## UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA ATLANTA DIVISION

IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202	Master Case No.: 1:21-MI-55555- JPB
THE NEW GEORGIA PROJECT, et al.,	
Plaintiffs, v.	Civil Action No.: 1:21-cv-01229- JPB
BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State, <i>et al.</i> ,	31 D
Defendants,	
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, et al.,	
Intervenor-Defendants.	

# NGP PLAINTIFFS' RENEWED MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

Pursuant to Rule 65 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, Plaintiffs New Georgia Project, Black Voters Matter Fund, Rise, Inc., Elbert Solomon, Fannie Marie Jackson Gibbs, and Jauan Durbin respectfully renew their motion for an Order enjoining Defendant Keith Gammage, in his official capacity as the Solicitor General of Fulton County, and Defendant Gregory W. Edwards, in his official capacity as the District Attorney for Dougherty County, from enforcing during the 2024

elections the provisions of O.C.G.A. § 21-2-414 that impose criminal penalties on those who distribute food, drink, and other gifts "[w]ithin 25 feet of any voter standing in line to vote at any polling place," otherwise known as the "Supplemental Zone."

For the reasons set forth in NGP Plaintiffs' accompanying Brief in Support of Plaintiffs' Renewed Motion for Preliminary Injunction, and incorporating by reference their factual evidence and briefing from their initial preliminary injunction motion, *see* ECF Nos. 185, 185-1–8, 217, NGP Plaintiffs have established that they are likely to succeed on the merits of their claim that the challenged prohibition—and the accompanying criminal penalties—violates the First Amendment by unjustifiably restricting their ability to engage in expressive conduct in the Supplemental Zone. Enforcement of this law would irreparably harm NGP Plaintiffs and similar organizations and voters across the State; this injury outweighs any harm Defendants Gammage and Edwards would suffer were the Court to order the relief sought by NGP Plaintiffs; the balance of hardships weighs in NGP Plaintiffs' favor; and a preliminary injunction is in the public interest.

#### Respectfully submitted this 17th day of May, 2023,

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\*Admitted pro hac vice Counsel for Plaintiffs **CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE** 

I hereby certify that the foregoing document has been prepared in accordance

with the font type and margin requirements of L.R. 5.1, using font type of Times

New Roman and a point size of 14.

Dated: May 17, 2023

/s/ Uzoma N. Nkwonta

Counsel for Plaintiffs

**CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE** 

I hereby certify that on May 17, 2023, I electronically filed this document with

the Clerk of Court using the CM/ECF system which will automatically send email

notification of such filing to the attorneys of record.

Dated: May 17, 2023

/s/ Uzoma N. Nkwonta Counsel for Plaintiffs

4

# UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA ATLANTA DIVISION

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NGP PLAINTIFFS' BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' RENEWED MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

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#### INTRODUCTION

Last summer, this Court concluded that Plaintiffs had "established each of the preliminary injunction factors" as to Georgia Senate Bill ("S.B.") 202's Food and Water Ban (the "Ban"), as it pertains to any individuals providing food or drink within 25 feet of any voter in line (the "Supplemental Zone"). See August 18 Order on Prelim. Inj. ("Order") at 74, ECF No. 241. The Court noted that the Supplemental Zone had "no limit" and could thus extend "thousands of feet away from the polling station (and across private property)." Id. at 55. As a result, the Ban in the Supplemental Zone was substantially likely to be unconstitutional because it constituted an "impermissible burden" on Plaintiffs' constitutional right to free speech. Id. at 55-56. The Court also found that Plaintiffs had demonstrated irreparable harm because the threat of prosecution of line relief activities in the Supplemental Zone had deterred Plaintiffs and other organizations from engaging in such behavior. Id. at 59. Because such an infringement upon Plaintiffs' First Amendment rights constitutes a "serious and substantial injury" and the government "has no legitimate interest in enforcing an unconstitutional [statute]," id. at 61 (quoting KH Outdoor, LLC v. City of Trussville, 458 F.3d 1261, 1272 (11th Cir. 2006)), the Court concluded that Plaintiffs had shown the balance of equities and public interest weighed in their favor.

Despite finding that all of the preliminary injunction factors weighed in Plaintiffs' favor, the Court ultimately did not enjoin the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone. At the time the Court issued its ruling, the general election was less than three months away and a primary for that election had already been held. As a result, the Court concluded that an injunction might cause voter confusion and burden on election administrators, and therefore denied relief under *Purcell v. Gonzalez*, 549 U.S. 1 (2006). *See* Order at 72.

As the AME and GA NAACP Plaintiffs explain in their renewed motion, which the NGP Plaintiffs join and incorporate here, fact discovery is now over, and the merits of Plaintiffs' challenges to the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone are only stronger. *See generally* AME Renewed Motion ("AME Br."), ECF No. 535-1. This is especially so with regard to the NGP Plaintiffs' claim, which seeks relief from Defendants Keith Gammage, the Solicitor General ("SG") of Fulton County, and Gregory W. Edwards, the District Attorney ("DA") for Dougherty County (collectively, the "County Prosecutors"). Deposition testimony from these two individuals demonstrates that the Food and Water Ban does not address the State's concern about maintaining a restricted zone around voters. The County Prosecutors also explicitly fail to disclaim their intent to enforce the Food and Water Ban, thus confirming Plaintiffs' legitimate concern about the threat of

prosecution for line relief activities in Fulton and Dougherty Counties. And importantly, the *Purcell* considerations that led to the Court's denial of relief are no longer implicated, as the next statewide election in Georgia is no less than nine months away.

For these reasons, NGP Plaintiffs renew their Motion for Preliminary Injunction to enjoin the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone against the County Prosecutors. Because the Court has already found that Plaintiffs have demonstrated the merits of their claim for injunctive relief as to that Zone, and equitable considerations about confusion and administration of criminal penalties are not implicated, especially months before the next statewide election, the Court should enjoin the County Prosecutors from enforcing the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone.<sup>1</sup>

#### **BACKGROUND**

NGP Plaintiffs incorporate by reference the factual evidence and briefing from their initial preliminary injunction motion, *see* NGP Prelim. Inj., ECF Nos. 185, 185-1–8; NGP Prelim. Inj. Reply, ECF No. 217; *see also* AME Br. at 3. NGP Plaintiffs address relevant new evidence obtained during discovery below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> NGP Plaintiffs maintain the portion of their First Amendment claim as to the zone within 150 feet of the polling place entrance, but do not renew this part of the claim in this motion.

#### **ARGUMENT**

#### I. Plaintiffs are likely to succeed on the merits of their claim.

As the Court has already concluded, Plaintiffs are likely to prevail on their claim that the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone violates Plaintiffs' constitutional rights. To avoid repetition and for the Court's convenience, NGP Plaintiffs join and incorporate the AME and GA NAACP Plaintiffs' arguments in their renewed motion, and emphasize several pieces of additional evidence obtained in discovery from the County Prosecutors that further demonstrate the unconstitutionality of the Ban. *See* AME Br. at 4–10.

The Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone is indeed "unreasonable," Order at 56, because it does not serve the State's proffered interests of "restoring peace and order around the polls; protecting voters from political pressure and intimidation; and supporting election integrity." *Id.* at 51–52. As both County Prosecutors have admitted, Georgia law, including the Food and Water Ban, does not actually prohibit anyone from approaching a voter in line, or engaging a voter in conversation while they stand in line, as long as that individual is not engaged in behavior otherwise prohibited by law, such as electioneering or intimidation. *See* Edwards Tr. (Ex. 1), 59:14-21 (agreeing that a person wearing an unmarked shirt and not carrying any food or gifts could walk into the 150-foot "Buffer Zone" or

Supplemental Zone and freely have a conversation with a voter); 61:12-62:4 (agreeing that a person not engaged in any conduct prohibited by O.C.G.A. § 21-2-414 could still approach a voter in either Zone); see also Gammage Tr. (Ex. 2), 65:22-66:9 (stating it was not a violation of any law for someone to approach a voter in line as long as they were not engaging in any conduct identified in O.C.G.A. § 21-2-414). So, even if the State's purported concerns about sharing food and drink in the Supplemental Zone were justified, voters are no more insulated from any hypothetical disruption, intimidation, and improper influence from others that can legally and freely approach any voter waiting in line to vote. See Order at 52-53. In other words, the Ban does not actually address the risk that individuals can approach and interact with voters in line. The Ban also does not address the risk that those conversations or interactions could lead to behavior aimed at influencing a voter's decision at the ballot box—it simply prevents people from sharing food and water with voters in long lines.

Nor does the Ban insulate voters from any behavior that was not previously unlawful. It is already a crime in Georgia to "solicit votes in any manner or by any

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The State Election Board has also testified as much. During its 30(b)(6) deposition, the Board agreed that nothing in SB 202 prohibits individuals from approaching voters in line and interacting with them, as long as they are not campaigning, being disruptive, or offering anything to voters. *See* SEB 30(b)(6) Tr. (Ex. 3), 250:21-251:2.

means or method," and to "distribute or display any campaign material" in an effort to influence a voter. O.C.G.A. § 21-2-414(a). Before SB 202, Georgia law already prohibited giving or offering to give "money or gifts for the purpose of . . . voting." *Id.* § 21-2-570. And Georgia law broadly prohibits the intimidation of voters. *Id.* § 21-2-567. Contrary to the State Defendants' claims, the Ban does not *create* a restricted zone where individuals cannot solicit votes, engage in electioneering, or bribe or intimidate voters—that zone was already in place because of laws that predate SB 202.

Finally, as the AME and GA NAACP Plaintiffs have explained, the State has failed to articulate why there is *any* need to create a Supplemental Zone that extends prohibitions on protected speech—with no limit—even further beyond the existing Buffer Zone. *See* AME Br. at 8–10. As this Court has already recognized, the existing Buffer Zone is already larger than any zone found to be constitutional by the Supreme Court. *See* Order at 53. And because a "buffer zone runs in all directions from [a] building," any extension beyond the 100-foot zone in *Burson* has a magnified area of coverage. *See Anderson v. Spear*, 356 F.3d 651, 661 (6th Cir. 2004) (finding that a 500-foot buffer zone covered an area 25 times larger than the area at issue in *Burson*); *Russell v. Lundergan-Grimes*, 784 F.3d 1037, 1053–54 (6th Cir. 2015) (finding that a 300-foot buffer zone covered an area nine times larger than

the area at issue in *Burson*). Not only is the Buffer Zone already more than two times larger than the area at issue in *Burson*, but the addition of an unlimited Supplemental Zone—on top of an already enlarged Buffer Zone—"impairs a substantial amount of speech beyond what is required to achieve acceptable objectives." *Russell*, 784 F.3d at 1054.<sup>3</sup> For these reasons, the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone is overbroad and "must be invalidated." *Id.* (quoting *Citizens United v. FEC*, 558 U.S. 310, 336 (2010)); *id.* at 1054–55 (finding Kentucky's 300-foot buffer zone unconstitutional where the State failed to present evidence justifying a zone nine times larger than the zone in *Burson*).

Because Georgia law already provides clear enforcement mechanisms against improper electioneering, bribery, and intimidation at the polls, but prohibits Plaintiffs from engaging in expressive conduct, like sharing food and water, and is far greater than is necessary, the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone is a "prophylactic, imprecise, and unduly burdensome" rule that is "suspect" and not permitted "in the area of free expression." *Riley v. Nat'l Fed'n of the Blind of N.C., Inc.*, 487 U.S. 781, 800–01 (1988) (citation omitted); *see also First Nat'l Bank of Bos. v. Bellotti*, 435 U.S. 765, 794 (1978) (holding that a regulation that is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The zone approved by the Supreme Court in *Burson* covers an area of  $100^2\pi$ , or 31,415 square feet, and the Buffer Zone under Georgia law covers an area of  $150^2\pi$ , or 70,650 square feet, which is more than twice the area of the zone in *Burson*.

overinclusive is not narrowly tailored to its goal). Thus, the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone violates the First Amendment, and the County Prosecutors should be enjoined from enforcing it.

#### II. The remaining factors weigh heavily in Plaintiffs' favor.

The Court has already correctly concluded that without an injunction of the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone, Plaintiffs will suffer irreparable harm because the undeniable, ongoing risk of criminal enforcement against line relief activities deters protected speech. Order at 58–59; see generally Honor Decl. (Ex. 4), Hector Decl. (Ex. 5), Johnson Decl. (Ex. 6), Durbin Decl. (Ex. 7); see also AME Br. at 10–11. Evidence obtained in discovery only further supports the Court's conclusion because the County Prosecutors have now acknowledged that it is their duty to enforce the Food and Water Ban and refused to disclaim any intent to enforce the Ban in the future. See Edwards Tr. 43:15-22; 50:19-51:3; see also O.C.G.A. § 15-18-66(a) (delineating authority of prosecuting attorneys to bring criminal cases in Georgia). DA Edwards also confirmed that there is no official or entity that could prevent him from bringing a prosecution under his authority. Edwards Tr. 46:16-25 (speaking generally about all laws); 51:15-19 (speaking specifically about the Food and Water Ban); see also Gammage Tr. 61:7-21 ("I cannot categorically state that I'll never bring a prosecution for the offenses contained in the [Food and Water] statute in which we speak.").

This record makes clear that NGP Plaintiffs face the threat of criminal prosecution if they engage in line relief activities in the Supplemental Zone. *See also* NGP Reply at 14, ECF No. 217; Exs. 4–7. Because this threat chills their speech, Plaintiffs continue to experience irreparable injury. *See Ne. Fla. Chapter of Ass'n of Gen. Contractors of Am. v. City of Jacksonville*, 896 F.2d 1283, 1285-86 (11th Cir. 1990) (ongoing First Amendment violation is irreparable injury); *White v. Baker*, 696 F. Supp. 2d 1289, 1312–13 (N.D. Ga. 2010) ("Plaintiffs that show a chilling effect on free expression have demonstrated an irreparable injury."). Thus, the irreparable harm factor for preliminary injunctive relief continues to weigh in Plaintiffs' favor.

And because an "infringement of First Amendment rights balances the equities in Plaintiffs' favor, and neither Defendants nor the public have a legitimate interest in enforcing an unconstitutional statute[,] . . . Plaintiffs have satisfied their burden as to the third and fourth prongs of the preliminary injunction test." Order at 61.

# III. Purcell does not weigh against granting the preliminary injunction.

The *Purcell* doctrine is no barrier to relief here. As the AME and GA NAACP Plaintiffs correctly point out, the next statewide primary will be no sooner than nine

months from now, and the next statewide general election is even farther away. *See* AME Br. at 1, 12. Even the presidential preference primary is not scheduled to conclude sooner than mid-March 2024. There is ample time for any relief to be implemented in advance of the 2024 elections. And enjoining the County Prosecutors' enforcement of the Food and Water Ban in the Supplemental Zone at this stage is even further removed from the concerns that animate the *Purcell* doctrine. *See* NGP Prelim. Injun. at 18–20; NGP Prelim. Inj. Reply at 2–4.

#### **CONCLUSION**

For these reasons, NGP Plaintiffs' Renewed Motion for Preliminary Injunction should be granted.

### Respectfully submitted this 17th day of May, 2023,

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\*Admitted pro hac vice Counsel for Plaintiffs CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE

I hereby certify that the foregoing document has been prepared in accordance

with the font type and margin requirements of L.R. 5.1, using font type of Times

New Roman and a point size of 14.

Dated: May 17, 2023

/s/ Uzoma N. Nkwonta Counsel for Plaintiffs

**CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE** 

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the Clerk of Court using the CM/ECF system which will automatically send email

notification of such filing to the attorneys of record.

Dated: May 17, 2023

/s/ Uzoma N. Nkwonta

Counsel for Plaintiffs

# UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA ATLANTA DIVISION

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BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State, <i>et al.</i> ,	JPB
Defendants,	
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, et al.,	
Intervenor-Defendants.	

## DECLARATION OF UZOMA NKWONTA IN SUPPORT OF NGP PLAINTIFFS' RENEWED MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

# I, Uzoma Nkwonta, hereby declare as follows:

1. I am over the age of 18 and competent to make this declaration. I am an attorney with the law firm Elias Law Group LLP, and am counsel for Plaintiffs New Georgia Project, Black Voters Matter Fund, Rise, Inc., Elbert Solomon, Fannie Marie Jackson Gibbs, and Jauan Durbin. I submit this declaration to provide the

Court true and correct copies of certain documents submitted in support of NGP Plaintiffs' Renewed Motion for Preliminary Injunction:

- Exhibit 1 is a true and correct copy of excerpts of the February 27,
   2023 deposition transcript of Gregory W. Edwards.
- 3. **Exhibit 2** is a true and correct copy of excerpts of the March 2, 2023 deposition transcript of Keith E. Gammage.
- 4. **Exhibit 3** is a true and correct copy of excerpts of the March 7, 2023 deposition transcript of the Georgia State Election Board.
- 5. **Exhibit 4** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Billy Honor, dated May 16, 2023.
- 6. **Exhibit 5** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Mary-Pat Hector, dated May 16, 2023.
- 7. **Exhibit 6** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Christopher G. Johnson, dated May 17, 2023.
- 8. **Exhibit 7** is a true and correct copy of the declaration of Jauan Durbin, dated May 17, 2023.

Respectfully submitted this 17th day of May, 2023,

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#### **CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE**

I hereby certify that on May 17, 2023, I electronically filed this document with the Clerk of Court using the CM/ECF system which will automatically send email notification of such filing to the attorneys of record.

Dated: May 17, 2023 /s/ Uzoma N. Nkwonta
Uzoma Nkwonta

Counsel for Plaintiffs

1	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
2	FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA ATLANTA DIVISION
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4	IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202 : Master Case No. : 1:21-MI-55555-JPB
5	: 1.21-MI-33333-UPB
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13	DEPOSITION OF GREGORY W. EDWARDS
14	ALBANY, GEORGIA
15	MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 2023
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23	REPORTED BY: TANYA L. VERHOVEN-PAGE,  CCR-B-1790
24	
25	FILE NO. J9319235



1	February 27, 2023
2	10:15 a.m.
3	
4	Deposition of
5	GREGORY W. EDWARDS, held at the Dougherty
6	County District Attorney's Office, 225
7	Pine Avenue Albany Georgia before
8	Tanya L. Verhoven-Page, Certified
9	Court Reporter.
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           BY:
                 (Via Zoom)
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1	ALBANY, GEORGIA; MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 2023
2	10:15 A.M.
3	
4	PROCEEDINGS
5	
6	MS. VANDER ELS: Irene Vander Els.
7	I'm with Dekalb County Law Department,
8	and I'm here on behalf of the Dekalb
9	County Defendants.
10	MS. EVANS: From the U.S.
11	Department of Justice, I'm Rachel Evans,
12	and on, is also my colleague, Joi Hyatte.
13	MR. LOWMAN: I'm David Lowman with
14	the Office of the Fulton County Attorney,
15	and I'm here on behalf of the Fulton
16	County Board of Registration and
17	Elections.
18	MR. BOWMAN: Good morning. I'm
19	Brad Bowman, also with the Office of the
20	Fulton County Attorney, and I am here
21	representing Solicitor Gammage.
22	MS. SZILAGYI: Hi. My name is
23	Heather Szilagyi. I'm with the Lawyers
24	Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and
25	I represent the Georgia NAACP Plaintiffs



1	in this case.
2	MR. CATHEY: Good morning. This is
3	Tom Cathey from Hull Barrett. I'm here
4	on behalf of the Columbia County
5	Defendants.
6	MR. MOCINE-MCQUEEN: We do have
7	yes, from the Elias Law Group our
8	colleague, Samuel Ward-Packard.
9	My name is Marcos Mocine-McQueen.
10	I'm with the Elias Law Group, and we
11	represent the New Georgia Project
12	Plaintiffs.
13	MS. JOHNSON: Mindy Johnson also
14	representing the New Georgia Project
15	Plaintiffs.
16	MR. BOYLE: I'm Donald Boyle
17	representing the witness, Mr. Edwards.
18	
19	Thereupon
20	GREGORY W. EDWARDS,
21	called as a witness, having been first duly sworn,
22	was examined and testified as follows:
23	
24	EXAMINATION
25	BY MR. MOCINE-MCQUEEN:



1	to take a moment here.
2	So just one last question: Must all
3	misdemeanor prosecutions proceed either through an
4	indictment or an accusation?
5	A That's correct.
6	Q Okay. There are no other avenues to
7	prosecute a misdemeanor criminal offense other than
8	those two paths that we
9	A Not that I'm aware of in the State of
10	Georgia. I mean, to my legal knowledge, I'm not
11	aware of any other process that would bring a matter
12	forward.
13	Q Great. This has been very helpful.
14	Thank you for explaining those terms to me.
15	So, Mr. Edwards, did you take an oath
16	when you assumed your office?
17	A I did.
18	Q Okay. I don't need an exact recitation
19	of that oath. Although, you've done it enough times
20	you probably could.
21	What is your understanding of what that
22	oath compels you to do?
23	A It compels me to to do what's right
24	and to to do what's right. I can't sum it up even
25	more than that. You know, the duty of a prosecutor,



1	as I see it, is not necessarily to prosecute every
2	matter that appears. It's not the duty of a
3	prosecutor to convict everybody that's charged with a
4	crime.
5	My duty is to seek the truth and to do
6	whatever is appropriate to make sure that the truth
7	about whatever the situation is is the net result.
8	Q So you listed several things there. Is
9	one of the duties that you have as the District
10	Attorney to enforce the law?
11	A That's correct.
12	Q With regard to enforcing the laws, you
13	also mentioned some things there. You said it is not
14	always to get a conviction.
15	Are there any laws that you categorically
16	do not enforce?
17	A No. I do not have any laws that I do
18	not I'm not engaged in what people describe as a
19	prosecutorial veto. I will look at each case, each
20	circumstance and look at the law and make decisions
21	based upon what I think is the best and most
22	appropriate thing to do.
23	Q And you said this, but I just want to
24	make sure I'm understanding correctly. You make that



judgment on a case by case basis?

25

Τ	A That's what I do.
2	Q Yes, sir.
3	What are some of the factors that you
4	weigh when you're making that determination?
5	A The totality of circumstances,
6	particularly the law, the facts of that particular
7	situation, the defendant. All of those things are
8	matters that I put into the calculus of deciding what
9	I want to do or should do in a particular instance.
10	Q So is the it sounds like would the
11	type of crime be one of the factors that you're
12	considering whether when you're considering
13	whether to prosecute an individual?
14	A Perhaps, in relation to other
15	circumstances. Like I said, including, perhaps, the
16	history of that individual, the history of that
17	offense by other individuals. All of the factors
18	it's all the variables would need to be weighed.
19	Every case should be evaluated on its
20	specific circumstances.
21	Q When you say how others have been
22	prosecuted on those type of actions, can you explain
23	to me, sir, a little bit more about what you mean by
24	that?
25	A Well, I would certainly look at the



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notion that, if there are matters where, you know, one person may have done the crime and not been prosecuted and then now a subsequent person is, you know, alleged to have done the same thing and not prosecuted, you know, that would be something that I would certainly weigh into my evaluation of the situation. I try not to mix the proverbial, you know, other matters and look at each case, but, you know, I look holistically at what's going on in the community, what's going on with the law, what's going on with these individual circumstances. intentions is always to look at everything. And are there any circumstances --0 Okay. let me narrow that down. Are there any categories of crime in which you feel you do not have the discretion to go through this weighing process? Α I think that prosecutorial No. discretion is one of the most important things, you know, of being a prosecutor, and prosecutorial discretion with the notion of getting to the truth, getting to justice, is what should be the guiding

Q Okay. And I think we've actually gone through a lot of the next questions. I just want to make sure that I ask just a couple of very quick



principle.

1	follow-up questions on what we've already discussed.
2	So Georgia's Attorney General can
3	potentially prosecute crimes here in Dougherty
4	County, but he cannot prevent you from prosecuting a
5	crime; is that correct?
6	A To my knowledge and information, that's
7	correct. He can prosecute any matter that I could
8	prosecute, and I'm not aware of any directive that
9	would prevent you know, I'm an independent elected
LO	official in this circuit, and there's nothing that
L1	I'm aware of that would prevent me from doing my
L2	duties as an elected official in this judicial
L3	circuit.
L4	Q And I think you just answered this
L5	question, but I just want to make sure.
L6	To your knowledge, are there any
L7	officials or official bodies that can prevent you
L8	from bringing a prosecution under your authority as
L9	the District Attorney in Dougherty County?
20	A Not that I'm aware of. I'm not aware of
21	anything that would bar me from bringing a
22	prosecution other than, perhaps, the legal bar of the
23	statute of limitations, which is the legal bar for
24	any prosecution if you don't bring it within the

allotted time for that particular offense.



25

1	Q Okay. So the statutory limitations on
2	the crime itself, things like the statute of
3	limitations, can prevent you, but as far as
4	authorities, as far as officials who might have
5	county power or state power, to your knowledge, there
6	are no officials that can prevent you from bringing a
7	prosecution?
8	A I'm not aware of any official who has
9	authority over the actions of the district attorney.
10	MR. MOCINE-MCQUEEN: We've been
11	going about hour. It seems like a good
12	moment to take a break, if that's okay
13	with you?
14	THE WITNESS: Sure.
15	(Brief pause.)
16	(Plaintiff's (Edwards) Deposition
17	Exhibit No. 184 was marked for the
18	record.)
19	BY MR. MOCINE-MCQUEEN:
20	Q Mr. Edwards, we're going to shift a
21	little bit. I'm going to hand you an exhibit that
22	we're going to mark as Exhibit 184.
23	I apologize. There are no staples on
24	this one either, but it is two pages, and these two
25	pages are Georgia Annotated Code 21 they are just



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a printout of the Annotated Code 21-2-414, 21-2-414.

I'll give you a moment, sir, to read that, and I'm

particularly going to be discussing today Paragraph A

and its subparts. So -
I'm just taking a look at my notes.

Thank you for your patience.

So I'm just going to read this so that -for the folks who are not with us here and can't see
the physical exhibits, they have a chance to hear it.

This is Georgia Annotated Code 21-2-414, Paragraph A, and I'm going to read A, subparts -- and including Subparts 1, 2 and 3, and it reads: person shall solicit votes in any manner or by any means or method, nor shall any person distribute or display any campaign material, nor shall any person give, offer to give or participate in the giving of any money or gifts, including, but not limited to, food and drink, to an elector, nor shall any person solicit signatures for any petition, nor shall any person, other than election officials discharging their duties, establish or set up any tables or booths on any date in which ballots are being cast: Subpart 1 reads: Within 150 feet of the outer edge of any building within which a polling place is established; Subpart 2: Within any polling place; or



1	Subpart 3: Within 25 feet of any voter standing in
2	line to vote at any polling place, and the concluding
3	sentence reads: These restrictions shall not apply
4	to conduct occurring in private offices or areas
5	which cannot be seen or heard by such electors.
6	Are you familiar, Mr. Edwards, with this
7	section of the Georgia statute?
8	A I became aware it had been enacted as
9	dated, yes.
10	Q Okay. And if I refer to this as
11	Georgia's electioneering law, will you understand
12	that I'm referring to this statute here?
13	A Yes.
14	Q Okay. Can you describe, in your
15	understanding, of what conduct is covered by this
16	statute?
17	A Well, my understanding would be that, if
18	there's any conduct within the forbidden area of
19	150 feet; such as, contacting persons who are in the
20	line to vote by any means with any materials or
21	contact, that that possibly would be a violation of
22	this particular statute.
23	Q Okay. And we'll ask some more details
24	about that in a moment. Thank you for that.
25	Do your duties as the District Attorney



Т	nere in Dougherty County include, if it were needed,
2	enforcing this law?
3	A Possibly, yes.
4	Q Would anyone else in Dougherty County
5	enforce this statute other than yourself?
6	A Not that I'm aware of. I would
7	anticipate that someone might investigate it and make
8	a report to a magistrate or to me about it.
9	Q Okay. And when I asked if you would
10	prosecute this in Dougherty County, your answer was
11	possibly. Am I to understand that as a how do I
12	understand your use of the word "possibly" as opposed
13	to yes or no?
14	A Simply as that. I would look at the
15	facts relating to the allegations to see if there is,
16	beyond a reasonable doubt, and that's my standard
17	Q Okay.
18	A a violation of this particular law.
19	Q Okay. So as far as enforcing the law,
20	that is a responsibility of your office? Not looking
21	at the facts of a specific I'm not asking you now
22	about the facts of any specific case, but as far as
23	who has the duty to enforce this law, that would be
24	your office; is that correct?
25	A It would be my office if the matter is



1	brought to my attention, and there's evidence beyond
2	a reasonable doubt that it occurred, then it would be
3	my duty to enforce it.
4	Q Okay. Understood. And so with regards
5	to that, have you ever brought charges under this
6	section of the Georgia code?
7	A No, sir, I have not.
8	Q Okay. Would anyone outside of your
9	office and I think we we actually already went
10	over that. I'm going to stop that question. I'll
11	move on.
12	This kind of goes back to some earlier
13	questions we asked, but I just want to make sure I
14	understand.
15	Is there anyone outside of your office
16	who could prohibit you from enforcing this law?
17	A I'm not aware of any authority or an
18	individual that would have the authority to keep me
19	from enforcing the law.
20	Q Okay. And if you were to enforce this
21	law, would it proceed through the processes that we
22	discussed earlier, either an indictment or a criminal
23	accusation?
24	A That's correct.

Okay. So I'd like to take a look -- just



Q

briefly take a closer look at some of the language in this statute. I'd like to specifically start with understanding physically where this law can be enforced.

I'm going to -- can you look at the -the subparagraphs one, two and three, and just as a
starting question, I would just ask: Would you agree
with me that these describe where physically this law
applies?

A In my estimation, I would say yes.

Q Yes, sir. So these are the ones that say within 150 feet of the outer edge of any building in which a polling place is established within the polling place or within 25 feet of any voter standing in line at any poling place.

Do you -- in your understanding, does this statute, the electioneering statute, have anything to say about behavior taking place outside of those zones?

A It seems to have an exclusive zone within that described perimeter, 150 feet. So I anticipate that anything beyond 150 feet is not covered.

Q Okay. And then it also mentions -- just to make sure we're on the same page -- within the polling place is subparagraph B. So would this also



Τ	Q So I'll move on from that question. The
2	next clause reads: Nor shall any person distribute
3	or display any campaign material.
4	What would constitute campaign material?
5	MR. BOYLE: Object. Calling for a
6	legal interpretation. You may answer.
7	THE WITNESS: I would use the plain
8	meaning of that that phrase. Campaign
9	material is something that denotes an
10	individual or a cause or that they
11	would want to have that elector consider.
12	BY MR. MOCINE-MCQUEEN:
13	Q Okay. And would that would that
14	person or cause need to be something that appeared on
15	the ballot?
16	A I would think that would be something
17	that would go hand and hand with that consideration.
18	If it's somebody that, you know, you have a current
19	election and but you're looking at other elections
20	down the road and you see many candidates beginning
21	their campaigns now for elections to come in 2024, so
22	it would depend, again, on what is being asked of the
23	elector.
24	Q Okay. So what if so can you give me
25	some just, in your understanding, an example of



what would be electioneering in terms of what would clearly be prohibited by this statute -- let's say -- in the context of a candidate for office?

A Certainly anything with an image, certainly anything with a name, certainly anything with, perhaps, marketing cliches that have been presented by a known candidate, a potential candidate.

Those are the three things that would be what I would look at at least initially.

Q Okay. So I'll move on to kind of some related questions. I'd like to understand what would fall outside of this statute. So what would not be prohibited by this statute. So if I'm -- so if a person is wearing an unmarked T-shirt, they are not carrying any food or any sort of gift and they are not asking any -- the voter in line to vote for or against anything on that ballot, can just a normal citizen walk into the zone and begin having a conversation with a voter?

A That seems to be allowed.

Q And are you aware that -- so I want to reference something that I'm going to call SB 202, and I will explain that. By that, I mean Senate Bill 202 that was passed by the Georgia General Assembly



1	in 2021, and it became effective, I believe, in March
2	of 2021, but it is Georgia Senate Bill 202 as enacted
3	by the General Assembly in 2021.
4	If I refer to that as SB 202, will you
5	know what I mean?
6	A I'll follow that.
7	Q Okay. So SB 202 made some changes to
8	this specific statute. Are you aware of that?
9	A I have not researched it or
10	Q Okay. Do you have a general idea of
11	about what changes might have been made to the
12	statute?
13	A No, I have not
14	Q Okay.
15	A paid any particular attention to that
16	particular statute because of other matters.
17	Q Okay. And the reason I was asking is
18	earlier you made reference to the statute being
19	enacted, and I was trying to understand as to whether
20	you meant the changes made by SB 202 or if you meant
21	as it stands now or what you meant by enacted?
22	A Well, what I meant was that I was aware
23	that there were changes in the election laws. I had
24	not given a lot of, you know, intense research in it.
25	Q Okay.



1	A So just in passing with other information
2	that I get usually on a daily basis about changes in
3	the laws among prosecutors, you know, we have our
4	continuing discussions about changes in the law and
5	potential laws, and so quite literally, it's probably
6	in the mix of all of these other things that I've
7	been looking at over these past couple of years.
8	Q Okay. We're nearing the end of my
9	questions. We'll probably pause for a moment for me
10	to make sure that I've gotten them, but I do have
11	just a couple of follow-up questions here at the end.
12	So we talked about a person approaching a
13	voter. If that person isn't participating in any
14	or isn't engaging in any of the prohibited conduct as
15	laid out in 414, it was your understanding that they
16	could still approach a voter in one of these zones;
17	is that correct?
18	A Right. I would anticipate you might have
19	any instance where, you know, an emergency situation
20	where somebody is going to talk to their talk to
21	somebody who is in the line, or, you know, you never
22	know when a person might need to talk to somebody in

Q And so if they are not discussing some of the matter prohibited by Section 414, they can engage



the line.

23

24

1	in a conversation a citizen can engage in a
2	conversation with a voter who is standing in line or
3	who is otherwise in one of these protected zones?
4	A That seems to be allowed.
5	Q Okay.
6	MR. MOCINE-MCQUEEN: Let's take a
7	five-minute break. We may be near the
8	conclusion here.
9	Let me take a five-minute break.
10	(Brief pause.)
11	MR. MOCINE-MCQUEEN: We are back on
12	the record. I'll ask, once again, if
13	someone who is on-line can unmute to
14	confirm that they can hear us.
15	MS. EVANS: Yes.
16	MR. MOCINE-MCQUEEN: Great. Thank
17	you.
18	Mr. Edwards, I have no further
19	questions for you at this time.
20	Does anyone joining us, who is
21	making an appearance on Zoom, wish to ask
22	any questions?
23	I'm going to give folks a moment to
24	unmute since I know that can be a
25	struggle.



1	DISCLOSURE
2	The following representations and disclosures
3	are made in compliance with Georgia Law, more
4	specifically:
5	Article 10(B) of the Rules and Regulations of
6	the Board of Court Reporting (disclosure forms).
7	OCGA 9-11-28(c (disqualification of reporter for
8	financial interest). OCGA 15-14-37(a) and (b)
9	(prohibitions against contracts except on a
10	case-by-case basis.)
11	I am a certified court reporter in the State of
12	Georgia. I am a subcontractor for Esquire Deposition
13	Solutions. I have been assigned to make a complete
14	and accurate record of these proceedings.
15	I have no relationship of interest in the matter
16	on which I am about to report which would disqualify
17	me from making a verbatim record or maintaining my
18	obligation of impartiality in compliance with the
19	Code of Professional Ethics.
20	I have no direct contract with any party in this
21	action and my compensation is determined solely by
22	the terms of my subcontractor agreement.
23	This 10th day of March 2023 (xxx) - 1292
24	Tanya L. Verhoven-Page,

B-1790.



1	CERTIFICATE
2	
3	STATE OF GEORGIA:
4	FULTON COUNTY:
5	
6	I hereby certify that the foregoing
7	deposition was reported, as stated in the
8	caption, and the questions and answers
9	thereto were reduced to written page
10	under my direction, that the preceding
11	pages represent a true and correct
12	transcript of the evidence given by said
13	witness.
14	I further certify that I am not of
15	kin or counsel to the parties in the
16	case, am not in the regular employ of
17	counsel for any of said parties, nor am I
18	in any way financially interested in the
19	result of said case.
20	Dated this 10th day of March, 2023.
21	hower Jalden - tage
22	Tanya L. Verhoven-Page,
23	Certified Court Reporter, B-1790.
24	2 1700.
25	



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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
 1
             FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
 2
 3
 4
    IN RE:
 5
       GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202
 6
                                     Civil Action No.
 7
                                     1:21:MI-55555-JPB
 8
 9
10
11
                           DEPOSITION OF
12
                   KEITH E. GAMMAGE, ESQUIRE
13
14
            Thursday, March 2, 2023, 10:02 a.m. (EST)
15
16
17
18
19
20
            HELD AT:
21
               Fulton County Attorney's Office
               141 Pryor Street, Suite 4038
               Atlanta, Georgia 30303
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          Certified Shorthand Reporter/Notary Public
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1	KEITH E. GAMMAGE, ESQUIRE,
2	being duly sworn, was examined and testified as
3	follows:
4	
5	EXAMINATION
6	BY MR. WARD-PACKARD:
7	Q Good morning, sir. Could you please state
8	your full name for the record.
9	A Keith E. Gammage.
10	Q Thank you. My name is Sam Wood-Packard.
11	I'm an attorney with the Elias Law Group in
12	Washington DC, and I represent the New Georgia
13	Project plaintiffs in this consolidated case. I'm
14	joined by my colleague Mindy Johnson.
15	I'm going to first ask if you're
16	represented by an attorney today?
17	A I am. I'm represented by Mr. Bowman of
18	the County Attorney's Office of Fulton County,
19	Georgia.
20	MR. WARD-PACKARD: Thanks, and could I ask
21	that the other folks in the room introduce
22	themselves as well.
23	MS. LaROSS: Sure. I'm Diane LaRoss, and
24	I represent the State defendants.
25	MR. ROSENBERG: Steve Rosenberg. I am



1	general counsel to the Solicitor General.
2	MR. WARD-PACKARD: Thank you. And I
3	believe we're also joined by some attorneys on
4	Zoom. Could I ask the folks on Zoom to
5	introduce themselves, starting with anybody on
6	the plaintiffs' side.
7	Do we have anybody from the Georgia NAACP?
8	If you could just unmute and introduce
9	yourself.
10	(No Response.)
11	MR. WARD-PACKARD: Anybody from AME.
12	MS. AHSAN: My name is Ayesha Ahsan. I'm
13	a legal extern with the Southern Poverty Law
14	Center.
15	MR. WARD-PACKARD: Thank you.
16	Anybody from AAA?
17	(No Response.)
18	MR. WARD-PACKARD: Anyone from
19	VoteAmerica?
20	(No Response.)
21	MR. WARD-PACKARD: Anybody from Concerned
22	Black Clergy?
23	MR. ZATZ: Yes. Good morning. Cliff
24	Zatz, Crowell Moring, for the Concerned Black
25	Clergy of Metropolitan Atlanta plaintiffs.



1	MR. WARD-PACKARD: Anyone from CGG?
2	(No Response.)
3	MR. WARD-PACKARD: And anyone from the
4	Department of Justice?
5	MS. EVANS: Yes. Good morning. Rachel
6	Evans for the United States.
7	MR. WARD-PACKARD: And did I miss anyone
8	else on the call from the plaintiff's side?
9	(No response.)
10	MR. WARD-PACKARD: All right, I'll next
11	ask the attorneys for any defendants on the
12	Zoom to identify themselves. I don't have a
13	comprehensive list of those, so if you could
14	just speak up.
15	MS. MARTIN: Yes. My name is Maggie
16	Martin, and I'm here on behalf of the
17	Athens-Clarke County defendants.
18	MR. BELL: Jordan bell on behalf of the
19	Columbia County defendants.
20	MS. MOMO: Good morning. Shelley Momo on
21	behalf of the DeKalb County defendants.
22	MR. WARD-PACKARD: Anyone else?
23	(No Response.)
24	BY MR. WARD-PACKARD:
25	Q All right. So, Mr. Gammage, have you ever



1	County?
2	MR. BOWMAN: I'll object based on
3	speculation, but go ahead and answer.
4	A Ethically, I'm unable to speculate or
5	answer something related to a future potential
6	violation without knowing what those facts might be.
7	Q In that case, is it your testimony today
8	that you cannot state categorically that you would
9	not prosecute a violation of the electioneering law?
10	A As an elected prosecutor in Georgia, I
11	would not state categorically about any type of
12	offense that I would or would not prosecute, because
13	I'm required to examine each case on an
14	individualized basis.
15	Q And would you give the same answer if I
16	asked whether specifically there are any
17	circumstances in which you would initiate a
18	prosecution for a violation of the line warming ban?
19	MS. LaROSS: Objection as to form.
20	A I'm sorry. Could you ask me again,
21	please?
22	Q Are there any circumstances in which you
23	would initiate a prosecution of the line warming
24	ban?
25	A I don't know.



Q Are you able to state today categorically
that there are no circumstances in which you would
initiate a prosecution of the line warming ban?
MS. LaROSS: Objection as to form.
A Can you turn my attention back to the
statute that governs line warming ban?
Q So when I say line warming ban, what I'm
referring to is the portion of Section 21-2-414,
that says: "Nor shall any person give, offer to
give, or participate in the giving of any money or
gifts, including, but not limited to, food and drink
to an elector."
So when I say "line warming ban," I mean
the ban on giving food and drink to an elector.
To repeat the question, can you
categorically state that you would not in any
circumstances bring a prosecution for a violation of
that provision?
A No, I cannot categorically state that I'll
never bring a prosecution for the offenses contained
in the statute in which we speak.
Q I'd like to move on, just to get your
understanding of where specifically this provision
applies.

So if you could please take a look at



Subsection (a), Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3. 1 2 First of all, would you agree these three 3 paragraphs define where the electioneering law 4 applies? 5 Α Yes, sir. As we established earlier, I would agree. 6 7 So on that basis then is it correct that 0 8 the prohibitions contained in the electioneering law 9 govern only activities taking place in those three 10 areas? 11 Α I don't want to -- you know, I want to be 12 responsive. I hope I am. 13 Q Let me ask the question this way. 14 Yes, sir. Α 15 So the electioneering law applies within 0 16 150 of the outer edge of any building within which a 17 polling place is established, within any polling 18 place, or within 25 feet of any voter standing in 19 line to vote at any polling place. 20 Is there anywhere else that it applies? 21 Α In as much as I can interpret this statute 22 as a prosecutor, deferring other interpretations to 23 the court, I would say that it would be limited in 24 scope to the provisions of law here established in 25 21-2-414.



1	Q I'd finally like to ask you a few
2	questions about the substantive prohibitions in this
3	subsection we've been discussing.
4	So, first, to your understanding, what
5	does it mean to solicit a vote?
6	A Seek out, encourage, attempt to suggest, a
7	particular manner in which an individual or
8	individuals might cast their vote for particular
9	candidate or candidates.
10	Q And the clause following that one reads:
11	"Nor shall any person distribute or display any
12	campaign material." In the context of that clause,
13	what does it mean to distribute or display
14	something?
15	A Counsel, where are where within the
16	statute, please?
17	Q Sure.
18	So in Subsection (a), in the first line,
19	as the exhibit has been presented to you: "No
20	person shall solicit votes in any manner or by any
21	means or method, nor shall any person distribute or
22	display any campaign material."
23	And my question is, in that context, what
24	does it mean to distribute or display?
25	A Illustrative examples would be anything



presented in a public fashion by any means related 1 2 to, by any means that suggests, encourages, shows, 3 reveals any information recommended to a particular 4 candidate or candidates, or I would imagine even 5 party potentially. Campaign material, that could be a T-shirt, sweatshirt, wristband, armband, headband, 6 7 hat, cap, any of the like. 8 I imagine it could be any other methods by 9 which someone could display, share, or show 10 traditional campaign material, or nontraditional 11 things, postcard, push cart, poster, label, or any 12 other kind of tangible display. 13 My next question was whether a T-shirt can 14 count as campaign material. It sounds like your 15 answer to that is definitively yes? 16 Α Yes, sir. 17 The last clause I'm interested in says: 0 18 "nor shall any person give, offer to give, or 19 participate in the giving of any money or gifts, 20 including, but not limited to, food and drink to an 21 elector." 22 First of all, are you aware the Georgia 23 legislature added that clause to this statute in 24 2021?



Yes, sir.

Α

1	Q And the clauses following that clause
2	prohibit gathering, petition signatures within the
3	restricted zones, and setting up booths and tables
4	within the restricted zones.
5	Do you agree with that?
6	A That is the status of the law.
7	Q Yes.
8	A Yes, sir.
9	Q So I just want to ask you one question
10	about how this law is applied, and I just want you
11	to assume for purposes of the question that there's
12	no setting up of tables or petitioning happening.
13	So does the electioneering law prohibit a
14	person from approaching a voter in the restricted
15	zones if the person approaching the voter is not
16	soliciting votes, displaying campaign material, or
17	giving out food, water or gifts?
18	MR. BOWMAN: Objection as to form.
19	A I'm not sure I'm clear, sir.
20	Approaching someone, I don't see how
21	that's a violation of the law.
22	Q I think that does answer my question. My
23	question is whether merely approaching a voter in
24	the line without doing any one of the further things
25	identified as prohibited conduct in itself violates



1	law?
2	A Okay.
3	Q And your answer is no, it does not, as you
4	understand the law?
5	A Simply approaching someone without sort
6	of like I just approached you?
7	Q Yes.
8	A I don't see how that would be a violation
9	of any law, sir.
10	MR. WARD-PACKARD: I'm going to suggest we
11	take another brief break, five minutes.
12	Does that work for everyone?
13	And if there's other plaintiffs' counsel
14	on the call who might have questions for Mr.
15	Gammage, now will be the time to consider
16	whether you do and what those questions are.
17	(A recess was taken at 11:51 a.m. until
18	11:57 a.m.)
19	MR. WARD-PACKARD: We're back on the
20	record .
21	Mr. Gammage, I have no further questions
22	for you at this time. I really appreciate your
23	time this morning.
24	Is there anyone else from the plaintiffs'
25	side on the call who has questions for the



```
1
     witness?
 2
          (No Response.)
 3
          MR. WARD-PACKARD: All right. Anybody in
     the room who has any questions for the witness?
 4
 5
          MS. LaROSS:
                        I do not have any questions
     on behalf of the State defendants.
 6
 7
          MR. BOWMAN:
                        No questions from us.
 8
          MR. WARD-PACKARD:
                              I think we're all set.
          (Whereupon, the deposition concluded at
 9
10
     11:57 a.m.)
11
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1	CERTIFICATE
2	
3	STATE OF GEORGIA:
4	FULTON COUNTY:
5	
6	I hereby certify that the foregoing
7	transcript of KEITH E. GAMMAGE, ESQUIRE was taken
8	down, as stated in the caption, and the questions
9	and answers thereto were reduced by stenographic
10	means under my direction;
11	That the foregoing Pages 1 through
12	67 represent a true and correct transcript of
13	the evidence given upon said hearing;
14	And I further certify that I am not of kin
15	or counsel to the parties in this case; am not in
16	the regular employ of counsel for any of said
17	parties; nor am I in anywise interested in the
18	result of said case.
19	
20	IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto
21	subscribed my name this 11th day of March, 2023.
22	Warle L. Robinson
23	
24	Wanda L. Robinson, CRR, CCR No. B-1973
25	My Commission Expires 10/11/2023



March 02, 2023

1	DISCLOSURE
2	STATE OF GEORGIA ) 3/02/23 DEPOSITION OF FULTON COUNTY KEITH E. GAMMAGE, ESQUIRE  Pursuant to Article 10.B of the Rules and
4	Regulations of the Board of Court Reporting
5	of the Judicial Council of Georgia, I make the
6	following disclosure:
7	I am a Georgia certified court reporter.
8	I am here as a representative of Esquire Deposition
9	Solutions, LLC, and Esquire Deposition Solutions,
10	LLC was contacted by the offices of Elias Law Group
11	to provide court reporter services for this
12	deposition. Esquire Deposition Solutions, LLC will
13	not be taking this deposition under any contract
14	that is prohibited by O.C.G.A. 9-11-28 (c).
15	Esquire Deposition Solutions, LLC has no
16	contract/agreement to provide court reporter
17	services with any party to the case, or any counsel
18	in the case, or any reporter or reporting agency
19	from whom a referral might have been made to cover
20	this deposition.
21	Esquire Deposition Solutions, LLC will
22	charge the usual and customary rates to all parties
23	in the case, and a financial discount will not be
24	given to any party to this litigation.



1	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT	
2	FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA	
3	ATLANTA DIVISION	
4		
5		
6	IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202 Master Case No:	
7	1:21-MI-55555-JPB	
8		
9		
10		
11	30(B)(6) VIDEOTAPED DEPOSITION OF	
12	GEORGIA STATE ELECTION BOARD	
13	(THOMAS MATTHEW MASHBURN)	
14	March 7, 2023	
15	9:59 a.m.	
16	1600 Parkwood Circle, Suite 200	
17	Atlanta, Georgia	
18		
19		
20		
21	Marralla Darrikkora DDD DMD	
22	Marcella Daughtry, RPR, RMR Georgia License No. 6595-1471-3597-5424	
23	California CSR No. 14315	
24		
25		



1	APPEARANCES OF COUNSEL
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24	
25	



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24	
25	



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25	



1	For the Fulton County Defendants:
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7	MS. RACHEL MACK (via Zoom) 535 Telfair Street
8	Building 3000 Augusta, Georgia 30901
9	Augusta, Georgia 30701
10	Also Present:
11	Nadav Flax, Paralegal Southern Poverty Law Maya Carter, videographer
12	
13	
14	
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# THOMAS MATTHEW MASHBURN 30(b)(6) IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202

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	WITNESS: THOMAS MATTHEW MASHBURN  EXAMINATION BY MS. KHAN BY MS. JHAVERI BY MR. FOGELSON BY MR. OXFORD BY MS. MENG MORRISON BY MR. SCHAERR  FURTHER EXAMINATION BY MS. KHAN



# THOMAS MATTHEW MASHBURN 30(b)(6) IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202

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10 11	Exhibit 192	E-mail from Ryan Germany to Mr. Mashburn 8/16/21 "Subject: FW: Affidavit Draft" CDR00072974	65
12 13	Exhibit 193	State Election Board Notice of Proposed Rulemaking 183-1-14-12 SPLC1011850 to 11855	68
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18 19 20	Exhibit 196	E-mail from Ryan Germany to Mr. Mashburn 10/30/20 "Subject: Re: Intrusions into 150 Foot bubble" CDR00077364 to 77368	114
<ul><li>21</li><li>22</li><li>23</li></ul>	Exhibit 197	E-mail from Mr. Mashburn to J Campbell 11/10/20 "Subject: Fwd: Stop Voter Fraud" CDR00137182 to 184	128
24 25	Exhibit 198	State Election Board Hearing Transcript dated 2/10/21	130



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# THOMAS MATTHEW MASHBURN 30(b)(6) IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202

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1	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Today's date is March 7th,
2	2023, and the time is 9:59 a.m. This will be the 30
3	(b)(6) video deposition of the State Election Board given
4	by Thomas Matthew Mashburn in the matter of In Re Georgia
5	Senate Bill 202, taken at 1600 Parkwood Circle, Suite
6	200, in Atlanta, Georgia.
7	Will counsel please identify themselves for the
8	record.
9	MR. SCHAERR: Gene Schaerr representing the
10	State defendants, and with me is Joshua Prince.
11	MS. KHAN: Sabrina Khan with the Southern
12	Poverty Law Center representing the AME plaintiffs.
13	MS. JHAVERI: Sejal Jhaveri for the United
14	States.
15	MR. FLAX: Nadav Flax with plaintiffs,
16	paralegal for the Southern Poverty Law Center.
17	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: If counsel on Zoom will
18	identify themselves for the record.
19	MS. HOUK: Good morning. Julie Houk, Lawyers'
20	Committee for Civil Rights Under Law representing the
21	Georgia NAACP plaintiff group.
22	MR. JEDRESKI: Matthew Jedreski from Davis
23	Wright Tremaine on behalf of the AME plaintiffs, along
24	with my colleague Shontee Pant.
25	MS. MENG MORRISON: Good morning. Tina Meng



1	Morrison with Elias Law Group on behalf of NGP
2	plaintiffs.
3	MR. OXFORD: Good morning. This is Neil Oxford
4	from Hughes Hubbard & Reed, also for the Georgia NAACP
5	plaintiffs.
6	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Is that everyone?
7	MS. RAMAHI: Good morning.
8	MR. CATHEY: This is Tom Cathey from Hull
9	Barrett on behalf of the Columbia County defendants.
10	MS. KHAN: Anyone else?
11	MS. RAMAHI: This is Zainab Ramahi from Keker
12	Van Nest & Peters on behalf of the Asian Americans
13	Advancing Justice plaintiffs.
14	MS. MILORD: This is Sandy Milord on behalf of
15	the Fulton County defendants.
16	MS. WAITE: Tristen Waite on behalf of DeKalb
17	County defendants.
18	MS. MACK: Rachel Mack on behalf of the
19	Richmond County defendants.
20	MR. SPARKS: Good morning. Adam Sparks,
21	Krevolin & Horst, on behalf of the NGP plaintiffs.
22	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Okay. Will the court
23	reporter please swear in the witness.
24	>>>
25	



1	THOMAS MATTHEW MASHBURN,
2	called as a witness herein, having been first duly sworn
3	by the shorthand reporter to speak the truth and nothing
4	but the truth, was examined and testified as follows:
5	
6	EXAMINATION
7	BY MS. KHAN:
8	Q Could you please state and spell your name for
9	the record.
10	A Thomas Matthew Mashburn, T-h-o-m-a-s; Matthew,
11	M-a-t-t-h-e-w; Mashburn, M-a-s-h-b-u-r-n.
12	Q Good morning, Mr. Mashburn. My name is Sabrina
13	Khan. I'm an attorney with the Southern Poverty Law
14	Center, and I represent the AME plaintiffs in this
15	matter. I will be taking the 30(b)(6) deposition today,
16	and I'm here with Nadav Flax, a paralegal in our office.
17	As a preview of the day, after we complete the
18	30(b)(6) deposition, we will shift to deposing you in
19	your individual capacity if there's time. And as we
20	previously agreed to with opposing counsel, if necessary,
21	we will carry that over to March 14th. Okay?
22	A Okay.
23	Q We are joined today oh, I think we already
24	introduced all counsel.
25	So we are just going to cover some basic ground



So the poll managers are usually very good about doing everything they can to try and work things out, but they do have the ultimate authority over whether or not something is disruptive.

Q Okay. And if a photographer wanted to take a photo of folks that are potentially interacting with voters who are waiting in line outside of a precinct, similar to what you did in 2020 in Cobb County, is there any code you are aware of in the Georgia -- any provision in the Georgia Code you are aware of that would prohibit them from doing so?

A There -- there are provisions that you can't take a picture of the face of a ballot, but I've -- in my -- in my -- in my experience of watching lines, I have seen any number of media come in and do their job and take their pictures in an unobtrusive way, and as long as they aren't trying to take pictures of ballot screens, they will pretty much be left to do their -- their job, as long as they are not disruptive.

MS. MENG MORRISON: Great. Those are all the questions I have for you. Thank you, Mr. Mashburn.

MS. KHAN: Thank you. And before I turn this over to defense counsel, last call for any other plaintiffs' counsel to ask questions.

Okay, hearing none.



1 MR. SCHAERR: Let's take a short break. 2 MS. JHAVERI: Can we -- sorry. 3 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: The time is 4:55 p.m., and 4 we are off the record. 5 (The deposition was at recess from 4:55 p.m. to 6 5:09 p.m.) 7 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: The time is 5:09 p.m., and 8 we are on the record. 9 10 EXAMINATION 11 BY MR. SCHAERR: 12 Thank you, Mr. Mashburn. As you know, my name 0 13 is Gene Schaerr, and I have got just a couple of 14 questions to ask you. 15 First of all, in the -- in the most recent line 16 of questioning you were asked about whether -- whether 17 S.B. 202 would prohibit people from -- in what 18 circumstances would S.B. 202 prohibit people from 19 approaching voters in line. Do you recall that? 20 Α Yes. 21 Now, to your understanding, is there anything 22 in S.B. 202 that would prohibit someone who is not 23 campaigning and is not being disruptive and not offering 24 anything to voters, to approaching someone who is 25 standing in line waiting to vote?



1	A There is nothing in S.B. 202 that prohibits
2	that.
3	Q Okay. You were also asked some questions
4	about about the unlimited voter challenges provision
5	in S.B. 202. To your understanding, were unlimited
6	challenges allowed before S.B. 202 was enacted?
7	A There were no limits under prior law. It just
8	wasn't explicitly stated that there was no limits
9	Q Okay.
10	A that there were no stated limits.
11	Q So the additional language is it fair to say
12	the additional language just made it made it expressed
13	what was already reasonably clear from the statute as it
14	existed before?
15	MR. OXFORD: Objection to form.
16	THE WITNESS: That is the Board's
17	understanding.
18	Q BY MR. SCHAERR: Okay. And in your
19	understanding, under the statute, who has the burden in a
20	challenge to voter qualification?
21	A The statute says that the challenger has the
22	burden of proof.
23	Q Okay. You mentioned earlier this morning that
24	the SEB rarely exercises its authority to propose
25	election laws. Do you recall that?



A Yes.

Q In your experience, why are such recommendations from the SEB so rare?

A The Board is not set up -- it's just not set up as a proactive policy vehicle. It has no budget. It has no staff. It's reactive in what it does, in that its primary role is -- or it's primary obligation or primary actions is to implement laws that the General Assembly gives us to implement and to hear cases. So in order -- there's just no forum that's really well set up for the Board to be very proactive in making policy.

Q Okay.

A You know, forward-thinking policy.

Q And in your experience, how does the level of experience among SEB members with respect to elections compare with the level of experience of elected legislators?

A The -- all of the current members of the Board -- well, except for Judge Duffey and Dr. Johnston, have extensive experience in election law. But at the same time, the legislator -- none of us have -- well, Ed has won elections. Edward has won elections, so he -- he has been a member of the General Assembly, but none of the other members of the Board have.

So again, the General Assembly views themselves



# THOMAS MATTHEW MASHBURN 30(b)(6) IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202

1	CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER
2	STATE OF GEORGIA )
3	COUNTY OF DEKALB )
4	
5	I, Marcella Daughtry, a Certified Reporter in the State of Georgia and State of California,
6	do hereby certify that the foregoing deposition was taken before me in the County of DeKalb, State of Georgia; that
7	an oath or affirmation was duly administered to the witness, THOMAS MATTHEW MASHBURN; that the questions
8	propounded to the witness and the answers of the witness thereto were taken down by me in shorthand and thereafter
9	reduced to typewriting; that the transcript is a full, true and accurate record of the proceeding, all done to
10	the best of my skill and ability;
11	The witness herein, THOMAS MATTHEW MASHBURN, has requested signature.
12	I FURTHER CERTIFY that I am in no way related
13 14	to any of the parties nor am I in any way interested in the outcome hereof.
15	IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have set my hand in my
16	office in the County of DeKalb, State of Georgia, this 20th day of March, 2023.
17	
18	And the second
19	Marcelle Daughtry
20	Marcella Daughtry, RPR, RMX GA License No.
21	GA LICENSE NO. 6595-1471-3597-5424 California CSR No. 14315
22	California CSR NO. 14313
23	
24	
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IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202	Master Case No.: 1:21-MI-55555-JPB
THE NEW GEORGIA PROJECT, et al.,	
Plaintiffs, v.	
BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State, et al.,	Civil Action No.: 1:21-cv-01229-JPB
Defendants,	1.21 0 0122 31 B
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, et al.,	
Intervenor-Defendants.	

#### **DECLARATION OF BILLY HONOR**

- I, Billy Honor, declare as follows:
- 1. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts below, and can competently testify to their truth.
- 2. My name is Billy Honor. I am currently the Director of Organizing at New Georgia Project ("NGP"), a 501(c)(3) nonpartisan, community-based nonprofit organization based in Fulton County, Georgia that is dedicated to helping Georgians become more civically active through voter education and engagement.

- 3. I previously provided a declaration in this case on June 3, 2022. *See* ECF No. 185-5. The following is intended to supplement that declaration.
- 4. Because of the Food and Water Ban in SB 202, groups like NGP have been prohibited from providing food and water to voters waiting in line at a polling precinct since March 2021.
- 5. Since that time, NGP has been forced to adapt its programs to comply with the Ban. We now set up tables to provide food and water to anyone who passes and wishes to take it, regardless of whether they are heading to the polling place. However, these events take place far away from polling locations and they are no substitute for providing support and encouragement directly to voters waiting in line.
- 6. NGP has also had to retrain volunteers on how to engage with voters and comply with the Food and Water Ban, including by informing them that they are no longer permitted to engage directly with voters in line on election day, and instead must operate on the fringes, specifically more than 150 feet from a precinct and more than 25 feet from any voter in line.
- 7. These restrictions have ultimately required NGP to put more resources into training volunteers and developing initiatives to effectively organize in Georgia under this new legal landscape. This has taken time, attention, and effort that would otherwise be spent on voter registration and mobilization.

- 8. All of these burdens persisted through the 2022 cycle. For each election that year, NGP was unable to engage in handing out food, water, and other items to support voters waiting in line. And as a result, NGP has been unable to communicate its message of support to voters.
- 9. In response to SB 202's new line relief restrictions and for the 2022 election cycle, NGP was forced to significantly scale back its Party at the Polls program because performers and volunteers fear SB 202's new criminal penalties on line relief activities.
- 10. NGP's faith-based Poll Chaplain program also had to be significantly reduced in size and scope because of SB 202's Food and Water Ban. While the Poll Chaplain program operated in approximately 40 precincts in 2018 and 120 precincts during the 2020 elections, SB 202 has since forced NGP to reduce its Poll Chaplain program to reach only around a dozen precincts in 2022.
- 11. NGP also discontinued its Water Carriers program that was created to provide water to voters in line during the 2020 and 2021 elections because of concerns about SB 202's new criminal penalties for providing drinks to voters.
- 12. As long as the Food and Water Ban remains in place, NGP cannot freely express its message of support and solidarity to encourage these voters to persevere even when faced with difficult conditions, or convey that participating in elections is an important and highly valued act of democracy.

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Billy Honor Organizing Director New Georgia Project

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BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as the Georgia Secretary of State, et al.,	Civil Action No.: 1:21-cv-01229-JPB
Defendants,	1,21 (1 (122) (12
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, et al.,	
Intervenor-Defendants.	

#### **DECLARATION OF MARY-PAT HECTOR**

#### I, Mary-Pat Hector, declare as follows:

- 1. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts below, and can competently testify to their truth.
- 2. My name is Mary-Pat Hector. I am currently the CEO of Rise, Inc. ("Rise"). Before my promotion to CEO in May 2023, I served as Rise's Georgia Program Director, a position I started in 2020.
- 3. Rise, Inc. is a student-led 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization that runs statewide advocacy and voter mobilization programs in Georgia and on a number of

campuses nationwide. Rise is a student- and youth-driven organization, and our leadership is comprised of students and young people, as are our organizers, partners, and volunteers.

- 4. Rise operates nationwide, including in Georgia. We launched our Georgia campaign because of the wealth of colleges and universities in state, including HBCUs, offering tremendous opportunity to advance our goals. When I was serving as state director from 2020 to 2023, I managed the Georgia campaign.
- 5. I previously provided a declaration in this case on June 3, 2022. *See* ECF No. 185-3. The following is intended to supplement that declaration.
- 6. During the 2020 primary, general, and runoff elections, Rise staff and volunteers participated in get-out-the-vote activities on election day and also supported Georgians waiting in line to vote. As part of these efforts, volunteers provided food, water, and other aid such as chairs for elderly and disabled individuals who were unable to stand for long periods of time.
- 7. Rise engaged in these activities to express to voters that every Georgian should be able to cast a vote without undue barriers. By providing food and water, we sought to support voters by encouraging them to persist, despite challenges such as long lines or inclement weather, and that their vote is important and necessary.
- 8. However, under SB 202, I am aware that it is now illegal to offer food and water and other support materials to voters waiting in line at polling places.

- 9. In response to this law, Rise was forced to cease all efforts to support Georgians waiting in line to cast their votes during the 2022 general election.
- 10. But for the ban on line relief, Rise would organize and deploy student organizers, grant recipients, and volunteers to provide food and water and other relief and convey the organization's message to Georgians waiting in line to vote.

I certify under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on	5/16/2023	
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By:

Mary-Pat Hector CEO Rise, Inc.

IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202	Master Case No.: 1:21-MI-55555-JPB
THE NEW GEORGIA PROJECT, et al.,	
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#### DECLARATION OF CHRISTOPHER G. JOHNSON

- I, Christopher G. Johnson, declare as follows:
- 1. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts below, and can competently testify to their truth.
- 2. My name is Christopher G. Johnson. I am a retired pastor and currently serve as the Chair and Executive Director of the Greater Augusta's Interfaith Coalition ("the Coalition"). I am a resident of Augusta, Georgia.
- 3. The Coalition is a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization comprised of more than 400 community service and faith-based groups. The Coalition advocates for

greater social justice, including improved support for the intellectually and developmentally disabled and care for the earth. We advocate primarily through encouraging citizens to engage in the civic process by voting. We do not advocate for or against any candidate or party represented on the ballot.

- 4. I previously provided a declaration in this case on June 3, 2022. *See* ECF No. 185-7. The following is intended to supplement that declaration.
- 5. In 2020, our Power the Vote program at the Coalition received funding from the Black Voters Matter Fund ("BVMF") to provide water, bologna sandwiches, cheeseburgers, and other food to voters waiting in line in order to further our shared goals of promoting civic participation and engagement. The message we sent—in conjunction with BVMF—by providing food and water was one of support and solidarity. And voters were appreciative of our message.
- 6. Because SB 202 criminalizes these voter support activities, BVMF and the Coalition's efforts to provide food and water and other support items to voters waiting in line would have subjected our organizations and our volunteers to criminal penalties.
- 7. As a result, during the 2022 election, the Coalition and BVMF ceased all early voting and election day support efforts that involved providing food, water, or other items to voters waiting in line. In other words, the Coalition and BVMF had to fundamentally alter how they engaged with voters during the 2022 election.

8. If providing food and water to voters in line is permitted in future elections, the Coalition will once again partner with BVMF and deploy volunteers to engage in voter support efforts during early voting and on election day.

I certify under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on \_\_\_\_\_\_\_

By:

Christopher G. Johnson Chair and Executive Director Greater Augusta's Interfaith Coalition

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THE NEW GEORGIA PROJECT, et al.,	
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#### **DECLARATION OF JAUAN DURBIN**

- I, Jauan Durbin, declare as follows:
- 1. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts below, and can competently testify to their truth.
- I am 24 years old and a resident of Atlanta, Georgia, in Fulton County.
   I have been a registered Georgia voter since I turned 18.
- 3. I have my undergraduate degree from Morehouse College, where I was elected "Mr. HBCU." In that role, I organized students in support of a number of political issues important to young Black people, including voting rights. Helping

young Black people navigate and overcome obstacles imposed by the political process remains one of my top priorities.

- 4. I previously provided a declaration in this case on June 3, 2022. *See* ECF No. 185-4. The following is intended to supplement that declaration.
- 5. I voted in-person in the November 2022 general election and December 2022 runoff. During both elections, I was unable to express my solidarity with voters waiting in line by ordering food for them because of the criminalization of such activity under SB 202.
- 6. As I mentioned in my previous declaration, I was fortunate to receive encouragement and support from various organizations that provided me with water and snacks while I waited in 2.5 to 3 hour long lines to vote in the 2018 general election. Their message of support lifted my spirits and strengthened my resolve to persevere through adversity. I did not see these organizations providing any such assistance in 2022.
- 7. I plan to vote in person again in the 2024 primary and general elections and am concerned that these restrictions will continue to silence the messages of solidarity and encouragement that were critical in helping me to make sure my voice was heard despite long lines, and that remain essential for activists like me to share with fellow Georgians.

Executed on: 5/17/2023	
Date	By: JAUAN DUKBIN
	By: Javan Durbin

I certify under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

IN RE GEORGIA SENATE BILL 202	Master Case No.: 1:21-MI-55555- JPB
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Defendants,	
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# [PROPOSED] ORDER ON NGP PLAINTIFFS' RENEWED MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

THIS MATTER comes before this Court on NGP Plaintiffs' Renewed Motion for Preliminary Injunction. Upon considering the motion and supporting authorities, the responses from Defendants, and the evidence and pleadings of record, this Court finds that NGP Plaintiffs are likely to succeed on the merits of their claim, that they will be irreparably harmed if this motion is not granted, that the balance of equities

tip in NGP Plaintiffs' favor, and that the requested equitable relief is in the public interest. It is hereby:

ORDERED that NGP Plaintiffs' Renewed Motion for a Preliminary Injunction is GRANTED, and Defendant Keith Gammage, in his official capacity as the Solicitor General of Fulton County; Defendant Gregory W. Edwards, in his official capacity as the District Attorney for Dougherty County; their respective agents, officers, employees, and successors; and all persons acting in concert with each or any of them are hereby ENJOINED from enforcing during the 2024 elections, and any other elections held before final judgment in this case, the provisions of O.C.G.A. § 21-2-414 imposing criminal penalties on those who "give, offer to give, or participate in the giving of any money or gifts, including, but not limited to, food and drink, to an elector . . . [w]ithin 25 feet of any voter standing in line to vote at any polling place."

IT IS SO ORDERED this the \_\_\_\_\_\_, 2023.

Hon. J. P. Boulee

Hon. J. P. Boulee United States District Judge Northern District of Georgia