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27 *Attorneys for Plaintiffs*

28 **IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT**
FOR THE DISTRICT OF ARIZONA

American Encore, an Arizona non-profit corporation; Karen Glennon, an Arizona individual; America First Policy Institute, a non-profit corporation,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

Adrian Fontes, in his official capacity as Arizona Secretary of State; Kris Mayes, in her official capacity as Arizona Attorney General; Katie Hobbs, in her official capacity as Governor of Arizona,

Defendants.

Case No.:

COMPLAINT

1 Plaintiffs bring this Complaint against Defendant Adrian Fontes, in his official
2 capacity as Arizona Secretary of State (the “Secretary”); Kris Mayes, in her official
3 capacity as Arizona Attorney General (the “Attorney General”); and Katie Hobbs, in her
4 official capacity as Governor of Arizona (the “Governor”) (collectively, “Defendants” or
5 the “State”) and allege as follows:

6 INTRODUCTION

7 1. This suit challenges two provisions of Arizona election law, both of which
8 are included in the 2023 Arizona Election Procedure Manual (“2023 EPM” or “EPM”).
9 The EPM governs how elections are conducted and has the force of law in Arizona. Any
10 violation of a provision of the EPM by any person is a class-two misdemeanor. *See* A.R.S.
11 § 16-452(C) (“A person who violates any rule adopted pursuant to this section is guilty of
12 a class 2 misdemeanor.”); *Arizona Pub. Integrity All. v. Fontes*, 250 Ariz. 58, 63 ¶ 16
13 (2020) (“Once adopted, the EPM has the force of law; any violation of an EPM rule is
14 punishable as a class two misdemeanor.”)

15 2. The first challenged regulation, the “Vote Nullification Provision,” is a vote-
16 nullification provision that *mandates* that *all votes cast by all voters* in a county will *not be*
17 *counted* (*i.e.*, will be thrown out and not included in the statewide totals) if the Board of
18 Supervisors for that county fails or refuses to certify the canvas election results for that
19 county. The Vote Nullification Provision thus provides that “[i]f the official canvass of any
20 county has not been received by [the] deadline, the Secretary of State must proceed with
21 the state canvass *without including the votes of the missing county.*” EPM, Chpt. 13, §
22 II(B)(2) (emphasis added).

23 3. The second challenged provision, the “Speech Restriction,” is a broad
24 curtailment of speech. It purports to criminalize “*any activity*” taken “with the intent *or*
25 *effect* of threatening, harassing, intimidating or coercing voters.” EPM Chpt. 9, § III(D)
26 (emphasis added). The Speech Restriction further makes clear that this criminal prohibition
27 reaches actions as ubiquitous as simply “raising one’s voice” or “using . . . insulting or
28 offensive language to a voter.” EPM at 182.

THE PARTIES

1
2 11. Plaintiff American Encore is a 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization that is based
3 in Arizona. American Encore is regularly involved in election-related activity in Arizona.
4 American Encore defends freedom, promotes free markets, works to expand economic
5 opportunity and makes the case for the American ideals of liberty and democracy.

6 12. American Encore advances its mission by supporting and opposing political
7 candidates, policies, and initiatives. American Encore does this by engaging in
8 electioneering communications—including in Arizona.

9 13. As part of these electioneering communications, American Encore regularly
10 speaks with voters through advertising and person-to-person contact.

11 14. American Encore will continue to engage in voter contact in Arizona for the
12 upcoming 2024 election cycle and beyond.

13 15. American Encore has incurred and will continue to incur additional legal and
14 other costs to ensure compliance with the 2023 EPM, specifically, but not limited to, the
15 Speech Restriction.

16 16. If the 2023 EPM had not included the broad and undefined provisions
17 governing forms of voter contact that it typically engages in, American Encore would not
18 have had to otherwise incur these additional compliance costs beyond what it typically
19 incurs.

20 17. As part of these additional compliance costs, American Encore has trained,
21 and will continue train, volunteers and others who will assist with contacting voters in
22 Arizona to ensure compliance with the Speech Restriction of the 2023 EPM.

23 18. The vast majority of American Encore’s voter contact in Arizona takes place
24 more than 75 feet from voting locations.

25 19. Plaintiff Karen Glennon is an individual domiciled in Apache County,
26 Arizona, registered to vote, and who plans on voting in the 2024 elections.

27 20. Plaintiff Glennon’s vote is now open to disqualification through no fault of
28 her own, based solely on the discretion of the Apache County Board of Supervisors to

1 decide whether to canvas and certify the election results in the timeframe imposed by
2 statute and the EPM.

3 21. Plaintiff Glennon is harmed by the Vote Nullification Provision because her
4 right to vote is now subject to qualifications that are wholly outside of her control.

5 22. Plaintiff Glennon is also harmed by the Speech Restriction because her
6 otherwise protected political speech is now subject to criminal penalty based on the
7 arbitrary and discriminatory decisions of the government officials who are enforcing its
8 vague terms.

9 23. Plaintiff America First Policy Institute (“AFPI”) is a 501(c)(3) non-profit
10 organization. The organization works at the state level to advance or oppose legislation,
11 which necessarily involves promoting elections and raising awareness of issues at
12 elections.

13 24. AFPI trains volunteers and poll workers on how to focus on election integrity
14 at polling locations before and during election day, how to be poll watchers, etc., which
15 requires credentialing and specific processes.

16 25. AFPI has conducted poll-worker training sessions in Arizona in the past and
17 intends to conduct at least two additional sessions in 2024.

18 26. Unless the provisions of the EPM regulating speech are enjoined or otherwise
19 invalidated, AFPI will be forced to include in those training sessions about how to comply
20 with the EPM’s speech provisions. In doing so, AFPI will incur compliance costs as a result
21 of its need to design and conduct EPM-specific training.

22 27. AFPI has also conducted grassroots workshops about election related issues
23 in Arizona in the past and intends to do so in the future. In doing so, AFPI engages in
24 communications with Arizona voters. For example, AFPI conducted a workshop on
25 ranked-choice voting in Mesa in January 2024.

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1 28. As part of its policy objectives, AFPI regularly communicates with adults
2 throughout Arizona—many of whom are voters.¹ Many of those adults/voters are
3 supportive of AFPI’s policy positions. Others may oppose AFPI’s positions and may even
4 be offended by AFPI’s messages about them, particularly in this recent era known for an
5 increasingly easily offended populace and strategic weaponization of offense to silence
6 opposing viewpoints. As a result of the EPM’s provisions, AFPI has had to alter how it
7 conducts its operations and communications in Arizona to avoid potential EPM violations,
8 and further, has had to do so in a manner that is not required in other states.

9 29. AFPI also has about 300,000 members, who are widely dispersed throughout
10 the United States. Many of those members routinely advocate for governmental policies to
11 their peers, including in Arizona. Those members also face a risk of enforcement from the
12 EPM’s provisions.

13 30. Therefore, AFPI faces a real threat and controversy with the 2023 EPM
14 because of how it directly conflicts with the Free Speech guarantee of the U.S. Constitution.

15 31. Defendant Adrian Fontes is the Secretary of State and is named in this action
16 in his official capacity only. The Secretary is a constitutional officer who is part of the
17 Executive Branch of the State of Arizona. His primary address is in Maricopa County.

18 32. Under A.R.S. § 16-452, the Secretary is responsible for promulgating an
19 EPM every two years, which, upon approval by the Governor and the Attorney General,
20 has the force of law. In addition, the Secretary is the chief state election officer. *See* A.R.S.
21 § 16-142(A)(1).

22 33. Defendant Kris Mayes is the Attorney General and is named in this action in
23 her official capacity only. The Attorney General is a constitutional officer who is part of
24 the Executive Branch of the State of Arizona. She has her primary address in Maricopa
25 County. The Attorney General has the statutory authority to enforce and prosecute election
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27 ¹ Although America First regularly communicates with individuals in Arizona, many of
28 whom are registered voters, it does not advocate for the election of specific candidates or
adoption or rejection of particular ballot measures.

1 violations found in Title 16 under A.R.S. § 16-1021. She is also statutorily tasked with
2 approving the final EPM. *See* A.R.S. § 16-452(B).

3 34. Defendant Katie Hobbs is the Governor of Arizona and is named in this
4 action in her official capacity only. The Governor is a constitutional officer who is the head
5 of the Executive Branch of the State of Arizona. She has her primary address in Maricopa
6 County. She is statutorily tasked with approving the final EPM. *See id.*

7 **JURISDICTION AND VENUE**

8 35. This Court has subject matter jurisdiction because this case alleges
9 violations of the United States Constitution. 28 U.S.C. §1331.

10 36. Venue is proper because a substantial part of the events or omissions giving
11 rise to the claims occurred in this County and because Defendants “reside” here. 28 U.S.C.
12 §1391.

13 **GENERAL ALLEGATIONS**

14 37. The Arizona Legislature has delegated limited authority to the Secretary to
15 “prescribe rules to achieve and maintain the maximum degree of correctness, impartiality,
16 uniformity[,] and efficiency on the procedures for early voting and voting, and of
17 producing, distributing, collecting, counting, tabulating[,] and storing ballots.” A.R.S.
18 § 16-452(A).

19 38. The EPM must be “issued not later than December 31 of each odd-numbered
20 year immediately preceding the general election.” § 16-452(B).

21 39. Before issuing the EPM, the Secretary must submit a draft to the Governor
22 and the Attorney General, and each must approve it. *Id.*

23 40. “Once adopted, the EPM has the force of law; any violation of an EPM rule
24 is punishable as a class two misdemeanor.” *Fontes*, 250 Ariz. 63 ¶ 16 (citing § 16-452(C)).

25 41. In Arizona, the officer in charge of elections for each county—usually a
26 county recorder—is responsible for tabulating votes, and sending those unofficial county
27 election returns to their respective county board of supervisors. *See generally* A.R.S. §§
28 16-621, 16-622, 16-624.

1 49. The Secretary permitted only 14 days to provide comments on the draft EPM.
2 Despite that limited time for review, individuals and organizations submitted comments
3 opposing provisions of the draft EPM.

4 50. In particular, on August 14, 2023, Ben Toma, Speaker of the Arizona House
5 of Representatives, and Warren Peterson, President of the Arizona Senate, submitted
6 comments opposing provisions of the draft EPM. A copy of the Legislature’s comments is
7 attached as Exhibit A. Among other comments, the legislative leaders argued that the
8 Speech Restriction violated Arizona statutory law, the First Amendment, and the Free
9 Speech and Due Process Clauses of the Arizona Constitution. *See Ex. A* at 6–7.

10 51. After receiving public comment, the Secretary published an updated draft
11 EPM and transmitted the same to the Governor and the Attorney General for their review
12 and approval under § 16-452.

13 52. The Speech Restriction of Chapter 9, § III(D), was not changed in response
14 to the statutory and constitutional concerns raised by the legislative leaders.

15 53. By refusing to make any changes to the Speech Restriction in response to the
16 comments objecting to it, the Secretary has refused to disavow enforcement of the
17 provision as written.

18 54. On January 11, 2024, the Secretary published an updated “final” EPM, which
19 corrected and added dates in Chapter 15. This “final” EPM, however, still did not change
20 the Speech Restriction. This is the EPM at issue, and which the Secretary and Attorney
21 General seek to enforce.

22 **THREAT OF ENFORCEMENT OF SPEECH RESTRICTION**

23 55. The constitutional violations occasioned by the Speech Restriction are not
24 mere drafting accidents, but rather intentional policy choices made by the Secretary and
25 approved by the Governor and Attorney General. In addition to the Secretary’s retention
26 of the Speech Restriction as written after the Legislature specifically raised First
27 Amendment concerns, a subsequent letter exchange with the Secretary and Attorney
28

1 General further confirms that Plaintiffs face a credible threat of enforcement of the Speech
2 Restriction against them.

3 56. Specifically, the Secretary and Attorney General were sent a letter on May
4 21, 2024, asking them to disavow enforcement of the Speech Restriction. A copy of that
5 letter is attached as Exhibit B.

6 57. In his May 31 response, the Secretary did not address the request that
7 “Secretary Fontes provide a binding and unequivocal commitment to forego making any
8 criminal referrals for alleged violations of the 2023 EPM’s Speech Restriction under any
9 circumstances,” Ex. B at 1. A copy of the Secretary’s May 31, 2024 response is attached
10 as Exhibit C.²

11 58. In doing so, the Secretary made clear that he intends to make referrals for
12 criminal prosecution to the Attorney General and Arizona County Attorneys for violations
13 of the Speech Restriction. Such a refusal to disavow enforcement strongly supports
14 Plaintiffs’ standing here. *See, e.g., California Trucking Ass’n v. Bonta*, 996 F.3d 644, 653
15 (9th Cir. 2020) (holding that “the state’s refusal to disavow enforcement of [the challenged
16 law] against [plaintiffs] during this litigation is strong evidence that the state intends to
17 enforce the law and that [plaintiff’s] members face a credible threat” of enforcement.)

18 59. In contrast, the Attorney General issued a purported disavowal of
19 enforcement of the Speech Restriction. A copy of her May 31, 2024 response is attached
20 as Exhibit D.

21 60. The Attorney General’s attempt to disavow is flawed on multiple levels.
22 *First*, it expressly notes that County Attorneys could still enforce the Speech Restriction.
23 Specifically, her letter expressly “note[s] that county attorneys may also enforce provisions
24 of Title 16 and Title 13 as they relate to voting and elections.” Ex. D at 2. The Attorney
25

26
27 ² Plaintiffs contest the accuracy of many of the assertions in the Secretary and Attorney
28 General’s letters. They are attached solely to support Plaintiffs’ claim that they face a
credible threat of enforcement of the Speech Restriction

1 General’s letter thus implicitly recognizes that Plaintiffs here face a threat of enforcement
2 even after her putative (and, as explained next, ineffective) disavowal of enforcement.

3 61. *Second*, the putative disavowal of enforcement is based on errors of law that
4 are so patent that no person could reasonably rely upon them. For example, Attorney
5 General Mayes’s letter claims that the Speech Restriction “does not itself restrict or
6 criminalize anything.”

7 62. Specifically, although the Attorney General claims that the Speech
8 Restriction “does not itself restrict ... anything,” it clearly does. By its terms, it provides:
9 “Any activity by a person with the intent or effect of threatening, harassing, intimidating,
10 or coercing voters ... *is prohibited*.” EPM at 181 (emphasis added). And to “prohibit”
11 speech is to “restrict” it. *See, e.g., Prohibit*, Cambridge Dictionary Online,
12 <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/prohibit> (last visited June 18, 2024)
13 (defining “prohibit,” in relevant part, as “to officially stop something from being done by
14 making rules or laws that do not allow it”). The Attorney General’s contrary contention
15 that the Speech Restrictions does not “restrict[] anything ...” is squarely contrary to the
16 Speech Restriction’s plain text.

17 63. Similarly, the Attorney General’s contention that the Speech Restriction
18 “does not ... criminalize anything” is incorrect. Arizona statutory law explicitly provides
19 that “[a] person who violates any rule adopted pursuant to this section is guilty of a class 2
20 misdemeanor.” Thus, to violate the explicit *prohibitions* of the Speech Restriction is
21 necessarily to commit a class 2 misdemeanor under state law. A.R.S. § 16-452(C); *see also*
22 *Arizona Pub. Integrity All. v. Fontes*, 250 Ariz. 58, 63 ¶ 16 (2020) (“Once adopted, the
23 EPM has the force of law; *any violation of an EPM rule is punishable as a class two*
24 *misdemeanor*.” (emphasis added)).

25 64. The Attorney General’s position that the EPM “does not ... criminalize
26 anything” is incompatible with Arizona statutory law.

27 65. The Attorney General’s assertion appears to be premised on her view that the
28 Speech Restriction is only “for the benefit of local elections officials, such as a polling

1 place inspector and marshal” and does not apply to private individuals. Ex. D at 1. But
2 A.R.S. § 16-452(C), by its terms, is squarely to the contrary: it explicitly provides that “[a]
3 person who violates any rule adopted pursuant to this section is guilty of a class 2
4 misdemeanor.” An ordinary citizen is equally as much “a person” as “local election
5 officials.” And the Speech Restriction is stated as a universal *prohibition* on the conduct of
6 *everyone*—not just election officials. It expressly applies to “[a]ny activity by a person”
7 without limitation and provides that such conduct “is prohibited.” EPM at 191 (emphasis
8 added). The Attorney General’s assertion that the Speech Restriction only applies to local
9 election officials and not other members of the public is thus indefensible.

10 66. *Third*, the Attorney General’s assertion that she “does not view the EPM as
11 broadening the scope of conduct criminally prohibited under A.R.S. §§ 16-1013, 1017 or
12 relevant and applicable criminal statutes,” Ex. D at 2, is equally untenable.

13 67. The Speech Restriction notably “broadens the scope of conduct criminally
14 prohibited under A.R.S. §§ 16-1013, 1017” in at least three ways.

15 68. *First*, the Speech Restriction unlawfully eliminates the *mens rea* requirement
16 adopted by the Legislature. Specifically, A.R.S. § 16-1013 prohibits only acts that are taken
17 “knowingly ...” *See* A.R.S. § 16-1013 (“It is unlawful for a person *knowingly*:...”
18 (emphasis added)). Similarly, § 16-1017 requires *knowing* violations. *See* A.R.S. § 16-1017
19 (“A voter *who knowingly commits* any of the following acts is guilty of a class 2
20 misdemeanor:...” (emphasis added)). The Speech Restriction, however, purports to
21 criminalize actions that have *either* “the intent *or effect* of threatening” voters. In doing so,
22 the Speech Restriction creates a new strict-liability crime where actions are prohibited
23 without any requirement of *mens rea*—even ordinary negligence—as long as they have the
24 “effect” at issue.

25 69. *Second*, the Speech Restriction unlawfully adds a prohibition against
26 harassing speech into the prohibition of A.R.S. § 16-1013. By its terms, § 16-1013 prohibits
27 only the actual (1) “use of force, violence or restraint,” (2) “threaten[ing to] inflict[] ...
28 injury, damage, harm or loss,” (3) “intimidation,” or (4) use of “abduction, duress or any

1 forcible or fraudulent device or contrivance.” Completely absent from § 16-1013 is any
2 concept of verbal “harassment,” which instead was added whole cloth by the Secretary.
3 Similarly, § 16-1017 does not include “harassment” either.

4 70. *Third*, the Speech Restriction eliminates any requirement that the
5 threatening, harassing, or intimidating actions have any actual nexus to voting itself.
6 Section 16-1013 specifically prohibits only actions that are taken “to induce or compel
7 such person *to vote or refrain from voting* for a particular person or measure at any election
8 provided by law, or on account of such person *having voted or refrained from voting* at an
9 election” or “to impede, prevent or otherwise interfere with the *free exercise of the elective*
10 *franchise* of any voter, or to compel, induce or to prevail upon a voter either *to cast or*
11 *refrain from casting his vote* at an election, or *to cast or refrain from casting his vote* for
12 any particular person or measure at an election.” A.R.S. § 16-1013 (emphasis added)
13 (hereinafter, “Voting-Nexus Requirement”). Similarly, all of the prohibitions of § 16-1013
14 involve voting. But the EPM’s Speech Restriction dispenses with this Voting-Nexus
15 Requirement entirely, and simply makes it a crime to raise one’s voice or use offensive or
16 insulting language concerning *any subject to any voter anywhere* in the State.

17 71. The Attorney General’s contention that she would not enforce the Speech
18 Restriction is thus based on a flawed legal construction as to how that legal provision, by
19 its terms, operates. And, because her disavowal of enforcement of the Speech Restriction
20 is not premised the express terms of the Restriction, it is ineffective to dispel Plaintiffs’
21 credible threat of enforcement. Rather, because the Attorney General is ultimately obliged
22 to enforce Arizona law as *actually written*, Plaintiffs cannot rely on her disavowal of
23 prosecution since it is premised on an erroneous construction of the law.

24 72. The Attorney General and Secretary’s refusal to amend the Speech
25 Restriction in response to the First Amendment objections raised to it and their subsequent
26 May 31 responses thus demonstrate that Plaintiffs face a credible threat of enforcement
27 under the Speech Restriction.
28

1 Cochise County (*see supra*, ¶¶ 50-52): (1) the EPM imposes on County Boards of
2 Supervisors “a nondiscretionary duty to canvass the returns as provided by the County
3 Recorder or other officer in charge of elections” and removes from the County Boards any
4 “authority to change vote totals, reject the election results, or delay certifying results
5 without express statutory authority or court order,” EPM Chp. 13, § II(A)(2) (“Mandatory-
6 Board-Certification Provision”); and (2) the EPM also imposes a similar non-discretionary
7 canvassing duty on the Secretary, but also provides that “[i]f the official canvass of any
8 county has not been received by [the] deadline, the Secretary of State must proceed with
9 the state canvass without including the votes of the missing county,” EPM Chp. 13, §
10 II(B)(2) (“Vote Nullification Provision”).

11 80. Only the second mandate, the Vote Nullification Provision, is challenged
12 here. That provision *mandates* that *all votes cast by all voters* in a county will *not be*
13 *counted whatsoever* if the Board of Supervisors for that county fails or refuses to certify
14 the canvas election results for that county. The Vote Nullification Provision thus provides
15 that “[i]f the official canvass of any county has not been received by this deadline, the
16 Secretary of State must proceed with the state canvass *without including the votes of the*
17 *missing county.*” EPM at 252 (emphasis added).

18 81. Thus, where a county Board of Supervisors refuses or fails to certify election
19 results by the applicable deadline, the Vote Nullification Provision mandates the *complete*
20 *disenfranchisement* of every voter in that county. It does so even where the voters in that
21 county themselves are entirely faultless and have complied with *all* requirements for
22 exercising their constitutional right to vote (*e.g.*, voting before polls close, presenting
23 identification for in-person voting or signing their mail-in ballot etc.). That
24 disenfranchisement extends to every single vote cast by the voter from Presidential Electors
25 all the way down to whether to retain a justice of the peace.

26 82. The Vote Nullification Provision could potentially even permit Boards of
27 Supervisors to continue to serve indefinitely even when the voters attempt to vote them out
28 of office. By refusing to certify results, there would not be any lawful ballots cast for any

1 of the offices that are limited to that county—such as that county’s Board of Supervisors
2 (as well as its Sheriff, County Attorney, Recorder, Treasurer, etc.). As such the Board of
3 Supervisor positions would presumably be deemed vacant. As a result, the Board of
4 Supervisors—the same one that had just refused to certify the results—would be entitled
5 to fill those vacancies, and could presumably do so with themselves. *See* A.R.S. § 11-213
6 (“When a vacancy occurs in the office of supervisor, the remaining supervisors ... shall fill
7 the vacancy by appointment of a resident of the district in which the vacancy occurred.”).

8 83. The Vote Nullification Provision would also apply in the case of non-
9 feasance or bad acts of third parties. For example, if the bad actions of third parties
10 prevented a quorum of supervisors from assembling and voting to certify canvassed results
11 by the applicable deadline, every voter in that county would be disenfranchised.

12 84. The scale of the potential disenfranchisement that could be wrought by the
13 challenged provision is staggering. Maricopa County, for example, is home to over 2.9
14 million registered voters—a majority of all voters in the State—and had about 2.1 million
15 ballots cast by voters in 2020. But its Board of Supervisors consists only of five members.
16 So, if three of them refuse or are unable to certify election results, millions of voters will
17 suffer total disenfranchisement as a result. Putting such electoral power in the hands of
18 such a small handful of individuals is as unprecedented as it is unconstitutional.

19 85. The power conferred upon Boards of Supervisors under the Vote
20 Nullification Provision is particularly problematic and vast given Arizona’s status
21 nationally as both a swing and potentially tipping-point state. If Arizona’s electoral votes
22 were decisive in the 2024 elections, one or more Boards of Supervisors would potentially
23 wield the power to determine the next President of the United States simply by sitting on
24 their hands and refusing to come to work for a few days during the canvas process.

25 86. This potential disenfranchisement is hardly theoretical. In 2022, the Cochise
26 Board of Supervisors, for a time, refused to certify its election results. Although the
27 standoff was eventually resolved, it could easily recur—particularly as the Vote
28

1 Nullification Provision (which did not exist in 2022) may now *actively incentivize* Boards
2 of Supervisors to refuse to certify results in order to manipulate electoral winners.

3 87. Notably, Defendant Mayes has judged the risk of recurrence sufficiently
4 likely that she has obtained criminal indictments of members of the Cochise Board of
5 Supervisors that briefly refused to certify election results as a deterrent and is actively
6 prosecuting those county supervisors.

7 88. Similarly, Defendant Fontes crafted the Vote Nullification Provision
8 specifically to deter another recurrence of Boards of Supervisors (like Cochise County)
9 refusing to certify results. But the provision that he proposed—and to which Governor
10 Hobbs and Attorney General Mayes provided their necessary approvals—is extreme and
11 unconstitutional.

12 89. No other state has any remotely equivalent provision. Not a single one of
13 Arizona’s 49 sister states judges it necessary to disenfranchise voters *en masse* in order to
14 address the issue of potential refusals or inability to certify election results by county
15 officials.

16 90. The Vote Nullification violates the U.S. Constitution by imposing an
17 unconstitutionally severe burden on the right to vote of U.S. citizens residing in Arizona
18 under the *Anderson-Burdick* doctrine developed by the Supreme Court.

19 **HARMS CAUSED BY THE VOTE NULLIFICATION PROVISION**

20 91. The Vote Nullification Provision inflicts cognizable injury upon voters by
21 changing the nature of their right to vote and have their vote counted from an unqualified
22 right to one subject to potential disqualification by the actions of governmental officials.

23 92. Without the Vote Nullification Provision voters have an essentially absolute
24 right to vote—and have those votes counted—so long as they comply with applicable rules.
25 For example, before the 2023 EPM, so long as in-person voters showed voter identification,
26 followed ballot instructions, and casted a ballot by the close of polls, their right to have that
27 vote counted was unconditional.

28

1 93. Similarly, mail-in voters that signed their ballot, followed ballot instructions,
2 and ensured receipt of their ballots by the close of polls, had a near-absolute right to have
3 their vote counted.

4 94. Although voters' ballots might be disqualified if their signature did not
5 appear to match, Arizona law gives them the right to cure such a mismatch for up to five
6 business days after the election. *See* A.R.S. § 16-550(A). Indeed, failure to provide such
7 opportunities for curing mismatches—and thus rendering voters' right to vote subject to
8 potential wrongful disqualification at the hands of election officials—has routinely given
9 rise to Article III standing to challenge the failure to provide adequate mismatch curing
10 opportunities. *See, e.g., Democratic Exec. Comm. v. Detzner*, 347 F. Supp. 3d 1017, 1024-
11 25 (N.D. Fla. 2018) *aff'd* 915 F.3d 1312 (11th Cir. 2019); *Martin v. Kemp*, 341 F. Supp.
12 3d 1326, 1333-35 (N.D. Ga. 2018); *Frederick v. Lawson*, 481 F. Supp. 3d 774, 786-90
13 (S.D. Ind. 2020); *see also Ariz. Democratic Party v. Hobbs*, 485 F. Supp. 3d 1073, 1085-
14 87 (D. Ariz. 2020) *rev'd* on other grounds 18 F.4th 1179, 1193 (9th Cir. 2021) (same for
15 failure to provide opportunity to cure missing signatures post-election).

16 95. Similarly, citizens who have lost their right to vote due to a felony-
17 disenfranchisement statute have standing to challenge that statute even though their right
18 to vote could potentially be restored by the governor as a matter of discretionary clemency.
19 *See, e.g., El-Amin v. McDonnell*, No. 3:12-cv-00538-JAG, 2013 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 40461,
20 at *15 (E.D. Va. Mar. 22, 2013) (“While El-Amin is correct that Virginia has deprived him
21 of his voting rights, this injury permits him only to challenge the deprivation itself, which
22 he does in Count I. Since he has not applied for restoration of his voting rights, he has
23 suffered no denial, or other injury, that would allow him to challenge the reinstatement
24 process as well.”) (holding that plaintiff disenfranchised by felony-disenfranchisement law
25 that had not applied for restoration of voting rights by the governor had standing to
26 challenge the felony-disenfranchisement statute but not the procedures for restoration of
27 the right to vote by the governor); *Williams v. Taylor*, 677 F.2d 510, 517 (5th Cir. 1982)
28 (holding that disenfranchised felon lacking standing to challenge “pardon procedure” that

1 could restore voting rights because he had not “tried to procure a pardon from the governor”
2 but considering challenges to felony-disenfranchisement procedures on the merits because
3 standing was sufficiently obvious not to warrant discussion).

4 96. Thus, because a felony-disenfranchisement statute transformed the plaintiffs’
5 right to vote from (1) an unqualified right so long as voting requirements were met to (2) a
6 qualified right, subject to the discretion of the governor, felony disenfranchisement statutes
7 inflict cognizable injury establishing Article III standing to challenge them.

8 97. The Vote Nullification Provision inflicts the same sort of injury: *i.e.*, it
9 transforms voters’ unqualified right to vote so long as they comply with applicable
10 requirements, into a qualified right that is subject to potential disqualification and
11 disenfranchisement at the hands of governmental officials. As a result, it inflicts cognizable
12 injury upon Plaintiff Glennon as a voter, as well Plaintiffs AFPI and American Encore’s
13 supporters and/or sympathetic voters and Plaintiff AFPI’s members who are also voters.

14 98. This injury is imminent: Plaintiff Glennon, as well Plaintiffs AFPI and
15 American Encore’s supporters and/or sympathetic voters and Plaintiff AFPI’s members
16 will vote in the upcoming July 30, 2024 primary, where their votes will be subject to
17 potential disqualification by the actions of County Boards of Supervisors under the Vote
18 Nullification Provision. This potential disenfranchisement thus downgrades their right to
19 vote from unconditional to being subject to disqualification by the actions of third parties.

20 99. Plaintiff Glennon, as well Plaintiffs AFPI and American Encore’s supporters
21 and/or sympathetic voters and Plaintiff AFPI’s members similarly will cast votes in the
22 November 5, 2024 general election, where their right to vote will likewise be downgraded
23 from unconditional to qualified/subject to potential disqualification by actions of
24 governmental officials. *See also Democratic Exec. Comm. of Fla. v. Lee*, 915 F.3d 1312,
25 1319 (11th Cir. 2019) (recognizing cognizable injury under *Anderson-Burdick* doctrine
26 because a statute “subjects vote-by-mail and provisional *electors to the risk of*
27 *disenfranchisement*” (emphasis added)).

28

1 100. Plaintiffs’ injuries here are similarly akin to those occasioned when a state or
2 local government imposes a permit requirement to exercise free speech rights. By changing
3 the character of the speech from being unconditionally allowed to, now, contingent upon
4 the actions of governmental actors granting a permit, a permitting requirement inflicts
5 cognizable injury establishing Article III standing to challenge the permit requirement. *See,*
6 *e.g., Taniguchi v. Schultz*, 303 F.3d 950, 957 (9th Cir. 2002) (Ninth Circuit precedents
7 recognize that plaintiffs “have standing to challenge a permit requirement, even though
8 they did not apply for permits, because applying for a permit would have been futile”
9 (cleaned up)); *Stewart v. San Francisco*, No. 22-16018, 2023 U.S. App. LEXIS 3811, at
10 *2 n.3 (9th Cir. Feb. 17, 2023) (recognizing Article III standing to challenge statute that
11 “establishe[d] a permit requirement in advance of public speech and ban[ned] an
12 instrumentality of speech absent a permit.” (citation omitted)).

13 101. Similarly, by changing an unconditional right for a vote to be counted to one
14 contingent on how governmental officials act, the Vote Nullification Provision establishes
15 Plaintiffs’ standing here.

16 102. Plaintiffs also have standing because there is a credible threat that the Vote
17 Nullification Provision will be enforced in a manner that disenfranchises them. Notably,
18 Cochise County did refuse to certify election results for a time in 2022, which would have
19 triggered the Vote Nullification Provision if one of the supervisors had not backed away
20 from the ledge at the eleventh hour.

21 103. Indeed, Defendant Fontes judged the risk of recurrence to be so sufficiently
22 high that, upon information and belief, specifically drafted the Vote Nullification Provision
23 as a reaction to the events in 2022 and the likelihood that they could recur in 2024 or
24 subsequent elections.

25 104. The risk is even greater now because the Vote Nullification Provision
26 actively incentivizes Boards of Supervisors *not* to certify election results because (unless
27 invalidated) it ensures that any efforts by them to manipulate vote counts by refusals to
28 certify *will be effective*.

1 105. The risk of enforcement is further underscored by the fact that the Secretary
2 is not merely the officer charged with enforcing the Vote Nullification Provision, but also
3 is *its author*. The Secretary would not have drafted the Vote Nullification Provision if he
4 did not intend to enforce it.

5 106. To the extent that they apply here, prudential considerations strongly favor
6 resolving Plaintiffs’ claim now, rather than waiting until a crisis arrives when a Board of
7 Supervisors refuses to certify an election. In that posture, there will be a severe time crunch
8 that could prevent thoughtful resolution of the issues presented, as well as potentially
9 dueling opinions from state and federal courts that could create electoral chaos.

10 107. In addition, by resolving this claim now, this Court can do so in a posture
11 where the outcome of an election will not directly turn on the ruling here.

12 **THE 2023 EPM’S VIOLATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION**
13 **The Vote Nullification Provision is a Severe and Unconstitutional Burden on**
14 **Arizonans’ Right to Vote**

15 108. Violations of the right to vote implicate the First and Fourteenth
16 Amendments. *See Anderson v. Celebrezze*, 460 U.S. 780, 787 n.7 (1983) (collecting cases).

17 109. Constitutional challenges to electoral statutes and regulations that allege an
18 unconstitutional burden are governed by the *Anderson-Burdick* framework. *Crawford v.*
19 *Marion Cnty. Election Bd.*, 553 U.S. 181, 189–91 (2008).

20 110. Under this framework, “a court evaluating a constitutional challenge to an
21 election regulation [must] weigh the asserted injury to the right to vote against the precise
22 interests put forward by the State as justifications for the burden imposed by its rule.” *Id.*
23 at 190 (quoting *Burdick v. Takushi*, 504 U.S. 428, 434 (1992)) (quotation marks omitted).

24 111. And “an election regulation that imposes a severe burden is subject to strict
25 scrutiny.” *Nader v. Brewer*, 531 F.3d 1028, 1035 (9th Cir. 2008).

26 112. The Vote Nullification Provision imposes a severe burden on the right to
27 vote—indeed, it is the severest possible burden: nullification of a citizen’s vote through no
28 fault of that citizen and doing so for every voter in a given county. Indeed, when it becomes
operative, *all voters* in the affected county are *completely disenfranchised*. For the voters

1 of the affected county, no more severe burden on their right to vote is even conceivable or
2 possible.

3 113. Indeed, the Vote Nullification Provision imposes a more severe burden than
4 other election regulations that have been struck down as overly severe burdens on the right
5 to vote. For example, in *Harper v. Virginia State Bd. of Elections*, the Supreme Court
6 invalidated a \$1.50 poll-tax, reasoning that “wealth or fee paying has, in our view, no
7 relation to voting qualifications; the right to vote is too precious, too fundamental to be so
8 burdened or conditioned.” 383 U.S. 663, 670 (1966). Similarly, here, the votes of an entire
9 county are nullified by no fault of voters with no relation to their voting qualifications.

10 114. Again, in *Illinois State Bd. of Elections v. Socialist Workers Party*, the
11 Supreme Court struck down an impermissibly severe burden on the right to vote because
12 the election regulation had the effect of barring a political party from the ballot. 40 U.S.
13 173, 183–84 (1979). Here, under the Vote Nullification Provision’s mandatory
14 nullification of an entire county’s electorate, all political parties are effectively barred from
15 the ballot in that county. Thus, the burden here is even more severe than the one struck
16 down by the Supreme Court in *Illinois State Bd. of Elections*.

17 115. When, as here, the right to vote is “subjected to ‘severe’ restrictions, the
18 regulation must be ‘narrowly drawn to advance a state interest of compelling importance.’”
19 *Burdick*, 504 U.S. at 434 (citation omitted); *see also Nader*, 531 F.3d at 1035.

20 116. Although the State has an interest in orderly election procedures and
21 producing timely results, literal disenfranchisement of every voter in the affected county
22 for *all* races is not remotely narrowly tailored to serve those interests.

23 117. More narrowly tailored options are obvious. The EPM could, for example,
24 have simply required the Secretary to go to state court if there was a county failure to certify
25 results and ask the court to ascertain what results from that county should be included in
26 the statewide totals. Similarly, the EPM could have instead directed the Secretary to
27 appoint an auditor to determine the correct results in that county. Or the EPM could have
28

1 directed the Secretary to include the unofficial results unless a court order directs him to
2 do otherwise.

3 118. Any one of these options would adequately address the issue of non-
4 certification of county results without the need to completely disenfranchise the votes of
5 all residents in the county. Nor is the threat of such total disenfranchisement necessary—
6 or even remotely appropriate—as a deterrent to misconduct.

7 119. Indeed, not only is such a “remedy” completely disproportionate to the
8 problem it is attempting to “solve,” it may *actively encourage* the very sort of electoral
9 misconduct that it purports to deter. Although styled as a punishment, the Vote
10 Nullification Provision effectively is a back-door grant of authority to disenfranchise
11 voters. After all, unless the Vote Nullification Provision is enjoined or repealed, it ensures
12 that if a Board of Supervisor *wants* to disenfranchise its own voters, its attempt to do so
13 *will be effective* as long as the Board never certifies election results—something readily in
14 its power to accomplish.

15 120. The Vote Nullification Provision is particularly unnecessary because the
16 EPM already purports to criminalize a Board of Supervisor’s refusal to certify election
17 results. Specifically, the EPM provides that “[t]he Board of Supervisors has a non-
18 discretionary duty to canvass the returns as provided by the County Recorder or other
19 officer in charge of elections and has no authority to change vote totals, reject the election
20 results, or delay certifying the results without express statutory authority or a court order.”
21 2023 EPM at 248. Violation of the EPM by “a person” is a class-two misdemeanor. *See*
22 A.R.S. § 16-452(C) (“A person who violates any rule adopted pursuant to this section is
23 guilty of a class 2 misdemeanor.”).

24 121. Criminalizing refusals to certify election results should be sufficient to deter
25 misconduct and Defendants have *never* explained why the additional putative deterrence
26 of the Vote Nullification Provision is necessary to prevent such refusals.

27 122. In short, the Vote Nullification Provision is far broader than necessary to
28 achieve its purpose. And it results in numerous harmful unintended consequences.

1 “intimidating conduct.” For example, it lists all the following as conduct that “may also be
2 considered intimidating conduct inside or outside the polling place”:

- 3 • “Aggressive behavior, *such as raising one’s voice* or taunting a voter
4 or poll worker”;
- 5 • “Using threatening, *insulting, or offensive* language to a voter or poll
6 worker”;
- 7 • “Posting signs or communicating messages about penalties for ‘voter
8 fraud’ in a harassing or intimidating manner.”

7 2023 EPM at 181–82.

8 132. But these prohibitions reach a broad swath of activities that are protected
9 under the First Amendment.

10 133. Indeed, the Speech Restriction the Secretary crafted is patently
11 unconstitutional because it violates both the Free Speech Clause of the First Amendment
12 (as incorporated against the States under the Fourteenth Amendment) and the Due Process
13 Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

14 134. The violations of the First Amendment are numerous and multi-faceted here.
15 *First*, the U.S. Supreme Court has squarely held “the First Amendment ... requires proof
16 that the defendant had some subjective understanding of the threatening nature of his
17 statements.” *Counterman v. Colorado*, 143 S. Ct. 2106, 2111 (2023). “The State [thus]
18 must show that the defendant consciously disregarded a substantial risk that his
19 communications would be viewed as threatening violence.” *Id.* at 2111-12

20 135. But the Speech Restriction eliminates the “knowingly” *mens rea*
21 requirements of §16-1013 and §16-1017, and instead makes actions criminal purely based
22 on their “effect”—without any proof of *mens rea* at all. Indeed, by making liability turn on
23 whether an action has the “*effect* of threatening, harassing, intimidating, or coercing
24 voters,” even a voter *unreasonably* construing speech to be “harassing” or “intimidating”
25 would now be criminalized. By dispensing with any requirement of *mens rea*, the Speech
26 Restriction violates the First Amendment. *Counterman*, 143 S. Ct. at 2111.

27 136. *Second*, the State lacks authority to criminalize speech simply because voters
28 might find it “offensive”: “the fact that society may find speech offensive is not a sufficient

1 reason for suppressing it. Indeed, if it is the speaker’s opinion that gives offense, that
2 consequence is a reason for according it constitutional protection.” *FCC v. Pacifica*
3 *Foundation*, 438 U.S. 726, 745-46 (1978); *see also United States v. Williams*, 553 U.S.
4 285, 306 (2008) (“[W]e have struck down statutes that tied criminal culpability to whether
5 the defendant’s conduct was ‘annoying’ or ‘indecent.’”). But the Speech Restriction does
6 just that, purporting to prohibit “[u]sing ... offensive language to a voter or poll worker.”
7 EPM at 182. And that prohibition is not limited to polling places or election day, but instead
8 applies year round and both “inside or outside the 75-foot limit at a voting location.” *Id.* at
9 181-82.

10 137. *Third*, by purporting to ban “insulting or offensive speech,” EPM at 182, the
11 Speech Restriction is an unlawful content-based and viewpoint-based restriction on speech.
12 *See, e.g., Matal v. Tam*, 582 U.S. 218, 249 (2017) (holding that when a restriction “reflects
13 the Government’s disapproval of a subset of messages it finds offensive... [it] is the
14 essence of viewpoint discrimination.”). “Giving offense is a viewpoint.” *Id.* at 2240. And
15 “[b]y mandating positivity, [speech restrictions] might silence dissent and distort the
16 marketplace of ideas.” *Id.*

17 138. *Fourth*, even as applied to non-public forums such as voting locations, the
18 Speech Restriction violates the First Amendment because it is not reasonable and is not
19 “capable of reasoned application.” *Minnesota Voters All. v. Mansky*, 585 U.S. 1, 23 (2018);
20 *accord Center for Investigative Reporting v. SEPTA*, 975 F.3d 300, 315 (3d Cir. 2020)
21 (“According to *Mansky*, a prohibition on speech is unreasonable if it fails to ‘articulate
22 some sensible basis for distinguishing what may come in from what must stay out.’”
23 (quoting *Mansky*, 585 U.S. at 29)).

24 139. The Speech Restriction’s use of amorphous, open-ended terms like “insulting
25 or offensive language” and “harassing” do not provide reasonable guidance that would
26 distinguish permissible and impermissible speech. For example, would wearing a MAGA
27 hat, an “All Lives Matter” button, or a “I Support the Second Amendment” T-shirt
28 constitute “offensive speech” or be considered “harassing” to a voter that sees them? The

1 EPM does not provide any guidance as to how to apply its indeterminate terms and thus
2 cannot be justified if the Speech Restriction were limited purely to the non-public forums
3 of voting locations (instead of applying everywhere else in the State, as it does by its plain
4 terms).

5 140. The Speech Restriction also violates the Due Process Clause by violating fair
6 notice principles. As an initial matter, by imposing liability directly contrary to § 16-1013’s
7 and § 16-1017’s actual texts, the Speech Restriction violates due process. States cannot
8 provide citizens notice of a criminal prohibition’s elements and requirements by statute
9 and then—having lulled citizens into the belief that the statute only prohibits what, by its
10 terms, it states it actually prohibits—impose liability on a *far broader* basis.

11 141. In addition, the Speech Restriction is void on vagueness grounds because it
12 “fails to provide people of ordinary intelligence a reasonable opportunity to understand
13 what conduct it prohibits” and because “it authorizes or even encourages arbitrary and
14 discriminatory enforcement.” *Johnson v. United States*, 576 U.S. 591, 612, (2015)
15 (quoting *Hill v. Colorado*, 530 U.S. 703, 732 (2000)).

16 **COUNT I – VOTE NULLIFICATION PROVISION**
17 **Violations of the First and Fourteenth Amendments Under the *Anderson-Burdick***
18 **Doctrine**
19 **Asserted Under 42 U.S.C. § 1983**
20 **(Declaratory and Injunctive Relief)**

21 142. Plaintiffs incorporate the paragraphs above as if stated here.

22 143. The Vote Nullification Provision has the effect of disenfranchising every
23 voter in any county that does not timely certify its election results with the Secretary.

24 144. The Secretary’s duty to disenfranchise these voters is mandatory under the
25 Vote Nullification Provision.

26 145. The Provision is a severe burden on the right to vote—preventing votes from
27 counting through no fault of the voter.

28 146. Additionally, it is not narrowly tailored to protect the government’s interests
in orderly, timely, and legislative elections.

1 147. A requirement that the Secretary (1) appoint an auditor, (2) initiate a court
2 action to ascertain the correct results or (3) use the unofficial results would serve the same
3 governmental interests without the need to disenfranchise voters *en masse* as a result of the
4 action/inaction of third-party county board members for which individual voters are
5 blameless.

6 148. Thus, the Vote Nullification Provision imposes an unconstitutionally severe
7 burden on the right to vote.

8 **COUNT II – SPEECH RESTRICTION**
9 **Violations of the First and Fourteenth Amendments**
10 **Asserted Under 42 U.S.C. § 1983**
11 **(Declaratory and Injunctive Relief)**

12 149. Plaintiffs incorporate the paragraphs above as if stated here.

13 150. The 2023 EPM criminalizes otherwise protected free speech inside or outside
14 a 75-foot limit of a voting location through its Speech Restriction.

15 151. Plaintiffs face a real threat of prosecution because the Attorney General and
16 Governor approved this version of the 2023 EPM, meaning that there is a threat of
17 prosecution for violations of the 2023 EPM.

18 152. Despite being asked to do so, neither the Attorney General, nor the Secretary
19 have unequivocally disavowed enforcing the Speech Restriction.

20 153. Plaintiffs engage in election activities that would otherwise be lawful under
21 the First and Fourteenth Amendment.

22 154. But under the current 2023 EPM, such conduct would be considered
23 criminal. Therefore, Plaintiffs' members face an actual threat of prosecution from the
24 Attorney General for actions that are otherwise lawful under the United States Constitution.

25 155. Organizations like AFPI have standing to assert their own respective free
26 speech rights as well as that of their respective members.

27 156. In sum, the Speech Restriction is unconstitutional because it: (1) requires no
28 proof of *mens rea* for criminal conduct, (2) purports to ban speech based purely on alleged
offensiveness, (3) is a viewpoint-based restriction on speech; (4) is overboard, containing

1 a limitless geographic and temporal scope, and (5) is so vague as to not provide proper
2 notice of the conduct that it criminalizes.

3 **PRAYER FOR RELIEF**

4 WHEREFORE, Plaintiffs respectfully request that the Court provide the following
5 expedited relief:

6 A. A declaratory judgment providing that that the 2023 EPM provisions
7 challenged in this action violate the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S.
8 Constitution;

9 D. A preliminary and permanent injunction prohibiting the Secretary and
10 Attorney General from enforcing or implementing the challenged provisions of the 2023
11 EPM;

12 E. An injunction against the Secretary directing him to promulgate—and the
13 Governor and Attorney General to approve—an EPM that complies with the First and
14 Fourteenth Amendments;

15 F. An award of Plaintiffs’ reasonable attorneys’ fees and costs in accordance
16 with applicable law, including 42 U.S.C. § 1988; and

17 G. Any other relief as the court deems necessary, equitable, proper, and just.

18 RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED this 8th day of July, 2024.

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