature has not acted unreasonable or arbitrarily; and a mere difference of opinion is not a sufficient basis for striking down legislation as arbitrary or unreasonable.").

One reasonable basis that could exist is Harris County's sheer size. As the *New York Times* reported, the size of Harris County created reasons why elections could be extra challenging: "The county's size has been a challenge, covering an area nearly the size of Delaware with 2.5 million registered voters and over 700 polling places."³⁰

As of the 2020 census, Harris County is the third most populous county in the nation,³¹ and it has a larger population than 26 states.³² Over a 17-year period, Harris County's population has grown more than twice as fast as the nation's population.³³ And it keeps growing -- Harris County added 45,000 residents in 2022, the second-most growth of any county in the United

³² Harris County, *Population Report—February 2018*, budget.harriscountytx.gov (Feb. 2018).
 ³³ Id.

³⁰ J. David Goodman, After Election Problems in Houston, Republicans Seek to Overturn Results, NYT (Jan. 6, 2023) at After Election Problems in Houston, Republicans Seek to Overturn Results - The New York Times (nytimes.com).

³¹ United States Census Bureau, 2020 Population and Houston State Data, www.census.gov (Aug. 12, 2021).

States.³⁴ Harris County's sheer size and growth alone is a reasonable basis for the legislature to treat it individually on any number of issues, not just elections.

Another reasonable basis could be that the legislature observed that only Harris County had significant problems with its Elections Administrator. None of the other counties with an elections administrator made national news for how badly run their elections were. Harris County never had an elections administrator before the 2022 election cycle, and once the system changed, both Republicans and Democrats thought the administration was generally worse and needed correction. It would be reasonable for the legislature to make a change to the elections administrator in the one county that was experiencing difficulties while leaving the other counties' elections administrators alone.

In order to state a viable claim that fits within the UDJA's waiver of immunity, Harris County needed to plead facts that could deteat *all possible reasonable explanations* for the classification in order for its Article III, Section 56 claim to be facially valid. It has not; therefore, the Defendants are immune from suit.

2. Whether the law targets a single county is the beginning, not the end, of the analysis.

Harris County focuses on the fact that SB 1750 applies only to Harris County at the present time, then deduces that the law must therefore be unconstitutional under Article III, section 56. Plaintiff's Br. at 15-16. But this argument relies on an outdated precedent and ignores the main point of *Maple Run at Austin Municipal Utility District v. Monaghan*, 931 S.W.2d 941 (Tex. 1996).

³⁴ Kinder Institute for Urban Research, *Harris County Bounces Back in a Big Way in 2022 Population Estimate*, kinder.rice.edu (Mar. 23, 2023).

Harris County relies on *City of Fort Worth v. Bobbitt*, a 1931 Texas Supreme Court case with strong language that targeting a county is unconstitutional. *See* 36 S.W.2d 470 (Tex. 1931). But, assuming Harris County's reading of *Bobbitt* is correct, *Bobbit* would be an outlier: in the great weight of precedent, courts have viewed a statute's classification of one as merely the beginning of the Article III, section 56 analysis, not the end of it. Even Texas Supreme Court cases of the same vintage as *Bobbitt* from the 1930s and 1940s relied on reasonable basis analysis to find that laws targeting a single county were unconstitutional—it was not the targeting alone that dictated the outcome.³⁵ And, *Bobbitt* itself notes that a "fair basis" should support the classification. *Bobbitt*, 36 S.W.2d at 471-72.

Resolving any doubt that a statute that targets a specific area can be constitutional, the Texas Supreme Court has previously upheld a population classification that singled out Harris County in a one-time pension fund transfer. *Harris County Hospital District v. Pension Board of the City of Houston*, 449 S.W.2d 33, 39 (Tex. 1959). The Court noted specifically that the "*City argues that no city other than Houston can ever be affected by the provisions of the Section . . . No authority is cited in support of the position that this fact renders the Act a local or special law, and we doubt that any will be found." Id. at 38.*

³⁵ Cases declaring statutes unconstitutional under Article III, section 56 have done so not only because a single county, territory, or small group was targeted, but also because there was no reasonable basis for doing so. *See, e.g., Anderson v. Wood*, 152 S.W.2d 1084, 1087 (Tex. 1941)(finding unconstitutional a limit on hiring of traffic officers targeting only Tarrant County when counties of both smaller and larger populations faced no such restrictions); *Miller v. El Paso County*, 136 Tex. 370, 374 (Tex. 1941) (finding unconstitutional a statute authorizing the El Paso Commissioners Court to levy a 5% tax for county development where other counties of similar size were not authorized); *Bexar County*, 97 S.W.2d at 470-71 (finding no reasonable basis to reduce Bexar County officials' pay below the level of counties with similar population); *City of Fort Worth v. Bobbitt*, 36 S.W.2d 470, 471-72 (Tex. 1931)(noting that the need for a "fair basis" to support the classification); *Smith v. State*, 49 S.W.2d 739, 743-44 (Tex. Crim. App. 1932)(holding a jury rule targeting McClennan County unconstitutional because the population classification was not reasonably related to the rule).

The Texas Supreme Court in *Maple Run* went to great lengths to harmonize the mostly consistent, but sometimes inconsistent, precedent on Article III, section 56. In the years since *City* of Fort Worth v. Bobbitt, Texas courts have said explicitly what even Bobbitt did implicitly—that when a law targets a single county, Article III, section 56 comes into question, but that is not the end of the analysis. Maple Run, in fact, recognizes that the reasoning underlying Bobbitt and other early cases finding certain laws unconstitutional was not the targeting itself, but the lack of a reasonable basis for the classification. See Maple Run, 931 S.W.2d at 946. The Court says—exactly counter to the language Plaintiffs cite from Bobbitt—that "A law is not a prohibited local law merely because it applies only in a limited geographical area." Maple Run, 931 S.W.2d at 945 (emphasis added).

The Austin Court of Appeals articulated this same understanding of the precedent over a decade before the *Maple Run* decision. In *Public Utility Commission v. Southwest Water Services, Inc.*, the court gave a detailed analysis of several cases targeting single counties or districts, some of which were constitutional and some of which were not. The Court then explained that the outcome was determined not by the targeting itself, but by the presence or absence of a reasonable basis for the classification. 636 S.W.2d 262, 264-66 (Tex. App.—Austin 1982, reh'g denied). Ultimately, the court concluded: "*These cases preclude*... *a rule that declaring a statutory class, which by its terms is closed to future members, to be a per se violation of the constitutional prohibition against local and special laws.*" *Id.* at 266.

Thus, whether the law targets a single county or creates a "closed class" is not dispositive—the reasonable basis is.

3. Courts have held that laws targeting specific areas were constitutional when the classification was related to a larger statewide interest.

Although the potential reasonable bases for a legislative classification are many, the Texas Supreme Court has specifically recognized a specific subset: a targeted classification that furthers a larger statewide interest. As the Court observed in *Maple Run:* "Where the operation or enforcement of a statute is confined to a restricted area, the question of whether it deals with a matter of general rather than purely local interest is an important consideration in determining its constitutionality." 931 S.W.2d 941, 947 (Tex. 1996) (quoting *County of Cameron v. Wilson*, 326 S.W.2d 162, 165 (Tex. 1959)).³⁶

To be clear, a larger statewide interest is a sufficient, but not necessary, condition of constitutionality: "The significance of the subject matter and the number of persons affected by the legislation are merely factors, albeit important ones, in determining reasonableness." *Maple Run*, 931 S.W.3d at 947.³⁷

That said, Harris County's elections have a broad statewide impact. The County is larger than 26 states, and—with unquestionably the largest population in Texas—it has an outsized impact on statewide elections. It has a major impact on elections for seats whose district lines may encompass both parts of Harris County as well as neighboring counties. And, as the third-most populous county in the nation, Harris County is so significant that when problems with its elections administration arise, they become national news stories. The legislature has a reasonable basis in

³⁶ See also Lower Colorado River Authority v. McCraw, 83 S.W.2d 629, 636 (Tex. 1935) ("[A] statute is not local or special, within the meaning of [Article III, section 56], even though its enforcement is confined to a restricted area, if persons or things throughout the state are affected thereby, or if it operates upon a subject that the people at large are interested in.").

³⁷ In *Maple Run* itself, the Court rejected environmental conservation as a larger state interest when the purpose of the statute was not environmental conservation but allowing a municipal district to dissolve and leave its debts to Austin taxpayers. 931 S.W.2d at 948.

treating Harris County differently than any other county in the State because its elections impact larger statewide interests than any other county in the State.

The legislature often targets a single locality for the greater public good. For example, in *County of Cameron v. Wilson*, the Texas Supreme Court found that a classification for park development that essentially targeted Padre Island was reasonable because the need for park infrastructure on an undeveloped island was different from that of mainland parks. 326 S.W.2d 162, 165-66 (Tex. 1959). Then, the Court made a sweeping endorsement of the need for targeted classifications in the service of a wider state interest:

Because of the breadth and territorial extent of the State, its varied climatic and economic interests, and the attendant problems of transportation, regulation, and general needs incident to a growing and active population, we have been and will again be faced with the need and demand for legislation which affects all the people of the State generally, yet which, in its direct operation, will apply to one locality or to a comparatively small number of counties. Such legislation is not only common, but is generally for the public good, or at least has been so declared by the legislative branch of government. The scope of such legislation should not be restricted by expanding the nullifying effect of Article 3, s 56 of the Constitution.

Id. at 167 (emphasis added).

Again, in *Smith v. Davis*, the Texas Supreme Court upheld a population classification that effectively gave two specific counties the ability to levy extra taxes to support teaching hospitals the only two counties in the State with teaching hospitals. The Court reasoned that "the operation of teaching hospitals for state-supported medical schools . . . affects people throughout the State. . . . People throughout the State have a vital interest in medical education." 426 S.W.2d. 827, 831-32 (Tex. 1968). The broader State interest in medical education was a reasonable basis for the twocounty classification.

One court-approved form of promoting the larger public interest is in solving local jurisdictional/territorial disputes when a matter of high State importance is at stake. The *Maple* Run Court spoke favorably of the legitimate basis for upholding a statute that only affected the Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport. 931 S.W.2d at 948. Although Dallas and Fort Worth created a board to jointly administer the airport plans, eventually, the nearby cities of Irving, Euless, and Grapevine objected to its continued expansion, and a territorial war over zoning ordinances ensued. City of Irving v. Dallas/Ft. Worth Int'l Airport Bd., 894 S.W.2d 456, 449-60 (Tex. App.—Fort Worth 1995, no writ). The legislature stepped in to grant "constituent public agencies of a joint board" who are "home rule municipalities whose populations exceed 400,000" the exclusive power to administer municipal airports regardless of whether all or part of the airport was located within another municipality, and it overruled any other municipality's ability to enforce zoning ordinances in the airport territory. Id. at 460. Because the law clearly targeted Dallas and Fort Worth, the cities challenged its constitutionality, reasoning that there was no reasonable basis to treat D/FW differently than other airports, such as those in Houston. Id. at 465-66.

The Court upheld the statute on statewide public interest grounds:

There is no doubt about the significance of D/FW airport, not only statewide but also nationally and internationally. If ever a statute could be found not local or special even though its enforcement or operation is confined to a restricted area, because persons or things throughout the State are affected thereby or if it operates upon a subject in which people at large are interested, [this law] is such a measure.

Id. at 467 (internal citations omitted). The court also rejected the Cities' argument that the legislative attempt to fix a local problem rendered the statute unconstitutional—it recognized that "there clearly is a local problem with the host cities," but "the Legislature's attempt to alleviate this problem does not place [the law] into the realm of an unconstitutional local or special Harris County, Texas v. The State of Texas, et al. Page 29 of 41 Plea to the Jurisdiction

measure." *Id.* Thus, a law targeting not only a local area but also a local problem can still have a reasonable basis that makes it a constitutional general law.

Here, the Legislature also saw that "there clearly is a local problem" with administering elections in the largest county in the State and the third-largest county in the country. In the one year that Harris County had an appointed elections administrator instead of elected officials from either party running the election, Harris County had "one of the worst-run elections in recent memory."³⁸ Because of the challenges and controversies surrounding the 2022 elections run under the elections administrator system, the Legislature had a reasonable basis for restoring the system back to the local elected officials who had a history of running less controversial and challenge-ridden elections. Like the D/FW situation, the local problem was simply too important to leave unresolved, and the legislature stepped in And the Texas Supreme Court spoke approvingly of this statewide interest as a reasonable basis. *Maple Run*, 931 S.W.2d at 948.

By any measure, SB 1750 has a reasonable basis. Considering that a statute has a strong presumption in favor of reasonableness and constitutionality, and "*it must clearly appear that there is no reasonable basis for the classification adopted by the Legislature*" in order to invalidate it, Harris County has pleaded no set of facts that could possibly overcome this presumption. *See Cameron County*, 326 S.W.3d at 167. As such, Harris County has pleaded a constitutional claim that is facially invalid, and immunity is not waived.

4. In addition, SB 1750 could apply to other counties in the future.

The Texas Supreme Court has consistently held that when a law targets a single locality, the reasonable basis for the law is the touchstone of its constitutionality, not the fact of a restricted

³⁸ Hardy, *supra* note 4.

application. That said, an alternative basis for upholding a law that targets a single locality is the possibility that it could apply to other counties in the future: a law that "may have applied to only one county in the state at the time of its passage . . . did not alone make it a special or local law, . . . [because it could] apply to other counties in the future." *Bexar County v. Tynan*, 97 S.W.2d 467, 469 (Tex. 1936); *accord City of Fort Worth v. Bobbitt*, 36 S.W.2d 470, 471-72 (Tex. 1931); *Suburban Utility Corp. v. State*, 553 S.W.2d 396, 399 (Tex. App.—Houston 1977, reh'g denied).

SB 1750 could encompass another county in the future. Harris County admits this fact: "For example, if Travis County—which currently has a population of 1.3 million and does not have an elections administrator—reaches 3.5 million residents at some point in the future, Section 2 would preclude Travis County from 'creat[ing]' a county elections administrator position." Plaintiff's Application at 7. Given the substantial growth in Texas over the last few years, it is likely that SB 1750's application would extend over time.

Even if it were unlikely that the population classification will ever encompass another county, the Texas Supreme Court has held that any doubt must be resolved in favor of the validity of the statute. *Bexar County*, 97 S.W.2d at 470. And, indeed, it would be the Legislature's prerogative to determine that counties above a certain size should have a different scheme for elections administration because larger counties have different administrative needs than smaller counties.

Harris County believes that SB 1750 can never apply to any other county because counties with elections administrators today that exceed the 3.5 million population mark in the future will not have to abolish their elections administrator. Plaintiff's Application at 8. But even if that is true, and it is not clear that it is, the statute states that counties with a population of 3.5 million or less may create a county administrator. As Texas grows, other counties that currently have no elections administrator and later exceed the 3.5-million-person threshold will then be unable to create the position of county elections administrator. Such a scenario may happen in the future, and so the statute may be read as a general law on that basis as well.

Finally, if the statute *can* be read as constitutional, it *must* be:

When we evaluate the constitutionality of a statute, we start with the presumption that statutes enacted by the Legislature comply with both the United States and Texas Constitutions. In line with this presumption, if a statute is susceptible to two interpretations—one constitutional and the other unconstitutional—then the constitutional interpretation will prevail.

EBS Solutions, Inc. v. Hegar, 601 S.W.3d 744, 754 (Tex. 2020) (cleaned up). "The party asserting that the statute is unconstitutional bears a high burden to show unconstitutionality." *Id.* at 754. Harris County has not met its burden to plead facts demonstrating unconstitutionality, and immunity is not waived.

B. SB 1750's legislative history is irrelevant, as the Texas Supreme Court does not consider it.

To avoid the clear import of the statute's text when read in the light of well-established caselaw, Harris County relies heavily on legislative history, Twitter, and press releases to support its contention that the law unconstitutionally targeted Harris County. And even though the linchpin of the court's analysis is whether the legislation has a reasonable basis—not whether a county was targeted—Harris County's brief offers no argument against the reasonable basis, relying instead on the defunct closed-bracket analysis. Plaintiff's Br. at 15-17.

Harris County's reliance on Sen. Paul Bettencourt's press releases and Twitter posts, as well as an interchange with Rep. Briscoe Cain, is misplaced. The Texas Supreme Court has rejected this approach as a means of statutory interpretation, and rightly so. Sen. Bettencourt's statements reflect only his own intent, but the text of the statute reflects the collective intent of all 181 members of the State legislature: "Statements made during the legislative process by individual legislators or even a unanimous legislative chamber are not evidence of the collective intent of the majorities of both legislative chambers that enacted a statute." *Molinet v. Kimbrell*, 356 S.W.3d 407, 414-15 (Tex. 2011). Moreover, the legislators are not the "cat's paw" of the bill sponsors: "Under our form of government, legislators have a duty to exercise their judgment and to represent their constituents. It is insulting to suggest that they are mere dupes or tools." *Brnovich v. Democratic Nat'l Cmte.*, 141 S. Ct. 2321, 2350 (2021).

The statements of legislators are simply not relevant to statutory interpretation, especially in an Article III, section 26 claim:³⁹

[W]hen interpreting a statute, *the text is the alpha and the omega of the interpretive process*. While we have often stated that our objective in statutory interpretation is to give effect to the Legislature's intent, we have also acknowledged that the Legislature expresses its intent by the words it enacts and declares to be the law.

Bosque Disposal Systems, LLC v. Parker Cnty. Appraisal Dist., 555 S.W.3d 92 94 (Tex. 2018) (cleaned up).

And, even if legislative history were relevant, the Austin Court of Appeals has already rejected Harris County's reasoning that a law must be unconstitutional if the legislative history demonstrates that it is targeting a specific issue. In an identical argument to the one Harris County puts forth here, the plaintiff in *Juliff Gardens v. Tex. Comm. on Environmental Quality* argued that a colloquy between Senators in the legislative history that made clear that the purpose of the bill

³⁹ In *Bexar County v. Tynan*, the Texas Supreme Court even expressly declined to examine the legislative history, as it did not "deem it necessary." 97 S.W.2d at 471.

was to stop Juliff's landfill from getting a permit. 131 S.W.3d 271, 284-85 (Tex. App.—Austin 2004, no writ). The Court emphatically emphasized that

the mere fact that issues in [the Senators'] district . . . were precipitating causes of [the law] does not render it a local or special law. . . . When reviewing a statute to determine whether it is an unconstitutional local or special law, we review the reasonableness of the statute's classifications, . . . not the precipitating forces that led to its enactment. Specific events have led to numerous statutes that were enacted as laws of general applicability.

Id. at 283. The Court held that the law had a reasonable basis in treating this particular landfill differently than others due to the special needs of larger populations in coastal areas and upheld its constitutionality. *Id.* at 284-85.

This Court should likewise ignore Harris County's walk through the legislative history because the legislature had a reasonable basis for the classifications in SB 1750. The "precipitating forces" are irrelevant to its constitutionality. *See Berrovich*, 141 S. Ct. at 2349 (noting that the "cat's paw" theory does not translate to legislators). Because they are irrelevant to constitutionality, any statements made by legislators are irrelevant to whether Harris County has pleaded facts that state a valid constitutional claim, and irrelevant to whether immunity has been waived. Harris County has still failed to plead facts that overcome immunity.

III. SB 1750 repeals a previous authorization, and as such, is valid regardless of Article III, section 56.

Even if Harris County had successfully pleaded facts that demonstrated that SB 1750 lacked any reasonable basis, it would still be valid regardless of Article III, section 56, because it operates to repeal a previous law. Texas courts have repeatedly construed Article III, section 56 as inapplicable to the repeal of the legislature's own statutes or grants of authority.

SB 1750 repeals a previous grant of authority because it removes the power from counties with populations of 3.5 million or more to create the position of elections administrator. As far Harris County, Texas v. The State of Texas, et al. Page 34 of 41 Plea to the Jurisdiction back as 1900, courts have exempted such repeals from the "local law" prohibition. For example, in *Central Wharf & Warehouse Co. v. City of Corpus Christi*, the appellate court upheld the legislature's right to repeal a statute with the effect of repealing a city's charter, even in the face of a provision virtually identical to Article III, section 56. 57 S.W. 982 (Tex. App.—Galveston 1900, writ ref'd). The court observed that the constitutional provision "certainly did not mean to take away from the legislature its inherent power of repealing any law theretofore passed by it, and we must hold that said repealing act is a valid law." *Id.* at 983.

Similarly, the El Paso Court of Appeals upheld a law disincorporating a city's charter in the face of an Article III, section 56 challenge. Although the legislative action clearly targeted a single city, the court also held that a repeal was always within the legislature's power, regardless of Article III, section 56. It held that Article III, section 56 "does not expressly prohibit [the legislature] from repealing a statute of incorporation. In fact [the court] find[s] nothing in the entire provision which could be read as either expressly or impliedly limiting this inherent power of the legislature." *Diaz v. State*, 68 S.W.3d 680, 685 (Tex, App. —El Paso 2000, no writ).

Therefore, because SB 1750 acts as a repeal, it is not subject to Article III, section 56 at all, and there is no set of facts that Harris County could plead to demonstrate its invalidity.

IV. Provisional Attorney General Colmenero and Secretary Nelson are the wrong defendants.

Although the State is not a proper party, it is possible to challenge the validity of a statute by suing the entity that enforces it: "Declaratory-Judgment claims challenging the validity of a statute may be brought against the relevant governmental entity." *Id.* at 698. But, Harris County did not name governmental entities. Rather, it confused *ultra vires* suits with declaratory judgment actions

by naming the AG and Secretary of State in their official capacities, and not the Office of the Attorney General or the Office of the Secretary of State.

In an *ultra vires* suit, "because the rule that ultra vires suits are not suits against the State within the rule of immunity of the State from suit derives from the premise that the acts of officials which are not lawfully authorized are not acts of the State, it follows that these suits cannot be brought against the state, which retains immunity, but must be brought against the state actors in their official capacity. This is true even though the suit is, for all practical purposes, against the state." *City of El Paso v. Heinrich*, 284 S.W.3d 366, 373 (Tex. 2009) (cleaned up); *Patel v. Texas Dep't of Licensing and Reg.*, 469 S.W.3d 69, 77 (Tex. 2015) ("because the Threaders challenge the validity of the cosmetology statutes and regulations, rather than complaining that officials illegally acted or failed to act, the ultra vires exception does not apply. The Department and the Commission are not immune from the Threaders' suit.")

Harris County brought a declaratory judgment action, not an ultra vires suit. "For claims challenging the validity of ordinances or statutes, however, the Declaratory Judgment Act requires that the relevant governmental entities be made parties, and thereby waives immunity." *Id.* at 373 n.6. Thus, Harris County should have sued the Office of the Attorney General and the Office of the Secretary of State as entities, not the state officials themselves.

V. Conclusion

The court should grant the plea to the jurisdiction and dismiss this case.

VI. Prayer

For the foregoing reasons, the Attorney General respectfully requests that this Court:

- 1. Dismiss the State of Texas for lack of jurisdiction.
- 2. Dismiss Angela Colmenero and Jane Nelson for lack of jurisdiction.

- 3. Dismiss Harris County's entire suit for lack of standing.
- 4. Find that sovereign immunity has not been waived.
- 5. Deny the temporary injunction because the court lacks jurisdiction to issue such relief.
- 6. Grant any other relief, in law or in equity, to which Defendants may be entitled.

REPRESED FROM DEMOCRACY DOCKET, COM

Dated: August 3, 2023

ANGELA COLMENERO Provisional Attorney General of Texas

BRENT WEBSTER First Assistant Attorney General

GRANT DORFMAN Deputy First Assistant Attorney General

RALPH MOLINA Deputy Attorney General for Legal Strategy

RYAN D. WALTERS Deputy Chief, Special Litigation Division Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES ELDRED Chief, Legal Strategy Tex. State Bar No. 00793681

<u>/s/ Susanna Dokupil</u> SUSANNA DOKUPIL Special Counsel Tex. Bar No. 24034419

Christina Cella Assistant Attorney General Tex. Bar No. 24106199

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL P.O. Box 12548 Austin, Texas 78711-2548 Telephone: (512) 457-4110 Susanna.Dokupil@oag.texas.gov Charles.Eldred@oag.texas.gov Christina.Cella@oag.texas.gov

Counsel for Defendants

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

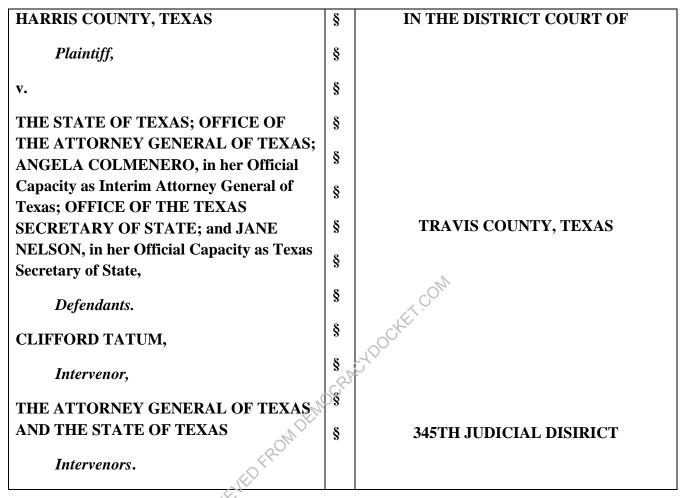
I hereby certify that a true and correct copy of the foregoing document, has been served on August 3, 2023, on the following attorney-in-charge, by e-service and/or e-mail:

> <u>/s/ Susanna Dokupil</u> Susanna Dokupil



8/7/2023 10:02 PM Velva L. Price District Clerk Travis County D-1-GN-23-003523 Susan Schmidt

CAUSE NO. D-1-GN-23-003523



PLAINTIFF'S RESPONSE TO DEFENDANTS' PLEA TO THE JURISDICTION

Defendants fundamentally misstate the nature of Harris County's standing and the substance of its claims. Defendants' Plea to the Jurisdiction should be denied because Harris County has pled that it will be injured by Defendants' likely response if Harris County's elections administrator's office administers and conducts the November 2023 election after September 1, 2023. Harris County has shown both pecuniary and constitutional harm traceable to the likely actions of Defendants. Moreover, Harris County's harm will be redressed if the Court declares SB1750 unconstitutional because the County will not need to abolish its elections administrator's

office. This is bread and butter standing, and Harris County's claims against Defendants may proceed.

Defendants' arguments on immunity are likewise unavailing. As detailed in Harris County's Amended Brief in Support of Temporary Injunctive Relief, Defendants ignore decades of case law holding that closed population brackets cannot withstand constitutional scrutiny under Article III, Section 56.

For these reasons, Harris County respectfully requests that the Court deny Defendants' Plea to the Jurisdiction.

I. Harris County has standing.

A. SB 1750 will cause Harris County a cognizable legal injury.

To have standing, Harris County must have an injury that is "both concrete and particularized and actual or imminent, not conjectural or hypothetical." *Data Foundry, Inc. v. City of Austin*, 620 S.W.3d 692, (Tex. 2021). "An injury is 'particularized' for standing purposes if it 'affects the plaintiff in a personal and individual way." *Id.* (quoting *Spokeo, Inc. v. Robins*, 578 U.S. 330, 339 (2016)) (internal brackets omitted). An injury is "concrete" if it "actually exist[s]"—that is, if it is "'real,' and not 'abstract." *Spokeo*, 578 U.S. at 340.

Harris County's injuries easily meet this standard.

1. SB1750 directly injures Harris County in obvious and incontrovertible ways.

First, as Defendants admit (PTJ at 12), Harris County had claimed pecuniary harm from costs associated with compliance with SB1750. Defendants admit that this can constitute an injury in fact, but claim that because Harris County "does not intend to comply" with SB1750 it cannot actually be harmed. This of course misrepresents Harris County's statement. Harris County will not comply with this law *if it can get a temporary injunction preventing enforcement actions by*

Defendants. Moreover, even if Harris County did not comply with SB1750, it would still face pecuniary harm if its officers may be sued by the Attorney General's Office for civil penalties, among many other suits that may follow.

Second, Harris County has a statutory right to administer its elections using an election administrator. SB1750 would strip Harris County of that power. The loss of that authority is certainly particularized—by design, SB1750 affects Harris County alone. And the loss of power also "actually exists" and is not "abstract": Harris County will be stripped of a meaningful and specific right of local self-governance that it has today. Tellingly, the State makes no effort to dispute the existence of concreteness or particularization, and the Court's analysis should stop there.

Instead, the State makes a breathtaking argument: that a political subdivision like Harris County simply cannot sue the State for restricting its powers. PTJ at 11-12. The State can cite no authority for its rule, resorting instead to inapposite federal cases.¹

This is because Texas Supreme Court precedent flatly rejects the State's rule. In *Neeley*, the Court explained that it had never "establish[ed] a broad rule that a governmental entity cannot sue to declare a statute unconstitutional." *Neeley v. West Orange-Cove Consol. Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 176 S.W.3d 746, 772 (Tex. 2005). Instead, the Court held that political subdivisions may sue the State to declare a law unconstitutional when the subdivision "is charged with implementing a

¹ The State cites a decades-old federal decision for the proposition that "one governmental actor typically does not have a justiciable injury based on a *generalized* claim that another actor's exercise of its own authority on behalf of the same government altered the distribution of power." PTJ 11 (emphasis added). The case the State cites announces no such broad rule. Instead, it held that a congressman lacked standing because he asserted a generalized, not particularized, injury: an allegedly invalid executive order generally impinged upon congressional power, and thus upon the congressman's; the congressman did not allege the loss of any specific statutory or constitutional right or authority. *United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. v. Reagan*, 738 F.2d 1375, 1381-82 (D.C. Cir. 1984). Harris County's injury, by contrast, is particularized.

statute it believes violates the Texas Constitution." *Id.* (quoting *Nootsie, Ltd. v. Williamson Cnty. Appraisal Dist.*, 925 S.W.2d 659, 662 (Tex. 1996)).

Likewise, in *Nootsie*, the Court specifically rejected the idea that the political subdivision's standing depended on the challenged law "violat[ing] constitutional rights belonging to the [subdivision]." 925 S.W.2d at 662.² Instead, the harm suffered by the district in implementing an unconstitutional law *itself* "provide[d] the district with a sufficient stake in th[e] controversy to assure the presence of an actual controversy." *Id.*³

Harris County alleges an identical injury. SB1750 requires Harris County to implement SB1750 by terminating the EA's employment and shifting his duties, employees, and budget to the county clerk and tax assessor-collector. But Harris County believes that the law requiring it to perform these tasks is unconstitutional.

Under Neeley and Nootsie, that is a sufficient injury for standing purposes.

2. Harris County will also be injured by SB1750's enforcement by the State Officer Defendants

In *Abbott v. Harris County*, the Supreme Court held that a "credible threat" that the Attorney General would "bring enforcement actions against the County" gave the County "standing to pursue its claims against the Attorney General." No. 22-0124, 2023 WL 4278763, at *6 (Tex. Jun. 30, 2023). Here, there is a similarly credible threat: the Attorney General has previously threatened enforcement actions aimed at abolishing the Harris County EA position. The

²*Nootsie* thus rejects the State's contention—again based upon a decades-old federal case—that a political subdivision may sue the government of which it is a part only if the larger government "totally deprives the complainant of a right' granted by the Constitution." PTJ 11 (quoting *Chiles v. Thornburgh*, 865 F.2d 1197, 1206 (11th Cir. 1989)) (brackets omitted).

³ The State asserts that because counties sometimes act as the State's agents, "it makes little sense to allow [a] county to sue the State because it disagrees with the choices the State makes about what powers the County may or may not exercise." PTJ 12. But in *Neeley*, the State's use of the school districts as its agents was part of why the districts *had standing* to sue the State.

State's coy demurrals do not diminish the likelihood that, if Harris County violated SB1750, the Attorney General would pursue similar actions with even greater vigor; tellingly, the State does not come close to denying this obvious reality, and the Court will consider evidence showing as much. As in *Abbott*, the Attorney General's enforcement threats give Harris County standing.

The Election Code also requires the Secretary of State to enforce SB1750 against Harris County in a variety of ways that will cause it harm. This is because numerous provisions of the Elections Code require the Secretary of State to interact with the proper county officials—which, after SB1750, the Harris County EA would not be. *See* Plaintiff's Br. in Support of Temporary Injunction at 27-29.

This argument also shows the fallacy in the State's assertion that Harris County's injury allegations "assume[] an enforcement action." PTJ 13. Because the duties the Elections Code imposes on the Secretary of State speak in terms of county elections officers, she will enforce SB1750 simply by performing her normal statutory duties after SB1750 takes effect.

3. Harris County would also be injured by complying with SB1750.

As the State concedes, Harris County alleges that SB1750 will harm its ability to effectively administer the November 2023 election, because the officers the law requires to run that imminent election have had no involvement in preparations. The State again does not dispute that this is a cognizable harm under *Neeley*, 176 S.W.3d 746, 772 (Tex. 2005)

The State instead asks this Court to ignore these allegations because "Harris County advertises that it 'does not intend to comply' with the statute," making "any alleged injury from complying with SB1750... wholly irrelevant." PTJ 12. The State makes far too much of Harris County's statement. Harris County is not intending to ignore the law—that is why it filed this suit seeking a declaration that SB1750 was unconstitutional. And Harris County sought its injunction

because both compliance and noncompliance carry unacceptable risks in the absence of relief from this Court. The State can cite no precedent permitting this Court to ignore Harris County's injuries simply because Harris County forthrightly stated that it filed this lawsuit in an attempt to avoid compliance with an unconstitutional law.

B. Harris County's injuries are traceable to Defendants.

Traceability exists where a "plaintiff's alleged injury ... fairly can be traced to the challenged action of the defendant." *Heckman v. Williamson County*, 369 S.W.3d 137, 155 (Tex. 2012). Here, because the Attorney General and Secretary of State are authorized to enforce SB1750 and have accused the County of violating state law by creating the EA position, and because the Attorney General has threatened enforcement action, the County's injury is traceable to both Defendants.

1. Harris County may sue the Attorney General and Secretary of State under the UDJA.⁴

The State erroneously contends that the Attorney General and Secretary of State "are the wrong defendants" and that the County should instead have sued "the Office of the Attorney General" and "the Office of the Secretary of State." PTJ at 14. To dispel any argument on this issue, the County has amended its petition to assert claims against the "Office of" the Attorney General and the "Office of" the Secretary of State. However, the State's argument is incorrect and the Attorney General and Secretary of State are proper defendants in a UDJA suit challenging a statute's constitutionality.

⁴ The State raises this argument in the course of its standing argument, PTJ 14, but the jurisdictional defect it asserts is actually one of immunity, not standing.

The State says that Harris County "confused *ultra vires* suits with declaratory judgment actions." PTJ 14. The State's apparent contention is that an *ultra vires* claim is the sole means of waiving a state official's sovereign immunity, while the UDJA does not. The State's position derives from a passage in *City of El Paso v. Heinrich* explaining that the UDJA's immunity waiver "requires that the relevant governmental entities be made parties." 284 S.W.3d 366, 373 (Tex. 2009).

Implicit in the State's argument is that a constitutional officer like the Attorney General or Secretary of State cannot be the "relevant governmental entit[y]." But the State cannot cite a single case adopting this nonsensical rule. Worse for the State, the Supreme Court recently suggested that the State's rule is wrong. Immediately after noting that UDJA claims "challenging the validity of a statute may be brought against the relevant governmental entity," the Supreme Court noted that its "case law is replete" with constitutional challenges to statutes "brought against proper defendants *like the Governor and the Secretary of State.*" *Abbott v. Mexican Am. Legislative Caucus, Texas House of Representatives*, 647 S.W.3d 681, 698 (Tex. 2022) (emphasis added).

Here, the relevant statutory provisions are enforced by the Attorney General and the Secretary State as officers, not by the "Offices of" those officers. In that circumstance, the officials themselves are the proper defendants for a UDJA claim.⁵ *See MALC*, 647 S.W.3d at 697 n.7 ("The identity of the relevant governmental entity for waiver purposes necessarily depends on the statute being challenged."). And in any event, Defendants do not seriously claim that those offices would act contrary to the direction of their appointed or elected officers.

 $^{^{5}}$ To be sure, in some cases there may be a meaningful difference between an agency (e.g., the Health and Human Services Commission) and the officials who govern that agency (e.g., the Executive Commissioner). Those differences do not apply here.

2. The County's injury is fairly traceable to the Secretary of State.

If SB1750 is allowed to go into effect, the County will suffer injury fairly traceable to the Secretary of State. As Harris County explains above, a variety of statutes will require the Secretary of State to treat the Harris County EA as defunct and not a proper election officer for the County.

Unsurprisingly, the State does not address the many other provisions specifically charging the Secretary of State with electoral duties that currently involve the Harris County EA but, after SB1750, would exclude the Harris County EA. *See* Am. Pet. 15. The State's traceability arguments thus fail with respect to the Secretary of State.⁶ Instead, it argues that the County's injuries are not traceable to other statutory provisions—the Secretary of State's general authority to maintain uniformity in the election laws, PTJ at 15, 17-18, or her specific authority to remove an elections administrator under certain conditions, *id.* at 16-17. The State also contends that, even if SB1750 were invalid, the law would not permit the Secretary of State to invalidate Harris County's election results. *Id.* at 18-19. None of the State's arguments pertain to other sections like Section 19.002, which could cost the County financial harm. That statute provides the "enforcement connection" required for traceability. *See MALC*, 647 S.W.3d at 698.

3. The County's injury is fairly traceable to the Attorney General.

The requisite "enforcement connection" is also present with respect to the Attorney General.

The State relies heavily on the fact that SB1750 does not explicitly authorize the Attorney General to enforce it. PTJ at 19. But such explicit language is not necessary. For instance, the Supreme Court recently held that Harris County had standing to sue the Attorney General

⁶ Instead, the State argues at length that neither SB1933 nor the Secretary of State's general authority over elections establish traceability. PTJ 15-19. But Harris County's traceability arguments do not depend on these statutes.

regarding the Governor's executive order forbidding local governments from enacting mask mandates; it made no mention of whether the executive order at issue, or the statute authorizing the executive order, explicitly provided the Attorney General with enforcement authority. *Abbott v. Harris Cnty.*, No. 22-0124, 2023 WL 4278763, at *5 (Tex. June 30, 2023). Indeed, neither statute provides such explicit authority.⁷

In *Abbott v. Harris County*, standing was satisfied because the Attorney General had threatened enforcement action under his broader law-enforcement authority. *Id.* Similarly, here, the Attorney General already threatened to sue Harris County for creating the EA position, calling it "*ultra vires* actions" that were "both unlawful and null and void " Attorney General's Letter to Harris County Attorney Vince Ryan at 1 (Nov. 25, 2020).⁸ After SB1750, the filing of an *ultra vires* suit to eliminate the Harris County EA has only grown more likely.

As for the State's contention that the Attorney General's threats can be ignored because they predate SB1750, PTJ 20, the State cites no authority requiring that enforcement threats be so specific. Harris County has alleged that SB1750 was a longstanding, politically motivated attack on the Harris County EA, in which the Attorney General participated. The Attorney General moreover threatened enforcement on the precise issue here—Harris County's ability to utilize an Elections Administrator.

Traceability is therefore satisfied as to the Attorney General.⁹

⁷ The State cites both *MALC* and the United States Supreme Court's decision in *Whole Woman's Health v. Jackson*. PTJ at 19. Both cases held that the requisite enforcement connection was absent, but neither case held that a statute must *explicitly* grant enforcement authority to establish traceability. *See MALC*, 647 S.W.3d at 698; *Whole Woman's Health*, 142 S. Ct 522, 534-35 (2021).

⁸ <u>https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/20418715/states-letter-to-harris-county.pdf.</u>

⁹ Harris County acknowledges that, under *MALC*, its injuries are not traceable to the State itself. However, Harris County reserves the right to argue on appeal that *MALC* was wrongly decided insofar that it held that an injury directly

II. SB1750 is facially unconstitutional. Defendants therefore lack immunity from suit.

Harris County's brief in support of its application for a temporary injunction lays out in detail the reasons why SB1750 is unconstitutional. The most glaringly local of its provisions, Section 3, is a closed bracket forcing Harris County—and only ever Harris County—to abolish its elections administrator's office. Harris County refers the court to that brief, and will respond to some of the additional arguments raised by Defendants in their plea to the jurisdiction.

A. Harris County agrees that a reasonable basis test applies when analyzing laws that violate Article III, Section 56. But Defendants fundamentally misapply the reasonable basis test.

Harris County incorporates the arguments in its Amended Brief in Support of Temporary Injunctive Relief ("TI Brief"). As discussed in the TI Brief, pp. 15-26, Section 3 of SB1750 is a closed population bracket, and therefore fails the reasonable basis test applied by Texas courts for over a century. It bears repeating that counsel for Harris County has yet to find one case upholding a closed population bracket. Not surprisingly, counsel for Defendants appear to have also failed in this endeavor.

Defendants spend the bulk of their Plea to the Jurisdiction citing cases involving open population brackets, and making general allusions to their claimed reasonable basis for SB1750 as a whole. While Harris County acknowledges that case law applying Article III, Section 56 to open population brackets are more favorable to Defendants, Harris County reserves its right to challenge the basis for Section 2 because there is simply no reason why an elections administrator cannot run elections in a county above 3.5 million. In fact, SB1750 preserves the right of counties with

caused by a statute is not traceable to the State itself "in the absence of an 'enforcement connection' between the challenged provisions and the State itself." *MALC*, 647 S.W.3d at 696-97. Harris County does not seek an injunction against the State itself, and the State's dismissal would therefore have no effect on Harris County's injunction claims.

existing elections administrators to continue using that structure once they reach 3.5 million (except for Harris County, of course).

Given the early stage in the proceedings, and the lack of factual record to support Defendants' plea as regards Section 2 of SB1750, Harris County respectfully requests that the Court refrain from ruling on Defendants' plea as regards Section 2. Waiting to rule on Defendants' arguments as to Section 2 will not subject Defendants to any litigation it would not otherwise have faced. Plaintiffs do not seek temporary relief or discovery related to Section 2 specifically. Defendants' plea must fail as regards Section 3 (and Section 4, which only applies if Section 3 applies), and Section 3 forms the basis of Plaintiff's pending temporary injunction application.

B. Statewide interest

Defendants misstate the law when they claim that "a larger statewide interest is a sufficient, but not necessary, condition of constitutionality." Defs.' PTJ at 27. As the Texas Supreme Court made clear in *Maple Run Utility District*, "our later cases have clarified that the ultimate question under Article III, Section 56 is whether there is a reasonable basis for the Legislature's classification. *The significance of the subject matter and the number of persons affected by the legislation are merely factors*, albeit important ones, in determining reasonableness." *Maple Run at Austin Mun. Util. Dist. v. Monaghan*, 931 S.W.2d 941, 945 (Tex. 1996) (emphasis added)(internal citations omitted).

And in any event, SB 1750's closed bracket shows precisely why Defendants' reliance on a purported statewide interest falls flat. Far from supporting Defendants' claim of immunity, Defendants' argument that Harris County's "outsized impact on statewide elections" due to its current population gives the legislature a "reasonable basis [to treat] Harris County differently in the State" in fact shows precisely why SB1750 violates Article III, Section 56. After all, if any county that grows above 3.5 million has an outsized impact on statewide elections, it should also become part of the class of counties that must abolish their elections administrators. Tellingly, Defendants identify no case where a court upheld a closed population bracket—let alone one where the court upheld a closed population bracket because that classification furthered a larger statewide interest. That makes sense, because any classification furthering a larger statewide interest would be wholly irrational if it did not allow other entrants into the class.

C. Legislative History

Defendants argue that legislative history is irrelevant and that this court should ignore statements made by SB1750's Senate and House sponsors proudly proclaiming that the law targets Harris County's elections administrator. Defs.' PTJ at 32-34. While Harris County agrees that legislative history generally does not trump the plain text of a statute and other canons of statutory construction, legislative history can be particularly instructive in cases involving Article III, Section 56. That is because the purpose of Article III, Section 56 is precisely to avoid a single legislator using the legislative process to "engag[e] in the reprehensible practice of trading votes for the advancement of personal rather than public interests." *Id.* (internal citations omitted); *see also Kelly v. State*, 724 S.W.2d 42, 47 (Tex. Crim. App. 1987) ("The intent of Art. III, Section 56, of the Constitution ... was 'to combat corruption, personal privileges, and meddling in local affairs—or, conversely, to prevent a group from dashing to the Capitol to get something their local government would not give them.'") (quoting George D. Braden, *The Constitution of the State of Texas: An Annotated and Comparative Analysis* 273 (1977)).

In fact, the case Defendants claim rejected an "identical argument to the one Harris County puts forth here" explicitly states that courts can consider legislative history in these types of cases. Defs.' PTJ at 33 (citing *Juliff Gardens, L.L.C. v. Tex. Comm. on Env. Quality*, 131 S.W.3d 271,

284-85 (Tex.App.—Austin 2004, no writ). In *Juliff*, the court started its analysis by noting that "[i]n determining whether a statute is a local or special law, it is appropriate to examine the statute's legislative history." *Juliff Gardens*, 131 S.W.3d at 282 n.7. The court went on to reject the consideration of a colloquy between two Senators discussing the bill, noting that "[s]pecific events have led to numerous statutes that were enacted as laws of general applicability." *Id.* at 283.

But *Juliff* did not deal with a closed population bracket, and could therefore find that there was a reasonable basis for a law of general applicability that applied to an open bracket. As the court went on to note, "[t]he mere fact that Juliff's proposed landfill, and the subsequent community opposition to the landfill, may have spurred Senator Brown to sponsor the amendment that became section 361.122 does not render this section a prohibited local or special law." *Id.* However, *Juliff* said nothing about considering legislative history when evaluating a closed population, and reaffirmed that legislative history may be considered in analyzing Article III, Section 56 claims. *See also Bexar Metro. Water Dist. v. City of San Antonio*, 228 S.W.3d 887, 895 (Tex. App.—Austin 2007, no pet.) (considering legislative testimony in a challenge to a law under a different section of the Texas Constitution); *FM Properties Operating Co. v. City of Austin*, 22 S.W.3d 868, 873 (Tex. 2000) (noting that courts may consider legislative history in a facial challenge to a statute's constitutionality).

In any event, because Section 3 of SB1750 is constitutionally invalid on its face as a closed population bracket, the legislative history is simply further evidence of that law's intent.

D. Repeal

Finally, Defendants argue that SB1750 "repeals" a previous law and is therefore a permissible local law. However, this rule only applies if a "complete repeal of a statute, unlike this case's purported partial repeal of an otherwise generally applicable statute, to remove its

application as to only one municipality." *City of Tyler v. Liberty Utilities (Tall Timbers Sewer) Corp.*, 571 S.W.3d 336, 345 (Tex. App.—Houston [1st Dist.] 2018, no pet.) (citing *Central Wharf & Warehouse Co. v. City of Corpus Christi*, 57 S.W. 892). Citing the same authority Defendants rely on, the court in *City of Tyler* noted that "[t]he affirmative legislative act of excepting one locality from the effect of a generally applicable law is precisely what the general prohibition against enacting local laws is designed to prevent, and characterizing the statute as a partial repeal does not change its fundamental character as a prohibited local law." *Id*.

Courts have frequently invalidated laws that purport to exempt one locality from a prior statutory authorization, like SB1750 does. *See Anderson v. Wood*, 152 S.W.2d 1084, 1087 (Tex. 1941) (holding unconstitutional a law that exempted Tarrant County, through a population bracket, from a general law setting a cap on the number of traffic officers a county could hire); *Bexar County v. Tynan*, 128 Tex. 223, 228 (Comm'n App. 1936) (holding unconstitutional a law that, through a population bracket, reduced compensation for county officers in only Bexar County, despite a law that set a compensation schedule for counties throughout the state based on population); *Hall v. Bell Cnty.*, 137 S.W. 178, 183 (Tex. App.—Austin 1911), aff'd, 105 Tex. 558 (1913) (holding unconstitutional a law that exempted only Bell County from an existing law that created the office of county auditor). Accordingly, the Court should ignore Defendants' argument.

III. Conclusion

For the foregoing reasons, Defendants' plea to the jurisdiction should be denied.

/s/ Jonathan Fombonne

Christian D. Menefee Harris County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24088049 Christian.Menefee@harriscountytx.gov **Jonathan Fombonne** First Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24102702 Jonathan.Fombonne@harriscountytx.gov **Tiffany S. Bingham** Managing Counsel Texas Bar No. 24012287 Tiffany.Bingham@harriscountytx.gov Neal Sarker Special Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24093106 Neal.Sarkar@harriscountytx.gov Christopher Garza Senior Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24078543 Christopher.Garza@harriscountytx.gov **Matthew Miller** Senior Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24051959 Matthew.Miller@harriscountytx.gov Moustapha Gassama Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24083058 Moustapha.Gassama@harriscountytx.gov Neeharika Tumati Assistant County Attorney Texas Bar No. 24101168 Neeharika.Tumati@harriscountytx.gov

Office of Harris County Attorney

1019 Congress, 15th Floor Houston, Texas 77002 Office: 713-755-5101 Fax: 713-755-8924

ATTORNEYS FOR PLAINTIFF

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I hereby certify that on August 7, 2023, a true and correct copy of the foregoing document was served via the Court's electronic filing system to all counsel of record.

<u>/s/Neal A. Sarkar</u> Special Assistant County Attorney

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Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Christian D.Menefee		Christian.Menefee@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Andrea Mintzer		andrea.mintzer@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Jonathan Fombonne		Jonathan.Fombonne@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Neal Sarkar		Neal.Sarkar@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Tiffany Bingham		Tiffany.Bingham@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Christopher Garza		Christopher.Garza@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Matthew Miller		Matthew.Miller@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Moustapha Gassama		Moustapha.Gassama@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Neeharika Tumati	4	Neeharika.Tumati@harriscountytx.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT

Associated Case Party: CLIFFORD TATUMS

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Alyce Young		alyce@rs-law.com	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Richard Schechter		richard@rs-law.com	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Gerald Birnberg		gbirnberg@wba-law.com	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT

Associated Case Party: THE STATE OF TEXAS

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Charles Kenneth Eldred	793681	Charles.Eldred@oag.texas.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Sharron Lee		sharron.lee@oag.texas.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
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Leif Olson	leif.olson@oag.texas.gov 8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Jessica Yvarra	Jessica.Yvarra@oag.texas.gov 8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Susanna Dokupil	Susanna.Dokupil@oag.texas.gov 8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT

Associated Case Party: JANE NELSON TEXAS SECRETARY OF STATE

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Charles Kenneth Eldred	793681	Charles.Eldred@oag.texas.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT
Christina Cella	24106199	christina.cella@oag.texas.gov	8/7/2023 10:02:11 PM	SENT

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Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Susanna Dokupil		Susanna.Dokupil@oag.texas.gov	8/15/2023 5:02:30 PM	SENT
Associated Case Party: Harris County, Texas				

Associated Case Party: Harris County, Texas

Name	BarNumber	Email	TimestampSubmitted	Status
Jonathan Fombonne	24102702	jonathan.fombonne@harriscountytx.gov	8/15/2023 5:02:30 PM	SENT
Christian Menefee	24088049	christian.menefee@harriscountytx.gov	8/15/2023 5:02:30 PM	SENT
Wallace B.Jefferson		wjefferson@adjtlaw.com	8/15/2023 5:02:30 PM	SENT
Ginger Grimm		ggrimm@adjtlaw.com	8/15/2023 5:02:30 PM	SENT
Nicholas Bacarisse		nbacarisse@adjtlaw.com	8/15/2023 5:02:30 PM	SENT
Matthew Miller	24051959 🤇	Matthew.Miller@harriscountytx.gov	8/15/2023 5:02:30 PM	SENT
Neal Sarkar		neal.sarkar@harriscountytx.gov	8/15/2023 5:02:30 PM	SENT