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Original Proceeding Pursuant to Colo. Rev. Stat. §1-40-107(2) Appeal from the Ballot Title Board	JAN 3 0 2012 OF THE STATE OF COLORADO Christopher T. Ryan, Clerk
In the Matter of the Title, Ballot Title, and Submission Clause for Proposed Initiative 2011-2012, #46	▲ COURT USE ONLY ▲
Petitioners: LESLIE DURGIN, CATHY ALDERMAN and AMY PITLIK v. Respondents: ROSALINDA LOZANO and	
and	
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PETITIONERS' OPENIN	G BRIEF

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CERTIFICATE OF COMPLIANCE

I hereby certify that this brief complies with all applicable requirements of C.A.R. 28 and C.A.R. 32, including all formatting requirements set forth in those rules. Specifically, the undersigned certifies that the brief complies with C.A.R. 28(g). The brief contains 5,016 words.

Lila M. Bateman

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Leslie Durgin, Cathy Alderman and Amy Pitlik ("Petitioners"), registered electors of the State of Colorado, through their undersigned counsel, respectfully submit the following Opening Brief in support of their Petition for Review concerning Proposed Initiative for 2011-2012 #46 ("Initiative #46").

Initiative #46 would seek to impose a constitutional "right to life" and also make *every* intentional act that results in the death of an "innocent person" unlawful. Yet it nowhere defines that controversial standard for purposes of this initiative. Even assuming the term "innocent person" could be defined by the criminal code or proponents' suggested definition, that definition only serves to clarify that there are at least two broad, unrelated subjects addressed in the initiative. Moreover, the title is misleading and does not accurately disclose the true intent and meaning of the initiative. Initiative #46 thus fails to meet even the minimum legal requirements established to ensure that initiative petitions promote informed voting decisions.

STATEMENT OF ISSUES PRESENTED FOR REVIEW

1. Whether proposed Initiative #46 violates the single subject requirement by incorporating multiple subjects, many of which are concealed in the folds of the language of the measure and omitted from the title.

- 2. The ballot title is misleading when it creates a new operative legal standard extending "rights to all human beings at any stage of development" and prohibiting the killing of "all innocent persons" without defining or apprising voters in the title of what the new, controversial standard will be.
- 3. The ballot title is inaccurate when the measure does not actually "exten[d] rights to all human beings at any stage of development;" rather, the text of the measure purports to provide a constitutional "right to life" to "innocent persons" and also to prohibit intentional killing in manners not limited to the ends listed in § 2(a)-(e) of proposed Initiative #46.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

This is a challenge to the jurisdiction and actions of the Title Board with respect to the title, ballot title, and submission clause set for proposed Initiative #46.

I. Nature of the Case, Course of Proceedings and Disposition Before the Title Board

This original proceeding is brought pursuant to Colo. Rev. Stat. § 1-40-107(2), seeking review of the actions of the Ballot Title Setting Board regarding proposed Initiative #46. Petitioners are registered electors who timely submitted a Motion for Rehearing before the Title Board raising the objections presented herein pursuant to Colo. Rev. Stat. § 1-40-107(1). In addition, Petitioners timely

filed their Petition for Review within five days from the date of the hearing on the Motion for Rehearing. *Id.* at §1-40-107(2).

A Title Board hearing was held on December 21, 2011 to establish the initiative's single subject and set a title. See Exhibit 1 (December 21, 2011 Transcript ("12/21/11 Tr.")). On December 28, 2011, Petitioners filed a Motion for Rehearing and alleged that there were violations of the single subject requirement and that the title was unfair, misleading and contained impermissible catch-phrases. The rehearing was held on January 4, 2012, at which time the Title Board granted the motion for rehearing to the extent the Board amended the title and denied as to all other respects. See Exhibit 2 (January 4, 2012 Transcript ("1/4/12 Tr.")). The members of the Title Board were split on the single subject requirement, by a vote of two to one.

II. Statement of Facts

In 2008 and 2010, prior versions of Initiative #46 were presented to the Board. The measures in 2008 and 2010, known at that time as Initiative #36 and Initiative #25 respectively, proposed to add a new section to Article II to the State Constitution to alter a material term – the definition of "person" – in three other selected sections of Article II concerning inalienable rights (Section 3), equality of justice (Section 6), and due process (Section 25). In the 2008 Initiative, the

proponents sought to define "person" as "any human being from the moment of fertilization." Similarly, in the 2010 Initiative, the proponents sought to define "person" as "every human being from the beginning" of "biological development." The voters having rejected those measures by wide margins, the proponents now seek to offer Initiative #46. Proponents argued at the rehearing that they intend the new Initiative #46 to have the same effect as the prior initiatives, without specific reference to the Constitution Sections 3, 6 and 25. *See* 1/4/12 Tr. at 32:22-33:19, 42:7-19.

By its terms, however, Initiative #46 is something far broader and quite different from the past "personhood" initiatives, as one Title Board member expressly stated. *See* 1/4/12 Tr. at 43:15-25. Initiative #46 proposes to amend Article II of the Colorado Constitution to add a section with the declared "Purpose" or resolving that "the right to life in this Constitution applies equally to all innocent persons." The proclamation is followed by a second substantive section, which the proponents labeled "Effects," that reads in its entirety as follows:

The intentional killing of any innocent person is prohibited.

- (a) Only birth control that kills a person shall be affected by this section.
- (b) Only in vitro fertilization and assisted reproduction that kills a person shall be affected by this section.
- (c) Medical treatment for life threatening physical conditions intended to preserve life shall not be affected by this section.
- (d) Spontaneous miscarriages shall not be affected by this section.

(e) No innocent child created through rape or incest shall be killed for the crime of his or her father.

(emphasis added). Initiative #46 then provides the following "Definitions" section:

- (a) "Person" applies to every human being regardless of the method of creation.
- (b) A "human being" is a member of the species homo sapiens at any stage of development.
- (c) "Spontaneous miscarriage" is the unintentional termination of a pregnancy.
- (d) "Child" includes a human being prior to and during birth.
- (e) "Medical treatment for life threatening physical conditions intended to preserve life" includes but is not limited to treatment for cancer, ectopic and molar pregnancy, twin-to-twin transfusion syndrome, and placenta previa.

The last section explains that the provisions of the initiative are self-executing and severable. At the rehearing, the Title Board set the title as follows:

An amendment to the Colorado constitution concerning the extension of rights to all human beings at any stage of development, and, in connection therewith, declaring that the protections for life provided for in the state constitution apply equally to all innocent persons; defining "person" as every member of the species homo sapiens at any stage of development; prohibiting the intentional killing of any innocent person; clarifying that the amendment affects only those methods of birth control and assisted reproduction that kill an innocent person and does not affect other methods of birth control or assisted reproduction, medical treatment for life-threatening physical conditions, or spontaneous miscarriages; and specifically prohibiting the killing of a person created through rape or incest committed by the father.

The Title Board agreed at the rehearing that its prior draft of the title contained an impermissible catch-phrase. The Board thus struck the phrase "right to life" from

the title, and that issue has not been appealed by proponents. See 1/4/12 Tr. at 60:8-10, 61:5-10. Petitioners brought this timely appeal.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The Title Board erred in even setting a title. The measure establishes a constitutional "right to life" that would prohibit all abortion and most forms of birth control, artificial reproduction and stem cell research. At the same time, the measure seeks to create an entirely new constitutional ban on the killing of "innocent persons." There are no constraints on that prohibition and the critical term - "innocent persons" - is left undefined, both in the text and the title of the initiative. As presented, the measure applies to a wide range of conduct. It would prohibit everything from legal compliance with an advance medical directive to currently illegal euthanasia, and from citizens' lawful use of deadly force to safeguard their homes, to law officers who lawfully shoot to kill a suspect not yet convicted of any criminal offense. One member of the Title Board voted against setting a title on Initiative #46 because the measure expressly combined and logrolled such broad, unrelated prohibitions. The remaining members of the Title Board erred in setting the title in violation of the single subject requirement.

The Title Board also erred by simply repeating the term "innocent persons" in the title to describe those entitled to the proposed constitutional "protections for

life." There is no single or common understanding of what an "innocent person" is, nor is a definition provided in either the text of the measure or the title. There is nothing in the text of the measure or the title to suggest that this new critically operative term is in any way limited to the pre-birth context, leaving voters to guess as to its true meaning, intent and purpose. Use of the term completely without definition creates a new and controversial standard that will confuse and mislead voters.

The Title Board further erred in phrasing the title as an "extension of rights to all human beings at any stage of development." There is no "extension" when the amendment creates a new constitutional prohibition on the killing of "innocent persons," and misleads voters by detailing only those effects relating to reproductive rights and nothing else.

ARGUMENT

I. The Initiative Violates the Single Subject Requirement

A. Standard of Review

No title may be set for an initiative if that measure contains more than one subject. Colo. Const., art. V, sec. 1(5.5); C.R.S. § 1-40-106.5. This requirement has an important purpose. It prevents the practice of putting together in one measure multiple subjects "for the purpose of enlisting in support of the measure

the advocates of each measure, and thus securing the enactment of measures that could not be carried upon their merits." *In re Proposed Initiative for 1999-2000* # 29, 972 P.2d 257, 261 (Colo. 1999). The rule also ensures that ballot measures are not so convoluted that they conceal provisions that would come as a surprise to, or act as a fraud upon, voters who thought the measure addressed only one basic topic. *In re Proposed Initiative for 2007-2008 #17*, 172 P.3d 871, 873 (Colo. 2007).

This Court does not engage in an evaluation of the wisdom of the proposed initiative. When necessary, however, this Court "will characterize the proposal sufficiently to enable review of the Title Board's action" as necessary to evaluate its compliance with the single subject requirement. *In re Proposed Initiative for* 1999-2000 #258(A), 4 P.3d 1094, 1098 (Colo. 2000); *In re Proposed Initiative for* 1997-1998 #30, 959 P.2d 822, 825 (Colo. 1998). The purpose of this assessment is to "root out incongruous subjects." *In re Proposed Initiative #17*, 172 P.3d at 879 (Eid, J. dissenting).

B. Initiative #46 involves multiple subjects

Initiative #46 violates the requirements and core principles of the single-subject rule. The proposed initiative leaves a critical term undefined and, by doing so, disguises the meaning and operative subjects of the measure. Even assuming a

definition could be applied, any such definition would make clear that there are at least two unrelated subjects addressed in the measure. The Title Board therefore erred in even setting a title.

1. "Innocent Person" is left undefined

The text of the proposed initiative opens with the resolution that a constitutional "right to life" applies equally to all "innocent persons." Initiative #46, Section 1. The measure goes on to say that it also prohibits the "intentional killing" of any "innocent person." *Id.* at Section 2. Proponents have adamantly sought to preserve the hazy contours of the term "innocent person" by arguing that the term is intuitively understood, or that it is left undefined in the criminal code.

See 1/4/12 Tr. at 14:20-15:5. This crucial term, however, is the lynchpin for understanding the multiple subjects of the initiative.

First, any attempt to obtain a contextual understanding of what the term means leaves more questions than answers. It may be that the parameters of the undefined "innocent persons" – and thus the subjects of the measure – should be synonymous with the term "innocent child" (also undefined), set forth in section 2(e) of the measure. *See generally*, 1/4/12 Tr. at 71:16-21. The "innocents" then endowed with a constitutionally guaranteed "right to life" presumably would be *each* fertilized egg and *each* born child, but not innocent adults. Alternatively,

some voters may assume the term is a rhetorical assertion that *all* "persons," including adults, are "innocent" and endowed with a "right to life." Still others may rely on a dictionary definition of "innocent" person to mean one "free from or unacquainted with sin," which is a "transgression of religious law." *Webster's Third New International Dictionary Unabridged*, 1166, 2122 (3d Ed. 2002). Others may follow the proponents' lead and refer to the manner in which the term is applied in the criminal code. *See* 12/21/11 Tr. at 8:17-10 (proponents). Thus neither voter intuition nor a contextual reading clarifies which, if any, is correct.

In the legal context an "innocent person" may be understood to involve only a non-culpable subset of "persons" who have not been convicted of a criminal offense. Under Colo. Rev. Stat. § 18-1-402, for example, the criminal code provides that "[e]very person is presumed innocent until proved guilty. No person shall be convicted of any offense unless his guilty thereof is proved beyond a reasonable doubt." Moreover, Colo. Rev. Stat. § 18-1-602(b)(2) specifically

¹ These are the same concerns expressed by the Arkansas Attorney General this month in response to a 2011-2012 ballot measure proposed by Personhood Arkansas. Similar to the proponents' measure at issue in this case, Personhood Arkansas sought a constitutional amendment to provide a right to life for "innocent" persons. In addressing the failure to define "innocent person" and the absence of any common, contextual understanding, the Arkansas Attorney General concluded that the provision was ambiguous, misleading, and not susceptible to summarizing without further clarification from the proponents. *See* http://www.arkansasag.gov/opinions/search-agops.php.

defines an "innocent person" as a person who committed an offense but is not guilty despite his behavior, "because of duress, legal incapacity or exemption, or unawareness of the criminal nature of the conduct in question or of the defendant's criminal purpose, or any other factor precluding the mental state sufficient for the commission of the offense in question."

The term "innocent person" has no ordinary or intuitive meaning. Leaving this key term undefined disguises the subjects of the measure, and opens the door to voter confusion and fraud concerning the fundamental meaning and reach of the proposed initiative. Colorado law prohibits this as a violation of the single subject requirement, and thus no title should be set for Initiative #46.

2. The proposed initiative contains multiple subjects

Even assuming the term "innocent person" could be defined by reference to existing criminal statutes, that definition would only serve to clarify that the initiative contains two unrelated subjects: (i) prohibiting the killing of all persons who have not been convicted of a crime, and; (ii) prohibiting abortion, birth control, artificial reproductive technology, and stem cell research through a constitutional recognition of a "right to life" that applies to fertilized eggs.

The problem here is that the measure links at least *two* broad, unrelated substantive concepts in a single initiative. Section 1 proclaims that the purpose of

the initiative is to provide a constitutional "right to life" for "innocent persons," which the proponents equate with a prohibition on such things as abortion. *See* 12/21/11 Tr. at 5:8-11. The first sentence in Section 2, however, extends much broader to prohibit killing every person who has not been convicted of a crime, which the Title Board members agreed is itself a material provision with a substantive impact. *See* 1/4/12 Tr. at 27:21-28:2, 32:2-4.

The broad wording chosen by the proponents in Section 2 therefore must be assessed in light of the single subject mandate. That blanket prohibition on killing un-convicted persons, by its own terms, sweeps in a wide range of unrelated conduct. Such conduct includes physicians' compliance with patients' do-notresuscitate directives, euthanasia, vigilantism, or even law enforcement officers engaged in the line of duty who intentionally kill a person who has not yet been convicted of a crime. See 1/4/12 Tr. at 41:9-15, 45:18-22. (Mr. Domenico agrees provision in Section 2 prohibits euthanasia and a "number of things"); see also 12/21/11 Tr. at 9:1-17 (vigilantism prohibited by provision in Section 2). This prohibition is not bounded. Proponents made quite clear that the categorical prohibition in Section 2 is not narrowed by the specific, textual applications listed in Sections 2(a)-(e) of the initiative. See, e.g., 1/4/12 Tr. at 16:11-20, 17:11-19; see also 12/21/11 Tr. at 11:13-12:13.

The *subject* of prohibiting abortion, birth control, assisted reproduction, and stem cell research is, therefore, distinct from and incongruent with the *subject* of prohibiting killing individuals who have not been convicted of a crime. Subjects this extensive do not comply with the single subject requirement and joinder is virtually certain to result in voter surprise or fraud. *See e.g., In re "Public Rights in Waters II,"* 898 P.2d 1076, 1080 (Colo. 1995).

The overly broad, multiple subjects and the potential for logrolling led Chairman Hobbs to vote to deny title setting on the basis of single subject. *See* 1/4/12 Tr. at 44:10-12, 45:23-46:5. The measure's broad prohibition on intentional killing, as Chairman Hobbs recognized, is different from and incongruent with its stated purpose of providing a "right to life" that would outlaw abortion and other forms of reproductive health care rights. He stated:

I'm just having difficulty with the broad prohibition against intentional killing of innocent people versus the primary purpose, I think, which is to limit or restrict abortion rights.

One is very popular. One would be very questionable.

You know, I think it really is a very, very difficult issue for me, and I may be the only one that's having the difficulty. I'm not certain that there is incongruous measures, but I do think the drafting approach has an actual real meaning in that the broad, what appear to be substantive provisions to the reader about applying the right to life in

the constitution to all innocent persons and constitutionally prohibiting intentional killing of innocent people-- persons.

Now, I think that's – a reader, I think, can attribute that has meaning and it's not just a drafting approach to the same results basically as the previous versions. And so, you know, it sure seems a lot like logrolling to me. I know Mr. Domenico disagrees and I respect that.

As I've said, I'm not even sure that that gets you all the way home with a single subject violation anyway because they have to be incongruent subjects. And I'm not entirely sure how to describe that, other than the fact that maybe there is one or two very broad, substantive provisions, and then there is some specific provisions that deal with the application of the measure to abortions basically.

Id. at 39:17-22, 43:12-44:9. Chairman Hobbs therefore voted to deny setting the title on the basis of the single subject violation. *Id.* at 44:10-12.

This Court has previously held that an initiative violates the single subject requirement when it is so broad and ambiguous that it risks misleading voters as to its multiple subjects. In *In re Proposed Initiative #55*, the Court reviewed the Title Board's actions regarding an initiative attempting to restrict access of persons not lawfully present in the United States to non-emergency governmental services.

See In re Proposed Initiative for 2005-2006 #55, 138 P.3d 273, 275-76 (Colo. 2006). By a plain reading of Initiative # 55, the Court identified two subjects connected only by a broad theme of restricting non-emergency services: terminating services for persons not lawfully present in Colorado and restricting unrelated administrative services. *Id.* at 275. Because the measure failed to define

the critical term "non-emergency services," the Court held that the initiative violated the single-subject rule because the ballot measure's "complexity and omnibus proportions" were "hidden from the voter" and failed to inform voters of the services its passage would affect. *Id.* at 282. The Court reasoned that voters might find that they unwittingly voted to restrict all services, despite only wishing to reduce taxpayer expenditures for medical and social services. *Id.*

Like Initiative #55, the present Initiative #46 leaves the critical term "innocent persons" undefined in the measure. Yet even if somehow defined using proponents' suggestion or by reference to the criminal code, such definitions illustrate the existence of *at least* two unrelated subjects – prohibiting the killing of all persons who have not been convicted of a crime and prohibiting abortion and other forms of reproductive health care rights – impermissibly rolled into one initiative. Such omnibus proportions necessarily hide the measure's meaning, intent and purpose from the voter. This proponents cannot do.

3. Logrolling a prohibition on killing "innocent persons" with a prohibition on abortion and other reproductive health care procedures and a new definition of "person" violates the single subject requirement

The two broad subjects contained in the proposed initiative are quintessential logrolling. *In re Public Rights in Waters II*, 898 P.2d at 1080. Chairman Hobbs expressed this concern and recognized that, by including

language that prohibits the intentional killing of innocent persons in Section 2 of the initiative, the new proposed measure is broader than the proponents' two prior unsuccessful "personhood" measures. As he stated:

And I do recognize that with respect to the details, the measure is more specific than the previous versions. I'm just focusing on the fact that the previous versions simply address the definition of 'person' and how early that definition applies in the stages of human development.

This measure -- and it goes in the other direction and has a much broader impact. It prohibits the intentional killing of an innocent person. It's a much, much broader measure on the surface, and that's something I would think everybody could agree with, that it should -- that it's wrong to intentionally kill an innocent person.

So that's why it's a little bit like logrolling. You get support for the main proposition that's expressed as a single subject in the measure, but once you really get into the definitions, it sounds like that's where we're back really trying to achieve the purposes of the previous versions of the first title.

1/4/12 Tr. at 24:22-25:15. As Chairman Hobbs recognized, a substantial number of voters may support a prohibition against killing "innocent persons," without also desiring to define fertilized eggs as "persons," and without supporting blanket prohibitions on many common reproductive health care procedures or a broad spectrum of medical research. The effect of the present initiative is to enlist voter support for the all of these disparate purposes, which the proponents' unsuccessful "personhood" initiatives from 2008 and 2010 indicate would be rejected if offered

on their own merits. There is no necessary or proper connection between these subjects. Initiative #46 is, therefore, a clear effort at logrolling and should be rejected by this Court.

II. The Initiative's Title Does Not Correctly and Fairly Express the True Intent and Meaning of the Measure

A. Standard of Review

The Title Board is statutorily required to set a title that "shall correctly and fairly express the true intent and meaning" of the initiative. Colo. Rev. Stat. § 1-40-106(3)(b). In addition, in setting a title, the Title Board "shall consider the public confusion that might be caused by misleading titles and shall, whenever practicable, avoid titles for which the general understanding of the effect of a 'yes' or 'no' vote will be unclear." *Id.* In order to fulfill this duty, the Title Board must unambiguously state the principle or provision sought to be added, amended or repealed by the proposed measure, so that voters familiar or unfamiliar with the matter will be able to determine intelligently whether to support or oppose the measure. *In re Proposed Initiative on Parental Notification of Abortions for Minors*, 794 P.2d 238, 242 (Colo. 1990).

This Court's duty is to ensure that the title, ballot title, and submission clause fairly reflect the proposed initiative so that the petition signers and voters will not be misled into supporting or opposing a proposition by reason of the words

employed by the Title Board. *In re Proposed Election Reform Act*, 852 P.2d 28, 32 (Colo. 1993). This requirement helps ensure that voters are not surprised after an election to find that an initiative included a surreptitious, but significant, provision that was obfuscated by other elements of the proposal. *In re Proposed Initiative* for 2001-2002 #43, 46 P.3d 438, 446-47 (Colo. 2002).

B. The Title and Submission Clauses Are Misleading

1. The title and submission clauses fail to inform the voters that there are new and controversial standards

On a number of occasions this Court has addressed whether a particular definition must be included in a ballot title and submission clause. The determination turns on whether the definition "adopts a new or controversial legal standard which would be of concern to all concerned with the issue," *In re Proposed Initiative on Parental Notification*, 794 P.2d at 242, or whether the definition concerns a term which is "within the common understanding of most voters." *In the Matter of the Proposed Initiative on Taxation III*, 832 P.2d 937, 941 (Colo. 1992).

Initiative #46 creates an entirely new legal standard without defining that standard and without apprising voters in the title of what the limits of that controversial standard will be. The title, as well as the initiative itself, redefines the term "person" to mean every "member of the species homo sapiens at any stage

of development." Both the measure and the title then adopt the term "innocent person" – with no guidance as to what that term may mean.

As discussed above, there is no single common understanding of the term "innocent person" on which the proponents can rely. This is all the more true given that the proponents use the initiative to redefine half that term— "person"— to include fertilized eggs. The title muddies the waters more when the first clause focuses on extending "rights to *all* human beings at any stage of development," irrespective of innocence. Reasonable and detached voters will not understand from the title what the scope of the measure is and who the actual recipients of the subject rights, and objects of the prohibitions, are. Fertilized eggs, non-convicts, or simply everyone? Without additional language, the "general understanding of the effect of a 'yes' or 'no' vote will be unclear from reading the title." *See In re Proposed Initiative on "Obscenity*," 877 P.2d 848, 850 (Colo. 1994).

It was thus error for the Board to copy the measure's language when the subjects of the measure are indeterminable. *Id.* Indeed, virtual word for word reiteration of the initiative in the title "does not establish that the title and submission clause fairly and accurately set forth the major tenets of the Initiative." *Id.* Even in those instances, "there may be situations ... where the title and submission clause likely would create public confusion or ambiguity about the

effect of an Initiative even though they merely repeat the language contained in the Initiative itself." *Id.* This is one such case.

2. The title is inaccurate

The title to this measure states that it is an "amendment to the Colorado constitution concerning the extension of rights to all human beings at any stage of development, and in connection therewith, declaring that the protections for life provided for in the state constitution apply equally to all innocent persons; ... prohibiting the intentional killing of any innocent person." The title thus states broadly that there are existing "rights" that Initiative #46 will now extend to every human being. The Title Board made this change after it correctly determined that "right to life" provided in the text of the initiative is an impermissible catch-phrase and cannot be included in the title.

In redrafting the title, however, the Title Board erred when it phrased the single subject as an "extension" of rights. That phrase wrongly implies that the measure's new constitutional prohibition against killing "innocent persons" is actually nothing more than an "extension" of existing constitutional rights.

Further, it is certainly cannot be said that the measure does no more than "extend" rights that already exist when it would clearly outlaw all forms of abortion and would criminalize currently legal forms of birth control, artificial reproduction, and

biomedical stem cell technology. Finally, taking proponents at their word, the title at a minimum should include the forms of prohibited conduct that go along with the broad prohibition on killing "innocent persons," particularly when there are five lines at the end of the title that relate only to reproductive health care. Failing to include other conduct that would clearly fall within the initiative's virtually unlimited sweep would mislead voters into believing the scope of amendment is simply limited to birth control, assisted reproduction, and abortion. As such, the title is misleading and fails to reflect the true intent and purpose of the measure.

CONCLUSION

In the end, this Court must determine whether Colorado law permits a ballot measure that voters could legitimately understand to be: a complete ban on all abortion, regardless of whether the woman's life is at risk and regardless of whether she seeks an abortion because she was raped; a blanket prohibition on the use of lethal force, except against individuals actually tried and convicted of criminal offenses; a constitutional bar to stem cell research aimed at a cure for Parkinson's disease; a requirement that courts appoint guardians ad litem for fetuses at issue in marital dissolution proceedings; a declaration that Colorado physicians may no longer comply with their patients' advance medical directives

absent the threat of criminal prosecution; or, perhaps, all of these. The Petitioners respectfully submit that Initiative #46 is just such a measure.

Therefore, this Court should declare that the proposed initiative violates the single subject requirement and that the title fails to correctly and fairly express the initiative's true intent and meaning. The Title Board's decision should be reversed and the measure returned.

Respectfully submitted this 30th day of January, 2012.

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on the 30th day of January, 2012, a true and correct copy of the foregoing **PETITIONERS' OPENING BRIEF** was served via Federal Express to the following:

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INITIATIVE TITLE SETTING REVIEW BOARD
Secretary of State's Blue Spruce Conference Room
1700 Broadway, Suite 270
Denver, Colorado
December 21, 2011
2011-2012 #46, Definition of the Term Person

APPEARANCES: William A. Hobbs Deputy Secretary of State 1700 Broadway, Suite 270 Denver, Colorado 80290

Jason Gelender Senior Attorney Office of Legislative Legal Services 091 State Capitol Building Denver, Colorado 80203

Mr. Dan Domenico

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will be here.

MS. LOZANO: Thank you, members of the board. I'm Rosalinda Lozano of Lighthouse Pregnancy Center. (Inaudible). We're going to talk about the amendment.

MR. HOBBS: And you are the other proponent.

MS. LOZANO: Yes.

MR. HOBBS: Thank you very much. Thank you. So perhaps Ms. Burton and -- I'm sorry.

MR. JONES: Gualberto Garcia Jones.

MR. HOBBS: Thank you. If you'll come forward and we'll see if the — and you may have an introductory statement, but my primary role is to give board members a chance to ask you questions about the measure. But if you'll identify yourself for the record and who you represent.

MR. JONES: Gualberto Garcia Jones, and I represent personhood in USA, which is a member of a coalition that's promoting this proposed amendment.

MS. BROWN: I'm Christy Burton Brown and I'm representing Colorado Fetal Rights, which is also a member of the coalition.

MR. HOBBS: Questions for the representatives of the proponent. I do have a lot of

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MR. HOBBS: Let's move on to number 3, 2011-2012, number 46, application of the term persons. And again, the time is now 3:11 p.m. I believe we have both proponents present, and I know that -- I think that somebody else is going to speak for them, but if the proponents are here, if they could at least identify themselves and indicate who's going to speak for them, I would appreciate that.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I think we lost one of our proponents.

MR. HOBBS: Okay.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: And (inaudible).

MR. HOBBS: Okay. So Mr. Swanson, perhaps if you would come to the **po**dium. I'm not trying to make this too confusing, but I'm also trying to be faithful to the new law. I know both proponents were present when they signed the affidavits. So Mr. Swanson, if you'd just identify yourself.

MR. SWANSON: Yes. My name is Kevin Swanson. I'm the proponent for the proposed initiative Number 46, 2011-2012, number 46.

MR. HOBBS: Thank you.

MR. SWANSON: And speaking on behalf, Gualberto, Garcia Jones, also Christy Burton Brown questions, so I don't know whether — I'll go ahead and start out. I — you know, I have a lot of specific questions, but I just generally I find the measure hard to understand. And — and that's really significant for purposes of the title board because the case law says we have to be able to understand the measure well enough to identify the single subject and to draft clear titles.

And I don't know whether I'm there yet, but hopefully, you can get me there, because I just it's — it seems very — to me, just hard to understand what is really going on in the measure. You know, the basic language, the — the fundamental element says the intentional killing of an innocent person is prohibited. And I would think that's not much of a change in current law, but I suspect I have to keep reading that that's not the operative provision of the measure; that it may be in the definitions.

So can you tell me -- you can start any way you want, but, you know, what is the single subject? What's -- what does the measure actually do? How does it change current law? Okay.

MR. JONES: Well, basically, the purpose of this measure is -- is to properly apply the right

1 (Pages 1 to 4)

to life, which is present in other sections of the Bill of Rights. However, we believe that the right to life is not currently being applied consistently because of the definition of who the subject that's worthy of the right to life is. And so this amendment clarifies the right to life and applies it universally to all human beings.

And so obviously, the right to life is synonomous with abortion being one of the contentious issues, but also euthanasia, and stem cell research, other things like that. And so I think when somebody looks at this, they should be thinking, you know, the right to life. This is a constitutional amendment to establish firmly and define the right to life within our constitution.

According to federal precedent, Roe versus Wade, and subsequent cases, the child in the womb since 1973 hasn't been considered a person and, therefore, although we guarantee the right to life to all persons in other sections of the constitution we think this is a necessary amendment; and in addition, because we believe that the right to life should be applied universally to all human beings and so that the -- the subject of this person should span the whole spectrum of the development of a human being.

-- this amendment who it applies to, every human being.

MR. HOBBS: Any stage of development. MR. JONES: I mean, at every stage of development, right.

MR. HOBBS: And I'm not trying to be difficult, but I'm just — it almost strikes me that kind of begs the question of when is someone — a human being? You know, it's at any stage of development, but it's defined to be a homosapien at any stage of development. When is somebody a homosapien. I mean, I'm wondering about an interpretation that says this may not be very clear as to which stage of development you're trying to include.

MR. JONES: Based on the language for the stages of development on the Lacy and Connors law, it's actually current enacted in (inaudible) it's been upheld by the courts. And the way that they refer to the unborn in that law is to — is actually the exact same term (inaudible) out of there. And part of that was because — I don't know if you recall, but in the last election, 2010, there was a question about, well, what does biological development mean?

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MR. HOBBS: And, you know, how the measure seems to get there, it starts with the operative provision. I — I think I can characterize it as the operative provision that the intentional killing of any innocent person is prohibited. Person then is defined to apply to ever human being regardless of method of creation.

And then human being is defined to be a member of the species homosapien at any stage of development. And I'm guessing that that's really the key phrase, that any homosapiens at any stage. Is that fair to say?

MR. JONES: I think in terms of being able to tell the difference in the law as it -- as it stands now and as we hope it (inaudible), I would agree that that's sort of the operative language. I still think, you know we're trying to deal with -- with a universal right. It's one of the original right to -- rights and inalienable rights that proceed from our creator, something even prior to government itself and Declaration of Independence, Constitution.

And so that's why we felt that we needed to really lay out the right in the broadest terms possible and then go ahead and define of within this Page 8

The opposition said it was ambiguous and so we tried to get something that's already established in federal law (inaudible) defined what — what the or who the subject of the right to life is. So look at the (inaudible) act that's exactly the words that they use; at every stage of development for any member of the species.

MR. HOBBS: Further questions? I mean

MR. HOBBS: Further questions? I mean, that's sort of the gist of it, sort of the gist of what I'm struggling with. But I am kind of curious about the other words choice. I think there's references to innocent persons. And I'm wondering what that has.

I mean, I notice that one of the questions from legislative staff is, you know, what does the term innocent mean? But --

MS. BROWN: We included the term innocent persons because we just mean anyone who's not been proven guilty by a court of law. We didn't want to deal with the death penalty in this amendment. And if we just said people, then, obviously, we'd be — the intention of killing of persons is not allowed to deal would deal with death penalty, and that's not what this is about. That was the reason for including (inaudible).

Page 9 Page 11 1 MR. HOBBS: And, you know, on one of 1 MR. JONES: Aren't we -- we looked at 2 2 their questions was would this provision permit a the prohibition on slavery that -- that Colorado 3 3 vigilante killing of a guilty person? enacted after it became a state. And one of the --4 MS. BROWN: No. 4 one of the questions that we've had with attorneys, 5 5 MR. HOBBS: I'm wondering how you both friendly to our cause or not has been whether we 6 6 tend (inaudible) actions (inaudible) constitutional answered that. 7 MR. JONES: (Inaudible) very interesting 7 amendment. And I think that when it deals with 8 8 question that we've -- I've never thought of before (inaudible) rights. I think the constitution is the 9 that. But I think vigilante violence would be 9 proper placement and the proof would be that Colorado 10 basically convicting somebody without a trial, which 10 saw fit to prohibit clearly (inaudible) private in our legal system, would basically be (inaudible) 11 action which was owning (inaudible) person. 11 or, you know, convicting somebody without due 12 MR. HOBBS: Any other questions? 12 13 MR. DOMENICO: I just wanted to clarify 13 process. And so --14 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: (Inaudible) 14 a couple of things in section two. The first -- 2A 15 15 and 2B, if I'm reading that right, when it says only innocent. birth control, et cetera, only in vitro 16 MR. JONES: Right. Or considered 16 17 17 fertilization, et cetera, is affected by this, what innocent. And so we go through that process and have 18 the trial by a jury of our peers. 18 -- what you're saying is not that this only applies 19 MR. DOMENICO: Well, and the -- just 19 to that type of birth control and that type of in 20 because the intentional killing of an innocent person 20 vitro fertilization. 21 that's prohibited doesn't mean that the converse is 21 It also applies to other types of true. It doesn't mean that the killing of any guilty 22 actions. I mean, I think it's pretty clear that 22 23 23 would take what you've defined as a person here. But person is authorized. 24 when it comes to birth control, it's only this type. 24 MR. HOBBS: Affirmative defense. 25 MR. DOMENICO: It doesn't -- I don't 25 When it comes to in vitro fertilization, it's only Page 10 Page 12 1 this type. I think that's clear, but I - I just think that you necessarily go hand in hand. 1 MR. HOBBS: And from all the comments so 2 2 wanted to make sure. far, really, that changes nothing at all other than 3 MR. JONES: That's correct. And we 3 4 expanding the scope of the term person. 4 actually, included this language in here after two 5 5 MR. JONES: Right. prior amendments and basically the public debate that 6 6 MS. BROWN: And if you see in our first -- that came up as we put these on the ballot and 7 people voted on it, which was what - you know, what 7 portion you called the operative language, it says it 8 applies equally to all innocent persons. Basically, 8 effect would this have on birth control. 9 the purpose behind this amendment is we don't believe 9 So we put that on there are as a clear 10 the right to life in Colorado is applied equally to statement of our intent that we're not intending to 10 all persons since the unborn are not defined -- or 11 outlaw all birth control or even affect any kind of 11 12 humans at every stage aren't defined as people. So 12 action unless that really deals with the deprivation of the right to life of a human being. in order to apply it equally, we have to put forth 13 13 that definition. 14 We believe there are a lot of instances 14 15 MR. DOMENICO: It also 15 of use of birth control that don't involve ending the 16 constitutionalizes what currently (inaudible). 16 life of a human being. Same with IVF. So we put 17 17 Murder is not unconstitutional generally. It's that out there for clarity. illegal because of statute. So this would -- that's MR. HOBBS: Sorry. No to be redundant, 18 18 another thing it actually changes about the law is it 19 but can you -- can you define for me biologically 19 would make murder of anybody illegal setting aside 20 what is the earliest stage of development that this 20 that's the definition of a person, it would make it a 21 measure would include? 21 22 22 constitutional aspect of the law. MR. JONES: Right. We can. I think --I think it would be something that I believe a judge 23 23 MR. HOBBS: (Inaudible) with that? This

would -- would be able to discern from scientific

evidence that would be presented. And that is, under

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would constitutionalizes the crime of murder?

MS. BROWN: Right.

normal circumstances, the early stage of a individual human being's development is **fer**tilization of the meeting of the sperm and the **eg**g.

However, there are -- there are a lot of technical situations, such as twinning, where there isn't actual fertilization. It's -- there is a cell and then that cell becomes two human beings. So we didn't want to cut out any -- any person based on how they -- they were created.

There's also medical advances with cloning, with different forms of procreation that we can perceive would not entail fertilization.

MR. HOBBS: Thank you.

MR. DOMENICO: So just to follow up on that, I think the — the fight were this to pass would obviously be over what we've just — what you've just been talking about. What is a member of the species homosapiens? Is that a scientific — do you understand that? That that will be somehow fought out in court through battling scientific experts or is it a legislative? Can the legislature define that? Is it an accepted term? How — is it a legal question? Or how is that supposed to be resolved?

MR. JONES: Well, with respect, I think

I mean, I don't know that it matters for my purposes here as much as I just want to understand sort of how you see this playing out. If it were to pass, would that be something where there's a debate in the lawsuit or how would it be defined?

MS. BROWN: I mean, I don't think that there is a real debate on that issue. Certainly, the opposition may bring a lawsuit trying to debate on it. But the fact that a federal law already has used this definition after a lot of research and several states have copied that federal law for their own unborn victims of violence act and this is the same definition used multiple times over in law, so it's pretty established by the medical community and science and law.

So I don't think we really foresee a debate beyond that issue.

MR. HOBBS: Okay. Thank you. Let's turn then to the question of whether the measure comprises a single subject. Is there anybody here who wishes to object to the measure on the grounds that single subject?

Yes, ma'am. If you'll come forward, identify yourself and who you represent.

MS. BATEMAN: Good afternoon, Mr.

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-- I think the question would be not necessarily who a member of the species homosapiens is. I think that medically that question is -- is defined. It's a fact.

I think the question is when dealing with competing interests what are the rights that we are willing to guarantee to nascent human beings? Right now, it's basically you're an equal member of society once you're born, and before then, you're sort of a second class.

MR. DOMENICO: Well, I understand that will be sort of the debate before this is passed. That will be (inaudible). But once it's passed, your position is that that definition in 3B is sort of well-established scientific fact, that maybe when there's a unique DNA created, that is — I just don't know enough, I guess, about the science to know whether pretty much everybody would say, okay, well —

They might disagree with the amendment saying, well, we should treat this member of the species homosapiens as a person entitled to all the rights that you want to extend them, but they are not really much debate about when something becomes a species, a member of the species homosapiens.

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Chairman, members of the board. My name is Lila Bateman. I'm representing Leslie Durgin, registered elector of the state of Colorado. We do -- we are here today because we believe that this initiative 46 does violate the single subject requirement. What it does is, I think we just even heard, is bundle several subjects with distinct purposes that are not properly connected together and it puts them into a very broad theme where it's almost impossible to discern what the type of conduct that's going to be prohibited because it covers so much. And that's by the plain language itself.

As mentioned, it's the intentional killing of any innocent person that's prohibited. Now, again, that would include the reproductive rights that it sounds like they would like to limit. It would also, as they also say, prohibit euthanasia. It would also go to vigilante killing.

It would also go towards Make My Day, to an officer who's chasing an armed suspect who has not yet been found guilty by a court of law. All of this conduct is going to be prohibited by constitutional amendment, which is something very different from the law as it stands today, and it's getting conduct -- you mentioned earlier that seems like this is fairly

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self-defining and it already exists, but it actually changes law.

It would change Make My Day. It would change euthanasia. I think euthanasia is a great example of what this does. Again, the problem we have is it doesn't define innocent person and yet they do not define what is innocent. You can think of euthanasia in two contexts. There can be a person, for example, who's terminally ill and asks for assistance with respect (inaudible).

That person may not be innocent. Under their definition, I think they would be because they haven't been judged guilty by a court of law. There's also the situation where you have somebody in a vegetative state. They cannot make a decision; that somebody, a family member, somebody who loves them or has a medical directive can flip the switch. That's the intentional killing of an innocent person.

What this is doing is that is changing the law. Under manslaughter, that's absolutely allowed, this turning the switch when somebody has an advanced medical directive. So what this is doing is this is reaching out to completely legal conduct under an undefined term of innocent person.

Lawful conduct, unlawful conduct and

it's worse. What the prior initiatives did is it defined a singular term person and had it specific as to three constitutional provisions. This creates an entirely new operative right that runs soup to nuts through the entire constitution. And so within that new operative right, it also creates new definitions of person, human being, which we're all struggling with.

That sounds to me like there's an

I would also add, because there was

mention of this before in terms of prior initiatives,

we have 2008, 2010. This law is very similar, but

That sounds to me like there's an agreement that as with past purposes, the definition of the person would apply to fertilized egg. And so in that respect, there are similarities that it's a fertilized egg. But again, it creates an entirely new right that's being created in this constitution.

MR. HOBBS: I mean -- I mean, maybe a focus has to do with the rights of unborn children, but, you know, with respect to euthanasia, it seems to me we could view this measure as being fairly broad. I mean, the measure talks about affirming basic human dignity and right to life and arguably that -- it's a broad subject. It protecting human life, whether it's euthanasia or abortions or

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unknown conduct. Then we have with this is the potential of logrolling. Again, this is very reasons. For example, as a registered voter, we may want to protect the right to abortion or to have the reproductive rights that they are trying to (inaudible).

But as a voter, I may also want to prohibit euthanasia. (Inaudible) vote yes on euthanasia (inaudible) order to make sure that my rights are protected, yet I can't vote just singularly yes. But for us, that creates the fundamental problem that we see here, which is unconnected, unrelated subjects (inaudible).

MR. HOBBS: The question is for Ms.

Bateman. Let me ask you about Make My Day, though.

I mean, that seems like that would be the killing of an innocent person.

MS. BATEMAN: Well, it's actually a person who is defending properly. Person is coming in and they are going to defend their life within their home, but that person who's coming in hasn't been judged guilty yet by court.

So what we have is a killing of an innocent person because they have not yet been judged guilty at that point.

whatever.

MS. BATEMAN: Yes, but the logrolling is what I think really creates the problem, which is (inaudible) of life in some circumstances some that you may not want to that protect others. And so you'd have to be able to vote yes and no instead of just yes. It's not just the prohibition, you know, abortion or reproductive rights. And may want to limit euthanasia because I just don't agree. There's a 2000 initiative that tried to do physician-assisted suicide.

And I'm not speaking personally. I'm speaking hypothetically. I may not want to allow that type of intentional killing and so what we have to do is we have to get this to a single subject. And this very broad theme doesn't allow that because it covers so many different types of conduct when it comes to (inaudible).

And again, there's no definition as to what an innocent person is, as again, in the euthanasia context, it would prohibit (inaudible). That is already a lawful conduct.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER:

Mr. Domenico?

MR. DOMENICO: If PETA, for example,

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came to us, with a measure that said all constitutional rights shall extend to animals, do you think that would violate the single subject requirement?

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MS. BATEMAN: What constitutional rights

MR. DOMENICO: That's all it says. All constitutional rights.

MS. BATEMAN: I think we would have the same problems that we're facing here without any more specificity in terms of what is an animal and what is the conduct that's being prohibited. I mean, I think in the abstract that's a very difficult question to answer, but I do think we do have a lot of the same infirmities that we're facing here.

MR. HOBBS: (Inaudible). Any other questions? Thank you. Anybody else wish to object to the measure on the basis of single subject? If not, then we'd like to hear from proponents again to respond to the comments from Ms. Bateman, if they would like.

MR. JONES: I think the opponents mistake single subject with single effect. I don't think Colorado has a single effect rule. We have a single subject rule. And I believe the title board

I think it's clearly a single purpose.

MS. BROWN: And I'd like to add that when the opposition mentions that we would be applying the right to life to many different stages and voters might be conflicted on, I want to vote no on this part and yes on this part, that's exactly what we're trying to resolve through this amendment.

We're trying to specifically state that the right to life should be applied equally to all human beings at all stages of development. So the fact that people are conflicted, I mean, that's what we want to present them with in this amendment is we need to decide, are we going to apply the right to life equally to all human beings? And that is the point. That is the subject.

MR. HOBBS: How would you describe the single subject of the measure? I mean, the staff draft described this (inaudible) set titles. We're required to express the single subject. Staff draft proposed to say prohibition on the intentional killing of any innocent person. That would be the single subject of the staff draft. But you also refer to, I think, the sanctity of life or something.

So what's your articulation of the single subject?

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made that clear in its brief to the court in 2008.

And - and so the fact that this single right, the right to life affects different facets of life has no detrimental affect on whether this is single subject or not. I think -- I think the opposition is being a little bit disingenuous with their arguments of -- of this not being a single subject.

I'd just like to, I guess, quote comments (inaudible) from a court case here. It's 19 -- in Re 1997, 1998. It says an initiative with a single distinct purpose does not violate the single subject requirement simply because it spells out details relating to its implementation as long as the procedures specified have been necessarily and proper relationship to the substance of the initiative. They are not a separate subject.

And so I think the key here is that the -- the separate effects of this amendment on different facets of life are necessary to the single purpose and the single subject of affirming the right to life. And even in the context of this societal debate when somebody says the right to life, they are referring to - to the beginning of life, the end of life, assaults on life through biotechnology. And so

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MR. JONES: I think — I think what your staff prepared is correct. I would just say that it's - it says as a result of our desire to affirm the human - basic human dignity and to apply the right to life equally to all human beings. That's why we need this amendment as a single purpose.

MS. BROWN: We'd like to see a little more of that language in the title, but I assume we're talking about a little later.

MR. HOBBS: Okay. Further questions from proponents? Thank you.

I will turn to board discussion of the single subject question. Is there any discussion about the board or a motion?

MR. DOMENICO: I'll briefly say that I'm comfortable that it's a single subject, that it's -the opponents are right, that it's a fairly broad one. It is in some senses broader than the previous efforts along these lines. But a broad subject can still be a single subject and I'm comfortable that it's a single subject.

MR. GELENDER: I think also that I agree with Mr. Domenico that although broad, this does seem to be a single subject, and that while I do have concerns about the -- you know, what an innocent

person necessarily means, I don't know that what's been said here today is going to be binding on either the legislature which can enact legislation to further define that term or necessarily the courts.

So I think I would also find the single subject.

MR. HOBBS: I actually am really troubled by this. I think I'll vote in favor of single subject today, but I — I really am struggling with it. I don't — and I can't entirely put my finger on it. I mean, I do — I do agree that a measure can be broad and can have multiple effects. I agree with that in principle.

I'm still not quite sure I entirely understand the measure. I don't know. For example, if constitutionalizing murder is -- it seems like it arguably is a separate subject then, the rest of the measure, but I don't know.

I mean -- I'm just -- I think this is hard to understand, and I think it's going to be hard to set clear titles. But I -- like I say -- and I definitely prefer to give the benefit to a measure. I don't think the role of the board is to be overly technical.

But there is case law that says where

Like I say, I don't think -- I don't want to belabor the point. I might be talked out of it if there were a motion for the rehearing, but at this point, I'm going to vote in favor of single subject.

MR. DOMENICO: Well, I'm not going to argue with the position you're agreeing with me on other than to say that this strikes me as easier to understand in that sense and sort of predict exactly how it would play out, even though there are, I agree, difficulties than, for example, adopting the public trust doctrine, which leaves a lot of figuring out the contours to litigation, legislation, various steps along the way.

Here there is perhaps room for that as well, but that's the sort of consequences that we typically -- you know, we can tell people what you're doing is saying that you can't kill an innocent person, and a person is any member of the -- is any human being, and a human being is any member of the species. And whether -- what exactly that means may be difficult to figure out.

But figuring out that that's what the measure does is put that in the law is not -- is easier to me than saying we're putting in the public

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the board cannot understand a measure sufficiently to set a single subject express clear titles that we are -- we can't set a title. And this comes real close to that, in my mind. This is really hard, in my mind, for someone to read and understand what's really going on.

As I indicated before, it does seem to be — almost begs the question so vague — and at least in early stages of life, it's very vague. Now, later stages of life, it seems like, yes, euthanasia would be covered. That's not a problem, I think.

But it is so vague with respect to what may be the fundamental intent possibly that I'm not sure I know for sure what it means or what it will mean in practice. But I'm not — I can't articulate it very well.

But I – I – I think this was a bit of an issue with amendment number 62, but at least that was a little clearer as it was just the definition of person, and I think it – I think it referred to beginning of the biological development which is at least a little bit clearer in that you're referring to biological development as opposed to any stage of development which is where I'm struggling understanding what this measure means.

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trust doctrine into the law. So anyway, I will move that this is a single subject. Second?

MR. HOBBS: It's been seconded. Any further discussion?

If not, all those in favor, say aye.

MR. DOMENICO: Aye.

MR. GELENDER: Aye.

MR. HOBBS: All those opposed, no.

Motion carries three to zero.

Then let's turn to the titles. Ms. (inaudible) will display on the screen in the room the staff draft. Mr. Gelender, I think, already got — already indicated he has the potential — potential changes to the staff draft. Mr. Gelender. And I guess I could start either with proponents' comments about the staff draft, but I guess I prefer to hear from Mr. Gelender first, if that's okay. I'd like to get that out in the open.

MR. GELENDER: Okay.

MR. HOBBS: Or if you want to distribute the copies of what you've got so (inaudible).

UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Yeah.

MR. HOBBS: I mean, I do expect that the proponents have their own ideas about change to the staff draft. And I need another copy myself. I'm

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not sure what I did. (Inaudible). Thank you. Why don't you just explain why the **proponents** (inaudible) all proponents are having an opportunity to look at it. Mr. Gelender, why don't you explain what you're proposing to do.

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Let's see.

MR. GELENDER: Okay. And this is my comments regarding how I'm changing the staff draft and so what I was thinking in making these suggestions. First one is striking lines two, line three affirming the right to life to all innocent persons because I think just an affirmation (inaudible) we already have above the prohibition on the intentional killing. I don't think just that affirmation that should (inaudible) has an actual (inaudible). I mean, it's a statement, but it's not a substantive change to law. So I'm not sure that it needs - necessarily needs to be in the title.

Following at any stage of development. and in this I may feel different about it, it's striking the language regardless of the method of creation, which is, I think, if you already cover every member of the species. I don't think that language necessarily adds.

I think, you know, if you're any - if you're, I guess, genetically a human being, you're at something that people take into account when voting for or against the measure.

MR. HOBBS: The proponents like to comments on the staff draft or the what you could glean from Mr. Gelender's suggestions?

MR. JONES: I have a couple comments (inaudible).

MR. HOBBS: (Inaudible) come to the podium.

MR. JONES: Let's see. I think with the taking out of the affirming the right to life, I like the original draft that you presented us better. And the reason is, I think we have the right to life is in different sections of the constitution, and it was also interpreted in a way that we're seeking to interpret it for a hundred years prior to 1967. So I think having the affirmation is an important thing for us to communicate to the people (inaudible). I don't (inaudible). So I would rather that be included.

MS. BROWN: Yeah, I would, too, because that's one of our main intents, is that we believe the right to life is not equally applied to all innocent persons, and so we want to include that in the language. And also we would prefer at the end

Page 30

any stage of development. I don't know that that doesn't include every method of creation already.

After semicolon stricken and just taking out the and there. So then clarifying a -- change language, instead of saying clarifying that the details -- as I understand it -- let's see. I just want to go tracking language of the measure more closely. I think that it looks like what is really trying to do is just only affecting those forms of birth control.

And actually, I don't know -- probably should have said assisted reproduction instead in vitro fertilization, which might be another good change to kill an innocent person. So it looks like the measure is not trying to affect any others. It's more for clarity.

With the less than physical conditions, that was just sort of technical, grammatical changes. I thought it read a little better as plural.

And then I did think that the title should include some mention of the specific prohibition on the killing of a person created to rape or incest that's in the measure. Because I think that from a public debate, that that's

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when you say affirming the right to life to all innocent persons equally. We use that in our operative language. We specifically use the word "equal" and we would like to see that included.

MR. JONES: Also in that same sentence. pretty minor, but affirming the right to life to all innocent persons, I think that we were saying we are applying the right to life, too, would be correct. But I think since we're saying we're affirming the right to life, I think it would be better to say of affirming the right to life of all innocent persons and also highlights the belief that these rights are inherent. They are inalienable. They are not granted by government. They are just recognized.

Comments towards the end, where -- the title right now where it reads -- clarifying that birth control and in vitro fertilization that kill an innocent person are affected by the provision, I think, you know, we -- we try hard in the language itself to put the emphasis on -- on the fact that this will not affect birth control unless it kills a person.

And so I don't know if we could word it in negative as opposed to what it will affect, what it won't affect, since that's the intent of the

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language. We said only that assisted reproduction or birth control that kills a person is affected. I kind of reworded it. You want me to read it out or --

MR, HOBBS: Well, why don't you just read it, then maybe we'll cut -- if there's interest in trying to get that up on the screen, we'll have you all come back and read the idea.

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MR. JONES: Okay. So I -- where it says in vitro fertilization that, I would cross out that and the subsequent words and replace it with, and clarifying that birth control and in vitro fertilization are not affected by the provision unless they kill a person.

And I guess then we'd say (inaudible) say and (inaudible) medical treatment for life threatening conditions. (Inaudible). That's also more consistent since both of those are worded as excluding (inaudible).

MS. BROWN: One other point I liked in Mr. Gelender's draft, instead of in vitro fertilization he put assisted reproduction. I think that would be more accurate, because it is a -includes in vitro fertilization in the assisted reproduction, so that term is better.

MR. JONES: That's pretty much it. Do you have any other comments? All right. With the rape and incest, I think -- I think it is a topic of discussion, that people obviously will gravitate to it (inaudible) public discussion over it. So I wouldn't -- I wouldn't oppose it being there. We certainly don't run away from it since it's in the language. However, I don't know how that jibes with the rest of the specific effects in terms of the actual occurrence of those facts and why we would single out just -- just rape and incest as -- I guess we do. In your draft you also have the life of the mother exception. Right?

So I think -- I think, actually, everything else is on the there, right? Is there miscarriages? Yeah. So I guess we wouldn't oppose because it just --

UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Thanks. (Inaudible).

MR. HOBBS: Thank you. Ms. Bateman or anyone else wish to comment on the titles?

Thank you. We'll turn to board discussion. I think I should probably start with the staff draft and mark that up as board members feel appropriate perhaps with -- maybe I'll start with Mr.

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MR. GELENDER: I didn't actually put it in there.

MS. BROWN: Oh.

MR. GELENDER: I meant to, but I was going to recommend this regardless.

MS. BROWN: I like that change just for that.

MR. JONES: And then the other thing, I had a question for the board. Where you say that it's unofficially captioned application of the term person, where do you place that -- that title? Is that at the top of the petition you're circulating?

MR. HOBBS: It doesn't get placed anywhere. It's -- it's just used by -- it's assigned by the legislative staff when you file the measure.

MR. JONES: Okay.

MR. HOBBS: And it's -- it's just a short title, but it has -- it doesn't have any legal significance, official significance. It won't appear on the ballot, won't appear on the petition. So we don't -- we don't try to change it or rephrase it.

MS. BROWN: Do you determine at a later date the short title on the ballot?

MR. HOBBS: No. All we will set is the titles themselves. (Inaudible).

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1 Gelender if -- because I think he's got some 2 suggestions that have some support. 3

MR. GELENDER: Well, I think the first one, just going through this, would be whether proponents express desire to have the affirmative right to life remaining in there. I think we should discuss whether it should or not.

MR. HOBBS: Mr. Domenico?

MR. DOMENICO: Yeah. I think that it probably -- maybe the specific language of it might need to be worked on, but I think that that part of section one of the measure actually does have an affect beyond just what the rest of it does, or at least it might, in that as I pointed out the right to life is used in other clauses in the constitution. other sections of the constitution other than what would become section 32.

And so in that sense, it might affect -as the opponents points out, it may affect things beyond just this here. Now, what this does is probably so broad that it seems pretty much anything that those other sections would do, so maybe it's not necessary.

But, you know, there are other -- the right to life is mentioned in a couple, at least one

Page 37 Page 39 1 choose in this constitution, state constitution, or two other places that I think of. So in that 1 2 2 applies to include all innocent persons. sense, I would be - I would think you might want to 3 (Inaudible). 3 include that. 4 MR. GELENDER: Can we say provided for? MR. HOBBS: You know, I tend to think we 4 5 May seem silly, but (inaudible). 5 should maybe, but trying to draft the language for 6 MR, HOBBS: Yeah. measure (inaudible). I'm not sure I want to say 6 7 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Fine with resolving that, but maybe say specifying the right to 7 8 that, I suppose. 8 life in the state constitution applies equally to 9 MR. HOBBS: So the proposal is changing 9 innocent persons. 10 that clause to read declaring that the right to life 10 I -- I think I'm leaning in that 11 direction. I just want to mention that I also wonder 11 as provided for in the state constitution provides 12 equally for all innocent persons. 12 if right to life is a catch phrase. UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: (Inaudible). 13 13 MR. GELENDER: Right. I thought about 14 MR. HOBBS: Make that change. Is there that, too, and that was the main reason I thought it 14 15 15 would be quite useful to remove that language. a second? UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Second. 16 16 MR. DOMENICO: On the other hand, if 17 MR. HOBBS: All those in favor, say aye. you're trying to refer people to the other times that 17 18 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Aye. language is used in due process clauses, those sorts 18 19 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Aye. 19 of things, it's a little bit hard to refer to it as 20 20 MR. HOBBS: All those opposed, no. That anything else. motion carries three to zero. Mr. Gelender? 21 21 MR. GELENDER: In light of that, does it MR. GELENDER: I believe my next change 22 22 make sense to amend the staff draft to keep it in, was after development on line four, striking 23 but to be more specific in referencing that we're 23 24 regardless of the method of creation. I don't recall 24 talking about it as already sort of referenced in the 25 -- I don't believe the proponents had objection to 25 constitution? Is that sort of in the (inaudible) not Page 38 Page 40 1 a fan of adding additional words usually. that. 1 2 I wonder if that kind of waters down the 2 MR. HOBBS: I'll second that. Is there 3 a motion? 3 catch-phrasy aspect of it. 4 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Yes. Sorry. MR. DOMENICO: Right. If you say that 4 the right to life as used in the constitution or as 5 MR. HOBBS: Second, Discussion. All 5 6 6 recognized in the constitution or something like those in favor, say ave. 7 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Aye. 7 8 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Aye. 8 MR. GELENDER: I like that. 9 MR. HOBBS: All those opposed, no. 9 MR. DOMENICO: Okay. 10 Motion carried three to zero. 10 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: You want to 11 MR. DOMENICO: Okay. Now, this -- can I run with it? Okay. Right to life (inaudible). 11 12 just -- before, I think, you get into any of the rest MR. HOBBS: Can I suggest though --12 13 of it, make one suggestion to - that either accept 13 don't mean to cut you off. (Inaudible) say 14 or reject before we move on and that is whether we affirming. 14 15 need to get into the back and forth at all between 15 MR. GELENDER: Yeah. I agree with that. 16 what birth control, medical procedures, all that's --MR. HOBBS: I was trying to get back to, 16 17 all the other parts of, you know, 2A through E that 17 you know, the language of the measure. Even I don't are the rest of the proposed title are sort of 18 18 - we could say resolving that, but that's not very clarifications of how exactly the broader points that 19 19 satisfactory to me. 20 we've already discussed play out in specific 20 MR. DOMENICO: It's not, but it is 21 instances. 21 define declaring. 22 22 MR. HOBBS: That's what I prefer unless And they are all important. They are 23 all precisely the types of things that the public 23 it's changing the meaning of the measure. If we -- a 24 debate, I'm sure, will involve, but I'm not sure they if we said specifically declaring that the right 24 25 necessarily need to be in the title. If they are, I (inaudible) declaring that the right to life and 25

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agree with where I think we were headed, which is they all should be in there, but I just want to throw out the idea of having none of them as a possibility.

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I mean, none of them really strike me as sort of a major exception that - that doesn't exactly fit with what we've already said exactly, if you know what I mean. They are all sort of clarifying the implications of having defined person in the way that was measured as, you know, to me it actually said this doesn't apply in cases of rape or incest, that might be an exception to what we've already said that you might want to call out.

But when you're just saying there isn't this exception, I'm not sure you need to say that. (Inaudible).

MR. HOBBS: Why don't you come to the microphone.

MS. BROWN: I don't think we object to that, but just one other suggestion would be that the medical treatment for a life-threatening physical condition and spontaneous miscarriage is -- those would actually be an exception to the -- like I would -- I would consider it if you don't want to include all --

MR. DOMENICO: Maybe the medical

measure is fairly short and its exclusions are covered. And I just don't know that we need to need all of that detail.

MR. DOMENICO: I'm okay either way, as I said. I just want to offer it as a -- and I think the medical treatment is probably the one where it's not -- if you just read -- if we stopped after development, you would know, I think, the answer to the birth control or you should know the answer to the birth control and in vitro fertilization questions and to the miscarriage question and to the rape and incest question, if you just applied what's already been said.

The medical treatment one, I think, is -- you might not know exactly. That does seem to add something.

MR. GELENDER: I think (inaudible) make the argument in this case more actually, really is more. I think when we consider that should this go on the ballot there will presumably be considerable advertising, considerable efforts on, you know, of messaging to get messages across both by proponents, opponents and, of course, just others who are not under the control of, you know, people here today that --

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treatment might be. I'm not sure I -- the miscarriages would be (inaudible). Yeah, it's not an intentional killing. But yeah. I mean, I think -right. So I mean, it's probably easier to just put it in there. It's not a particularly long title, even with them all in there. I just wanted to suggest we could better it.

MR. HOBBS: Comment?

MR. JONES: With that exception, I think -- I would say because of how we define it with the life-saving treatment that it's actually the intent as defined is not to -- to -- it's still not to take a life. So I don't think - you know, even though in common parlance we say there's a life of the mother exception. I think the way we define it is that as long as the medical treatment is intended to save a life, whether it's the baby's or the mom's, that that wouldn't be affected.

So I think it still fits with the main effect and the main language, which is that no intentional killing. So just a nuance.

MR, HOBBS: But I do like the concept, Mr. Domenico, simplifying this that it's not a (inaudible) necessary even though I think in this case the details are really important. But the

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I mean, the title is something that's when it comes down in the blue book it's neutral, it's, short and people can see it. And I think a lot of people will see the title and only look at the ballot and they don't look at the blue book. And I think that while maybe the reasoning across us in a vacuum lead someone to know the answers to these things, by the time the people arguing over this and advertising on both sides are done with it, I think having a neutral statement in the title that gives the details is helpful.

MR. DOMENICO: Yeah. I don't -- I don't necessarily disagree with that. I just -- I think the title is supposed to just give the material of the measures and outside the process is the outside process. As I said, I'm - I'm fine leaving it in there.

I don't disagree with you that -especially since, in this case, it's fairly straightforward to put them all in, that that's probably marginally better than taking them all out.

MR. HOBBS: That's your preference, put them all in.

MR. GELENDER: Yes, I think so. But if someone wanted to put it to a vote either (inaudible)

Page 45 Page 47 1 say the effects how. Go ahead. if you have an opinion (inaudible). 1 2 MR. HOBBS: I could go along with it. MR. JONES: I think I would prefer 2 3 3 Let's try to do that. effects because I think it - it will be part of a 4 legislature to amend the code to comport with this MR. DOMENICO: Keep them in? 4 5 amendment and to actually regulate how they want to 5 MR. HOBBS: That's fine. Yeah. 6 6 prohibit this for penalties or how they want to deal (Inaudible). 7 7 with this. I think effect is a little bit clearer MR. DOMENICO: Then I think 8 8 Mr. Gelender's draft does that. Right? and we just use prohibit at the top to basically 9 emphasize the general purpose of it. 9 MR. GELENDER: I think, yeah, It's 10 MR. HOBBS: Okay. Thank you. 10 pretty close. 11 MR. GELENDER: Affects only those forms 11 Where were we then? So we're at any 12 12 of, or maybe it should say methods of birth control stage of development, so I think we could -- I don't think anyone was disagreeing with the idea that in 13 and assisted reproduction, kill innocent person, and 13 lieu of in vitro fertilization, line five, it should 14 then strike the as affected by the provision and 14 15 substitute but does not affect other -- other methods 15 say assisted reproduction. MR. DOMENICO: The proponents did 16 of birth control or assisted reproduction, comma, 16 17 suggest, though, in that part to rewrite it sort of 17 strike the "that" and, comma, after condition and 18 in the negative that's clarifying that birth control then -- let's see. 18 19 I guess you'd strike the "and" and say 19 and assisted reproduction that not kill an innocent 20 person. 20 or -- strike and. I think it should be or UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Yeah. 21 spontaneous miscarriages, and then above I think the 21 22 medical should also be, I guess, for the -- and also 22 MR. DOMENICO: Are not affected unless 23 go plural with - with life-threatening physical 23 they kill an innocent person, I think, or something 24 along those lines. 24 conditions. 25 25 MR. GELENDER: Fine. One of the things Then take out the "a" before life. Page 46 Page 48 the staff draft is just - I think it's a little hard 1 (Inaudible) spontaneous miscarriages and then strike 1 2 "or not". And the only last thing is the semicolon 2 to follow just because it's with the like (inaudible) 3 affected. It's not referring to actively. 3 after miscarriages. And then the (inaudible) What I might suggest -- I'm just safe us 4 semicolon, then it says (inaudible) add the phrase --4 5 all reactions it gets, something along the lines of instead of the final phrase "and specifically 5 6 prohibiting the killing of a person" the measure 6 clarifying that the amendment affects or, you know 7 perhaps (inaudible) should say prohibits. Prohibits 7 (inaudible) I don't know if conceived is more 8 8 or affects only those forms of birth control that accurately created through rape or incest. kill an innocent person and does not, again, prohibit 9 I think the only other thing to do is 9 10 or affect other forms of birth control or assisted strike the and on line five after this (inaudible) 10 reproduction or medical treatment, you know, in going 11 creation. Yeah, that should be pretty close. 11 MR. HOBBS: Comments for discussion? down the line, for life-threatening physical 12 12 13 conditions, and then at the end tacking on the bit 13 MR. GELENDER: You can tack a semicolon 14 on line four after development. I believe move about the rape and incest. I think that's it, yeah. 14 15 MR. HOBBS: Let's try to get that up on 15 changes. 16 MR. HOBBS: I move those changes. I'll 16 the screen then. 17 17 MR. GELENDER: (Inaudible). Clarifying second that. Further discussion? that before birth control -- before -- after that, 18 MR. GELENDER: Just one last thing for 18 yeah. That the amendment, I think, affects or 19 motion. I believe in line seven the "but" should be 19 20 prohibits too much or is enough there because I think 20 an "and" now, just grammatically. prohibits seems to intentional killing (inaudible) 21 MR. HOBBS: We'll consider that part of 21 2.2 the motion. All those in favor, say aye. 22 the language of the measure. 23 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Ave. 23 MR. HOBBS: I -- I see (inaudible) 24 thinking about asking in an opening question because 24 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Aye.

MR. HOBBS: Call the (inaudible). Any

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I was curious about term effects because it doesn't

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Page 49 Page 51 1 That also completes action on our agenda. further changes to the staff draft? Even if you 1 2 2 would maybe show how would it read with all of these Again, if there is a rehearing on any of changes and I'll -- I'll read it, while we all read 3 3 these measures that are filed within the next seven 4 it, to see if this is where we want to end up. The 4 days, that will be heard in the first meeting in 5 January, which is January 4th. Don't know what time 5 title would read an amendment to the Colorado 6 6 Constitution concerning a prohibition on the it would be. 7 intentional killing of any innocent person, comma --7 Thank you all for coming and I can we put a comma in there? There's no objection? 8 8 appreciate your patience and contributions. We're 9 9 I think this is a matter of form. Comma, and in adjourned. connection therewith, comma, declaring that the right 10 10 11 to life as provided for in the state constitution 11 12 12 applies equally to all innocent persons, semicolon, 13 defining, quote, person, unquote, as every member of 13 the species homosapien at any stage of development, 14 14 15 15 semicolon, clarifying that the amendment affects only those methods of birth control and assisted 16 16 17 reproduction that kill an innocent person, comma, and 17 18 18 does not affect other methods of birth control or assisted reproduction, comma, medical, treatment for 19 19 20 life, hyphen, threatening physical condition, comma, 20 21 or spontaneous miscarriages, semicolon, and 21 specifying -- and specifically prohibiting the 22 22 23 23 killing of a person created through rape or incest. 24 Any further changes? 24 25 MR. GELENDER: I think -- do we need the 25 Page 50 Page 52 1 CERTIFICATE OF TRANSCRIPTION comma after person on six? 1 2 2 MR. HOBBS: I don't think so. Drop that I. JANICE DOYLE, do certify that 3 transcription of the hearing was performed to the 3 comma where the cursor is. Objection on the motion. 4 best of my skill and ability and that the foregoing 4 But if there's no other changes, then I would accept 5 is a true and accurate transcript of the proceedings 5 a motion to adopt the staff draft as amended. 6 had. 6 MR. DOMENICO: So moved. 7 I further certify that I am not related to 7 MR. GELENDER: Second. 8 any party herein or their counsel and have no 8 MR. HOBBS: Move and seconded. Any 9 interest in the result of this litigation. 9 further discussion? All those in favor, say aye. 10 In witness hereof, I have hereunto set my 10 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Aye. 11 hand this 19th day of January, 2012. 11 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Aye. 12 12 MR. HOBBS: All those opposed, no. 13 13 Motion carries three to zero. That completes action Janice Doyle 14 on Number 46, 5. 14 15 Steven, help me out here. I think 15 16 before I forget, I think we had a problem with 16 My Commission Expires: 17 contacting proponents, right? Did that get taken 17 January 6, 2015 18 care of? 18 19 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Yes, it did. 19 20 MR. HOBBS: Okay. 20 UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: (Inaudible) 21 21 22 spoke with counsel (inaudible). 22 23 MR. HOBBS: The address (inaudible) 23 24 contact information. Okay. Thank you. So that does 24 25 complete action on number 46. The time is 4:21. 25

1	CERTIFICATE OF TRANSCRIPTION
2	I, JANICE DOYLE, do certify that
3	transcription of the hearing was performed to the
4	best of my skill and ability and that the foregoing
- 5	is a true and accurate transcript of the proceeding
6	had.
7	I further certify that I am not related to
8	any party herein or their counsel and have no
9	interest in the result of this litigation.
10	In witness hereof, I have hereunto set my
11	hand this 26th day of January, 2012.
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13	Janice Doyle
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INITIATIVE TITLE SETTING **REVIEW** BOARD PROPOSED INITIATIVE 2011-2012 #46 ("Application of the Term Person") Rehearing

Transcription taken from CD taken from the Secretary of State's Website www.sos.state.co.us

January 4, 2012 1:17 p.m.

Secretary of State's Blue Spruce Conference Room 1700 Broadway, Suite 200 Denver, Colorado

THE BOARD

WILLIAM A. HOBBS DAN DOMENICO JASON GELENDER Now, the proposed initiative cites some of these. It cites to birth control measures, and those that they say kill people. But we also heard at the last hearing that it's intended to cover such things as stem cell research, vigilante killings and euthanasia.

We also mentioned that the list really goes on and on. It's endless, in fact, in terms of what it does cover. It's going to cover an officer, for example, who shoots a fleeing suspect -- again, because there is no definition of what an innocent person is.

We heard what the proponents offered. It was somebody who had not yet been adjudged guilty. But this does not define "innocent person," and it covers an incredible array of very disparate conduct that's unrelated to what they say is the subject of this.

And it's constitutional prohibition on certain reproductive rights -- again, very different and distinct from euthanasia, vigilante killing and even actions that result in death by a federal or state officer.

Now, our concern is obviously with logrolling, and that in and of itself indicates that there are these multiple subjects. Again, it would require somebody who perhaps opposes abortion but supports euthanasia to be forced to what I call the Hobson's choice, the voting no in part and yes in another part. And that in and of

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MR. HOBBS: Okay. Well, let's resume. The time is 1:17. I understand we have both petitioner representatives for #46, so we'll go to that item on our agenda. We'll still waiting for petitioner representatives for #45 and #38.

For #46, the first point here, we have a Petition and Motion for Rehearing, so I first would like to hear from Ms. Bateman, I think, on the Motion for Rehearing.

MS. BATEMAN: I'm Lila Bateman. I'm here on behalf of Leslie Durgin, Cathy Alderman, Amy Pitlik, who are all registered electors of the State of Colorado.

I did request a rehearing for several reasons. I don't want to go into as much detail as I last did on the single subject, but let's just say that I do want to re-raise the issue and address it as well again for your consideration.

Again, our point is that this violates the single subject requirement. That the plain language says that it's a significant constitutional prohibition on intentionally killing an innocent person. As we pointed out last time, this has such broad and far-reaching impact and disparate conduct that covers very different and very unrelated subjects. And it does so based on the undefined term of "innocent person."

itself says that this is a multiple subject.

We also raised in our rehearing the fact that the title itself is flawed. It has impermissible catch phrases, the most glaring of which is "the right to life" contained within the title. Again, it also includes "innocent persons" without defining what that really means.

All of these play out in the abortion context in the political arena, but that is not appropriate here. Those phrases are fundamentally intended to sway voters to support this measure.

We also believe that this title is misleading. It sets a new, legal and controversial constitutional right that prohibits intentionally killing innocent persons without any definitions of what that means, without listing the measure's full ramifications.

In an earlier hearing we heard that certain members were concerned about the troubling aspect of this -- again, because it's not all certain what this initiative actually does. And that's a very real concern and obviously goes beyond our concerns with opposing this initiative fundamentally.

We don't know what this does, and we think that that is a real concern and prohibits the Board from being able to set a title without knowing what the single

subject is -- without ever defining what the standard that they're trying to impose does.

And I want to point out that this is in almost every respect identical to an initiative that was just struck in Arkansas. And the AG in Arkansas struck "the right to life to all innocent persons including the unborn at every stage of development."

He struck it in part because of the failure to define and the ambiguity of the term "innocent person."

He went on to clarify that this just really was never defined. He says, "With regard to already born innocent persons, it's unclear how, if at all, your proposal changes existing law. Without clarification, I am consequently unable to summarize these provisions in a ballot title."

He also says, "It's unclear in your measure, given your failure to identify a person's first stage of development, what constitutes abortion in certain instances."

We suffer — the proponents here suffer the very same flaws that were just struck as too ambiguous by the attorney general in Arkansas and, therefore, he refused to set a title in that instance — not so very similar to a personhood initiative in Nevada that was just struck. There the judge struck it because it was excessively

protected class. So it's not the same. It's not an apples to apples comparison.

And what we have here exceeds the single subject. I mean it's a misleading title that also includes infamous catch phrases.

MR. HOBBS: Any questions for Ms. Bateman? MR. GELENDER: I do have a question.

Ms. Bateman, please give me a -- I'm not sure if you're arguing one point or two. Are you arguing that it's not a single subject both because it's simply too broad or because it's too confusing or both?

I guess to use — go back to a variation on Mr. Domenico's example, if this didn't make any distinction between kinds of persons are innocent as opposed to just saying, you know, "the killing of any person is prohibited under all circumstances," would that be a single subject or would you argue that that's just too broad — it's just too big because of all these effects?

MS. BATEMAN: I'm arguing both. It's too broad because it creates modification by changing both existing law and tries to create a new constitutional standard. But it's also an undefined standard that they're trying to create

And so, again, the ramifications of this are

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vague. It covers who knows what?

That's exactly what we have in this instance. It covers who knows what? It's trying to create a new constitutional prohibition on intentionally killing innocent persons without ever defining what that means and the ramifications of what that means.

Quite simply, it's just not possible to set in the title any subject here because it's unclear what that subject is.

The last time I was here, Mr. Domenico, you asked a very interesting question, and I have been sitting here trying to think of the answer to it. And so I want to see if I can give you an adequate answer because I don't feel like I did that last time.

The question really had to do with PETA, if you'll remember that. You asked whether the constitutional amendment that gave all the same constitutional rights to animals could be a single subject. And I said it was a difficult question, and it has been a difficult question for me to figure out.

And I think the answer is actually yes, but that's not what we have here. And the reason is because those would be the same constitutional rights given to another protected class, and that's not what we have. We have a new constitutional right given to a new set of Page 8

beyond single subject because it covers so much disparate
 conduct. And so the problem we have is that, again, it's
 a new constitutional right to an undefined set of folks.
 And that covers all kinds of conduct, from birth control
 prohibitions to euthanasia to police conduct.

So I guess the best way to answer your question is yes, both.

MR. HOBBS: Mr. Domenico?

MR. DOMENICO: Well, I'm not quite sure what -are we're discussing the title, the single subject? I
mean, I'm not quite sure where we are.

MR. HOBBS: We can do both, if that's acceptable to the Board -- address both the single subject issues as well as the adequacy of the title.

MR. DOMENICO: I agree that the subject by defining what constitutes a person in a more expansive way than it's currently defined is broad and has broad implications across a variety of constitutional statutory other types of rights. But being broad and being multiple subjects are not, in my view, the same thing.

Similarly, I agree that it's hard to know exactly how this would play out in certain circumstances because of some of the terms, because of some of the broad terms that they use. And — but again, that doesn't strike me as either a problem for setting a title or as a single

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I mean, I don't think any anybody -- we've had this discussion before on very different proposals about well, what if someone came in here and said that they wanted to add a right to freedom of speech to our state constitution? I don't think any of us would dispute that that's a single subject and that it - despite how broad

I don't think anybody who's looked at the Supreme Court's interpretation of the constitution would dispute that it's a phrase that is hard to predict how it would how it plays out in every circumstance. There is thousands of pages of litigation trying to explain what freedom of speech means.

But that doesn't mean it's not a single subject, and it doesn't mean we couldn't set a title for it just because we don't understand or can't predict all the legal consequences of enacting it.

To set the title in this case, I think we have to know what the material terms are and be able to write them into the title, which I think we can do.

And so I'm still convinced that this meets the single subject requirement, and that we can set a title for it. I do think there are some potential changes we should make in response to the petition to the title when

MR. JONES: We prepared a couple of documents, and we have extra copies -- just in response to the motion. We just got them so we didn't have a chance to -

I guess we're dealing with the single subject requirement first; is that correct?

MR. HOBBS: Yes.

MR. JONES: Okay. Well, I think the law is very clear on the issue of single subjects. I think the opponents are infusing their ideological opposition to this amendment into the process of a Title Board.

And the case law is quite clear in that -- I can quote. It says, "Neither the Secretary of State, nor any court should be concerned with the merit or lack of merit of a proposed constitutional amendment."

In the cases that the opposition has cited in Arkansas and Nevada, in Arkansas the statute specifically asks the attorney general to express an opinion on how the amendment would play out with existing federal or constitutional law. And that was the reason, the main reason that the attorney general cited for rejecting it there.

In Nevada there were actually two amendments. One of them was rejected. The other one was not. And the one that was not rejected is the one that mirrors ours most closely. The judge did include some changes to the

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we get to that point.

But I think I'll stop there then. I want to stay a little focused

MR. HOBBS: Maybe we should stay with the single subject because if the Board wants to change its mind, I guess the title becomes moot. So if that's okay with Mr. Gelender. Are you okay with that?

MR. GELENDER: Yes.

MR. HOBBS: We'll stick with the single subject question, that aspect of the Motion for New Hearing.

Ms. Bateman -- well, at least I have questions that relate to title, I guess, so maybe I don't have any questions on the single subject at this point.

MS. BATEMAN: Okay.

MR. HOBBS: Thank you.

I'd like to hear from the proponents next. Both petitioners representatives have signed up, but I expect that their representatives may want to address the Motion for Rehearing. So if you'll come forward and identify yourself again for the record, please.

MR. JONES: I'm Gualberta Garcia Jones, and I'm a member of the Personhood coalition that's funding this amendment.

MS. BROWN: I'm Christy Burton Brown, and I'm also a member of the same coalition.

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summary aspect of the amendment, but they didn't touch the amendment itself, so I just wanted to clarify that.

I think the guidance that we have from the courts in Colorado as the single subject requirement make this a very clear-cut case. In addition, we have the previous two amendments which were related to this one amendment. 48 in 2008, Amendment 62 in 2010, in which the Board and the Supreme Court issued unanimous decisions that this was single subject.

I think Mr. Domenico's example of freedom of speech is correct - I think. If we were to institute freedom of speech in the state constitution, it would cover not simply speaking politically, but as the Supreme Court has interpreted it, anything from pornography to art.

And it's these foundational concepts, which the people have the right to establish, are by definition broad because they're the foundations of civil society, of a lot of different aspects of our society.

And so I think an amendment that is foundational

by necessity is going to have a lot of different applications and the court has addressed that exact issue in -- let's see here -- in re: 1997, 1998 at the bottom of the first page of the packet that I gave you, it says, "An initiative with a single distinct purpose does not violate

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the single subject requirement simply because it spells out details relating to its implementation. As long as the procedures specified have necessary and proper relationships to the substance of the initiative, they're not a separate subject."

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Now, I think the ultimate proof that this is actually a single subject and the opposition is being disingenuous in actually recognizing that it is, is that in the past we didn't lay out any of these scenarios. We simply defined the word "person." And in their campaign propaganda, they actually address the very issues that we decided to include in the amendments.

So they recognize that those were functionally related to the amendment. Then they took what is their right in our democracy, our republican democracy, to go ahead and try to convince people that, you know, all of these scenarios would play out the way they said they would.

Well, we wanted to actually address that within the language, and that's why we put it in. But obviously it is a single subject. They recognized it, as I think the Board and the Supreme Court has, as well.

Another thing is, it's difficult to understand the argument of the opponents in that they try to argue simultaneously that this is too vague and too broad, and mention the word "innocent" 86 times, 31 of those times are in the criminal code, and not one of those times is "innocent" or "innocent persons" defined specifically.

So clearly the Colorado legislature finds that the word "innocent" and "innocent persons" is self-explanatory. Even, for example, in the murder statute, murder in the first degree, it specifically says, "A person commits the crime of murder in the first degree if by perjury or subordination of perjury he procures the conviction, execution of any innocent."

"Innocent person" is not defined in that section of Colorado law. So we believe that for us to be required to define a word that Colorado law nowhere defines would discriminate against specifically what we're doing and we don't believe that specific definition is necessary since the legislature has found it to be self-explanatory.

MR. HOBBS: Questions from the Board?

Maybe I'll start because I may be the most troubled about this issue. And I want to maybe go over some ground that we covered at the first hearing because I want to make sure that I understand the measure.

In your own words I'm wondering, you know, what is the single subject of the measure and what is the purpose of it? The title set by the Board described the single subject as "a prohibition on the intentional

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then they also try to argue that it's multiple subjects.

It seemed like those two things are incongruous. If they're saying that it's too vague — and they said that last time as well — and then we go ahead and specify it, then they can't argue the other side at the same time and say it's a multiple subject — where we're trying to clarify the vagueness that they've asserted.

And that I think played out in the elections where people obviously bought their arguments, and so we tried to modify our amendment to clarify that and definitely not to confuse or to try to piggyback euthanasia or stem cell research or make the amendment more powerful in that way. We're simply trying to clarify it

So I think with that, that's pretty much our comments on single subject. I also have some comments on the catch phrase, and then also the use of -- we prepared a document for you on the specific use of the wording of the stages of development, so that you can see where it's been used in legislation and in the courts as well.

MS. BROWN: In addition, I know that Ms. Bateman was talking about the words "innocent person" not being defined, and so we did some research in Colorado law on the use of the word "innocent," and it's a person in current Colorado law and the Colorado Revised Statutes

killing of an innocent person."

So I'd like to hear it in your words what do you think the single subject is and what's the purpose of the measure?

MR. JONES: Right. The single subject, and the -- well, first the single purpose is -- of the Right to Life Amendment is to guarantee the application of the right to life equally to all persons. And the single effect of that purpose is that the amendment will prohibit the intentional killing of innocent persons.

MR. HOBBS: So the purpose is fairly broad, to prohibit the intentional killing of innocent people -- persons.

MR. JONES: That's the effect. The way we worded it in the amendment and also as I like to explain it is that the purpose is to protect this right to life equally. And what that entails when you protect somebody's right to life means you can't take their life and, therefore, the effect is that we prohibit all the intentional killings of innocent people.

MR. HOBBS: And the Motion for Rehearing says that the purpose of the measure is the proponents admit is to make euthanasia, stem cell research and abortion illegal. Would you agree with that?

MR. JONES: Yeah. I don't think we said that. I

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think maybe in speaking with you back and forth we said that those procedures would be affected because they deal with the taking of an innocent life as defined in the amendment, and so that would be affected by this. But we felt that hasn't been a source of confusion.

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I think when people talk about the right to life, immediately stem cell research is one of the things that we debate that, you know, opposing political sides spend millions, if not tens of millions of dollars, to argue it in the public arena.

MR. HOBBS: I believe you stated at the last hearing that one of the purposes of the measure is to constitutionalize prohibitions against murder. Is that a fair statement?

MS. BROWN: Well, I think we said that it would have that effect since we're writing it into the constitution. But our purpose is to ban intentional killings, and I think this process does constitutionalize it, yes, we agree that it does that.

MR. HOBBS: In that murder basically is already prohibited but it's not in the constitution.

MS. BROWN: Right, right. And we would also say that murder is not prohibited against all persons as we define it.

MR. JONES: Right. And I would say that I think

talking about a member of the species homo sapiens at any stage of development.

And I still have been trying to figure out how one would know that that means "at the point of fertilization," that that's when a life becomes a member of the species homo sapiens.

MS. BROWN: Sure. And I'll speak to that. I did give you a document that references some of the research that I did on that. But we took our definition, "a member of the species homo sapiens in every stage of development" from the Unborn Victims of Violence Act, the federal law that's been passed, as I think we mentioned before.

But looking through congressional records when Congress was discussing that specific law, they demonstrate that they use that definition because it is already an established legal definition. 27 states and the federal government currently protect unborn victims of violence from the very beginning, and several of the states use the exact same definition as the federal government.

At least ten court challenges -- I think even more than that -- have been brought against states that use "that protect the unborn child from any stage of development" and they've always lost. This definition has always been upheld many times it's ever been challenged in

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that murder is already prohibited within our state constitution. I think, you know, if we had a crazy

legislature that decided to legalize murder, we could

bring a lawsuit under the state constitution even to say that the equal protection and the right to life in the

state constitution isn't - even as it's understood now before our amendment passes, it would be violated.

MR. HOBBS: One of the things - and I'm not sure where this leads, but one of the things that I'm trying to look at is how this measure does differ from previous versions that you've mentioned. And for me personally this one is harder to understand.

The measure in 2008 was the most specific, I think, in defining "person" to mean any human being from the moment of fertilization. And in 2010, I think it was a little less precise with respect to the biological reference to fertilization in that it defined "person" to include "any human being from the moment" -- well, here it does say "moment of fertilization."

But here – and we touched upon this last time. Here I had to ask at what -- biologically at what point in time, you know, does this reach back because it just says "any stage of development."

Ultimately when you work your way down through the definitions, you get to a definition that says we're

court.

And, in fact, the State of Utah vs. Roger Martin MacQuire, the Utah Supreme Court, they upheld the law and they ruled that the common sense meaning of the term "unborn child" is a human being at any stage of development in utero.

So Utah law actually had not even used that definition. The Utah Supreme Court ruled that that was the common sense definition of the term "unborn child."

Now, the reason we don't specifically say "in utero" or "unborn child" is because we are extending the right to life to all persons, not only the unborn child. That's why we can't use that portion of the definition. But the rest of our definition matches with what multiple state courts and U.S. Congress has found is the legal definition.

Yeah. And also from the Congressional Records --I referenced this in the document as well -- both -people on both sides of the issue were very clear that they recognize that every stage of development included fertilization in the embryonic stage. If you look in Congressional Hearings, it's clear that both sides knew that that's exactly what that definition meant.

MR. HOBBS: Well, in some the courts have been consistently interpreting and, you know, was aware of the

-- you had mentioned this last time that the language was used in the federal law, which doesn't apply to abortions, but I think it still does apply to unborn children.

MS. BROWN: Exactly.

MR. HOBBS: But it sounds like you're saying the courts have been pretty consistent with finding that that language means from the point of fertilization.

MS. BROWN: Yes. I mean, not every single state that's been challenged has used this exact definition that the federal law used, but 27 states, whether they use this exact definition or a slightly different one, included unborn children from the moment of fertilization or every stage of development and, yeah, the courts have never had a problem with that definition.

MR. JONES: Another element is the reason why we chose different language last time is we leaned more towards the medical ethics language that's used, and that was biological stages of development. That comes directly from the standard nomenclature that's used in embryology to classify the development of a human being, and it's based on the Carnegie stages of development.

And so with this language I think we're able to bridge and sort of take the best of both the scientific definition and the legally recognized definition.

MS. BROWN: I'm sorry. I also failed to mention

and say we put a broad ban on all stealing, and opposition made the argument that, Oh, well, some people are going to want to allow stealing from businesses but not just stealing from homes, and we're forcing people to vote for both by doing this, you know, if stealing from businesses is the only acceptable thing in that world.

Clearly, the intent of that amendment would be to ban all stealing, if people bringing that forward would believe that all of it was equally wrong. And so we in bringing this amendment forward in regards to the public debate on the issue believe that abortion is equal to murder. Abortion is equal to killing any other human being.

And so it's not logrolling. We're just including every kind of killing of any human being, innocent human beings as illegal under this.

MR. JONES: I would like to comment, too, that in 2009, I believe, the State Supreme Court ruled -- was it 2009 in January? Okay, November of '08. They were ruling on whether the definition of the term "person" was too vague and whether that was sort of logrolling abortion into it. And obviously the debate at the election stage was about -- mostly about abortion and the most contentious application of this.

You know, if we were to make the argument that

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that there is another federal law that uses this

definition as well, The Innocent Child Protection Act, that the House actually passed unanimously and would ban

the federal government from executing any pregnant women. It used the same definition, "a member of the species homo sapiens at every stage of development" when defining an

unborn child.

MR. HOBBS: You know — and I'm still trying to think this through in my mind, but I'll just go ahead and, kind of, cut to the chase where my greatest difficulty is in the single subject area, is that at least what the Title Board has expressed as a single subject, you know, which I think is fair based on the language of the measure, is what this measure is about is a prohibition on the intentional killing of an innocent person.

I'm not quite sure the best way to articulate this, but I think there is an argument that there is a kind of logrolling going on, in that that's what it appears to be about on the face of it. But if you do work your way down through the definitions, the primary effect really relates to abortion.

MS. BROWN: Well -- okay. One thing that we would say about that is that, say, we took away the issue of killing innocent people. We talked about another issue in the law and everyone agrees on, like theft, stealing,

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we're trying to logroll, I think we would have -- the person that's making that argument would have a better argument saying that we're trying to logroll it when we just say the word "person" as opposed to in this amendment we actually laid out, for example, abortion in cases of rape and incest -- not a politically favorable position to have I think if you poll, but it's something that we felt we needed to make sure clear in our amendment.

So I think this amendment is clearer because of all of those applications. I think people reading it also when they see the "right to life," I think that people that are even totally disconnected from political discourse are going to recognize what this is about.

So I would just disagree. I think this one is even more clear than in the past, you know, previous.

MR. HOBBS: Well, two things about that. I mean, number one, I'm not remotely suggesting that there is any attempt to logroll or deceive or anything else. I understand the way the measure has developed over time and how you -- I think I understand how you went from there to here, so I'm not suggesting any intent to logroll.

And I do recognize that with respect to the details, the measure is more specific than the previous versions. I'm just focusing on the fact that the previous versions simply address the definition of "person" and how

early that definition applies in the stages of human development.

This measure — and it goes in the other direction and has a much broader impact. It prohibits the intentional killing of an innocent person. It's a much, much broader measure on the surface, and that's something I would think everybody could agree with, that it should — that it's wrong to intentionally kill an innocent person.

So that's why it's a little bit like logrolling.
You get support for the main proposition that's expressed as a single subject in the measure, but once you really get into the definitions, it sounds like that's where we're back really trying to achieve the purposes of the previous versions of the first title.

MS. BROWN: If I understand what you're saying correctly, I think you're saying that in '08 and '10 it was clear that we were talking about only the beginning stages of life, and now you're saying we're getting to later stages of life, as well.

Okay. Well, my comment on that would be that it's actually — while it may appear that way to some people apparently, it's not exactly true. In '08, for example, I was one of the co-sponsors in '08, and we said "from the moment of fertilization." In other words, we

which has to do with defining "person" in a new way, as opposed to "prohibiting killing an innocent person."

I mean, I think that one point Mr. Hobbs made that I agree with is, if all you had was Section 2 of this measure, you didn't have Section 3, you would have something very different, right? It might not do much, at all --

MS. BROWN: Correct.

MR. DOMENICO: -- if you didn't have the definition of "person."

MS. BROWN: Yes.

MR. DOMENICO: And so the single subject as we have it written now mostly talks about number — Section 2, which is really — I understand why it's in there and it makes perfect sense to me, but it's not really the major movement that this would entail.

So to me, if we focus more on in the single subject, it might solve this problem and some of the other problems that the petition for rehearing raises and that I've been thinking about with the title.

MR. HOBBS: Well, you know, and that's theoretically possible, but I think that is my difficulty. I don't know how we narrow or refocus the title without losing sight of the fact that the measure does, in fact, prohibit the intentional killing of an

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weren't saying "only at the moment of fertilization." We are saying that is the starting point and it goes to the end.

So in all reality, in '08 and '10 and now we're including every stage of human life. So does that make sense what I'm saying, from the moment of fertilization on into the future forever?

MR. HOBBS: That's kind of what I think I'm saying.

Mr. Domenico.

MR. DOMENICO: I don't see any real logrolling problem here. I do potentially see a problem that I think you've identified, and I'm not sure the proponents would disagree that as we've stated the single subject, it doesn't really capture the most important part of what would be going on here.

The important part of what you're trying to do is extend the definition. Because as you've said, generally killing an innocent person is already illegal, prohibited.

What you're trying to do here is extend the definition of "person" beyond what it's currently defined as. And so my question is, for Mr. Hobbs and for the proponents, whether we could solve that by rewriting the -- state single subject in a way that is more true to what's actually the major purpose of what's going on,

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innocent person. I mean -- and I'm led to believe that that's intended to have a substantive impact.

Now, the comments today were a little different than last time in that, well, the constitution already prohibits the taking of a life. I'm not, quote, trying to decide whether that's the case of not.

MR. DOMENICO: I'm sorry to interrupt, but I guess my question is, I find it sort of implausible that if we focused the title more on expanding the definition of "person," that someone would say, Oh, yeah, you know what, I do want to expand the definition of "person" in the law and the constitution to include every member of the species homo sapiens at every stage of development, but I'm really shocked to find out that this prohibits killing them.

In fact, that just doesn't seem to me to be a potential surprise to anyone, that this would include a prohibition on killing what are now defined as persons. Because as you said, everybody sort of knows that that's generally illegal already. So to me that part of it is not a surprise.

The real action here, the real difference as you've highlighted between this, there are sort of two differences here. One is the way a person is defined, and the second is Section 2, the specifics about what's

prohibited.

Section 2, though, doesn't contain a lot of surprises to me. The definition of "person" can just be repeated, as we've already done in the title.

And so then to me — if this were to pass, Maury and I would have to figure out these legal issues about what exactly the definition means. But it's not really relevant, as I see it, to the Title Board's obligation to figure out the biological difference between this one and the last one when we can just say, here is what it says, and people can figure out that that is going to entail some disagreement at some point.

So I think if — I think I agree that the way the title is written now contains some problems. I don't think that they're single subject problems, or that we—that it's so hard to figure out what 3(b) means that we simply can't set a title because I don't think we need to figure out what 3(b) means, when we can just say, this is what the measure would do. It would put into law this definition.

So that's what I would sort of focus our energy, is on trying to see if we write the title in such a way that it is accurate about the subject.

And so that's it, I guess, where I would urge us to move.

to see the title or ballot question be the same as it was back in '08 or '10. But like Gualberto said there's a reason we said, we're equally applying the right to life to all innocent persons.

MR. HOBBS: Well, just to comment, I'm just having trouble getting past that first sentence in Subsection 2. I mean, it may have little import, and it may be the real substance like the previous versions are down in Subsection 3. But what's new and different to me is that provision that the intentional killing of innocent persons is prohibited.

And I'm just assuming that that means something, and that's just where I'm hung up.

MR. JONES: Well, I think they're functionally and they're logically related to each other in our world view that we're trying to promote through this amendment, and that is that an equal right to life by definition has the effect of protecting all innocent persons from having their lives taken, and so we set out the equal right to life. That's our purpose. The effect of it, you can't kill, you know, a child in the womb; you can't kill a child in a IVF clinic who is being experimented on, or any member of the species homo sapiens that would be considered. Whether they're in a petri dish, in the womb, in the nursing home, you can't kill them.

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MR. JONES: The ordering of how we chose to order the sections is important and has a — we have a reason why we did that.

What we're trying to do is -I guess it's similar to how in the Declaration of Independence there is ordered liberty -I life, liberty and property, and we tried to lay out the greatest iteration of our purpose in the first section.

And I do notice that the title actually goes right into the effects, and that was a decision, I guess, you made in trying to find the clearest way to explain this to the public. But for us it's quite important that we are able to portray our efforts as saying we're trying to apply the right to life equally to all persons. That's a point that we want to communicate to people. That's sort of our platform. That's why a lot of us are doing this thing.

And the subsequent sections then go ahead and apply that initial statement. And so I think keeping that order is important for us because it more accurately reflects the purpose and the hierarchy of purposes that we have. I guess not purposes of it. It is one purpose, but the purpose versus the effects and that differentiation.

MS. BROWN: There is a reason we chose this format versus the '08 and '10 format, so we wouldn't want

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And that's the single purpose of this.

MR. DOMENICO: And, Mr. Hobbs, I agree with you that Section 2, the first sentence is material and important. If you didn't have Section 2, my reading of this would be that abortion and these things might still be legal, but it would establish that because you don't have a state action issue with private action that takes a life.

So this, I think, would, in fact, make illegal things that otherwise aren't illegal, and I don't think it's not material, but I also don't think it's the single subject of the measure, which is how the title is written now — that that's the single subject.

I think the subject is something more akin to extending rights to all persons or to all humans regardless of this stage of development.

And then I think you could write the rest of the title after the "in connection therewith" language to include this material term to a -- or to the first sentence of Section 2 to be included in the title but not to be a single subject, which is what is used as now.

MR. HOBBS: Let me just ask — it may be a related question. The Subsection 1 says, "The right to life in this constitution applies equally to all innocent persons." The previous versions reference specifically in

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the Bill of Rights, Article 2, Sections 3, 6 and 25.

This doesn't reference specific sections of the Constitution. Does it mean the same, or is it intended to be broader?

MR. JONES: Basically it's a question of communication. We felt when we were circulating the petition — and I think I got like 2,000, 2500 signatures. I probably talked to like 20,000 people or something. People were confused. They said, well, what's Section 3? I don't know whether it sounded legalistic and it made them defensive. And so those sections deal with the right to life.

And so I think the application is basically the same thing. The right to life is mentioned specifically, which is why I think it's not a catch phrase. But people don't know it when you says Sections 3, 6 and 25. So that's the reason.

To answer your question, I think it is essentially the same -- has the same affect.

MR. HOBBS: Well, any other questions,

21 Mr. Gelender?

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22 MR. GELENDER: No.

MR. HOBBS: Thank you, very much.

Before I return to Ms. Bateman, I'd like to find out if there is anybody else who wishes to testify on the

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single subject question regarding #46?

If not, then if you would like to come back and let's see if you would like to respond to the arguments of the proponents, and I'll see if the Title Board has any additional questions for Ms. Bateman.

MS. BATEMAN: You know, it was interesting, and I may stand corrected, but I do believe that they have now changed the subject, that it was set out in the title to be the "prohibition on the intentional killing of innocent person." (Inaudible) right to life, with the effect being — I believe at the previous hearing they made it clear that they intended the single subject to be the prohibition on intentional killing of an innocent person. So it seems to me a little bit of a flip-flop from prior hearing to today.

I'd also mention that in terms of a logrolling agenda, I think that it a fundamental concern that we have. They say that it's prohibiting all killing. And I think people would be very surprised to see when there is only reference to certain forms of — or not even — to methods of birth control and to in vitro fertilization that it would apply again to euthanasia, to "do not resuscitate" orders, to police officers chasing suspects.

I think that's absolutely something that would surprise folks, but I also think again it's intended to

get voters to support this measure who may not otherwise based on a different subject.

So that would be my response. Do you have any questions?

MR. DOMENICO: Who exactly do you think it would -- who are the sort of groups that you think would be logrolled into voting for this who otherwise -- because I know we talked about fleeing suspects and those sorts of things last time. I don't find any of that plausible. But I do think it's true that this would affect euthanasia, as well as in vitro, certain types of in vitro fertilization and abortion, obviously.

And I assume you're right, that while there are groups opposed to and in favor of those things are — they're not all the same people. There are different people among each of those groups. But just because they're — you could write a measure that only dealt with abortion, or you could write one that only dealt with euthanasia.

But that's not -- writing one in such a way that it includes all that is not necessarily logrolling, is it, just because some people might care more or less about one part of it.

MS. BATEMAN: I think that's the intent though.

It needs this omnibus type effort in order to get more

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support from perhaps other voters who would not be so inclined. I think euthanasia is a very good example of that.

MR. DOMENICO: But they are connected to each other, right, in that they want to define "person" broadly in such a way that it covers those things.

MS. BATEMAN: They have very political feelings, very different political beliefs.

MR. DOMENICO: I agree with that.

MS. BATEMAN: Such as euthanasia. So again, maybe vote for one, yet you're creating multiple subjects within that because you have to vote for one.

MR. DOMENICO: But they have to be -- for it to be an impermissible single -- violation of the single subject, it can't just be that some people would prefer one or the other or that you could split it up into multiple measures. Because that's true about pretty much every measure we get, almost. Maybe the first one we heard today, maybe not. Even that one, though, perhaps.

But in most of these, you're going to be able to split it up. And what we've been told is they have to be unconnected to one another, these effects or purposes. And these seem connected to each other, even if not in everyone's mind.

MS. BATEMAN: Certainly not in the majority of

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peoples' minds.

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But the point is, again, the effort is to create a right to life based on innocent persons, this (inaudible) abortion, without mentioning that word. But the point is, it's creating a new category of person, also creating a right to life. And the problem you have, for example, euthanasia, is, you have all of a sudden a prohibition on what was otherwise very legal behavior — for example, an advanced medical directive or a DNR. Now this is a prohibition.

That's not stated in here. And folks who may be opposed to euthanasia may support abortion. I mean, this is the fundamental problem, which this is not connected if you're putting these very different subjects together under what they say is a right to life.

MR. HOBBS: Well, let me try to get your opinion about focusing on the word "incongruent." And I'm looking at the Single Subject Statute 1-40-106.5, which talks about how to apply the single subject rule. And it says that one of the purposes of it is to forbid the treatment of incongruous subjects in the same measure, especially the practice of putting together in one measure subjects having no necessary or proper connection for the purpose of enlisting support of the measure, et cetera, and thus securing an adding of measures that could not be carried

certain birth control measures -- I mean, just at the most fundamental -- (inaudible) very, very different thing. (Inaudible) scenarios -- or don't think that that's necessarily the intended prohibition here, but certain birth control prohibitions are very different from other types of conduct such as vigilante killings, such as the "make my day" defense.

I mean, those are not related measures because they don't — they just don't make any sense. They're so separate and unique from each other that those scenarios can't possibly be seen (inaudible) separate and distinct.

MR. HOBBS: You know, and I actually don't have a problem with that. You know, I can see how they are probably connected in a single subject. And with respect to those specific applications of the measure, I actually don't have that difficulty.

I'm just having difficulty with the broad prohibition against intentional killing of innocent people versus the primary purpose, I think, which is to limit or restrict abortion rights.

One is very popular. One would be very questionable.

MS. BATEMAN: I think that's right and, again, it's a little bit confusing to me because they put so (inaudible) — so it's really hard to follow which of

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on their own merit.

Well, I'm fine on this part of it, but I have a question coming. I sort of see this as a potential logrolling situation that's described there because there is two broad principles here that seems to me everybody could agree on the way the measure is drafted now -- that the right to life in this constitution applies equally to all innocent persons and the intentional killing of any innocent person is prohibited.

Everybody can get behind that. But what they can't get behind is probably something much more controversial in the details buried in the measure.

My difficulty in finding a single subject violation, though, even if that's true is, are those incongruous? That's the difficulty. I can see the point of view of the proponents, I think, that this is all quite, you know, harmonious. It really is all one thing, even though I'm sort of seeing how we can enlist support for broad feel-good principles to enact something that is very controversial.

So I'm hung up on the word "incongruous" right now. So can you convince me that there really are incongruous subjects, separate subjects, not properly connected to each other?

MS. BATEMAN: I guess our argument would be that

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them they really are trying to put forward as their single subject.

So I would absolutely agree with you, which is one is very controversial. I mean, the abortion and right to life versus this intentional killing, which could be something much, much broader, much bigger, and cover a whole bunch of different unrelated topics.

MR. HOBBS: Thank you.

Anybody else wish to testify?

If the proponents have any last remarks, I certainly don't want to cut you off.

MR. JONES: Just with the mercy killing — or the "make my day" and police killing, just nobody is going to think that. I don't know if — how they came up with that scenario, but we have a due process right in the constitution, and I don't think people are suing under the constitution a police department because, you know, when they are trying to protect themselves or whatever, they shot a criminal — maybe they have. They probably have in the past, but it's pretty settled, isn't it.

It seems like these scenarios are just absolutely out there.

MR. DOMENICO: Well, I can tell you. I think where they got it was last time when we were trying to work through this, one of the responses an innocent person

was that it was somebody who hadn't been adjudged guilty in a court of law. And I think that's where that comes from.

That was obviously sort of something that we made up during our last hearing and not necessarily part of the measure. So I think that's where it came from. I'm not, as I said, that concerned that all those scenarios would exactly fall within it.

I do agree that this would seem to cover euthanasia and certain -- a number of things that it would make illegal things that are constitutionally illegal, things that are currently only statutorily prohibited, and certain other things that aren't even -- like euthanasia and some instances, that aren't even statutorily prohibited.

That I think would happen even without Section 3. And so I do understand that part of it. But I think that just to explain where I think that language -- that discussion came from.

MR. JONES: I guess it's just I would say, you know, something as simple as "innocent," which Christy mentioned and you have in your little brief there that the legislature itself doesn't define it. I think, you know, if you look across dictionaries, "innocent" means not guilty of a crime, and that's certainly what we intended

advantage in terms of communication. We have a lot less
money than they do, and so we can communicate our intent a
little bit better through the language. That's what we've
tried to do -- tried to answer some of the things that
they brought up in the two previous elections by putting
them into the language. I don't think that's
impermissible.

Thank you.

MR. HOBBS: If there is no other testimony, then I'll turn to Board discussion.

Maybe I will start.

You know, I think it really is a very, very difficult issue for me, and I may be the only one that's having the difficulty. I'm not certain that there is incongruous measures, but I do think the drafting approach has an actual real meaning in that the broad, what appear to be substantive provisions to the reader about applying the right to life in the constitution to all innocent persons and constitutionally prohibiting intentional killing of innocent people -- persons.

Now, I think that's -- a reader, I think, can attribute that has meaning, and it's not just a drafting approach to the same results basically as the previous versions. And so, you know, it sure seems a lot like logrolling to me. I know Mr. Domenico disagrees and I

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for it.

So I think in terms of possible confusion in people's minds, the application of the word "innocent" to "make my day" rules is just going to be absolutely insignificant when you look at creating confusion.

MR. HOBBS: I'm going to ask maybe one last question.

So stepping back away from it, I think what I hear proponents saying is that in effect this measure means the same as the two previous versions. It's drafted a little differently, you know, but that's more structural. It's a drafting approach -- the drafting approach is different. But you don't view the intent or the effect as being any different than the two previous versions.

In fact, you actually believe that the detail in Subsection 3 is really the only difference, and it's only a matter of detail.

MR. JONES: That's correct. I think the same parties will align on the same sides. You'll have the pro-lifers for this, for the most part, and you'll have the abortion industry on the other side funding the other side. And so I don't think there is going to be confusion.

I think we've tried -- we have tried to gain an

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respect that.

As I've said, I'm not even sure that that gets you all the way home with a single subject violation anyway because they have to be incongruent subjects. And I'm not entirely sure how to describe that, other than the fact that maybe there is one or two very broad, substantive provisions, and then there is some specific provisions that deal with the application of the measure to abortions basically.

So I think I would probably vote in favor of denying title setting on the basis of single subject, but I'm probably alone on that. I'll make a motion if it's helpful, but I just want to hear further discussion from the Board.

MR. GELENDER: I'm basically where Mr. Domenico is and would find that there is a single subject, and I could explain that, but I don't know that I will at this point.

MR. HOBBS: Okay. Mr. Domenico, do you have anything further?

MR. DOMENICO: I think I sort of explained my understanding of this a couple times, at least, so it's probably not worth repeating it. I mean, to me the only real difference in this one from the last two that have

been approved is -- when I say "real," the only difference

between this measure and the others that's relevant to this single subject and can we set a title question is the effect of Section 2.

The details of how a person is defined is different, the details of how this relates to constitutional provisions is different, but not in any way that's material to the single subject question, and I think you're pointing to the word "incongruous."

Obviously, you could write this without Section 2, and I think it would have a different effect. As I said, I think a measure that way — and I actually thought that the prior measures would not actually themselves, if I remember right, have made abortion illegal. Without Section 2 I don't think this would necessarily make abortion illegal.

To me, Section 2 just sort of takes that extra step that the previous ones didn't. That to me is not a separate subject. Although I agree it would impact certain things that without Section 2, like euthanasia, might not be impacted at all.

But I don't think those are separate subjects. I don't think it's so confusing that we can't set a title.

MR. HOBBS: If there is no other discussion, just for the sake of closing out the issue, I'll go ahead and move that the Board grant the Motion for Rehearing to the

and innocent person is language that's in the amendment and the measure itself and it's material to the measure itself. I think it definitely describes the initiative.

Now, it may cause emotion in the opposition in that they ideologically are opposed to this, but I don't think that's a standard for whether it's a catch phrase or not, I would stipulate. It has to be impermissive and impermissively distract, and I think it actually focuses people on what we're trying to do.

Again, the term "the right to life" is not only well-known, but it's also part of all of our major legal documents from the Declaration of Independence to the federal constitution and state constitutions, and so it's not akin to other findings.

I think there is one that was — the court found it was a catch phrase and it was "as quickly as possible" — was written into the amendment. That's sort of not measurable, it wasn't part of the actual language. It's clearly not as material as what we're including — or you included in the title.

So things like "preserve the social institution of marriage" has been found — that has been found to not be a catch phrase. And I would imagine that people that support homosexual marriages would be — would have strong emotions about that, in that they disagree that, you know,

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extent that it objects to the measure on the basis of single subject.

Is there a second?

Hearing none, that motion dies for lack of a second.

And let's move to the portion of the Motion for Rehearing that deals with the titles. Ms. Bateman, I can't remember to what extent we got into that, but why don't we hear from you first. You may have already adequately presented things.

MS. BATEMAN: I did present that to the Board.

MR. HOBBS: Okay. No, that's fine. If you covered it, then let's hear from the proponents of the measure with regard to those issues that you raised regarding the catch phrases and so forth.

MR. JONES: I'll be brief. My apologies to the other measures here. Let's see here.

Okay. So dealing with the catch phrase, the law from the case of In The Matter of Title, Ballot and Submission Clause for 2009-10, on the second page it states that the petitioners must prove, rather than describing the initiative, the phrase provokes emotions such that it impermissibly distracts voters from consideration of the initiative's merits.

The language that was used in the right to life

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a marriage between one man and one woman preserves the social institution of marriage.

But that's not the question. I think it's pretty explanatory.

Chris, if you want to mention anything.

MS. BROWN: Sure. The only thing I would mention is that the reason also we would like the "right to life" phrase to be in there, we don't think it's a catch phrase. And just like you mentioned, we didn't number the sections of the constitution in this amendment that were going to be affected by this. And the only way we describe what section of the constitution is affected is by saying "the right to life."

I mean, without using that phrase the voters will have no way to know what part of the constitution is being affected -- yeah -- for the reason that we don't believe that's a catch phrase.

MR. JONES: And I think that the same argument is based upon the "innocent person," as well.

MR. HOBBS: Questions for the proponents?

MR. DOMENICO: I'm at some point going to have questions, but I think only after we sort of get over this threshold issue, I think.

MR. HOBBS: One of the things Mr. Domenico raised -- and I'm looking forward to working on the

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MR. DOMENICO: Same subject.

MR. HOBBS: But I have a question about the very end. Because it seems like there is some merit to the Motion for Rehearing with respect to the last line of the title where we say, "It's specifically related to the killing of a person created through rape or incest."

And I think the Motion for Rehearing says that's really limited to rape or incest committed by the father.

MS. BROWN: Well, I mean, that's the only way another innocent person would be created.

MR. GELENDER: That's what I'm trying to -

MS. BROWN: That's sort of a -

MR. HOBBS: Is that true, that incest has to be committed by fathers?

MS. BROWN: Well, I'm saying for the mother -- I mean, if the mother - we're not talking about if the mother commits rape and incest and she gets pregnant. That's not what anyone talks about. I mean, that's a completely different situation.

MR. HOBBS: I'm confused.

MS. BROWN: Like we're talking about if a child is created by a father who admits rape or incest, then the child shouldn't be punished for the crimes of his father.

That's what we're talking about.

'08 and '10. MR. HOBBS: But to be faithful to the measure, we should include the word "father" -- we should include the reference to father in the last line of the title -or maybe drop that clause all together because it doesn't really add anything.

MS. BROWN: I think it's just clarifying the

Either way those children are protected. We're trying to

clarify for the public who have questions about rape and

incest because those questions were brought up a lot in

what it's doing, but it wouldn't change the effect.

measure specifically for people who have that question, is

MS. BROWN: The last sentence of the title? I see the last sentence in the title being "medical treatment for a life-threatening physical conditions or miscarriage" --

MR. DOMENICO: I think you've got the old staff draft.

19 MS. BROWN: Oh, okay. Is there any copies? I'm 20 sorry.

MR. DOMENICO: This came up last time -- well, I don't think we -- well, not quite specifically like this, but this basic idea came up.

> MR. JONES: Okay. We have the right one now. MS. BROWN: Yeah. And I don't think we would

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MR. HOBBS: Okay. I think that's probably unrefuted. But to the extent that the measure -- if it's the killing of a person created through incest, in the case of the mother's incest, she could terminate the pregnancy because this measure does not apply to that.

MS. BROWN: No, she couldn't because -- okay. Thank you. I'm sorry. I was a little confused. I'm sorry. Okay. No, no, no. She couldn't because we specifically say that any intentional killing of an innocent person is prohibited, and so that child -- I mean that's a very, very, very rare scenario, obviously. And it does, I'm sure, happen, but that would be covered by that.

The far more commonly discussed issue of incest in all the stories I've ever heard put out there are a father's rape and incest. And so that's why we chose specifically to make a point about that -- not because it makes any difference in our law whether or not we included that provision, none of those children could be killed, none of those abortions could happen.

It hasn't been talked about a lot and so we were making a point.

MR. HOBBS: So to see if I'm clear, Subsection 2(e,) Paragraph (e) could be dropped and it wouldn't change the meaning of the measure.

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care if you wanted to add the words "of the father." MR. HOBBS: Well, I guess one way to deal with it -- well, one way would be just to drop that clause, that last clause all together, Line 8 of what's on the screen in the room now, and just to add at the end, "created through rape or incest committed by the father."

MS. BROWN: I think either one you would be fine with.

MR. GELENDER: I think what we're getting into here was the "all or nothing" question. At the last meeting Mr. Domenico suggested that maybe we don't need to specify all the things, and I don't think either he or I felt that strongly about it.

But I felt that it did add some value to specify because these are issues that come up and they debate it, and the voters probably like to see in one clear place where it's written sort of neutrally and not in an effort to sway them in one direction or the other.

But I also think I had the position that we include all of those things or we include none of those things. So if we're going to drop it, then I think we have to reopen the issue of whether we drop all of this.

MR. DOMENICO: And I think the basic understanding was that (a) through (e) are all just clarifications of their intent of what -- how 2 would Page 53

interact with the rest of this, and so that was why we talked about getting rid of all of it or none.

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MS. BROWN: I think -- sorry to interrupt. If I remember right, we had talked about last time, that (c) could be important to include even if the rest were not included, because that would be seen as a possible exception.

MR. DOMENICO: Right. I would be sort of the most unlikely one to be interpreted into the text of the language if it weren't in there and sort of the most surprising consequence of this. So I think I was most convinced that that one probably should stay.

But I don't really find the possibility that a lot of voters might be concerned about the possibility of how this would affect mothers who get themselves pregnant through rape or incest as being very material in the sense of this sort of thing, that is likely to sway voters one way -- a significant number of voters that we typically include. But I also would -- it's not a big deal to me to include the language about the father either.

MR. JONES: I think the purpose of (a) through (e) is they are all consistent with the effect and with the purpose as listed above, and what we're trying to do is give details related to the implementation, where it has said that it is permissible under single subject.

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MS. BATEMAN: I would like to be as most helpful as possible, but I certainly would not want to re-write the title. I would argue, though, that the catch phrase "right to life," that is -- that's (inaudible) it's your proposal to have language to help (inaudible). I think that it's one that, you know, creates a real difficulty to me (inaudible) particularly now it is a single purpose (inaudible).

MR. DOMENICO: Well, I don't think we can -- I think we have to find a way to explain it. I don't think you can use the catch phrase problem to defeat the right to an initiative, and so I think we ought to figure out a way. So I appreciate that you don't have ideas for us. but maybe we'll come up with some and run them by you.

MS. BATEMAN: I guess I don't want to put language into their title.

MR. DOMENICO: Fair enough.

MR. HOBBS: Let me run one idea by you. Would you feel better about it if we change Line 2 to be something like declaring that the "protections to life as provided for in the state constitution by all innocent persons"?

MS. BATEMAN: I see problems with that. That eliminates (inaudible). Our point is, it said that this

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And so we're not giving every possible detail, but we're giving the ones that actually the opponents mostly raised in the last public debate.

MR. HOBBS: Any other questions? Thank you. Before I return to Ms. Bateman, is there anyone else who wishes to testify on the Motion for Rehearing with respect to the title set by the Board last time?

All right. Ms. Bateman, would you like to respond to the proponents?

I have at least one question for you, as well.

MS. BATEMAN: I'll respond.

MR. HOBBS: That's all right. Go ahead.

MR. DOMENICO: I think I am persuaded, or at least close to being persuaded by your argument about right to life, but I also think we need to discuss the Section 1's implications somehow. And I'm curious if you have thoughts about how that could be done in a way that doesn't make a mess of the whole thing without using - I mean, the proponents are also right.

While I think I agree with you that "right to life" is sort of a catch phrase, but it's also a constitutional term, a term used in the measure and that makes it a little bit difficult to avoid using it in a way that still captures what they're trying to do.

I'm hoping that you might be able to help us out

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1 really just goes (inaudible) to sections already provided 2 for in the state constitution as something different.

MR. HOBBS: Yeah. I was trying to --

MS. BATEMAN: No. And I -- certainly -- and I don't want to -- again this is their initiative. We certainly oppose it. I don't (inaudible).

MR. HOBBS: All right. Board discussion, changes to the title set by the Board.

Mr. Domenico.

MR. DOMENICO: As I said in our -- again in our discussion, I think part of the problem -- as I understood part of the problem, the struggles we're having with Mr. Hobbs, had to do more with the way we characterize the single subject here than I think with the measure itself. And so I would start by trying to rewrite the "single subject" definition.

And what I've come up with so far, and I'm certainly not committed to this, but would be something like an amendment to the Colorado Constitution concerning the extension of rights to human beings at all stages of development. Something along those lines that would capture what I think you accurately said is really the major effort. I think it is not misleading. It would tell people basically what they're reading about.

And then I think your suggestion about this

change to a "right to life" would also be workable. We made a change like that in the first one. I'm happy to listen to other alternatives, so . . .

MR. GELENDER: We're thinking along the same lines as Mr. Domenico. One area where I'm not thinking along the same lines maybe is, I'm not sold on "right to life" as necessarily a catch phrase, depending on how we write it in this context.

Because I'm looking at Article 2, Section 3 and it just says in the middle of it, "The right of enjoying and defending their lives," talking about all persons' inalienable rights.

So what we're really doing is extending that. And I think if you use that phrase within the context of extension and in the context of, you know, that it's what's in the constitution already, I'm not sure it's as much of a catch phrase as when it's looked at only in this sort of limited abortion and reproductive rights context.

So the point being is, whether it makes sense to start with something like "concerning the extension of the right to life provided for in the state constitution to every member of the species homo sapiens at any stage of development."

And I really would like to actually make it simpler and say something like "human being or person,"

hadn't already been adopted as essentially a slogan, the name of major important groups, I think it would be the most concise, straightforward, simple way to describe it.

But the fact of the matter is, it has been adopted by -- I mean there are groups with that very name. I see that the proponents are calling this the Right To Life Amendment, which is certainly their right, but it -- that is, in my view, very dangerous to then use the name of the -- that the proponents are using as part of their strategy in the title itself strikes me as dangerous, right up against the line, if not over the line of a catch phrase.

And so --

MR. GELENDER: Well, only to be a devil's advocate -- well, I don't know if I feel strong about it -- does it matter that -- I have note that if the other side passes, it will be the exact same catch phrase to rally their troops.

MR. DOMENICO: Right. I mean, there is something in that — I don't have the case in front of me — the catch phrase cases about that it misleads people into thinking that the measure is about. They can use the shorthand, and then people won't actually know what the measure is about. That's the problem with the catch phrase, and maybe it would be friendly if both sides

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but I know that opens a whole other can of worms, so I think that they're in sort of a dry homo sapiens language might have to be the way to go. But that would be sort of an initial proposal.

MR. HOBBS: I would really like to avoid the phrase "right to life" if we can. And I think you both got an approach to improving the description of single subject, but I would rather not say "right to life" if we can avoid it without changing the meaning.

I think in this particular context "right to life" takes on aspects of the catch phrase, I think, but I agree that it can be defended. Section 25 of Article 2 says, "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." It's not a right to life exactly. It amounts to the same thing. It's a protection, I think that's — there may be a better word.

If we were in some other context, I wouldn't mind -- be opposed to saying "right to life," but here I think it's problematic.

MR. DOMENICO: Yeah. I mean, this is -- this is always the problem when something that might be a catch phrase is also part of the measure. And as you have pointed out is also closely tied to existing language that they're trying to enact.

And so I understand it is, in fact -- if it

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agrees.

But I know that there is not much, frankly, that the two sides in these debates agree on, including nomenclature, and I would predict that Ms. Bateman would tell us that they don't agree this is about a right to life. That it's about reproductive rights or something else.

So I think this would be likely struck down as a catch phrase if we were to use it, especially in the single subject.

MR. JONES: I think the "right to life," whether it's used by groups, is beyond our control. Also I would say that the catch phrase -- what I think would be a catch phrase is pro-life, just like if they had the Pro Choice Amendment. I think those are the sort of catch phrases that rally movements. The right to life is what describes what we're trying to do.

And so, you know, when you talk about a movement, you talk about the pro-life movement, and so that is a difference. And I think the "right to life" because it's foundational in our country, in our jurisprudence, I think is not a catch phrase. It may be a catch phrase to some people, but I think the application of it is clearly a description of what we're trying to fight for.

So I think that is a distinction, "pro-life"

versus "right to life."

MR. HOBBS: And I think my suggestion to you -if it's okay with Mr. Gelender -- is to start with
Mr. Domenico's approach and then massage it from there.

MR. DOMENICO: Yeah. I would just say, I think I agree with essentially everything that the proponents just said, but I still think that it may be a catch phrase and we should avoid it, if we can.

MR. HOBBS: I think we can. That's why I would like -- if we can, I'd like to avoid it. I don't want to change the meaning. And maybe to belabor the point a little bit, actually the proponents made a reference to the English Language Education Proposal in 2000 where the title set by the Board said "requiring all children to be part of the public schools to be taught English both as rapidly and effectively as possible."

The Supreme Court found that was an impermissible catch phrase, even though that exact language was in the measure. And that to me as a Board member was exactly what was the key operative provision. I was surprised at the outcome of that one.

But you've been using the exact language of the measure in what I wasn't sure was intended, and we were struck down on that.

MR. JONES: Just as a comment I would say that

defining it.

MR. HOBBS: Correct.

MR. DOMENICO: The implications are what would be laid out elsewhere. I mean, I've suggested in the past that we are far too -- try to be far too specific in our description of single subjects, and that we could serve everyone a little bit better about -- by making our definition of -- our statement of single subjects just really generic so they know, Oh, this is the one about defining human beings. And that would be it. And then you lay out the specifics elsewhere.

But we haven't ever quite gotten to my understanding of that, so this is the best I've come up with. What this really — the main point of this, the main subject of this, is the extension of rights, and then the rest of it sort of clarifies what those rights are and how that works.

MR. GELENDER: And as always, briefly arguing the other side since as a bill drafter by trade, we try to give as much notice as possible a lot of times.

One thing I would say is I think we're only talking -- first of all, I think we're only talking about one right with this measure, and regardless of the catch phrase, "rights" doesn't tell people anything. I mean, it could be the right to -- obnoxious about it -- you know,

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"as rapidly as possible" in terms of its legal weight is completely different from something that's embedded into the very fabric of our governing documents.

MR. HOBBS: I think I searched the constitution for the phrase "right to life." I could not find it.

MR. JONES: Well, you said "the right to enjoy your life." That's as close I think as you can get. You can look at -- I think the Declaration of Independence does say "right to life," and a lot of our constitutions were based on -- at least the Bill of Rights and, you know, that whole understanding of our inalienable rights.

MR. HOBBS: Anything that you want to tell the staff?

MR. DOMENICO: Yeah. I think my suggestion was that in Line 1 essentially after "concerning" to delete "the prohibition" all the way through "person." Change that to "concerning" -- either "extending" or "the extension of to all humans or human beings at any stage of development."

And then your suggestion, I think, was what's now on Line 3 about change, I think the right —

MR. GELENDER: Incorporate the definition of person into the single subject essentially.

MR. DOMENICO: Right. But to me the subject of this is extending rights to human beings as you're

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the right of an unborn person to free speech.

I know that's an absurd way of putting it, but couldn't we say something like "concerning the extension of the protection" -- maybe this goes too far with it -- "the protection of human life provided for in the constitution to" -- what we said -- "homo sapiens or human beings."

MR. DOMENICO: I understand what you're saying, but I also think these titles are not statutes. They're not legalistic documents. They're meant to inform voters of what they're looking at and being asked to decide.

And so maybe we're talking about one right, but you have both pointed out two sort of different applications even of the "right to life," and the right to sort of — the right to not be killed is now sort of something that I would argue to my students in Con Law classes is not a right otherwise. It's the statutory protection necessarily.

And so in Con Law you might say well that's not a right, but it's sort of creating a right to that here.

And so I think -- I don't have a problem with the plural of "rights," because it is broader than just one thing.

And I think you can get to the language you and Mr. Hobbs were suggesting about declaring that the protections for life as provided for in the state

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constitution, et cetera, would avoid the catch phrase, address that. Then I think we would add after that language about intentional killing.

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I mean, I guess you could change the word "rights" to "protections for human beings" -- "the extension of protections for all human beings."

MR. GELENDER: That's what I feel. I agree. You know, given the trailer and everything, I think you've actually convinced me of the value of your approach.

MR. DOMENICO: Terrific. So that if we're fine with that, I think Mr. Hobbs' suggestion about getting rid of "right to life" and changing it to "protections for life" avoids the catch phrase, is accurate, is I understand not as useful for the proponent's purposes as the previous version, but I just think avoiding "right to life" is necessary and so -- yeah.

MR. JONES: I have a comment. Just with the "rights," I would say that the opponents have actually made the arguments to the public and spent money in making these arguments that, you know, our amendment would force women who are pregnant and traveling to get a passport for the baby and that, you know, they have to -- if we pass this amendment, we'll have to get driver's licenses.

And so I think it is a ludicrous argument. It's been made, so just leaving it just as "rights" in general, know, we would say, well, the government can't extend these rights. It can only recognize them.

So would you mind changing "extension" to "recognition"?

MR. DOMENICO: Well, it's always fun to have natural rights, but I think we have to sort of accept the legal. What we're talking about here is the legal rights and the legal extension of rights that the government recognizes.

And so, obviously, I appreciate your philosophical underpinnings and they are certainly valid, but I think for our purposes we have to sort of say what. we think would actually be going on legally.

MR. GELENDER: On that, I would also point out that there is sort of a - I don't know what you call it - a legal principle, unlike the federal constitution, which sort of is a grant of limited powers to the federal government. The state constitutions actually limits the inherent complete power of the state government.

MR. DOMENICO: Well, now we do get to have our natural rights argument, because I think what he's arguing is that, in fact, whatever the state constitutions' plenary powers are, they don't extend to certain natural rights. The State can't interfere with natural rights that they argue this simply recognizes.

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I think could be confusing in light of the tactics that have been employed.

But I think as you wrote it right now, I personally don't think it makes it any clearer, but if you are concerned about the catch phrase, it's definitely avoiding using the "right to life." We would rather have it in there, but I think we can work with it.

MR. DOMENICO: I mean, I agree it's not clear. It's probably a little bit less clear, but it avoids the catch phrase problem.

Now, we can always go back to Line 2 and use our favorite - one of our favorite weasel words, "certain," to describe rights. So the "extension of certain rights" would address this potential issue.

We always have to find a way to put "certain" in the sentence precisely to not confuse anybody about which -- that we are talking about every right, and that might be worthwhile here actually.

MR. HOBBS: Personally, I prefer it the way it's written on the screen at this point, but - well, I'll move those changes.

MR. DOMENICO: Second.

MR. JONES: Excuse me. I'm really sorry about this, but I was just looking at "extension" in terms of what sort of founding principles of our movement. You Page 68

MR. JONES: Right. And it is more than just a philosophical argument, I would say, because one of the approaches for the subsequent litigation, which I fully perceive that this or any other personhood that amendment passes, is how would the federal government and the federal constitution be applied?

And the 14th Amendment specifically prevents a state from discriminating and applying laws unequal to people, and that's really at the heart of what we're trying to do here, so . . .

MR. HOBBS: Well, I think there is a motion and a second.

No other discussion?

14 All in favor say "Aye."

15 (Response.)

MR. HOBBS: All those opposed, "No." 16

(No response.)

MR. HOBBS: That motion (inaudible).

(Inaudible) further changes to titles?

MR. DOMENICO: Well, we didn't get to this very 20 21 unpleasant topic of maternal rape and incest. As I said,

22 I'm not -- I don't believe it's necessarily material in

23 the sense that it would sway any significant number of

voters, which is typically what we're trying to capture 24 25

here.

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We also now don't have any language about killing innocent persons.

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MR. GELENDER: You think it should be included? MR. DOMENICO: I do. As I said, I didn't think that was a good description of the subject, but I do think it's material. I think without Section 2, as I said, I don't know that this would -- in fact, I don't think it would make abortion illegal under current law as it's interpreted. And that it would -- and I don't think it would affect. I think part of the opponent's objection is that that's - Section 2 is the only place where you get into euthanasia.

And so I think that just a quick -- I mean, it's certainly at least as relevant as the (a) through (e) that we've got listed there. I mean, it's at least as material, I think.

MR. HOBBS: Then could we -- along this lines, maybe at the end of Line 4, end of that clause before the word "define" insert "potential killing of any innocent person"?

MR. GELENDER: As an alternative -- maybe it's a little too long - you could also on Line 4 just put a comma after "equally" and put in a clause -- or after "to," excuse me -- "applies equally to and prohibiting the killing of."

also include that because we're talking about the 2 perpetrator on the victim.

MR. HOBBS: And what would be - how would you word it?

5 MR. JONES: You said "rape or incest committed by 6 the" -

7 MR. HOBBS: "Committed by the father."

8 MR. JONES: Oh, okay.

9 MR. HOBBS: Is that okay? 10

MR. JONES: Yeah.

11 MR. HOBBS: There was a second - it looks like,

Mr. Ward -- "committed by the father"? 12

Further discussion?

MR. DOMENICO: My only question, I can't remember if I brought this up last time. Because the actual language of that provision refers to a child. The way "child" is defined, I think matches up with "person," and so I don't think that's inaccurate, if I'm reading the way the definitions work.

But Section 2(e) talks about prohibiting killing of a child. "Child" though is defined as a human being prior to and during birth, which is, I think --

23 MR. HOBBS: I think that's a good point.

MR. DOMENICO: -- it doesn't conflict with what we've written, but it's just different language.

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MR. DOMENICO: I would probably actually put it on Line 5 because the clarifying is really clarifying Section 2. All those things we've listed on 5 through 9 are clarifying what Section 2, which is what we're talking about now, applies to.

So I think Mr. Hobbs' language is good, but I would put it after the semicolon on Line 5, I think.

MR. HOBBS: "Prohibiting the intentional killing of any innocent persons"?

MR. GELENDER: I'll move it.

MR. DOMENICO: Second.

MR. HOBBS: All those in favor say "Aye."

13 (Response.)

14 MR. HOBBS: All those opposed, "No."

(No response.)

MR. HOBBS: That motion carries three to zero.

I would like -- personally, I think for accuracy Line 10 ought to -- I hate to lengthen it, but I think it would just be about three or four words. I propose adding

"committed by the father" at the end of Line 10. So it would be "prohibiting the killing of a person created through rape or incest committed by the father."

And I'll move it, to see if there is a second.

MR. JONES: I think if we are identifying the sex, then it would be good to say "his" or "her." That we Page 72

MR. JONES: We said it includes a human being, so that we obviously wouldn't want to exclude one-year-olds and two-year-olds.

MR. DOMENICO: I think it's easier to leave it actually as it is, in that we haven't -- a child isn't defined so far in the title. And as long as it's accurate the way it is, I think it's easier to leave it. I just wanted to raise that.

MR. HOBBS: All those in favor say, "Aye." (Responses.)

MR. HOBBS: All those opposed, "No."

12 (No response.)

MR. HOBBS: That motion carries three to zero.

14 Are there changes to the titles?

> MR. GELENDER: I just have a couple of minor technical things.

Because we went from "right to life" on Line 3 to "protections for life," I think we have to have both singular and plural clean-up on Line 4.

First, I don't know if we need to have the "as" on the end of Line 3, so I think. I move that we delete that "as," and then I would have that say "apply." I think that's it.

> MR. HOBBS: Protection for life by (inaudible). Second to your motion?

Page 73 Page 75 MR. DOMENICO: Yes. STATE OF COLORADO) 1 2 2) ss. REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE MR. HOBBS: All those in favor say, "Aye." 3 3 COUNTY OF LARIMER) (Responses.) I, Katherine Richmond, hereby certify that MR. HOBBS: All those opposed, "No." 4 4 5 5 I am a Certified Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public (No response.) MR. HOBBS: The motion carries three to zero. 6 within and for the State of Colorado. 6 7 I further certify that this transcription was 7 Any further changes? 8 taken in shorthand by me from a CD and was thereafter 8 MR. GELENDER: Well, I suppose -- I mean I don't 9 want to skip any procedural motion here, but I think a 9 reduced to typewritten form, and that the foregoing 10 constitutes a true and correct transcript. proper motion may be that the Board grant the Motion for 10 Rehearing to the extent that the Board has changed the 11 I further certify that I am not related to, 11 12 nor employed by any of the parties or attorneys mentioned 12 title and deny the Motion for Rehearing in all other 13 herein, nor otherwise interested in the result of the 13 respects. 14 actions herein mentioned. MR. DOMENICO: So moved. 14 15 MR. HOBBS: I'll be opposed to it because it's 15 In witness whereof, I have affixed my 16 the single subject issue, although I think these are 16 signature this day of , 2012. 17 17 better titles, but I'd like a second. 18 MR. GELENDER: Yes, second. Sorry. 18 19 MR. HOBBS: So the motion is that the Board grant 19 20 20 the Motion for Rehearing to the extent the Board has Katherine Richmond 21 changed the titles and deny the Motion for Rehearing in 21 22 22 all other respects. 23 Any other discussion? If not, all those in favor 23 24 24 say, "Aye." 25 25 (Responses.) Page 74 MR. HOBBS: All those opposed, "No." 1 2 (One response from Mr. Hobbs.) 3 MR. HOBBS: That motion carries two to one. 4 That concludes action on #51. 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

	Page 75
1	STATE OF COLORADO)
2) ss. REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE
3	COUNTY OF LARIMER)
4	I, Katherine Richmond, hereby certify that
5	I am a Certified Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public
6	within and for the State of Colorado.
7	I further certify that this transcription was
8	taken in shorthand by me from a CD and was thereafter
9	reduced to typewritten form, and that the foregoing
10	constitutes a true and correct transcript.
11	I further certify that I am not related to,
12	nor employed by any of the parties or attorneys mentioned
13	herein, nor otherwise interested in the result of the
14	actions herein mentioned.
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16	signature this 2 day of Jac, 2012.
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21	Katherine Richmond
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