

NORTH CAROLINA SENATE SESSION

NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

In Raleigh, North Carolina
Monday, August 28, 2017, 5:00 p.m.

PREPARED BY: Karen Roche
RUFFIN CONSULTING, INC.
DIRECT DIAL: 252-243-9000
WWW.RUFFINCONSULTING.COM

Legislative Defendants Trial

1 SEN. BERGER: The Senate will come to order.
2 The sergeant at arms will close the doors. Members,
3 take your seats. Members and guests will please silence
4 all electronic devices. Leading the Senate in prayer is
5 Senator Norm Sanderson of Pamlico County. All members
6 and guests, please stand.

7 SEN. SANDERSON: Thank you, Mr. President. I'd
8 like to read just several verses of Scripture from the
9 Book of Isaiah. Chapter 55, says "Seek you Lord while
10 he may be found. Call ye upon him while he is near.
11 Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man
12 his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he
13 will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will
14 abundantly pardon. For my thoughts are not your
15 thoughts. Neither are your ways my ways" sayeth the
16 Lord. Please pray with me. Lord, not our ways, but
17 your ways. Not our thoughts, but your thoughts.
18 Through and by the power of our Lord Savior Jesus
19 Christ, Amen.

20 THE SENATE: Amen.

21 SEN. BERGER: Senator Pate is recognized for a
22 motion.

23 SEN. PATE: Thank you, Mr. President. The
24 journal of Friday, August 25, 2017, has been examined
25 and is found to be correct. I move that we dispense

1 with the reading of the journal and that it stand
2 approved as written.

3 SEN. BERGER: Without objection, the journal for
4 August 25, 2017 stands approved as written.

5 Members, leaves of absence are requested and
6 without objection are granted for Senators Barringer,
7 Jim Davis, Ford, Jeff Jackson and Van Dunyn.

8 Courtesies of the chamber are extended to Karen
9 Roche of Garrett Reporting Services. She is up on the
10 dais next to the sergeant at arms.

11 Members, unless there's other business come
12 before the Senate, we'll go straight into our calendar.

13 Senator Rabin, for what purpose do you arise?

14 SEN. RABIN: Motion to address.

15 SEN. BERGER: State your motion.

16 SEN. RABIN: Thank you, Mr. President.

17 Mr. President, I move that the rules be suspended until
18 the end, that staff may accompany Senator Hise on the
19 floor today.

20 SEN. BERGER: Without objection, so ordered.

21 SEN. RABIN: Mr. President, I move that upon
22 passage of third reading of Senate Bill 691, 2017 Senate
23 Floor Redistricting Plan Second Reading be sent to the
24 House by special message.

25 SEN. BERGER: Without objection, so ordered.

1 Senate Bill 691, the clerk will read.

2 THE CLERK: Senate Bill 691 2017 Floor
3 Redistricting Plan, second reading.

4 SEN. BERGER: Senator Hise, could you step up
5 here for just a moment?

6 Members, so you know, my understanding is that
7 Senator McKissick had advised Senator Hise that there
8 were a couple of amendments that were going to be
9 offered and they are not available yet. What we're
10 going to do is Senator Hise has an amendment that we can
11 go ahead and run now. Once he runs his amendment, we'll
12 take a recess waiting for the other amendments and then
13 we'll proceed after that.

14 Senator Hise, for what purpose do you arise?

15 SEN. HISE: Send forth an amendment.

16 SEN. BERGER: Send forth your amendment. The
17 clerk will read.

18 THE CLERK: Senator Hise moves to amend the
19 bill.

20 Senator Hise is recognized to explain the
21 amendment.

22 SEN. HISE: Thank you, Mr. President, Members of
23 the Senate. As we're going through, we realize that
24 there's going to be judges and others looking at these
25 maps and we're trying to compact that and make as easy.

1 We had one of the original districts that is now
2 numbered differently. I believe it was Senator Lowe's
3 district. And just to avoid any confusion, it will
4 change District 29 to District 32 and 32 to 29, so that
5 the district numbers for that district will be
6 consistent with the previous map to this map.

7 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
8 Amendment 7?

9 Hearing none, the question before the Senate is
10 the passage of Amendment 7, Senate Bill 691. All in
11 favor of the amendment will vote aye; all opposed to the
12 amendment will vote no. Five seconds will be allowed
13 for the voting. The clerk will record the vote.

14 (ELECTRONIC VOTE.)

15 SEN. BERGER: Senator Lee?

16 44 having voted in the affirmative and none in
17 the negative. Amendment 7 passes and the bill is back
18 before you.

19 Members, as previously indicated, we will take a
20 recess until 5:40 --

21 SEN. BISHOP: Mr. President.

22 SEN. BERGER: Senator Bishop, for what purpose
23 do you arise?

24 SEN. BISHOP: Before the body recesses, is it
25 possible to ask Senator McKissick a question?

1 SEN. BERGER: Senator McKissick, do you yield?

2 SEN. MCKISSICK: Yes, I yield.

3 SEN. P. BERGER: He yields.

4 SEN. BISHOP: Thank you, Senator McKissick.

5 When we were last together, Senator, I had asked about
6 what Senator Robinson referred to as a prospectus of
7 information perhaps prepared by Dr. Creighton and
8 understood in the course of some questions to you that
9 you would provide that to the body. I sort of expected
10 it to be here at the beginning of session today. Do you
11 remember what I'm referring to? And do you intend to
12 furnish that?

13 SEN. MCKISSICK: I'm not aware of any prospectus
14 of information. The only thing there's been is dialogue
15 and conversation. It's not as if there's been a
16 compilation of documents that have been created that
17 would be the type of thing that one could easily put
18 into the record and disseminate. It's just the
19 substance of the conversations that occurred. So
20 there's not really a document that embodies all of those
21 conversations and all that dialogue that's taken place
22 over the last perhaps week and a half or so.

23 SEN. BERGER: Senator Bishop, for what purpose
24 do you arise?

25 SEN. BISHOP: Ask a question of Senator

1 McKissick.

2 SEN. BERGER: Senator McKissock, do you yield?

3 SEN. McKISSICK: Yes, I yield.

4 SEN. BISHOP: Did you intend to offer something
5 as to the time we had that colloquy last week?

6 SEN. McKISSICK: I think I provided the same
7 response last week. That's consistent with my
8 recollections. You might have understood what I said
9 differently. But there is not a set of documents or a
10 memorandum or anything that summarizes the substance of
11 those conversations. There were many, many
12 conversations but not a set of documents that resulted
13 from it and summarized their content.

14 SEN. BISHOP: Thank you, Mr. President.

15 SEN. McKISSICK: Mr. President.

16 SEN. BERGER: Senator McKissick, for what
17 purpose do you arise?

18 SEN. McKISSICK: So see if I could ask Senator
19 Bishop a question.

20 SEN. BERGER: Senator Bishop, do you yield?

21 SEN. BISHOP: I do.

22 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

23 SEN. McKISSICK: Senator Bishop, do you have any
24 type of compilation of documents or information that's
25 not currently in the record that was used as a basis for

1 the plan that's been submitted by the redistricting
2 committee as a preferred plan?

3 SEN. BISHOP: I have been blissfully uninvolved,
4 Senator McKissick. I do not have any such thing.

5 SEN. McKISSICK: Thank you.

6 SEN. BERGER: Members, with that, we will take a
7 recess until 5:45. Senate stands in recess until 5:45.

8 (The proceeding recessed at 5:30 p.m.)

9 (The proceeding reconvened at 5:47 p.m.)

10 SEN. BERGER: Members, a short announcement. My
11 understanding is we are still waiting for some materials
12 to be brought over here. Rather than have those
13 materials being disseminated while we're trying to
14 listen to the speakers, we're going to extend the recess
15 until 6 o'clock. Senate stands in recess until
16 6 o'clock.

17 (The proceeding recessed at 5:48 p.m.)

18 (The proceeding reconvened at 6:16 p.m.)

19 SEN. BERGER: The Senate will come to order.
20 Members will return to their seats. Members, we are on
21 the third reading, Senate Bill 691. Is there further
22 discussion or debate?

23 Senator Robinson, for what purpose do you arise?

24 SEN. ROBINSON: To send forth an amendment.

25 SEN. BERGER: Send forward your amendment. The

1 clerk will read.

2 THE CLERK: Senator Robinson moves to amend the
3 bill.

4 SEN. BERGER: Senator Robinson is recognized to
5 explain the amendment.

6 SEN. ROBINSON: Thank you, Mr. President.

7 On last week Senator Hise asked if I would
8 consider doing some additional amendments to the
9 proposed Senate District 28. And what you have in front
10 of you is actually the proposed changes to that. And
11 what it basically does it has a little less compactness;
12 however, it still keeps two specific things. One in
13 terms of it does not double-bunk incumbents. It keeps
14 separate districts for those. And then it also -- and
15 one of the things we talked about was the current VAP is
16 52 percent and it decreases. It still decreases at less
17 than 45 percent down to 43 percent. So there's a better
18 distribution in terms of population. And still, there
19 are commonalities amongst the communities that are in
20 both Senate District 28 and 27. So I'll stop right
21 there.

22 Most of the explanation I gave last week is
23 specific to this one. But this, I think, does a better
24 job in terms of the districts, especially 27, Senator's
25 Wade district, and my 28.

1 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
2 Amendment 8.

3 Senator Hise, for what purpose do you arise?

4 SEN. HISE: Speak to the amendment.

5 SEN. BERGER: You have the floor.

6 SEN. HISE: Thank you, Mr. President, Members of
7 the Committee. You know, I think that we least had an
8 opportunity to see something come forward that may have
9 addressed some of the concerns. But what we see here is
10 something where we continue to ignore the committee's
11 criteria. This is still clearly a district drawn on the
12 basis of race. Although, I will tell you, by the
13 eyeball test, boy, these districts look a whole lot
14 similar on these two maps. But I guess the claim is
15 the eyeball doesn't apply when someone else drew them.

16 But there's only one purpose of this district.
17 This is solely targeted at Senator Wade's district.
18 It's an attempt to shave about eight points, depending
19 on the race you're looking at, off of her race and try
20 to change the balance of power so that there's more
21 Democrats. That's what they're attempting to achieve in
22 this amendment. That's what we're seeing come out over
23 and over again. It also ignores the splitting of
24 municipalities. As I understand, still splits
25 Jamestown, still splits Summerfield -- two

1 municipalities that exist in the county and are now,
2 contrary to the committee guidelines, broken up in the
3 different districts.

4 So while I was hopeful at the potential we could
5 have gotten from this draw, it seems like it was more
6 important to make a political statement. So I will
7 simply ask you that vote against this amendment.

8 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
9 Amendment 8?

10 Senator Robinson, for what purpose do you arise?

11 SEN. ROBINSON: To speak on the amendment.

12 SEN. BERGER: You have the floor.

13 SEN. ROBINSON: Thank you, Mr. President.

14 Contrary to what Senator Hise says is that there were
15 split the same three split municipalities before. But
16 just to back up a little bit. And this map is drawn on
17 the basis of the 2010 elections and when I came in. And
18 that was 2003 data in terms of what's -- and if you look
19 at a comparison in terms of what it was then and what it
20 has since become, is more aligned with the 2003. And
21 that district did not target an incumbent.

22 So I would take exception to the fact that it
23 targets anybody in this one except that my district was
24 targeted in 2011 when it was redrawn. But this one
25 gives the opportunity to both incumbents for election.

1 We have to run for it, but it still gives the
2 opportunity for everybody to compete for the seats.

3 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
4 Amendment 8?

5 Senator Brown, for what purpose do you arise?

6 SEN. BROWN: To ask Senator Robinson a question.

7 SEN. BERGER: Senator Robinson, do you yield?

8 SEN. ROBINSON: Yes.

9 SEN. BERGER: She yields.

10 SEN. BROWN: Senator Robinson, there are two
11 full districts in Guilford County and, at this point, I
12 would say that one of them is pretty much a Democratic
13 county and the other one is a very competitive -- one is
14 a Democratic district and the other one is a very
15 competitive district. Looking at this map, I think it
16 generates basically two Democratic Senate districts.
17 Was the intent to gerrymander Guilford County to do
18 that?

19 SEN. ROBINSON: Mr. President.

20 SEN. BERGER: You may answer.

21 SEN. ROBINSON: The intent here was, Senator
22 Brown, to do what Senator Hise asked. If you look at
23 Greensboro and based on the population, how they vote,
24 and most of 28 is Greensboro, it's more of a Democratic
25 voting area. But the Guilford County area around it

1 tends to be more Republican voting.

2 So if you look at it in terms of that, then you
3 can understand 28 being more of Democratic percentages.
4 But the intent simply is to give voters an opportunity
5 to vote. If you want to go back to 2003, which I would
6 prefer, it would -- you know, it would be a very clear
7 map as far as I'm concerned.

8 But that was not the intent here. The intent
9 with Mr. Creighton when we took information from Senator
10 Hise was to do the best job we could in terms of
11 creating a map that did not double-bunk incumbents.

12 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
13 Amendment 8?

14 Senator Brown, for what purpose do you arise?

15 SEN. BROWN: One more question, if I could.

16 SEN. BERGER: Senator Robinson, do you yield for
17 a question?

18 SEN. ROBINSON: Yes.

19 SEN. BERGER: She yields.

20 SEN. BROWN: So I guess you're saying then after
21 talking to your consultant that, trying to create two
22 Democratic Senate districts was never the issue.

23 SEN. ROBINSON: That was not the intent here.
24 The intent was to create, based on what the courts said,
25 fair voting districts where citizens could make a

1 decision in terms of whatever candidates, whether it's
2 incumbents or anybody else.

3 SEN. BROWN: It just happened to have turned out
4 that way, I guess.

5 SEN. BERGER: Senator Brown, is there another
6 question?

7 SEN. BROWN: That's okay.

8 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
9 Amendment 8?

10 SEN. McKISSICK: Mr. President.

11 SEN. BERGER: Senator McKissick, for what
12 purpose do you arise?

13 SEN. McKISSICK: To speak on the amendment.

14 SEN. BERGER: You have the floor.

15 SEN. McKISSICK: First, I'd like to thank
16 Senator Robinson for seeing this amendment forward. And
17 what you really have here is a plan that allows for far
18 more compact districts and far more competition within
19 the districts.

20 I know last week there was some question about
21 whether if, you know, Trump or Clinton would have won
22 these districts. If you look at those particular
23 criteria, you would have seen one of these districts
24 being strongly carried by Clinton, one of them only
25 marginally carried by Clinton, by a 1.3 percent margin,

1 and the other two carried by Trump. That allows for
2 competition. It allows for choice among voters. And
3 that's really what voters want. They want the
4 opportunity to elect the politicians.

5 Now it could be argued and perhaps persuasively
6 argued that, had it not been for racial gerrymandering,
7 you would have seen a different outcome in the
8 legislative races from this district than what we saw in
9 terms of results. But I think these are good
10 districts. So I want to commend Senator Robinson for
11 her work on studying what could be done to come up with
12 a configuration that would be improved. I think Senator
13 Hise had suggested that she give it some thought and
14 reflection over this past weekend. Certainly a great
15 deal of depth and analysis went into it.

16 And one thing which I would like to do for the
17 record in case it's not in the record already, I
18 requested statistical packages be put together based
19 upon 2016 data. For the record, I'd like to reflect the
20 fact that they are there and been distributed to members
21 and should be considered as part of the consideration
22 before this body as we deliberate on this amendment.
23 Thank you.

24 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
25 Amendment 8?

1 Senator Robinson, for what purpose do you arise?

2 SEN. ROBINSON: To ask Senator McKissick a
3 question.

4 SEN. BERGER: Senator McKissick, do you yield?

5 SEN. McKISSICK: Yes, I do.

6 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

7 SEN. ROBINSON: Senator McKissick, as you look
8 at the proposed map SRN-2 and you look at the cluster
9 here, can you identify for me based on the configuration
10 the political parties currently in that cluster?

11 SEN. McKISSICK: Within the clusters here within
12 your district?

13 SEN. ROBINSON: No.

14 SEN. McKISSICK: Within the entire cluster.
15 What we would have in this cluster is Senator Tillman
16 who represents a portion of what is now the newly
17 configured cluster. We would have Senator Gunn
18 representing a portion of this particular cluster and
19 we'd have Senator Wade representing a part of this
20 particular cluster. In addition to yourself, it would
21 be three Republicans and one Democrat.

22 As I said earlier, perhaps had it not been for
23 the racial gerrymandering that took place previously
24 back in 2011, perhaps you might have seen a different
25 outcome considering the way they voted in the

1 presidential elections back in 2016.

2 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate?

3 SEN. ROBINSON: Just a follow-up question.

4 SEN. BERGER: Senator Robinson, for what purpose
5 do you arise?

6 SEN. ROBINSON: To ask Senator McKissick a
7 follow-up.

8 SEN. BERGER: Senator McKissick, do you yield?

9 SEN. MCKISSICK: Yes, I yield.

10 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

11 SEN. ROBINSON: Senator McKissick, in this
12 particular cluster then, do all of those individuals you
13 named in terms of representation have a part of Guilford
14 County? They would represent a part of Guilford County?

15 SEN. MCKISSICK: They would indeed. And
16 incumbency has been, in fact, respected as this plan was
17 developed -- one of the criteria of this committee. Of
18 course, these criteria were not ranked, so there's no
19 way to know what criteria had priority. But the way the
20 original plan was presented, it was a majority/minority
21 district even today after the courts have asked us to
22 really reflect upon that and to go back and not have any
23 racial gerrymanders.

24 SEN. ROBINSON: Follow-up question, Mr. Chair.

25 SEN. BERGER: Senator McKissick, do you yield?

1 SEN. McKISSICK: Yes, I do.

2 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

3 SEN. ROBINSON: So for clarification purposes,
4 in this cluster of Guilford, Randolph, Alamance where
5 four senators, incumbents are in this cluster, then
6 there would be three Republicans and one Democrat. Am I
7 correct, based on how it's drawn?

8 SEN. McKISSICK: That is exactly correct.

9 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
10 Amendment 8?

11 Hearing none, question before the Senate is the
12 passage of Amendment 8, Senate Bill 691. All in favor
13 of the amendment will vote aye; all opposed of the
14 amendment all vote no. Five seconds will be allowed for
15 the voting. The clerk will record the vote.

16 (ELECTRONIC VOTE.)

17 12 having voted in the affirmative and 33 in the
18 negative, Amendment 8 fails and the bill, Senate Bill
19 691 is back before you.

20 Further discussion or debate?

21 SEN. CLARK: Mr. President.

22 SEN. BERGER: Senator Clark, for what purpose do
23 you arise?

24 SEN. CLARK: To send forth an amendment.

25 SEN. BERGER: Send forward your amendment. The

1 clerk will read.

2 THE CLERK: Senator Clark moves to amend the
3 bill.

4 SEN. BERGER: Let the record reflect that
5 Senator Barringer is now in the chamber.

6 Senator Clark is recognized to explain the
7 amendment.

8 SEN. CLARK: Thank you, Mr. President.

9 Senators, what this particular amendment does is
10 it will modify the Hoke - Cumberland cluster which
11 consists of Senate Districts 21 and 19. The major
12 thrust of this modification is to move Fort Bragg into
13 Senate District 21 as opposed to it being in Senate
14 District 19. And I'll get to that in a moment.

15 But before I address that issue, I want to
16 address a few other questions that might come my way.
17 First of all, I see nothing illegal in this particular
18 plan. And, secondly, race was not a consideration at
19 all and it does not split any municipalities. As a
20 matter of fact, I used the 2017 plan submitted by the
21 Senate as a baseline in which there was only one
22 municipality split and that was the city of
23 Fayetteville. All of the other municipalities in
24 Cumberland County as in the 2017 plan before us will
25 reside in Senate District 19.

1 So back to the Fort Bragg issue. So why do I
2 want to move that into Senate District 21 as opposed to
3 Senate District 19? Well, I told myself -- well,
4 apparently it's appropriate to use the Bishop criteria
5 that was put forth by Senator Bishop back there. So
6 although we're not considering communities of interest,
7 we can and should consider cluster areas with interests
8 that they hold in common.

9 And if you look at the layout of Cumberland
10 County and where Fort Bragg is, you'll see that on the
11 southern border of Fort Bragg you have several VTDs.
12 Now these communities have a lot of in-common interests
13 with Fort Bragg there. They share interests such as
14 sporting, sustaining housing, entertaining the troops
15 there. So it seems far more appropriate to group
16 these -- to group Fort Bragg with these particular VTDs
17 as opposed to connecting it to Senate District 19 which
18 runs as we're making it now and then it goes out into
19 the rural horses of the county.

20 And also, in addition, I looked at the House
21 plan that was proposed by our counterparts in the House
22 and they did conform with this idea of clustering areas
23 with common interests. So if you look at the House plan
24 you'll see that those VTDs right along the southern
25 border of Fort Bragg are, in fact, clustered with it

1 within two House districts in the proposed plan. So
2 that's why I believe Fort Bragg should really be linked
3 with Senate District 21 as opposed Senate District 19.

4 Now the issue with this is Fort Bragg has about
5 25,000 folks in it. So when you move that over into
6 Senate District 21, that is going to require some
7 adjustment elsewhere within Senate District 21.

8 Now one of the criteria that I gave to
9 Dr. Creighton is I understand that another unwritten
10 rule is that if we have a cluster that has at least two
11 Senate districts within it and that one of those Senate
12 districts if it's possible to elect a Republican, then
13 we want to make sure that is the case is in the future.
14 So I told him, I said, "I want to make sure that Senate
15 District 19 remains competitive to the extent that a
16 Republican as sharp as Senator Meredith there could
17 still get elected there." And he has, in fact, done
18 that on my behalf. So we can take that one off the
19 plate. Senator Meredith -- I'm sure he's proven time
20 and time again that he can get elected in a Democratic
21 leaning district and nothing will change there.

22 So you'll notice that the district here, Senate
23 District 21, is more compact than the version in the
24 2017 plan. And as I indicated, it also protects Senate
25 District 19 in the fact that a Republican can still get

1 elected there.

2 Let me see. Are there any other things I want
3 to mention. So that's pretty much it in a nutshell. So
4 if no one has any questions, I recommend that you
5 consider supporting this particular amendment. Thank
6 you.

7 SEN. BERGER: Senator Bishop, for what purpose
8 do you arise?

9 SEN. BISHOP: To ask a question of Senator
10 Clark.

11 SEN. BERGER: Senator Clark, do you yield?

12 SEN. CLARK: I yield.

13 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

14 SEN. BISHOP: Senator Clark, I read with
15 interest a media account that the amendment to District
16 21 that we saw in committee, quote, "Was something the
17 Republicans wanted to keep him," ie., you "out of Senate
18 District 19 held by Wesley Meredith."

19 Now my first question is, the previous amendment
20 to District 21, you offered that, didn't you, sir.

21 SEN. CLARK: I sure did.

22 SEN. BISHOP: And --

23 SEN. BERGER: Senator Bishop, follow-up?

24 SEN. BISHOP: Thank you, Mr. President. Yes, I
25 would like to ask another question.

1 SEN. BERGER: Senator Clark, do you yield?

2 SEN. CLARK: I sure do.

3 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

4 SEN. BISHOP: The extension out into the east
5 there, that is a modified version of what you offered
6 previously; correct?

7 It has a slight modification. It just moves the
8 lines a little bit. Nothing substantial.

9 SEN. BISHOP: Further question.

10 SEN. BERGER: Senator Clark, do you yield?

11 SEN. CLARK: I yield.

12 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

13 SEN. BISHOP: One other approach would be just
14 to undue that extension to the location of your new
15 house; correct?

16 SEN. CLARK: If you would like to do that, you
17 can send forth an amendment to do that.

18 SEN. CLARK: Further question.

19 SEN. BERGER: Senator Clark, do you yield?

20 SEN. CLARK: I yield.

21 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

22 SEN. BISHOP: Do you intend to send forth an
23 amendment to that effect?

24 SEN. CLARK: No. The amendment I intended to
25 send forth is the one you're looking at now.

1 SEN. BISHOP: All right. Further question for
2 Senator Clark.

3 SEN. BERGER: Senator Clark, do you yield?

4 SEN. CLARK: I yield.

5 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

6 SEN. BISHOP: You preempted a number of
7 questions you thought might be asked and I appreciate
8 your having done that to save time. I can't recall --
9 and as I've heard you say it, did you consider political
10 data in the precinct changing that you did in this
11 newest offered version of 21?

12 SEN. CLARK: I guess you could say that to the
13 extent that I directed the gentleman working with me to
14 make sure that Senate District 19 could still elect a
15 Republican. So I guess you could say that, yeah, I did
16 consider political data.

17 SEN. BISHOP: Follow-up for Senator Clark.

18 SEN. BERGER: Senator Clark, do you yield?

19 SEN. CLARK: I yield.

20 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

21 SEN. BISHOP: So do I understand then that the
22 direction to Dr. Creighton was to make it so that a
23 Republican could still win --

24 SEN. CLARK: That's correct.

25 SEN. BISHOP: -- but knowing that the district

1 was going to be less favorable to a Republican than as
2 previously configured.

3 SEN. CLARK: That is not direction I gave, and I
4 don't know whether it is less or not since I haven't
5 looked at that. My main focus was I believe Fort Bragg
6 should in Senate District 21, not Senate District 19.

7 SEN. BISHOP: Understood. Thank you.

8 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
9 Amendment 9?

10 Senator Hise, for what purpose to you rise?

11 SEN. HISE: Speak to the amendment.

12 SEN. BERGER: You have the floor.

13 SEN. HISE: Thank you, Mr. President, Members of
14 the Committee. I guess this debate on this amendment is
15 going to whether or not Fort Bragg should be in Senator
16 Meredith's district or Senator Clark's district.

17 To a point, it does not raise any -- as the
18 speaker said, it doesn't raise any racial issues, it
19 doesn't raise any other -- just where the base should be
20 located. I don't think when you look at the numbers
21 that you're going to see that that's why this area is
22 being moved to the state. But I do find them really
23 interesting.

24 I think if you look at 2016 as District 19 was
25 previously drawn, Pat McCrory carried 52.63 -- now a 2

1 percentage point -- 2.5 percentage point movement. But
2 it appears that that's not competitive under this model.
3 So what we have to do is then draw it at where Pat
4 McCrory would have 48.3. So minus 2 Republican is
5 competitive, but plus 2.5 is not.

6 As a matter of fact, if you go to the Trump race
7 and you'll find that Trump in the previously drawn
8 district carried 51.71 percent of the district -- 1.7
9 over. Now that's not competitive; however, we've
10 decided that now Trump carrying 47.37 percent coming to
11 a 2.7 percent advantage, now that's competitive.

12 So this whole concept that we've been hearing
13 about competitive. It is clearly a statement of where
14 will Democrats win? That's what the amendments are
15 looking for. And so we're going to use the ruse of
16 where we're going to move a military base, probably a
17 fairly strong Republican as our stance as a party for
18 supporting our military, and I think if you look at the
19 stance the other party has made on the military and
20 others and their respect for it, I think you'll be clear
21 to see why that favors Republicans. But we're going to
22 use that ruse in this concept and say "Let's take a
23 district and shift it more Democrat" with no good
24 reasons coming in. So I will say that I see nothing in
25 this that the courts would raise. It is not an issue of

1 race.

2 As we said, Senator Clark did ask that we extend
3 this district out to pick up the new home that he had
4 built, an address that we were not given prior to the
5 consideration. And so we've accommodated that. But
6 apparently that move was not enough. Now Senator Clark
7 seems to want us to pick the areas that he wants to come
8 with him to make sure that no one around him is
9 competitive. So, again, I think it's important that we
10 merely reject this amendment.

11 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
12 Amendment 9?

13 Senator McKissick, for what purpose do you
14 arise?

15 SEN. MCKISSICK: Speak on the amendment.

16 SEN. BERGER: You have the floor.

17 SEN. MCKISSICK: I want to thank Senator Clark
18 for setting forth the amendment. It makes total sense
19 that you would have all of Fort Bragg in Senator Clark's
20 district. There's no reason for it not to be there.
21 Before the way the district line had been drawn, the
22 only thing he got was an empty part of a field out in
23 Fort Bragg. It didn't make any sense whatsoever. But
24 by reconfiguring the district and the way that it's
25 being configured today, it's within Senator Clark's

1 district. Yes, it is a somewhat more competitive
2 district.

3 But these districts have the potential to flip
4 back and forth depending upon the candidates who are
5 running. If Senator Meredith is running and he appeals
6 to a broad range of constituents, I have no doubts that
7 he can prevail in the district that he has been provided
8 with this plan. I have no doubts whatsoever. I also
9 believe that Senator Clark with his district being
10 configured the way it is, it relates more to communities
11 of interest. You want to put all of Fort Bragg there.

12 To be quite frank, many of the people living in
13 Fort Bragg probably vote absentee in other parts of the
14 country. They don't necessarily vote in Cumberland
15 County. And the actual number that do, to be quite
16 candid with you, I'm not sure what that number would
17 look like. Having said that, I think this is a valid
18 amendment; one that really sets forth an alternative and
19 I ask for your support.

20 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
21 Amendment 9?

22 Senator Brown, for what purpose do you arise?

23 SEN. BROWN: To ask Senator Clark a question.

24 SEN. BERGER: Senator Clark, do you yield?

25 SEN. CLARK: Sure.

1 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

2 SEN. BROWN: Senator Clark, is Fort Bragg all
3 in -- I think it's all in Cumberland County, isn't it?

4 SEN. CLARK: No. Some of it's in Spring Lake,
5 actually, and some of the training areas actually extend
6 into Hoke County.

7 SEN. BROWN: But the majority of it is in
8 Cumberland County.

9 SEN. CLARK: The majority of it is in Cumberland
10 County. That's correct, sir.

11 SEN. BROWN: Follow-up.

12 SEN. BERGER: Do you yield, Senator Clark?

13 SEN. CLARK: Yes, I yield.

14 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

15 SEN. BROWN: So you think it's wise to take Fort
16 Bragg which is mostly in Cumberland County and put it in
17 a district that's mostly Hoke County?

18 SEN. CLARK: Actually, that's not correct. 75
19 percent of the voting population within Senate District
20 21 is in Cumberland County.

21 SEN. BROWN: On the map, though --

22 SEN. BERGER: Senator Brown.

23 SEN. BROWN: I'm sorry. Follow-up.

24 SEN. BERGER: Senator Clark, do you yield?

25 SEN. CLARK: I yield.

1 SEN. BERGER: He yields.

2 SEN. BROWN: On the map, though, most of Fort
3 Bragg is in Cumberland County; correct?

4 SEN. CLARK: Actually, that might not be correct
5 either if you consider the training area. Because if
6 you look across the northern portion of Hoke County -- I
7 haven't actually measured that area -- but much of the
8 training area of Fort Bragg extends all the way clear
9 across the top portion of Hoke County. As a matter of
10 fact, y'all decided to give me all the training area in
11 Cumberland County in Senate District 21, so you may as
12 well give me the population as well.

13 SEN. BROWN: Speak to the amendment.

14 SEN. BERGER: Senator Brown, you have the floor
15 to speak to Amendment 9.

16 SEN. BROWN: I think most of us know that most
17 of Fort Bragg is in Cumberland County and I think what
18 this amendment does is it takes Fort Bragg and put it in
19 a district that's mostly Hoke County. I'm not sure why
20 anybody would want to do that, and so I think this would
21 be a bad amendment to do that.

22 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
23 Amendment 9?

24 Hearing none, the question before the Senate is
25 the passage of Amendment 9, Senate Bill 691. All in

1 favor of the amendment will vote aye; all opposed to the
2 amendment will vote no. Five seconds will be allowed
3 for the voting. The clerk will record the vote.

4 (ELECTRONIC VOTE.)

5 SEN. BERGER: 12 having voted in the affirmative
6 and 34 in the negative, Amendment 9 fails and the bill
7 is back before us. Further discussion or debate on
8 Senate Bill 691?

9 Senator Hise, for what purpose do you arise?

10 SEN. HISE: Send forth an amendment.

11 SEN. BERGER: Send forward your amendment. The
12 clerk will read.

13 THE CLERK: Senator Hise moves to amend the
14 bill.

15 SEN. BERGER: Senator Hise is recognized to
16 explain Amendment 10.

17 SEN. HISE: Thank you, Mr. President, and
18 Members of Senate, again. For clarification purposes
19 and wind changes and others, I have come forward and as
20 we've exhausted the amendments, I want to send forth the
21 one that will change the title to 2017 Senate Floor
22 Redistricting Plan Fourth Edition so we're clear as to
23 when the changes occurred in this process. I'd ask for
24 your support. It makes no substantive changes to the
25 bill.

1 SEN. BERGER: Further discussion or debate on
2 Amendment 10? Hearing none, the question before the
3 Senate is the passage Amendment 10 to Senate Bill 691.
4 All in favor of the amendment vote aye; all opposed will
5 vote no. Five seconds will be allowed for the voting.
6 The clerk will record the vote.

7 (ELECTRONIC VOTE.)

8 SEN P. BERGER: 46 having voted in the
9 affirmative and none in the negative, Amendment 10
10 passes and Senate Bill 691 is back before us.

11 Is there further discussion or debate on Senate
12 Bill 691?

13 Senator Pate, could you come up here, please?

14 SEN. BERGER: Senator Cook, for what purpose do
15 you arise?

16 SEN. COOK: To debate the bill.

17 SEN. BERGER: You have the floor.

18 SEN. COOK: I rise today to defend Beaufort
19 County. The proposed North Carolina Senate
20 redistricting map was my own county in a politically
21 untenable situation. The new map moves Beaufort from
22 District 1 to District 3 which would include Martin,
23 Bertie, Warren, Vance, and Northampton. These counties
24 are not compatible with Beaufort. The plan places
25 Beaufort into a six-county pod that is strongly liberal.

1 This conservative leading county will be drowned in a
2 sea of liberalism. The plan will dilute the interest of
3 Beaufort to the point of insignificance.

4 Beaufort has been a part of the eastern coastal
5 district for about 150 years, and now it will be coupled
6 with counties that are to the north and west of it.
7 Counties with which it has little common interest.

8 Most of the folks of Beaufort are very happy
9 with this proposed pod except for my wife who has been
10 urging me to quit the Senate for years, and, of course,
11 the chairman of the Beaufort County Democratic Party.

12 I understand that this proposed Senate map the
13 Senate is attempting to conform to the pod policy
14 advocated by the courts which require grouping counties
15 into pods with little discretion or the exercise of
16 judgement; however, Beaufort, with this proposed pod, is
17 not a good thing and it will cause it to wander in a
18 political death for years.

19 SEN. PATE: Is there further discussion or
20 debate?

21 Senator Berger, for what reason do you arise?
22 I'm sorry. Senator McInnis --

23 SEN. McKISSICK: That would be McKissick.

24 SEN. PATE: Senator McKissick, I finally
25 recognized you. For what purpose do you arise, sir?

1 SEN. McKISSICK: I know Senator McInnis and I
2 look so much alike. I guess we were brothers separated
3 at birth. To speak on the plan.

4 The one thing that I'll essentially say is this.
5 We've had a lot of debate. We've had a lot of
6 discussion over the last several days, the last week,
7 about what is right in terms of alternative plans for
8 the North Carolina Senate and that's important and that
9 is significant.

10 I think, unfortunately, one of the major
11 criteria that were missed from the conversation when the
12 redistricting committee set criteria was that fact they
13 were sitting back and trying to correct an efficiency
14 established by the court.

15 And the court basically said that race had been
16 unconstitutionally used in a way that was used to draw
17 these majority/minority districts. Somehow race was not
18 considered at all. Now race should not have ever been
19 a predominant factor that could have been used without a
20 racially polarizing voting study. But race should be a
21 factor that one could look at in terms of drafting and
22 designing districts. That it could be one that is
23 considered by this body. It was not one considered by
24 this body, at least by the majority when plans were
25 drafted.

1 When it comes to incumbency, it was not really
2 established whether there was going to be a survey
3 taken to find out who was running and who was not
4 running to determine what that might do to the
5 configurations of the districts.

6 We found out that several people weren't running
7 and that certainly those districts within those clusters
8 might have been designed differently. They might have
9 been more compact. They might have been situated in a
10 way that voters would have had a greater opportunity to
11 pick a candidate of choice in a competitive race. The
12 thing that shows up consistently when polls are done in
13 this state is that people want competitive races. They
14 want to be able to pick a candidate of choice.

15 They don't want maps gerrymandered in this state
16 to give a single party, in this case, a particular
17 Republican party, a leg up. They don't want to see it
18 done for Democrats either. But the way to do it is to
19 create competitive districts.

20 So I think we've missed an opportunity to really
21 draw these maps in a way that allows more competitive
22 districts to be drawn. Certainly there are going to be
23 four open seats on this map as it's showing up today but
24 based upon the topography of the districts that are
25 open, three of them will certainly be Republican and

1 only one of them is likely to become a Democratic seat.

2 We can do better than this. We can make choices
3 that people will embrace. We can come up with a way of
4 working on both sides of the political aisle to create
5 competitive districts so the voters have a choice. The
6 voters can make decisions. And yes, the districts can
7 be compact. Yes, we can avoid splitting precincts or
8 voter tabulation districts. And, yes, we can make
9 certain that when it comes to municipalities, we try to
10 respect the boundaries when it's possible to do so,
11 understanding the whole county provisions of the state
12 constitution.

13 Unfortunately, this map which we've seen today
14 is another opportunity to gerrymander. Only this time
15 it's based upon incumbency. And those incumbents gain
16 those positions as a result of maps that were drawn that
17 were racially gerrymandered. So in my mind, many of
18 those gains were illegal and improper gains. And the
19 only way to correct them, the only way to go back and
20 try to correct that wrong and that deficiency would be
21 to consider race as part of the equation in redrawing
22 the districts. And that we have failed to do. I think
23 it's unfortunate that have we done so. I don't know
24 what the courts will do when they have an opportunity to
25 review things. Certainly the Democrats from Mecklenburg

1 County presented a viable alternative, a very viable
2 alternative that allowed for competitive districts.

3 I know Senator Bishop said, "Well, Trump, might
4 have lost. He'd only gotten 44 percent of the vote in
5 some of those districts. Well, that depends upon the
6 people in Charlotte and how they might vote in any given
7 year. One could also argue that perhaps not all the
8 members that were elected as a part of this body, as a
9 party of the House, would have won those districts had
10 it not been for the racial gerrymandered districts that
11 were created down in Charlotte.

12 I know when Malcolm Graham came here, when
13 Malcolm Graham was elected -- and so many of you that
14 have been here for a while knew Malcolm -- he ran from a
15 district that only had 28 percent African-American
16 voting age population and he won against an established
17 incumbent.

18 The only thing that any of us want to see are
19 good, competitive districts, fair, reasonable and
20 competitive. The courts have given us that opportunity.
21 The courts have ruled that what was done before was
22 illegal. It was wrong. It was unconstitutional racial
23 gerrymander. The courts expect us to act responsibly.
24 I'm afraid that we've negated our responsibility.

25 SEN. PATE: Is there further discussion or

1 debate?

2 Senator Berger, for what purpose do you arise?

3 SEN. BERGER: Thank you, Mr. President. To
4 speak on the bill.

5 SEN. PATE: You have the floor.

6 SEN. BERGER: Thank you. Members of the Senate,
7 I hear Democrats complain that they're not competitive
8 in State Senate elections under the proposed maps
9 because Republicans gerrymander the districts. Liberals
10 in the media and academia have picked up on this theme
11 and run with it. But in the publicly understood sense
12 of the word, it is not truly a gerrymander.

13 Back in 2001, my first year serving in the
14 Senate, I was one of only 15 Republicans elected to
15 serve in this body. In a year North Carolina voted for
16 George Bush for President by 13 points over the
17 Democratic candidate Al Gore -- 56 percent to 43
18 percent.

19 The Democrats promptly embarked on a
20 redistricting scheme for the State Senate that was by
21 any measure a severe gerrymander intended to preserve
22 that 35-15 partisan advantage. That map known as NC
23 Senate Plan 1C divided -- divided 51 counties. Smaller
24 counties like Sampson and Iredell were chopped up
25 between four Senate districts each. One western North

1 Carolina district stretched and wound across pieces of
2 nine counties running from the Georgia border up through
3 Asheville and into McDowell County.

4 This fracturing and severe gerrymandering of
5 counties was a relatively recent occurrence. In fact,
6 prior to 1982, no county had ever been divided to form a
7 State Senate district in North Carolina.

8 The requirements that Senate districts be made
9 up of whole counties dates back in different forms to
10 our state's original 1776 constitution which allotted
11 one senator to every whole county. It was not until
12 1981 the U.S. Department of Justice decision that the
13 North Carolina Constitution provision requiring counties
14 be kept whole in drawing legislative districts violated
15 the Voting Rights Act that our state began to see the
16 sort of grossly gerrymandered districts like you see in
17 the 2001 NC Senate Plan 1C.

18 These sorts of grotesque districts would
19 probably still be the norm in North Carolina and,
20 frankly, the Democratic party would probably still
21 control the State Senate if not for a man from Beaufort
22 County named Ashley Stephenson. Ashley passed away in
23 2009. In 2001 Ashley Stephenson filed a lawsuit asking
24 the state courts to enforce the whole county provisions
25 of the state constitution. He argued that the state did

1 not have a binary choice between either the whole county
2 provision of the North Carolina Constitution and the
3 Voting Rights Act, that, in fact, the state constitution
4 and federal law could be harmonized.

5 In the landmark 2002 Stephenson decision, the
6 State Supreme Court agreed with him and laid out a
7 specific method to keep counties whole while complying
8 with federal law. The system for drawing legislative
9 districts laid out in the Stephenson decision requiring
10 districts to comply with the Voting Rights Act --
11 required the districts to comply with the Voting Rights
12 Act have roughly equal population, elect a single
13 senator instead of multiple senators, and most
14 importantly, create a process for grouping and keeping
15 counties whole. They are the strongest
16 anti-gerrymandering provisions for a legislature in the
17 entire country. And the results of the decision are
18 eminently evident.

19 The court ordered 2002 State Senate map
20 following the Stephenson decision divided just 16
21 counties as opposed to 51. The 2003 State Senate map,
22 again, adopted by the Democrats to comply with the
23 Stephenson decision, divided only 12 counties. The 2011
24 State Senate map adopted by this body divided 19
25 counties, and the proposed 2017 State Senate map before

1 you today divides just 12 counties. When map drawers
2 divide between 10 and 20 counties, they simply cannot
3 create the sort of redistricting mischief that they can
4 when they divide 50-plus counties and they force
5 decisions based on traditional redistricting principles
6 over political considerations. For example, I ended up
7 doubled-bunked and had a primary against former Senate
8 Republican Leader Bob Shaw in the 2002 map.

9 I've heard people argue that this proposed
10 Senate map is a political gerrymander. It is not. But
11 the argument goes something like Republicans and
12 Democrats should both get about the same number of seats
13 in the State Senate because Pat McCrory and Roy Cooper
14 tied at 49 percent of the vote in the governor's race.
15 This ignores a couple of things. One, we are not a
16 European country with proportional representation.
17 That's not our system. If we were, the libertarian, Lon
18 Cecil, who got 2 percent of the vote for governor, would
19 be breaking all ties between McCrory and Cooper.

20 Number two, while the governor's race was a tie,
21 in 2016 Republican candidates for the State Senate got
22 almost 500,000 more votes than Democratic candidates.

23 But something else has been happening that folks
24 arguing against this map haven't spoken about much. A
25 North Carolina Democrat as a distinct political

1 personage and candidate type from a national Democrat
2 has all but disappeared.

3 Think about this. Back in the 1990s and early
4 2000s Democrats won on average between 50 and 55
5 counties in competitive statewide races in North
6 Carolina. In 1992 that number was right at 56. '96 it
7 was 54. 2000 it was 56. Since 2010 Democrats have
8 averaged between 30 and 35 wins in competitive statewide
9 races. 30 to 35 county wins. In 2012 it was 36. In
10 2014 it was 32. In 2016 it was 31.

11 Consider the number of counties Democrats won in
12 governor's races since 1992. Jim Hunt in 1992 won 69
13 counties. Jim Hunt in 1996 won 73 counties. Mike
14 Easley in 2000 won 65. Mike Easley in 2004 won 70. Bev
15 Perdue in 2008 won 60 counties. Walter Dalton in 2012
16 won 23 Counties. Roy Cooper in 2016 won 28.

17 So just to compare, Jim Hunt lost just 27
18 counties in 1996. Roy Cooper won just 28 counties in
19 2016. And Roy Cooper had actually won 63 counties in
20 his competitive 2000 attorney general's race. Roy
21 Cooper won 28 counties in his competitive 2016
22 governor's race. That is not gerrymander. It's
23 happened all across the state.

24 Let's just take a few more obvious county
25 examples. In the west, Madison County, historically

1 Democrats won Madison County in a slew of statewide
2 races. In 2000 they won the governor, lieutenant
3 governor, attorney general, superintendant of public
4 instruction, labor and auditor races. In 2002 they won
5 the U.S. Senate race. In 2004 they won superintendent,
6 public instruction, labor, secretary of agriculture,
7 auditor, lieutenant governor and governor. In 2008 they
8 won treasurer, superintendent, labor, agriculture,
9 auditor, insurance, governor and U.S. Senate. In 2016
10 Democrats did not carry Madison in a single statewide
11 race. President Trump won 60 percent. Senator Burr won
12 57 percent. Statewide Republican candidates averaged at
13 least 55 percent in Madison County.

14 Another example, Allegheny County. Democrats
15 won Allegheny County in every competitive statewide race
16 except the race for president in 2000. And Mike Easley
17 won the county with nearly 58 percent in 2004. In 2016
18 Hillary Clinton won 24 percent. Deborah Ross won 25 --
19 26 percent when she ran. Roy Cooper won 31 percent and
20 Josh Stein took 34 percent of the votes in Allegheny
21 County.

22 Rutherford County, Republicans averaged about 70
23 percent in Rutherford County in 2016. President Trump
24 won 72 percent. Lieutenant Governor Forest, 71; Buck
25 Newton, 70. Roy Cooper outperformed most of the other

1 Democrats on the ticket by winning just 32 percent of
2 the vote in Rutherford County.

3 In the Piedmont - Person County, Democrats won
4 Person County in the overwhelming majority of statewide
5 races 2000, 2004 and 2008. Roy Cooper, Bev Perdue, Mike
6 Easley, each one with 57 percent in 2000. In 2016
7 Elaine Marshall was the only Democrat who carried the
8 county. Clinton and Ross won just 40 percent. Cooper
9 won 43 percent.

10 In my home county of Rockingham in the 1990s and
11 2000s, Republicans rarely won in Rockingham County. It
12 went for Jim Hunt twice, Beverly Perdue twice, Mike
13 Easley twice, Roy Cooper in his 2002 race for attorney
14 general. In 2016 Democrats averaged 38 percent in
15 Rockingham County. In the two most prominent races,
16 they won. Roy Cooper and Josh Stein won 39 percent each
17 in Rockingham County.

18 In the east, Columbus County. In 2016 Columbus
19 County went 60 percent for Trump, 59 percent of Senator
20 Burg and Pat McCrory. It went 58 percent for Lieutenant
21 Governor Forest, 55 percent for Superintendent Johnson,
22 56 percent for Treasurer Folwell. In 2008, just eight
23 years before, Bev Perdue won 65 percent in Columbus
24 County. Walter Dawson, 63 percent. In 2004 Democrats
25 averaged over 63 percent in competitive statewide races

1 in Columbus. In 2000 they averaged 68 percent. Many
2 cleared 70 percent. In Roy Cooper's 2000 race for
3 attorney general, he won 67 percent in Columbus County.
4 In the 2006 race for governor, he won less than 40
5 percent there.

6 Sampson County -- Democrats carried Sampson
7 County in seven of the eight most competitive statewide
8 races in 2000. They won the county in six of the eight
9 most competitive in 2004. Since 2008 only one Democrat
10 has won the county. Roy Cooper lost by 17 points -- 58
11 to 41 in 2016.

12 Robeson County, Democrats averaged 73 percent of
13 Robeson County in 2000, 68 percent in 2004, 67 percent
14 in 2008. In 2016 they lost the three top-of-the-ticket
15 statewide races in Robeson County.

16 Terrell County, in 2000 Democrats won every
17 competitive statewide race in Terrell County and their
18 candidates averaged 71 percent. Roy Cooper won 74
19 percent; Mike Easley, 73 percent; Beverly Perdue, 74
20 percent. In 2004 Democrats won every competitive
21 statewide race except for president averaging 62
22 percent. In the 2016 cycle, Democrats averaged 48
23 percent and Governor Cooper performed 33 points worse --
24 41 percent -- in 2016 than he did in 2001.

25 Democrats are only competing in 20 to 30

1 Counties in North Carolina. That might be a viable
2 strategy for squeaking out a close win in the occasional
3 statewide race, but you cannot build a legislative
4 majority in a state with 100 counties when you only
5 compete in a quarter of them.

6 Do we really think all of these county shifts,
7 these seat changes in a decade's time are the result of
8 gerrymandering? Of course not. Gerrymandering didn't
9 do that. Democrats did that. It's why Republicans were
10 able to take the majority in State Senate in 2010 with a
11 map drawn by the Democrats.

12 Granted, this trend isn't exclusive to North
13 Carolina. Nationally Democrats have lost over 900
14 legislative seats since 2010, not to mention the U.S.
15 House of Representatives, the U.S. Senate and the White
16 House. A News & Observer headline two days after the
17 2010 midterms that wiped Democrats out of the U.S.
18 House, in that headline the head of the Democratic
19 party -- National Democratic Party, quote, "Voices
20 regrets but signals no change of course."

21 And the losses continued in 2012, 2014 and 2016.
22 The nonpartisan Cook Political Report says maybe 17
23 percent of the Democratic parties problems nationally
24 are the result of new district lines. Something else
25 clearly happened while Democrats were blaming

1 gerrymandering for putting and keeping them on the back
2 row.

3 When I first ran for State Senate, many of the
4 Democrats in this chamber and many of the Democrats
5 running, shared the cultural values of North Carolina's
6 moderate to conservative voters. They were
7 pro-education, but many were also pro-business, pro-gun
8 and pro-life.

9 But today, North Carolina Democrats, just like
10 the National Democrats align with the powerful special
11 interests like big national labor unions, far left
12 environmentalists and the abortion lobby. It used to be
13 that a North Carolina Democrat wouldn't be seen with a
14 National Democratic presidential candidate like Michael
15 Dukakis, Walter Mondale, John Kerry. Nowadays they rush
16 to get endorsements from former President Obama and
17 Hilary Clinton. It used to be North Carolina Democrats
18 campaigned all over rural North Carolina. In 2016 that
19 wasn't the case.

20 It's easy to understand why gerrymandering has
21 been the bogeyman since they were swept out of power in
22 2010. It's easier to blame the maps, blame a process,
23 blame anything, really, than it is to take
24 responsibility for losing touch with the politics of
25 voters in 75 of North Carolina's 100 counties.

1 But here's the hard truth. The Democratic party
2 could be competitive in legislative elections all over
3 the state if it competed in all 100 counties instead of
4 only 30. There are more registered Democratic voters
5 than Republican voters in 27 of the proposed districts.
6 But if you're going to be competitive in legislative
7 elections across the state, you're going to have bring
8 back the North Carolina Democrat as a distinct political
9 type separate from the national Democrat.

10 And the North Carolina Constitution requires
11 legislative districts to be constructed out of whole
12 counties. So unless you think the county lines in our
13 state have been gerrymandered, it's pretty clear this is
14 not a political gerrymander. And if the North Carolina
15 Democratic party struggles to elect Republican senators
16 under this map, it isn't because of the way the lines
17 were drawn, but the platform that parties' candidates
18 are running on.

19 But we're not here today because of a political
20 gerrymandering claim. We're here to adopt a new
21 legislative redistricting plan because the U.S. Supreme
22 Court struck down the 2011 State Senate map ruling that
23 nine of the districts including the map were racial
24 gerrymanders. I think it is very important that we
25 acknowledge this. The District Court ruled and the

1 Supreme Court affirmed that the 2011 map was racial
2 gerrymander.

3 In 2011 the legislature made a decision based on
4 a U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Strickland case to
5 draw the minority district required by the Voting Rights
6 Act with African-American voting populations of at least
7 50 percent. The Trial Court ruled that interpretation
8 of the Strickland decision was, quote, "an error of
9 law." And while the court acknowledged that, quote, "In
10 reaching this conclusion, we make no finding that the
11 General Assembly acted in bad faith or with
12 discriminatory intent in drawing the challenge of the
13 districts which were pre-cleared by the Justice
14 Department pursuant to Section 5 of the Voting Rights
15 Act," end of quote. The court's ruling must be
16 respected and the error of law that resulted in racial
17 gerrymanders must be corrected.

18 The U.S. Supreme Court has set several new
19 precedents since the last body adopted legislative
20 district maps. Most consequentially, the Supreme Court
21 rendered Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act inoperative
22 in Shelby County versus Holder. The Shelby County
23 decision is important to understand how we are seeking
24 to comply with the court's order.

25 To simplify, prior to Shelby County, North

1 Carolina's redistricting plans were subject to Section 5
2 preclearance by the United States Justice Department.
3 The burden fell on the state to prove the proposed maps
4 did not unfairly limit the opportunity of minority
5 groups to elect candidates of their race.

6 Today, post-Shelby County, North Carolina's
7 redistricting plans are not subject to Justice
8 Department preclearance and the burden of proving that a
9 plan limits a minority group's opportunity to elect a
10 candidate of their choice rests with a plaintiff in a
11 court challenge.

12 Senator Blue spoke Friday in detail about the
13 Gingles factors that would allow the legislature to
14 consider race in drawing a district. One, that they
15 geographically compact minority community exists for
16 which a majority/minority district can be drawn, two,
17 that the minority community votes cohesively, and three,
18 that the white majority typically votes together in
19 sufficient numbers to block the minority community from
20 electing a candidate of their choice. I won't expand on
21 Senator Blue's comments on the first two Gingles
22 criteria but do want to elaborate on the third criteria.

23 In 2011 the legislature commissioned two expert
24 studies on racially polarized voting in North Carolina
25 to support the decision to draw districts with

1 African-American populations of 50 percent. To my
2 knowledge, these were the most complete and exhaustive
3 studies ever entered into the record during a
4 redistricting process.

5 In the Covington decision striking down the 2011
6 legislative maps, the court cited those legislative
7 decisions as critical to determining the plan was a
8 racial gerrymander. The court determined the expert
9 reports did not -- did not sufficiently prove racially
10 polarized voting to prove the third Gingles factor was
11 present and justified drawing 50 percent minority
12 districts. Quote, "Contrary to defendant's contentions,
13 the Block and Brunell reports do not establish a strong
14 basis in evidence for Gingles third factor in any
15 potential district."

16 And in light of the 2014 Alabama Legislative
17 Black Caucus versus Alabama Ruling, the court strongly
18 objected to that legislature's decision to adopt -- I'm
19 sorry -- strongly objected to the legislature's decision
20 to adopt a 50 percent target to draw true minority/
21 majority districts. Quote, "In light of Alabama, we are
22 mindful that a legislature's policy of prioritizing
23 mechanical racial targets above all other districting
24 criteria (save one-person, one-vote) provides
25 particularly strong evidence of racial predominance."

1 We have carefully considered the court's order
2 in Covington. Given the court's rejection of the 2011
3 expert reports, we do not believe we can develop a
4 strong enough basis in evidence that the third Gingles
5 factor is present to justify drawing districts on the
6 basis of race. Nor, in spite of repeated requests by
7 the redistricting committees have the public, plaintiffs
8 in the Covington litigation, or members of this body
9 presented evidence that the proposed map should be
10 changed because the third Gingles factor is present and
11 unaddressed.

12 So I strongly believe we have complied with the
13 courts admonishment with that. Again, in quoting, "If
14 during redistricting the general assembly had followed
15 traditional districting criteria and in doing so, drawn
16 districts that incidentally contained majority black
17 populations, race would not have predominated in drawing
18 those districts," end of quote.

19 With the information available to them, Senator
20 Hise and the redistricting committee adopted nine
21 criteria to use in drawing this proposed map. Some of
22 the map drawing principles are inviable and must be
23 followed like equal population contiguity and the North
24 Carolina constitutional requirements on county grouping.
25 And because we cannot prove the third Gingles factor,

1 not using racial election data, incumbency protection
2 and municipal boundaries are secondary and occasionally
3 internally contradictory considerations. They must be
4 harmonized with each other while complying with the
5 inviable criteria.

6 I believe that this redistricting plan put
7 forward by Senator Hise's committee successfully
8 harmonized the criteria adopted. This map is not a
9 racial gerrymander and fully complies with both the
10 court order and tradition redistricting principles.

11 I've also reviewed the data Senator McKissick
12 requested and is placed on the members' dashboards. In
13 the nine districts the court ruled where racial
14 gerrymanders only the Guilford County District as the
15 court predicted could incidentally occur when using
16 traditional districting principles. In this case
17 following Greensboro's municipal boundary continues to
18 have a black voting age population over 50 percent and
19 it has fallen from 56.5 percent to 50.5. The other
20 eight previously unconstitutional districts now have
21 black voting age populations ranging from 32.9 percent
22 to 48.5 percent.

23 While the 2011 map had no districts with black
24 voting age populations between 26.5 percent and 43
25 percent, the new map has five new districts that fall in

1 that range including one new district with a black
2 voting age population of over 40 percent and two new
3 districts with a black voting age populations over 30
4 percent.

5 This is important because the expert reports
6 which you can see on your dashboards submitted by Alan
7 Lichtman on behalf of the Democrats and plaintiffs in
8 the Covington and Harris cases define all those
9 districts as having the, quote, "Ability to elect a
10 candidate who is the preferred choice of a cohesively
11 voting minority community."

12 So while race was not used to draw this plan, I
13 believe it fully remedies the racial gerrymander in the
14 previous map while avoiding any new potential claims of
15 both dilution under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.

16 In closing I'll say again, this map is not a
17 racial gerrymander. This map is not a political
18 gerrymander either. It complies with state and federal
19 law. It remedies defects the court found in the
20 previous map. It splits fewer counties. It divides far
21 fewer precincts. I urge you to vote for the bill.

22 SEN. PATE: Is there further discussion or
23 debate?

24 Hearing none, the question before the Senate is
25 the passage of Senate Bill 691 on its third reading.

1 All in favor will vote aye; all opposed will vote no.
2 Five seconds will be allowed for voting and the clerk
3 will record the vote.

4 (ELECTRONIC VOTE.)

5 SEN. PATE: 31 having voted in the affirmative,
6 15 having voted in the negative, Senate Bill 691 passes
7 its third reading. The amendments will be engrossed and
8 the bill will be sent to the House by special message.

9 Notices and announcements. Are there any
10 notices or announcements? Is there any further business
11 to come before the Senate?

12 SEN. BLUE: Mr. President.

13 SEN. PATE: Senator Blue, for what reason do you
14 arise?

15 SEN. BLUE: Point of personal privilege.

16 SEN. PATE: You have the floor, Senator.

17 SEN. BLUE: Thank you, Mr. President. Ladies
18 and gentlemen of the Senate, I just wanted rise to make
19 a quick observation. A friend of mine and many of ours
20 was funeralized today down in Fayetteville. I had the
21 fortune of knowing the Reverend Dr. C.R. Edwards since
22 my teen years when he passed through the church in
23 Fayetteville when I grew up in an adjoining county. And
24 I just want to mention that C.R. Edwards was a major
25 force in Fayetteville and Cumberland County from the

1 early 50s until his death, although he had moved to
2 Raleigh and became one of my constituents here about 17
3 years ago in Knightdale. But Dr. Edwards served with me
4 in the House of Representatives and he served here in
5 the Senate while I served in the House. He served three
6 terms here in the Senate and distinguished himself. If
7 those who sit in seats 15 and 20 would look at the tags
8 on your desk, you'll see his name on those. I think it
9 was seats 15 and 20.

10 But, in addition to serving in these legislative
11 chambers, he chaired his local school board in one of
12 the most tumultuous times as that school board was going
13 through its desegregation efforts. He served on the
14 University Board of Governor's and distinguished himself
15 well in a very, very well-lived life. He served as the
16 president of the General Baptist State Convention.

17 So I would ask you, Mr. President, as we adjourn
18 this evening that we adjourn in memory of the late
19 Senator Dr. Reverend C.R. Edwards.

20 SEN. McKISSICK: Mr. President.

21 SEN. PATE: Senator McKissick, for what purpose
22 do you arise?

23 SEN. McKISSICK: Point of personal privilege.

24 SEN. PATE: You have the floor.

25 SEN. McKISSICK: I find it quite ironic today

1 that it's August the 28th. I don't know if that date
2 means much to many of you in this room but to many
3 people from my generation, it was the date back in 1963,
4 the famous march in Washington, the day that Dr. King
5 gave his "I have a Dream" speech 54 years ago today. We
6 talked about not judging people by the color of their
7 skin, by the content of their character. We've come so
8 very, very far as a state, and as a country in
9 addressing those ills that affected us in that time
10 frame. But I'm also reminded tonight when we're still
11 here in a battle in North Carolina dealing with racial
12 gerrymandering of how much further we have to go.

13 SEN. PATE: Further notices and announcements.

14 SEN. HORNER: Mr. President.

15 SEN. PATE: Senator Horner, for what purpose do
16 you arise?

17 SEN. HORNER: One of personal privilege.

18 SEN. PATE: You have the floor.

19 SEN. HORNER: I'd like to end on a positive note
20 after a tough day. Today is one of those important days
21 in our state. It's the first day of school and everyone
22 here has been responsible in some way to help this thing
23 happen. And please tell a teacher "Thank you."

24 SEN. PATE: Senator Davis, for what purpose do
25 you arise?

1 SEN. DAVIS: For a brief announcement.

2 SEN. PATE: You have the floor, Senator.

3 SEN. DAVIS: Thank you. Members, hopefully we
4 also have another positive note to Senator Horner. And
5 that is, even though we came short over the weekend, it
6 was an awesome trip to Pennsylvania and we continue to
7 support our Southeast, North State Greenville, North
8 Carolina champions. And I want to share with everyone,
9 we've been scrambling around today and we're going to
10 work to get those little young men up here, hopefully
11 Wednesday. And I just ask one thing of my dear friends
12 in this chamber. Is when we get these little ones up
13 here, just give them a high five and a hug. Thank you
14 so much.

15 SEN. PATE: Further notices and announcements?
16 Hearing none, is there further business to come before
17 the Senate?

18 If not, Senator Berger is recognized for a
19 motion.

20 SEN. BERGER: Thank you, Mr. President. I move
21 that the Senate to now adjourn in memory of the late
22 Senator Reverend Dr. Chauncy R. Edwards. Subject to the
23 standard stipulations set forth in Senate Rule 24.1 and
24 the receipt of messages from the House, we reconvene on
25 Tuesday, August 29, 2017 at 2 p.m.

1 SEN. PATE: The motion is that the Senate do
2 now adjourn, adjourning to the memory of Former Senator,
3 the Reverend Dr. Chauncy R. Edwards, and subject to the
4 stipulations stated by Senator Berger to reconvene
5 Tuesday, August 29th -- what was the time again,
6 Senator? -- 2 p.m., seconded by Senator Blue. All in
7 favor say aye.

8 THE SENATE: Aye.

9 SEN. PATE: All opposed, no.

10 THE SENATE: (No response.)

11 SEN. PATE: The ayes have it and the Senate
12 stands adjourned.

13 (There was a pause in the proceeding.)

14 THE CLERK: Message from the House. House Bill
15 927 Committee substitute by Representatives Lewis and
16 Ballard, an act to realign the districts for the
17 election of the members of the North Carolina House of
18 Representatives is referred to redistricting committee.

19 (The proceeding concluded at 7:25 p.m.)

20
21
22
23
24
25

1 CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY - COURT REPORTER

2 STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

3 COUNTY OF WAKE

4

5 I, KAREN ROCHE, Notary Public in and for the above
6 county and state, do hereby certify that the proceeding
7 was taken before me at the time and place hereinbefore
8 set forth; that the proceeding was duly recorded by me
9 by means of stenotype, which is reduced to written form
10 under my direction and supervision; and that this is, to
11 the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and correct
12 transcript.

13 I further certify that I am neither counsel to any
14 party nor interested in any way in the outcome of this
15 proceeding.

16 This is the 28th day of August, 2017.

17 

18 _____
19 Karen Roche
20 Notary Public, Wake County,
North Carolina
Notary No. 201519800020

21

22

23

24

25

A				
Ability 54:9	advocated 33:14	13:13 14:9,13	argument 41:11	57:3
able 35:14 46:10	affirmative 5:16	14:16 15:22,25	arms 2:2 3:10	bad 30:21 49:11
abortion 47:12	18:17 31:5	18:10,12,13,14	Asheville 39:3	balance 10:20
absence 3:5	32:9 55:5	18:18,24,25	Ashley 39:22,22	Ballard 59:16
absentee 28:13	affirmed 49:1	19:7,9 22:5,15	39:23	Baptist 56:16
abundantly 2:14	afraid 37:24	22:19 23:17,23	asked 6:5 9:7	Barringer 3:6
academia 38:10	African-Amer...	23:24 25:9,11	12:22 17:21	19:5
accommodated	37:15 49:6	25:14 27:10,12	24:7	base 25:19 26:16
27:5	51:1	27:15,18 28:18	asking 39:23	based 12:23
accompany 3:18	age 37:16 53:18	28:21 30:13,15	assembly 1:3	13:24 15:18
account 22:15	53:21,24 54:2	30:18,21,23,25	49:11 52:14	16:9 18:7
achieve 10:21	54:3	31:1,2,6,10,11	attempt 10:18	35:24 36:15
acknowledge	ago 56:3 57:5	31:16 32:2,3,4	attempting	41:5 49:3
48:25	agreed 40:6	32:9	10:21 33:13	baseline 19:21
acknowledged	agriculture 43:6	amendments	attorney 42:20	basically 9:11
49:9	43:8	4:8,12 9:8	43:3 44:13	12:16 34:15
act 37:23 39:15	ahead 4:11	26:14 31:20	45:3	basis 7:25 10:12
40:3,10,12	aisle 36:4	55:7	auditor 43:4,7,9	11:17 51:14
49:6,15,21	AI 38:17	analysis 15:15	August 1:15	52:4,6
54:15 59:16	Alabama 51:16	announcement	2:24 3:4 57:1	battle 57:11
acted 49:11	51:17,21	8:10 58:1	58:25 59:5	Beaufort 32:18
actual 28:15	Alamance 18:4	announcements	60:16	32:21,24,25
addition 16:20	Alan 54:6	55:9,10 57:13	available 4:9	33:3,4,8,11,16
20:20 56:10	align 47:10	58:15	52:19	39:21
additional 9:8	aligned 11:20	answer 12:20	average 42:4	began 39:15
address 3:14	alike 34:2	anti-gerryma...	averaged 42:8	beginning 6:10
19:15,16 27:4	Allegheny 43:14	40:16	43:12,22 44:14	behalf 21:18
addressed 10:9	43:15,20	anybody 11:23	44:25 45:1,12	54:7
addressing 57:9	allotted 39:10	14:2 30:20	45:18,22	belief 60:11
adjoining 55:23	allow 50:13	apparently 20:4	averaging 45:21	believe 5:2 21:2
adjourn 56:17	allowed 5:12	27:6	avoid 5:3 36:7	25:5 28:9 52:3
56:18 58:21	18:14 31:2	appeals 28:5	avoiding 54:14	52:12 53:6
59:2	32:5 37:2 55:2	appears 26:2	aware 6:13	54:13
adjourned	allows 14:17	apply 10:15	awesome 58:6	Berger 2:1,21
59:12	15:1,2 35:21	appreciate 24:7	aye 5:11 18:13	3:3,15,20,25
adjourning 59:2	alternative	approach 23:13	31:1 32:4 55:1	4:4,16 5:7,15
adjustment 21:7	28:18 34:7	appropriate	59:7,8	5:22 6:1,3,23
admonishment	37:1,2	20:4,15	ayes 59:11	7:2,16,20,22
52:13	Amen 2:19,20	approved 3:2,4		8:6,10,19,25
adopt 48:20	amend 4:18 9:2	area 12:25,25	B	9:4 10:1,5 11:8
51:18,20	19:2 31:13	25:21 30:5,7,8	back 5:17 11:16	11:12 12:3,7,9
adopted 40:22	amendment	30:10	13:5 16:24	12:20 13:12,16
40:24 49:19	4:10,11,15,16	areas 20:7,22	17:1,22 18:19	13:19 14:5,8
52:20 53:8	4:21 5:8,10,11	27:7 29:5	20:1,5 28:4	14:11,14 15:24
advantage 26:11	5:12,17 8:24	argue 37:7 41:9	31:7 32:10	16:4,6 17:2,4,8
38:22	8:25 9:5 10:2,4	argued 15:5,6	34:13 36:19	17:10,25 18:2
advised 4:7	10:22 11:7,9	39:25	38:13 39:9	18:9,22,25
	11:11 12:4	arguing 41:24	42:3 47:1 48:8	19:4 22:7,11

<p>22:13,23 23:1 23:3,10,12,19 23:21 24:3,5 24:18,20 25:8 25:12 27:11,16 28:20,24 29:1 29:12,14,22,24 30:1,14,22 31:5,11,15 32:1,8,14,17 33:21 38:2,3,6 58:18,20 59:4 Bertie 32:23 best 13:10 60:11 better 9:17,23 36:2 Bev 42:14 44:5 44:23 Beverly 44:12 45:19 big 47:11 bill 3:22 4:1,2,19 5:10,17 8:21 9:3 18:12,18 18:18 19:3 30:25 31:6,8 31:14,25 32:3 32:10,12,16 38:4 54:21,25 55:6,8 59:14 binary 40:1 birth 34:3 Bishop 5:21,22 5:24 6:4,23,25 7:4,14,19,20 7:21,23 8:3 20:4,5 22:7,9 22:14,22,23,24 23:4,9,13,22 24:1,6,17,21 24:25 25:7 37:3 bit 11:16 23:8 black 51:17 52:16 53:18,21 53:23 54:1,3 blame 47:22,22 47:23</p>	<p>blaming 46:25 blissfully 8:3 block 50:19 51:13 Blue 50:12 55:12,13,15,17 59:6 Blue's 50:21 board 56:11,12 56:14 Bob 41:8 body 5:24 6:9 15:22 34:23,24 37:8 38:15 40:24 49:19 52:8 bogeyman 47:21 Book 2:9 border 20:11,25 39:2 boundaries 36:10 53:2 boundary 53:17 boy 10:13 Bragg 19:12 20:1,10,11,13 20:16,25 21:2 21:4 25:5,15 27:19,23 28:11 28:13 29:2,16 30:3,8,17,18 breaking 41:19 brief 58:1 bring 48:7 broad 28:6 broken 11:2 brothers 34:2 brought 8:12 Brown 12:5,6,10 12:22 13:14,15 13:20 14:3,5,7 28:22,23 29:2 29:7,11,15,21 29:22,23 30:2 30:13,14,16 Brunell 51:13 Buck 43:24 build 46:3</p>	<p>built 27:4 burden 50:3,8 Burg 44:20 Burr 43:11 Bush 38:16 business 3:11 55:10 58:16</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">C</p> <hr/> <p>C.R 55:21,24 56:19 calendar 3:12 Call 2:10 campaigned 47:18 candid 28:16 candidate 35:11 35:14 38:17 42:1 47:14 50:10,20 54:10 candidates 14:1 28:4 41:21,22 43:12 45:18 48:17 50:5 carefully 52:1 Carolina 1:1,3 1:14 32:19 34:8 38:15 39:1,7,13,19 40:2 41:25 42:6 46:1,13 47:9,13,17,18 48:8,10,14 50:24 52:24 57:11 58:8 59:17 60:2,21 Carolina's 47:5 47:25 50:1,6 carried 14:24,25 15:1 25:25 26:8 44:7 45:6 carry 43:10 carrying 26:10 case 15:17 21:13 35:16 47:19 49:4 53:16 cases 54:8 Caucus 51:17</p>	<p>cause 33:17 Cecil 41:18 certain 36:9 certainly 15:14 35:7,22,25 36:25 CERTIFICA... 60:1 certify 60:6,13 Chair 17:24 chaired 56:11 chairman 33:11 challenge 49:12 50:11 chamber 3:8 19:5 47:4 58:12 chambers 56:11 champions 58:8 change 5:4 10:20 21:21 31:21 46:20 changed 52:10 changes 9:10 31:19,23,24 46:7 changing 24:10 Chapter 2:9 character 57:7 Charlotte 37:6 37:11 Chauncy 58:22 59:3 choice 15:2 35:11,14 36:5 40:1 50:10,20 54:10 choices 36:2 chopped 38:24 Christ 2:19 church 55:22 cited 51:6 citizens 13:25 city 19:22 claim 10:14 48:20 claims 54:14 clarification</p>	<p>18:3 31:18 Clark 18:21,22 18:24 19:2,6,8 22:10,11,12,14 22:21 23:1,2 23:10,11,16,18 23:19,20,24 24:2,3,4,12,17 24:18,19,24 25:3 27:2,6,17 28:9,23,24,25 29:2,4,9,12,13 29:18,24,25 30:4 Clark's 25:16 27:19,25 clear 13:6 26:20 30:8 31:22 48:13 cleared 45:2 clearly 10:11 26:13 46:25 clerk 4:1,2,17,18 5:13 9:1,2 18:15 19:1,2 31:3,12,13 32:6 55:2 59:14 Clinton 14:21 14:24,25 43:18 44:8 47:17 close 2:2 46:2 closing 54:16 cluster 16:8,10 16:14,15,17,18 16:20 17:12 18:4,5 19:10 20:7 21:10 clustered 20:25 clustering 20:22 clusters 16:11 35:7 coastal 33:4 cohesively 50:17 54:10 colloquy 7:5 color 57:6 Columbus 44:18</p>
--	--	---	--	---

44:18,23 45:1 45:3 come 2:1 3:11 8:19 10:8,22 15:11 19:16 27:7 31:19 32:13 36:3 55:11 57:7 58:16 comes 35:1 36:9 coming 26:10,24 commend 15:10 comments 50:21 commissioned 50:23 committee 8:2 10:7 11:2 17:17 22:16 25:14 34:12 52:20 53:7 59:15,18 committee's 10:10 committees 52:7 common 20:8,23 33:7 commonalities 9:19 communities 9:19 20:6,12 28:10 community 50:15,17,19 54:11 compact 4:25 14:18 21:23 35:9 36:7 50:15 compactness 9:11 compare 42:17 comparison 11:19 compatible 32:24 compete 12:2 46:5 competed 48:3	competing 45:25 competition 14:18 15:2 competitive 12:13,15 21:15 26:2,5,9,11,13 27:9 28:1 35:11,13,19,21 36:5 37:2,19 37:20 38:7 42:5,8,20,21 43:15 44:25 45:7,9,17,20 48:2,6 compilation 6:16 7:24 complain 38:7 complete 51:2 complied 52:12 complies 53:9 54:18 comply 40:10,11 40:22 49:24 complying 40:7 53:4 concept 26:12 26:22 concerned 13:7 concerns 10:9 concluded 59:19 conclusion 49:10 configuration 15:12 16:9 configurations 35:5 configured 16:17 25:2 27:25 28:10 conform 20:22 33:13 confusion 5:3 connecting 20:17 consequently 49:20 conservative	33:1 47:6 consider 9:8 20:7 22:5 24:9 24:16 30:5 36:21 42:11 50:14 consideration 15:21 19:18 27:5 considerations 41:6 53:3 considered 15:21 34:18,23 34:23 52:1 considering 16:25 20:6 consistent 5:6 7:7 consistently 35:12 consists 19:11 constituents 28:6 56:2 constitution 36:12 39:10,13 39:25 40:2,3 48:10 constitutional 52:24 constructed 48:11 consultant 13:21 CONSULTING 1:23 contained 52:16 content 7:13 57:7 contentions 51:12 contiguity 52:23 continue 10:10 58:6 continued 46:21 continues 53:17 contradictory 53:3 contrary 11:2	11:14 51:12 control 39:21 Convention 56:16 conversation 6:15 34:11 conversations 6:19,21 7:11 7:12 Cook 32:14,16 32:18 46:22 Cooper 41:13,19 42:16,18,19,21 43:19,25 44:5 44:8,13,16 45:10,18,23 Cooper's 45:2 correct 2:25 18:7,8 23:6,15 24:24 29:10,18 30:3,4 34:13 36:19,20 60:11 corrected 49:17 counsel 60:13 counterparts 20:21 counties 32:23 33:6,7,14 38:23,24 39:2 39:5,9,13 40:7 40:15,21,23,25 41:1,2,4 42:5 42:11,13,13,15 42:16,18,18,19 42:21 46:1,4 47:25 48:3,12 54:20 country 28:14 40:17 41:16 57:8 county 2:5 11:1 12:11,13,17,25 17:14,14 19:24 20:10,19 28:15 29:3,6,8,10,16 29:17,20 30:3 30:6,9,11,17 30:19 32:19,20	33:1,11 36:11 37:1 39:3,6,11 39:22,24 40:1 42:9,24,25 43:1,13,14,15 43:17,21,22,23 44:2,3,4,8,10 44:11,15,17,18 44:19,24 45:3 45:6,7,8,10,12 45:13,15,16,17 46:6 48:12 49:22,22,25 50:6 52:24 53:14 55:23,25 60:3,6,20 couple 4:8 41:15 coupled 33:5 course 6:8 17:18 33:10 46:8,20 court 34:14,15 40:6 48:22,25 49:1,4,7,9,18 49:20 50:11 51:6,8,17 53:10,13,15 54:19 60:1 court's 49:15,24 52:1,2 courted 40:19 Courtesies 3:8 courts 13:24 17:21 26:25 33:14 36:24 37:20,21,23 39:24 52:13 Covington 51:5 52:2,8 54:8 create 13:21,24 35:19 36:4 40:14 41:3 created 6:16 37:11 creating 13:11 Creighton 6:7 13:9 21:9 24:22 criteria 10:11
---	---	---	--	--

<p>14:23 17:17,18 17:19 20:4 21:8 34:11,12 50:22,22 51:24 52:15,21 53:5 53:8 critical 51:7 cultural 47:5 Cumberland 19:10,24 20:9 28:14 29:3,8,9 29:16,20 30:3 30:11,17 55:25 current 9:15 currently 7:25 16:10 cycle 45:22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">D</p> <p>dais 3:10 Dalton 42:15 dashboards 53:12 54:6 data 11:18 15:19 24:10,16 53:1 53:11 date 57:1,3 dates 39:9 Davis 3:7 57:24 58:1,3 Dawson 44:24 day 57:4,20,21 60:16 days 34:6 46:16 57:20 deal 15:15 dealing 57:11 dear 58:11 death 33:18 56:1 debate 5:7 8:22 10:1 11:8 12:3 13:12 14:8 15:24 17:2 18:9,20 25:8 25:14 27:11 28:20 30:22 31:7 32:1,11 32:16 33:20</p>	<p>34:5 38:1 54:23 Deborah 43:18 decade's 46:7 decided 26:10 30:10 decision 14:1 39:12 40:5,9 40:17,20,23 49:3,4,8,23 50:25 51:5,18 51:19 decisions 36:6 41:5 51:7 decreases 9:16 9:16 defects 54:19 defend 32:18 defendant's 51:12 deficiency 36:20 define 54:8 deliberate 15:22 Democrat 16:21 18:6 26:23 41:25 42:1 44:7 45:9 47:13 48:8,9 Democratic 12:12,14,16,24 13:3,22 21:20 33:11 36:1 38:17 39:20 41:22 46:18,19 46:23 47:14 48:1,4,15 Democrats 10:21 26:14 35:18 36:25 38:7,19 40:22 41:12 42:4,7 42:11 43:1,10 43:14 44:1,3 44:14,24 45:6 45:12,16,20,22 45:25 46:9,11 46:13,17,25 47:4,4,9,10,17</p>	<p>54:7 Department 39:12 49:14 50:2,8 depending 10:18 28:4 depends 37:5 depth 15:15 desegregation 56:13 designed 35:8 designing 34:22 desk 56:8 detail 50:12 determine 35:4 determined 51:8 determining 51:7 develop 52:3 developed 17:17 devices 2:4 DIAL 1:24 dialogue 6:14,21 different 11:3 15:7 16:24 39:9 differently 5:2 7:9 35:8 dilute 33:2 dilution 54:15 DIRECT 1:24 directed 24:13 direction 24:22 25:3 60:10 disappeared 42:2 discretion 33:15 discriminatory 49:12 discussion 5:7 8:22 10:1 11:8 12:3 13:12 14:8 15:24 17:2 18:9,20 25:8 27:11 28:20 30:22 31:7 32:1,11 33:19 34:6</p>	<p>37:25 54:22 dispense 2:25 disseminate 6:18 disseminated 8:13 distinct 41:25 48:8 distinguished 56:6,14 distributed 15:20 distribution 9:18 district 5:3,4,4,5 5:5 9:9,20,25 10:11,16,17 11:21,23 12:14 12:15 15:8 16:12 17:21 19:13,14,25 20:2,3,17 21:3 21:3,6,7,15,21 21:22,23,25 22:15,18,20 24:14,25 25:6 25:6,16,16,24 26:8,8,23 27:3 27:20,21,24 28:1,2,7,9 29:17,19 30:11 30:19 32:22,22 33:5 37:15 39:1,7 46:24 48:25 49:5,20 50:14,16 51:15 53:14 54:1 districting 51:23 52:15 53:16 districts 5:1 9:14,24 10:13 11:3 12:11,16 13:22,25 14:18 14:19,22,23 15:10 19:11 21:1,11,12 28:3 34:17,22 35:5,7,19,22</p>	<p>35:24 36:5,6,8 36:22 37:2,5,9 37:10,19 38:9 38:25 39:8,14 39:16,18 40:9 40:10,11 48:5 48:11,23 49:13 50:25 51:12,21 52:5,16,18 53:13,20,23,25 54:3,9 59:16 divide 41:2,4 divided 38:23,23 39:6 40:20,23 40:24 divides 41:1 54:20 document 6:20 documents 6:16 7:9,12,24 doing 9:8 52:15 doors 2:2 double-bunk 9:13 13:11 doubled-bunk... 41:7 doubts 28:6,8 Dr 6:7 21:9 24:22 55:21 56:3,19 57:4 58:22 59:3 drafted 34:25 drafting 34:21 draw 11:5 26:3 34:16 35:21 49:5 50:25 51:20 54:12 drawers 41:1 drawing 39:14 40:8 49:12 50:14 51:11 52:5,17,21,22 drawn 10:11 11:16 18:7 25:25 26:7 27:21 35:22 36:16 46:11 48:17 50:16</p>
---	--	--	---	--

52:15 Dream 57:5 drew 10:15 drowned 33:1 Dukakis 47:15 duly 60:8 Dunyn 3:7	5:14 18:16 31:4 32:7 55:4 embarked 38:19 embodies 6:20 embrace 36:3 eminently 40:18 empty 27:22 ended 41:6 endorsements 47:16 enforce 39:24 engrossed 55:7 entered 51:3 entertaining 20:14 entire 16:14 40:17 environmenta... 47:12 equal 40:12 52:23 equation 36:21 error 49:8,16 especially 9:24 essentially 34:4 establish 51:13 established 34:14 35:2 37:16 European 41:16 evening 56:18 everybody 12:2 evidence 51:14 51:25 52:4,9 evident 40:18 exactly 18:8 examined 2:24 example 41:6 43:14 examples 42:25 exception 11:22 exclusive 46:12 exercise 33:15 exhausted 31:20 exhaustive 51:2 exist 11:1 exists 50:15 expand 50:20	expect 37:23 expected 6:9 expert 50:23 51:8 52:3 54:5 explain 4:20 9:5 19:6 31:16 explanation 9:22 extend 8:14 27:2 29:5 extended 3:8 extends 30:8 extension 23:4 23:14 extent 21:15 24:13 eyeball 10:13,15	55:25 federal 40:4,8 54:18 fell 50:3 fewer 54:20,21 field 27:22 filed 39:23 finally 33:24 find 25:22 26:7 35:3 56:25 finding 49:10 first 14:15 19:17 22:19 38:13 47:3 50:21 57:21 five 5:12 18:14 31:2 32:5 53:25 55:2 58:13 flip 28:3 floor 3:19,23 4:2 10:5 11:12 14:14 25:12 27:16 30:14 31:21 32:17 38:5 55:16 56:24 57:18 58:2 focus 25:5 folks 21:5 33:8 41:23 follow-up 17:3,7 17:24 22:23 24:17 29:11,23 followed 52:14 52:23 following 40:20 53:17 Folwell 44:22 force 41:4 55:25 Ford 3:7 Forest 43:24 44:21 form 39:6 60:9 former 41:7 47:16 59:2 forms 39:9 forsake 2:11	Fort 19:12 20:1 20:10,11,13,16 20:25 21:2,4 25:5,15 27:19 27:23 28:11,13 29:2,15 30:2,8 30:17,18 forth 4:15,16 8:24 18:24 20:5 23:17,22 23:25 27:18 28:4,18 31:10 31:20 58:23 60:8 fortune 55:21 forward 8:25 10:8 14:16 18:25 31:11,19 53:7 found 2:10,25 35:6 54:19 four 18:5 35:23 38:25 Fourth 31:22 fracturing 39:4 frame 57:10 frank 28:12 frankly 39:20 Friday 2:24 50:12 friend 55:19 friends 58:11 front 9:9 full 12:11 fully 53:9 54:13 funeralized 55:20 furnish 6:12 further 5:7 8:21 10:1 11:8 12:3 13:12 14:8 15:24 17:2 18:9,20 23:9 23:18 24:1 25:8 27:11 28:20 30:22 31:7 32:1,11 33:19 37:25
E		F		
earlier 16:22 early 42:3 56:1 easier 47:22 easily 6:17 Easley 42:14,14 43:16 44:6,13 45:19 east 23:4 44:18 eastern 33:4 easy 4:25 47:20 Edition 31:22 Edwards 55:21 55:24 56:3,19 58:22 59:3 effect 23:23 efficiency 34:13 efforts 56:13 eight 10:18 44:22 45:7,8 53:20 either 30:5 35:18 40:1 54:18 elaborate 50:22 Elaine 44:7 elect 15:4 21:12 24:14 40:12 48:15 50:5,9 54:9 elected 21:17,20 22:1 37:8,13 38:14 electing 50:20 election 11:25 53:1 59:17 elections 11:17 17:1 38:8 48:2 48:7 electronic 2:4		fact 11:22 15:20 17:16 19:20 20:25 21:17,25 26:6 30:10 34:12 39:5 40:3 factor 34:19,21 51:10,14 52:5 52:10,25 factors 50:13 failed 36:22 fails 18:18 31:6 fair 13:25 37:19 fairly 26:17 faith 49:11 fall 53:25 fallen 53:19 famous 57:4 far 13:7 14:17 14:18 20:15 47:11 54:20 57:8 favor 5:11 18:12 31:1 32:4 55:1 59:7 favorable 25:1 favors 26:21 Fayetteville 19:23 55:20,23		

54:22 55:10 57:12,13 58:15 58:16 60:13 future 21:13	given 27:4 37:6 37:20 52:2 gives 11:25 12:1 go 3:12 4:11 13:5 17:22 26:6 36:19 57:12 God 2:13 goes 20:18 41:11 going 4:8,10,23 4:24 8:14 21:6 25:1,15,21 26:15,16,21 35:2,22 48:6,7 56:12 58:9 good 15:9 26:23 33:17 37:19 Gore 38:17 gotten 11:5 37:4 governor 41:18 43:2,3,7,9,24 44:21 45:4,23 governor's 41:14,20 42:12 42:22 56:14 Graham 37:12 37:13 granted 3:6 46:12 great 15:14 greater 35:10 Greensboro 12:23,24 Greensboro's 53:17 Greenville 58:7 grew 55:23 grossly 39:16 grotesque 39:18 group 20:15,16 group's 50:9 grouping 33:14 40:14 52:24 groups 50:5 guess 10:14 13:20 14:4 24:12,15 25:14 34:2	guests 2:3,6 guidelines 11:2 Guilford 12:11 12:17,25 17:13 17:14 18:4 53:14 Gunn 16:17	H half 6:22 happen 57:23 happened 14:3 42:23 46:25 happening 41:23 happy 33:8 hard 48:1 harmonized 40:4 53:4,8 Harris 54:8 head 46:18 headline 46:16 46:18 hear 38:7 heard 24:9 41:9 hearing 5:9 18:11 26:12 30:24 32:2 54:24 58:16 held 22:18 help 57:22 hereinbefore 60:7 high 58:13 Hilary 47:17 Hillary 43:18 Hise 3:18 4:4,7 4:10,14,15,18 4:20,22 9:7 10:3,4,6 11:14 12:22 13:10 15:13 25:10,11 25:13 31:9,10 31:13,15,17 52:20 Hise's 53:7 historically 42:25	Hoke 19:10 29:6 29:17 30:6,9 30:19 hold 20:8 Holder 49:22 home 27:3 44:10 hopeful 11:4 hopefully 58:3 58:10 Horner 57:14,15 57:17,19 58:4 horses 20:19 house 3:24 20:20,21,23 21:1 23:15 37:9 46:15,16 46:18 55:8 56:4,5 58:24 59:14,14,17 housing 20:14 hug 58:13 Hunt 42:12,13 42:17 44:12	incumbency 17:16 35:1 36:15 53:1 incumbent 11:21 37:17 incumbents 9:13 11:25 13:11 14:2 18:5 36:15 indicated 5:19 21:24 individuals 17:12 information 6:7 6:14 7:24 13:9 52:19 inoperative 49:21 insignificance 33:3 instruction 43:4 43:6 insurance 43:9 intend 6:11 7:4 23:22 intended 23:24 38:21 intent 12:17,21 13:4,8,8,23,24 49:12 interest 20:6 22:15 28:11 33:2,7 interested 60:14 interesting 25:23 interests 20:7,12 20:13,23 47:11 internally 53:3 interpretation 49:7 inviabile 52:22 53:5 Iredell 38:24 ironic 56:25 Isaiah 2:9 issue 13:22 19:15 20:1
G gain 36:15 gains 36:18,18 Garrett 3:9 general 1:3 43:3 44:14 45:3 49:11 52:14 56:16 general's 42:20 generates 12:16 generation 57:3 gentleman 24:13 gentlemen 55:18 geographically 50:15 George 38:16 Georgia 39:2 gerrymander 12:17 36:14 37:23 38:9,12 38:21 41:10 42:22 48:14 49:2 51:8 53:9 54:13,17,18 gerrymandered 35:15 36:17 37:10 39:16 48:13 gerrymanderi... 15:6 16:23 39:4 46:8,8 47:1,20 48:20 57:12 gerrymanders 17:23 48:24 49:17 53:14 Gingles 50:13 50:21 51:10,14 52:4,10,25 give 13:4 15:13 30:10,12 35:16 58:13	I idea 20:22 identify 16:9 ignore 10:10 ignores 10:23 41:15 illegal 19:17 36:18 37:22 ills 57:9 important 11:6 27:9 34:8 48:24 49:23 54:5 57:20 importantly 40:14 improper 36:18 improved 15:12 in-common 20:12 incidentally 52:16 53:15 include 32:22 including 48:23 54:1				

21:4 26:25 issues 25:18	known 38:22	lines 23:8 46:24 48:12,16	50:16	27:15,17 33:23 33:23,24 34:1 53:11 56:20,21 56:23,25
<hr/> J <hr/>	<hr/> L <hr/>	linked 21:2	making 20:18	
Jackson 3:7	labor 43:4,6,8 47:11	listen 8:14	Malcolm 37:12 37:13,14	McKissock 7:2
Jamestown 10:25	Ladies 55:17	litigation 52:8	man 2:11 39:21	means 57:2 60:9
Jeff 3:7	laid 40:6,9	little 9:11 11:16 23:8 33:7,15 58:10,12	map 5:6,6 11:16 12:15 13:7,11 16:8 29:21 30:2 32:20,21 33:12 35:23 36:13 38:22 40:19,21,24,25 41:1,8,10,24 46:11 48:16,22 48:23 49:1 52:9,21,22 53:8,23,25 54:14,16,17,20	measured 30:7
Jesus 2:18	Lake 29:4	living 28:12	maps 4:25 10:14 35:15,21 36:16 38:8 47:22 49:20 50:3 51:6	mechanical 51:23
Jim 3:7 42:12,13 42:17 44:12	landmark 40:5	lobby 47:12		Mecklenburg 36:25
job 9:24 13:10	late 56:18 58:21	local 56:11		media 22:15 38:10
John 47:15	law 40:4,8 49:9 49:16 54:19	located 25:20		members 2:2,3 2:5 3:5,11 4:6 4:22 5:19 8:6 8:10,20,20 10:6 15:20 25:13 31:18 37:8 38:6 52:8 58:3 59:17
Johnson 44:21	lawsuit 39:23	location 23:14		members' 53:12
Josh 43:20 44:16	layout 20:9	Lon 41:17		memorandum 7:10
journal 2:24 3:1 3:3	Leader 41:8	look 10:13 11:18 12:22 13:2 14:22 16:7,8 20:9,23 25:20 25:24 26:18 28:17 30:6 34:2,21 56:7	march 57:4	memory 56:18 58:21 59:2
judgement 33:16	leading 2:4 33:1	looked 20:20 25:5	margin 14:25	men 58:10
judges 4:24	leaning 21:21	looking 4:24 10:19 12:15 23:25 26:15	marginally 14:25	mention 22:3 46:14 55:24
judging 57:6	leaves 3:5	Lord 2:9,12,16 2:16,18	Marshall 44:7	mercy 2:13
Justice 39:12 49:13 50:2,7	Lee 5:15	losing 47:24	Martin 32:22	Meredith 21:16 21:19 22:18 28:5
justified 51:11	left 47:11	losses 46:21	materials 8:11 8:13	Meredith's 25:16
justify 52:5	leg 35:17	lost 37:4 42:17 45:10,14 46:13	matter 19:20 26:6 30:9	merely 27:10
<hr/> K <hr/>	legislative 15:8 39:14 40:8 46:3,14 48:2,6 48:11,21 49:19 51:6,6,16 56:10	lot 10:13 20:12 34:5,5	McCroy 25:25 26:4 41:13,19 44:20	message 3:24 55:8 59:14
Karen 1:22 3:8 60:5,19	legislature 40:16 49:3 50:13,23	Lowe's 5:2	McDowell 39:3	messages 58:24
keep 22:17 40:7	legislature's 51:18,19,22	<hr/> M <hr/>	McInnis 33:22 34:1	method 40:7
keeping 40:14 47:1	Let's 26:22 42:24	Madison 42:25 43:1,10,13	McKissick 4:7 5:25 6:1,2,4,13 7:1,3,6,15,16 7:18,23 8:4,5 14:10,11,13,15 16:2,4,5,7,11 16:14 17:6,8,9 17:11,15,25 18:1,8 27:13	Michael 47:14
keeps 9:12,13	Lewis 59:15	main 25:5		midterms 46:17
kept 39:14	liberal 32:25	major 19:11 34:10 55:24		Mike 42:13,14 43:16 44:5,12 45:19
Kerry 47:15	liberalism 33:2	majority 29:7,9 34:24 44:4 46:4,10 50:18 51:21 52:16		military 26:16 26:18,19
King 57:4	Liberals 38:9	majority/min... 17:20 34:17		
knew 37:14	libertarian 41:17			
Knightdale 56:3	Lichtman 54:7			
know 4:6 10:7 13:6 14:20,21 17:19 25:4 30:16 34:1 36:23 37:3,12 57:1	lieutenant 43:2 43:7,24 44:20			
knowing 24:25 55:21	life 56:15			
knowledge 51:2 60:11	light 51:16,21			
	limit 50:4			
	limits 50:9			
	line 27:21			

<p>mind 36:17 mindful 51:22 mine 55:19 minority 49:5 50:4,9,15,17 50:19 51:11 54:11 minority/ 51:20 minus 26:4 mischief 41:3 missed 34:11 35:20 model 26:2 moderate 47:6 modification 19:12 23:7 modified 23:5 modify 19:10 moment 4:5 19:14 Mondale 47:15 Monday 1:15 motion 2:22 3:14,15 58:19 59:1 move 2:25 3:17 3:21 19:12 20:2 21:5 26:16 27:6 58:20 moved 25:22 56:1 movement 26:1 moves 4:18 9:2 19:2 23:7 31:13 32:21 multiple 40:13 municipal 53:2 53:17 municipalities 10:24 11:1,15 19:19,23 36:9 municipality 19:22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">N</p> <p>name 56:8 named 17:13</p>	<p>39:22 national 42:1 46:19 47:10,11 47:14 48:9 nationally 46:13 46:23 NC 38:22 39:17 near 2:10 nearly 43:17 necessarily 28:14 negated 37:24 negative 5:17 18:18 31:6 32:9 55:6 neither 2:15 60:13 never 13:22 new 23:14 27:3 32:21 46:24 48:20 49:18 53:25,25 54:1 54:2,14 newest 24:11 newly 16:16 News 46:16 Newton 43:25 nine 39:2 48:23 52:20 53:13 nonpartisan 46:22 norm 2:5 39:19 north 1:1,3,14 32:19 33:6 34:8 38:15,25 39:7,13,19 40:2 41:25 42:5 46:1,12 47:5,9,13,17 47:18,25 48:8 48:10,14 49:25 50:6,24 52:23 57:11 58:7,7 59:17 60:2,21 Northampton 32:23 northern 30:6 Notary 60:1,5</p>	<p>60:20,22 note 57:19 58:4 notice 21:22 notices 55:9,10 57:13 58:15 Nowadays 47:15 number 24:6 28:15,16 41:12 41:20 42:6,11 numbered 5:2 numbers 5:5 25:20 50:19 nutshell 22:3</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <p>o'clock 8:15,16 Obama 47:16 objected 51:18 51:19 objection 3:3,6 3:20,25 observation 55:19 Observer 46:16 obvious 42:24 occasional 46:2 occasionally 53:2 occur 53:15 occurred 6:19 31:23 occurrence 39:5 offer 7:4 offered 4:9 22:20 23:5 24:11 okay 14:7 Once 4:11 one-person 51:24 one-vote 51:24 ones 58:12 open 35:23,25 opportunity 10:8 11:25 12:2 13:4 15:4 35:10,20 36:14 36:24 37:20</p>	<p>50:4,9 opposed 5:11 18:13 19:13 20:2,17 21:3 31:1 32:4 40:21 55:1 59:9 order 2:1 8:19 49:24 52:1 53:10 ordered 3:20,25 40:19 original 5:1 17:20 39:10 outcome 15:7 16:25 60:14 outperformed 43:25 overwhelming 44:4</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <p>P 6:3 32:8 p.m 1:15 8:8,9 8:17,18 58:25 59:6,19 packages 15:18 Pamlico 2:5 pardon 2:14 part 15:21 16:19 17:13,14 27:22 33:4 36:21 37:8 particular 14:22 16:18,20 17:12 19:9,17 20:16 22:5 35:16 particularly 51:25 parties 16:10 46:23 parties' 48:17 partisan 38:22 parts 28:13 party 26:17,19 33:11 35:16,17 37:9 39:20 46:19,19 48:1</p>	<p>48:15 60:14 passage 3:22 5:10 18:12 30:25 32:3 54:25 passed 39:22 55:22 passes 5:17 32:10 55:6 Pat 25:25 26:3 41:13 44:20 Pate 2:21,23 32:13 33:19,24 37:25 38:5 54:22 55:5,13 55:16 56:21,24 57:13,15,18,24 58:2,15 59:1,9 59:11 pause 59:13 Pennsylvania 58:6 people 28:12 35:6,13 36:3 37:6 41:9 57:3 57:6 percent 9:16,17 9:17 14:25 26:8,10,11 29:19 37:4,15 38:17,18 41:14 41:18 43:11,12 43:13,17,18,19 43:19,20,23,24 44:1,6,8,9,14 44:16,19,19,20 44:21,22,23,24 44:25 45:1,2,3 45:5,12,13,13 45:18,19,19,20 45:22,23,24 46:23 49:7 51:1,11,20 53:18,19,21,22 53:24,25 54:2 54:4 percentage 26:1 26:1</p>
--	---	--	---	--

<p>percentages 13:3 Perdue 42:15 44:5,12,23 45:19 performed 45:23 Person 44:3,4 personage 42:1 personal 55:15 56:23 57:17 persuasively 15:5 pick 27:3,7 35:11,14 picked 38:10 pieces 39:1 Piedmont 44:3 place 6:21 16:23 60:7 placed 53:12 places 32:24 plaintiff 50:10 plaintiffs 52:7 54:7 plan 3:23 4:3 8:1,2 14:17 17:16,20 19:18 19:20,24 20:21 20:23 21:1,24 28:8 31:22 32:24 33:2 34:3 38:23 39:17 48:21 50:9 51:7 53:6 54:12 plans 34:7,24 50:1,7 plate 21:19 platform 48:17 please 2:3,6,16 32:13 57:23 plus 26:5 pod 32:25 33:9 33:13,16 Pods 33:15 point 12:11 25:17 26:1,1</p>	<p>33:3 55:15 56:23 points 10:18 38:16 45:10,23 polarized 50:24 51:10 polarizing 34:20 policy 33:13 51:22 political 11:6 16:10 24:9,16 33:18 36:4 41:6,10,25 46:22 48:8,14 48:19 54:17 politically 32:20 politicians 15:4 politics 47:24 polls 35:12 population 9:18 12:23 29:19 30:12 37:16 40:12 52:23 53:18 54:2 populations 49:6 51:1 52:17 53:21,24 54:3 portion 16:16,18 30:6,9 positions 36:16 positive 57:19 58:4 possible 5:25 21:12 36:10 post-Shelby 50:6 potential 11:4 28:3 51:15 54:14 power 2:18 10:20 47:21 powerful 47:10 pray 2:16 prayer 2:4 pre-cleared 49:13 precedents</p>	<p>49:19 precinct 24:10 precincts 36:7 54:21 preclearance 50:2,8 predicted 53:15 predominance 51:25 predominant 34:19 predominated 52:17 preempted 24:6 prefer 13:6 preferred 8:2 54:10 prepared 1:22 6:7 present 51:11 52:5,10 presented 17:20 37:1 52:9 preserve 38:21 president 2:7,23 3:16,17,21 4:22 5:21 7:14 7:15 9:6 10:6 11:13 12:19 14:10 18:21 19:8 22:24 25:13 31:17 38:3,16 43:11 43:16,23 45:21 47:16 55:12,17 56:16,17,20 57:14 58:20 presidential 17:1 47:14 pretty 12:12 22:3 48:13 prevail 28:7 previous 5:6 22:19 54:14,20 previously 5:19 16:23 23:6 25:2,25 26:7 53:20</p>	<p>primary 41:7 principles 41:5 52:22 53:10,16 prior 27:4 39:6 49:25 prioritizing 51:22 priority 17:19 privilege 55:15 56:23 57:17 pro-business 47:7 pro-education 47:7 pro-gun 47:7 pro-life 47:8 probably 26:16 28:13 39:19,20 problems 46:23 proceed 4:13 proceeding 8:8 8:9,17,18 59:13,19 60:6 60:8,15 PROCEEDIN... 1:9 process 31:23 40:14 47:22 51:4 prominent 44:15 promptly 38:19 proportional 41:16 proposed 9:9,10 16:8 20:21 21:1 32:19 33:9,12,16 38:8 40:25 41:9 48:5 50:3 52:9,21 prospectus 6:6 6:13 protection 53:1 protects 21:24 prove 50:3 51:9 51:10 52:25 proven 21:19</p>	<p>provide 6:9 provided 7:6 28:7 provides 51:24 proving 50:8 provision 39:13 40:2 provisions 36:11 39:24 40:16 public 43:3,6 52:7 60:5,20 publicly 38:11 purpose 3:13 4:14 5:22 6:23 7:17 8:23 10:3 10:16 11:10 12:5 13:14 14:12 16:1 17:4 18:22 22:7 25:10 27:13 28:22 31:9 32:14 33:25 38:2 56:21 57:15,24 purposes 18:3 31:18 pursuant 49:14 put 6:17 15:18 20:5 28:11 29:16 30:18 53:6 putting 47:1</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Q</p> <hr/> <p>quarter 46:5 question 5:9,25 6:25 7:19 12:6 13:15,17 14:6 14:20 16:3 17:3,24 18:11 22:9,19,25 23:9,18 24:1 28:23 30:24 32:2 54:24 questions 6:8 19:16 22:4 24:7 quick 55:19</p>
---	---	---	---	---

quit 33:10	rarely 44:11	31:22 32:20	26:4,17 35:17	24:1 34:7 42:6
quite 28:12,15 56:25	reaching 49:10	34:12 38:20	35:25 41:8,21	Rights 39:15
quote 22:16	read 2:8 4:1,17	41:3,5 48:21	43:12 48:5,15	40:3,10,11
46:19 49:8,9	9:1 19:1 22:14	50:1,7 51:4	Republicans	49:5,14,21
49:15 51:12,21	31:12	52:7,14,20	16:21 18:6	54:15
52:18 54:9	reading 3:1,22	53:6,10 59:18	22:17 26:21	rise 25:10 32:18
quoting 52:13	3:23 4:3 8:21	redrawing	38:9,14 41:11	55:18
	54:25 55:7	36:21	43:22 44:11	Robeson 45:12
R	realign 59:16	redrawn 11:24	46:9	45:13,15
R 58:22 59:3	realize 4:23	reduced 60:9	requested 3:5	Robinson 6:6
Rabin 3:13,14	really 6:20	referred 6:6	15:18 53:12	8:23,24 9:2,4,6
3:16,21	14:17 15:3	59:18	requests 52:6	11:10,11,13
race 10:12,19,19	17:22 21:2	referring 6:11	require 21:6	12:6,7,8,10,19
19:18 26:6	25:22 28:18	reflect 15:19	33:14	12:21 13:16,18
27:1 34:15,17	35:1,20 46:6	17:22 19:4	required 40:11	13:23 14:16
34:18,20 35:11	47:23	reflection 15:14	49:5	15:10 16:1,2,7
36:21 41:14,20	reason 27:20	registered 48:4	requirements	16:13 17:3,4,6
42:20,22 43:5	33:21 55:13	regrets 46:20	39:8 52:24	17:11,24 18:3
43:11,15,16	reasonable	reject 27:10	requires 48:10	Roche 1:22 3:9
44:13 45:2,4	37:19	rejection 52:2	requiring 39:13	60:5,19
45:17,21 46:3	reasons 26:24	relates 28:10	40:9	Rockingham
50:5,14 52:6	recall 24:8	relatively 39:5	reside 19:25	44:10,11,15,17
52:17 54:12	receipt 58:24	remains 21:15	respect 26:20	room 57:2
races 15:8 35:13	recess 4:12 5:20	remedies 54:13	36:10	Ross 43:18 44:8
42:5,9,12 43:2	8:7,7,14,15	54:19	respected 17:16	roughly 40:12
43:4 44:5,15	recessed 8:8,17	remember 6:11	49:16	row 47:2
44:25 45:8,15	recesses 5:24	reminded 57:10	response 7:7	Roy 41:13 42:16
racial 15:6	recognized 2:21	rendered 49:21	59:10	42:18,19,20
16:23 17:23	4:20 9:4 19:6	repeated 52:6	responsibility	43:19,25 44:5
25:18 37:10,22	31:15 33:25	Report 46:22	37:24 47:24	44:13,16 45:2
48:23 49:1,16	58:18	REPORTER	responsible	45:10,18
51:8,23,25	recollections 7:8	60:1	57:22	RUFFIN 1:23
53:1,9,13	recommend	Reporting 3:9	responsibly	rule 21:10 58:23
54:13,17 57:11	22:4	reports 51:9,13	37:23	ruled 37:21
racially 34:20	reconfiguring	52:3 54:5	rests 50:10	48:25 49:7
36:17 50:24	27:24	represent 17:14	result 36:16	53:13
51:9	reconvene 58:24	representation	46:7,24	rules 3:17
raise 25:17,18	59:4	17:13 41:16	resulted 7:12	ruling 48:22
25:19 26:25	reconvened 8:9	Representatives	49:16	49:15 51:17
Raleigh 1:14	8:18	46:15 56:4	results 15:9	run 4:11 12:1
56:2	record 5:13 6:18	59:15,18	40:17	38:11
ran 37:14 43:19	7:25 15:17,17	representing	return 2:12 8:20	running 28:5,5
47:3	15:19 18:15	16:18,19	Reverend 55:21	35:3,4,6 39:2
Randolph 18:4	19:4 31:3 32:6	represents	56:19 58:22	47:5 48:18
range 28:6 54:1	51:3 55:3	16:16	59:3	runs 4:11 20:18
ranging 53:21	recorded 60:8	Republican 13:1	review 36:25	rural 20:19
ranked 17:18	redistricting	21:12,16,25	reviewed 53:11	47:18
	3:23 4:3 8:1	24:15,23 25:1	right 9:20 20:24	ruse 26:15,22

<p>rush 47:15 Rutherford 43:22,23 44:2</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">S</p> <p>Sampson 38:24 45:6,6 Sanderson 2:5,7 save 24:8 51:24 Savior 2:18 saw 15:8 22:16 sayeth 2:15 saying 13:20 says 2:9 11:14 46:22 scheme 38:20 school 56:11,12 57:21 scrambling 58:9 Scripture 2:8 sea 33:2 seat 36:1 46:7 seats 2:3 8:20 12:2 35:23 41:12 46:14 56:7,9 second 3:23 4:3 secondary 53:2 seconded 59:6 secondly 19:18 seconds 5:12 18:14 31:2 32:5 55:2 secretary 43:6 Section 49:14,21 50:1 54:15 see 7:18 10:8,9 19:17 20:10,24 22:2 25:21 26:21,24 35:17 37:18 39:15,16 54:6 56:8 seeing 10:22 14:16 Seek 2:9 seeking 49:23 seen 14:23 15:7 16:24 36:13</p>	<p>47:13 SEN 2:1,7,21,23 3:3,14,15,16 3:20,21,25 4:4 4:15,16,22 5:7 5:15,21,22,24 6:1,2,3,4,13,23 6:25 7:2,3,4,6 7:14,15,16,18 7:20,21,22,23 8:3,5,6,10,19 8:24,25 9:4,6 10:1,4,5,6 11:8 11:11,12,13 12:3,6,7,8,9,10 12:19,20,21 13:12,15,16,18 13:19,20,23 14:3,5,7,8,10 14:11,13,14,15 15:24 16:2,4,5 16:6,7,11,13 16:14 17:2,3,4 17:6,8,9,10,11 17:15,24,25 18:1,2,3,8,9,21 18:22,24,25 19:4,8 22:7,9 22:11,12,13,14 22:21,22,23,24 23:1,2,3,4,9,10 23:11,12,13,16 23:18,19,20,21 23:22,24 24:1 24:3,4,5,6,12 24:17,18,19,20 24:21,24,25 25:3,7,8,11,12 25:13 27:11,15 27:16,17 28:20 28:23,24,25 29:1,2,4,7,9,11 29:12,13,14,15 29:18,21,22,23 29:24,25 30:1 30:2,4,13,14 30:16,22 31:5 31:10,11,15,17</p>	<p>32:1,8,14,16 32:17,18 33:19 33:23,24 34:1 37:25 38:3,5,6 54:22 55:5,12 55:13,15,16,17 56:20,21,23,24 56:25 57:13,14 57:15,17,18,19 57:24 58:1,2,3 58:15,20 59:1 59:9,11 Senate 1:1 2:1,4 2:20 3:12,22 3:22 4:1,2,23 5:9,10 8:7,15 8:19,21 9:9,20 12:16 13:22 18:11,12,18 19:11,13,13,21 19:25 20:2,3 20:17 21:3,3,6 21:7,11,11,14 21:22,24 22:17 24:14 25:6,6 29:19 30:11,24 30:25 31:8,18 31:21 32:3,3 32:10,11,19 33:10,12,13 34:8 38:6,8,14 38:20,23,25 39:7,8,17,21 40:19,21,24,25 41:7,10,13,21 43:5,9 46:10 46:15 47:3 48:22 54:24,25 55:6,11,18 56:5,6 58:17 58:21,23 59:1 59:8,10,11 senator 2:5,21 3:13,18 4:4,7,7 4:10,14,18,20 5:2,15,22,25 6:1,4,5,6,23,25 7:2,16,18,20</p>	<p>7:23 8:4,23 9:2 9:4,7 10:3,17 11:10,14 12:5 12:6,7,10,21 12:22 13:9,14 13:16 14:5,11 14:16 15:10,12 16:1,2,4,7,15 16:17,19 17:4 17:6,8,11,25 18:22 19:2,5,6 20:5 21:16,19 22:7,9,11,14 22:23 23:1,10 23:19 24:2,3 24:17,18 25:10 25:15,16 27:2 27:6,13,17,19 27:25 28:5,9 28:22,23,24 29:2,12,22,24 30:14 31:9,13 31:15 32:13,14 33:21,22,24 34:1 37:3 38:2 39:11 40:13 43:11 44:19 50:12,21 52:19 53:7,11 55:13 55:16 56:19,21 57:15,24 58:2 58:4,18,22 59:2,4,6,6 Senator's 9:24 senators 3:6 18:5 19:9 40:13 48:15 send 4:15,16 8:24,25 18:24 18:25 23:17,22 23:25 31:10,11 31:20 sense 27:18,23 38:11 sent 3:23 55:8 separate 9:14 48:9 separated 34:2</p>	<p>sergeant 2:2 3:10 serve 38:15 served 56:3,4,5 56:5,13,15 Services 3:9 serving 38:13 56:10 session 1:1 6:10 set 7:9,12 34:12 49:18 58:23 60:8 sets 28:18 setting 27:18 seven 45:7 severe 38:21 39:4 share 20:13 58:8 shared 47:5 sharp 21:16 shave 10:18 Shaw 41:8 Shelby 49:22,22 49:25 shift 26:23 shifts 46:6 short 8:10 58:5 showing 35:23 shows 35:12 sides 36:4 signals 46:20 significant 34:9 silence 2:3 similar 10:14 simplify 49:25 simply 11:7 13:4 41:2 single 35:16 40:12 43:10 sir 22:20 29:10 33:25 sit 56:7 sitting 34:13 situated 35:9 situation 32:21 six 45:8 six-county 32:25 skin 57:7</p>
---	--	---	---	--

<p>slew 43:1 slight 23:7 Smaller 38:23 solely 10:17 somewhat 28:1 sorry 29:23 33:22 51:19 sort 6:9 39:16 41:3 sorts 39:18 Southeast 58:7 southern 20:11 20:24 speak 10:4 11:11 14:13 25:11 27:15 30:13,15 34:3 38:4 speaker 25:18 speakers 8:14 special 3:24 47:10 55:8 specific 9:12,23 40:7 speech 57:5 spite 52:6 split 11:15,15 19:19,22 splits 10:24,25 54:20 splitting 10:23 36:7 spoke 50:12 spoken 41:24 sporting 20:14 Spring 29:4 squeaking 46:2 SRN-2 16:8 staff 3:18 stance 26:17,19 stand 2:6 3:1 standard 58:23 stands 3:4 8:7 8:15 59:12 state 3:15 25:22 35:13,15 36:11 38:8,20 39:7 39:15,21,24,25</p>	<p>39:25 40:3,6 40:19,21,24,25 41:13,21 42:23 46:4,10 47:3 48:3,7,13,22 50:3 54:18 56:16 57:8,21 58:7 60:2,6 state's 39:10 stated 59:4 statement 11:6 26:13 States 50:2 statewide 42:5,8 43:1,10,12,15 44:4,25 45:7 45:15,17,21 46:3 statistical 15:18 Stein 43:20 44:16 stereotype 60:9 step 4:4 Stephenson 39:22,23 40:5 40:9,20,23 stipulations 58:23 59:4 stop 9:20 straight 3:12 strategy 46:2 stretched 39:1 Strickland 49:4 49:8 striking 51:5 strong 26:17 51:13,25 52:4 strongest 40:15 strongly 14:24 32:25 51:17,19 52:12 struck 48:22 struggles 48:15 studies 50:24 51:3 study 34:20 studying 15:11 subject 50:1,7</p>	<p>58:22 59:3 submitted 8:1 19:20 54:6 substance 6:19 7:10 substantial 23:8 substantive 31:24 substitute 59:15 successfully 53:7 sufficient 50:19 sufficiently 51:9 suggested 15:13 summarized 7:13 summarizes 7:10 Summerfield 10:25 superintendent 43:3 superintendent 43:5,8 44:21 supervision 60:10 support 28:19 31:24 50:25 58:7 supporting 22:5 26:18 Supreme 40:6 48:21 49:1,4 49:18,20 sure 21:13,14,19 22:21 23:2 24:14 27:8 28:16,25 30:19 survey 35:2 suspended 3:17 sustaining 20:14 swept 47:21 system 40:8 41:17</p>	<p>take 2:3 4:12 5:19 8:6 11:22 21:18 26:22 29:15 42:24 46:10 47:23 taken 6:21 35:3 60:7 takes 30:18 talked 9:15 57:6 talking 13:21 target 11:21 51:20 targeted 10:17 11:24 targets 11:23 51:23 teacher 57:23 teen 55:22 tell 10:12 57:23 tends 13:1 terms 9:13,18 9:24 11:18,19 13:2,10 14:1 15:9 17:13 34:7,21 56:6 Terrell 45:16,17 test 10:13 thank 2:7,23 3:16 4:22 6:4 7:14 8:5 9:6 10:6 11:13 14:15 15:23 19:8 22:5,24 25:7,13 27:17 31:17 38:3,6 55:17 57:23 58:3,13,20 theme 38:10 thing 6:14,17 8:4 15:16 27:22 33:17 34:4 35:12 37:18 57:22 58:11 things 9:12,15 22:2 36:25 41:15 think 7:6 9:23</p>	<p>10:7 12:15 15:9,12 25:20 25:24 26:18,20 27:9 28:17 29:3,15 30:16 30:17,20 34:10 35:20 36:22 42:3 46:6 48:12,24 56:8 third 3:22 8:21 50:22 51:10,14 52:4,10,25 54:25 55:7 thought 15:13 24:7 thoughts 2:12 2:14,15,17,17 three 11:15 16:21 18:6 35:25 45:14 50:17 56:5 thrust 19:12 ticket 44:1 tie 41:20 tied 41:14 ties 41:19 Tillman 16:15 time 7:5 21:19 21:20 24:8 36:14 46:7 57:9 59:5 60:7 times 56:12 title 31:21 today 3:19 6:10 17:21 27:25 32:18 35:23 36:13 41:1 47:9 48:19 50:6 55:20 56:25 57:5,20 58:9 told 20:3 21:14 tonight 57:10 top 30:9 top-of-the-tic... 45:14 topography 35:24</p>
--	---	--	--	---

<p>total 27:18 touch 47:24 tough 57:20 tradition 53:10 traditional 41:5 52:15 53:16 training 29:5 30:5,8,10 transcript 1:9 60:12 treasurer 43:8 44:22 trend 46:12 Trial 49:7 trip 58:6 troops 20:14 true 51:20 60:11 truly 38:12 Trump 14:21 15:1 26:6,7,10 37:3 43:11,23 44:19 truth 48:1 try 10:19 36:9 36:20 trying 4:25 8:13 13:21 34:13 Tuesday 58:25 59:5 tumultuous 56:12 turned 14:3 twice 44:12,12 44:13 two 9:12 10:14 10:25 12:10,16 13:21 15:1 21:1,10 41:20 44:15 46:16 50:16,21,23 54:2 type 6:17 7:24 42:1 48:9 typically 50:18</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">U</p> <hr/> <p>U.S 39:12 43:5,9 46:14,15,17</p>	<p>48:21 49:4,18 unaddressed 52:11 unconstitutio... 37:22 53:20 unconstitutio... 34:16 understand 10:24 13:3 21:9 24:21 33:12 47:20 49:23 understanding 4:6 8:11 36:11 understood 6:8 7:8 25:7 38:11 undue 23:14 unfairly 50:4 unfortunate 36:23 unfortunately 34:10 36:13 uninvolved 8:3 unions 47:11 United 50:2 University 56:14 unrighteous 2:11 untenable 32:21 unwritten 21:9 urge 54:21 urging 33:10 use 20:4 26:15 26:22 52:21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">V</p> <hr/> <p>valid 28:17 values 47:5 Van 3:7 Vance 32:23 VAP 9:15 verses 2:8 version 21:23 23:5 24:11 versus 49:22 51:17 viable 37:1,1</p>	<p>46:1 violated 39:14 Voices 46:19 vote 5:11,12,13 5:14 11:7 12:23 13:5 18:13,14,15,16 28:13,14 31:1 31:2,3,4 32:4,5 32:6,7 37:4,6 41:14,18 44:2 54:21 55:1,1,3 55:4 voted 5:16 16:25 18:17 31:5 32:8 38:15 55:5,6 voter 36:8 voters 13:4 15:2 15:3 35:10 36:5,6 47:6,25 48:4,5 votes 41:22 43:20 50:17,18 voting 5:13 12:25 13:1,25 18:15 29:19 31:3 32:5 34:20 37:16 39:15 40:3,10 40:11 49:5,6 49:14,21 50:24 51:10 53:18,21 53:24 54:2,3 54:11,15 55:2 VTDs 20:11,16 20:24</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">W</p> <hr/> <p>Wade 9:25 16:19 Wade's 10:17 waiting 4:12 8:11 Wake 60:3,20 Walter 42:15 44:24 47:15 wander 33:17</p>	<p>want 13:5 15:3,3 15:10 19:15 20:2 21:13,14 22:2 27:7,17 28:11 30:20 31:20 35:13,14 35:15,17 37:18 50:22 55:24 58:8 wanted 22:17 55:18 wants 27:7 Warren 32:23 Washington 57:4 wasn't 47:19 way 2:11 14:4 16:25 17:19,19 19:16 27:21,24 28:10 30:8 34:16 35:10,18 35:21 36:3,19 36:19 48:16 57:22 60:14 ways 2:15,15,16 2:17 we'll 3:12 4:11 4:13 we're 4:9,23,25 8:13,14 10:22 20:6,18 26:15 26:16,21 31:22 48:19,20 57:10 58:9 we've 26:9,12 27:5 31:20 34:5,5 35:20 36:13 37:24 57:7 58:9 Wednesday 58:11 week 6:22 7:5,7 9:7,22 14:20 34:6 weekend 15:14 58:5 well-lived 56:15 went 15:15</p>	<p>44:12,19,20 weren't 35:6 Wesley 22:18 west 33:6 42:25 western 38:25 whatsoever 27:23 28:8 white 46:15 50:18 wicked 2:11 wife 33:9 win 24:23 26:14 46:2 wind 31:19 winning 44:1 wins 42:8,9 wiped 46:17 wise 29:15 won 14:21 37:9 37:16 42:4,11 42:12,13,14,14 42:15,16,16,18 42:19,21 43:1 43:2,4,5,8,11 43:11,15,17,18 43:18,19,24 44:3,8,9,11,16 44:16,23 45:3 45:4,8,10,16 45:18,20 word 38:12 work 15:11 58:10 working 24:13 36:4 worse 45:23 wouldn't 47:13 wound 39:1 written 3:2,4 60:9 wrong 36:20 37:22 WWW.RUFF... 1:25</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">X</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Y</p> <hr/> <p>y'all 30:10</p>
--	--	---	--	---

<p>ye 2:10 yeah 24:15 year 37:7 38:13 38:15 years 33:5,10,18 44:23 55:22 56:3 57:5 yield 6:1,2 7:2,3 7:20 12:7 13:16 16:4 17:8,9,25 22:11,12 23:1 23:10,11,19,20 24:3,4,18,19 28:24 29:12,13 29:24,25 yields 6:3 7:22 12:9 13:19 16:6 17:10 18:2 22:13 23:3,12,21 24:5,20 29:1 29:14 30:1 young 58:10</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Z</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">0</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p>1 32:22 1.3 14:25 1.7 26:8 10 31:16 32:2,3 32:9 41:2 100 46:4 47:25 48:3 12 18:17 31:5 40:23 41:1 13 38:16 15 38:14 55:6 56:7,9 150 33:5 16 40:20 17 45:10 46:22 56:2 1776 39:10 19 19:11,14,25 20:3,17 21:3</p>	<p>21:15,25 22:18 24:14 25:6,24 40:24 1963 57:3 1981 39:12 1982 39:6 1990s 42:3 44:10 1992 42:6,12,12 1996 42:13,18 1C 38:23 39:17</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <hr/> <p>2 25:25 26:4 41:18 54:15 58:25 59:6 2.5 26:1,5 2.7 26:11 20 41:2 45:25 56:7,9 2000 42:7,14,20 43:2,16 44:5,6 45:1,2,8,13,16 2000s 42:4 44:11 2001 38:13 39:17,23 45:24 2002 40:5,19 41:8 43:4 44:13 2003 11:18,20 13:5 40:21 2004 42:14 43:5 43:17 44:5,24 45:9,13,20 2006 45:4 2008 42:15 43:7 44:5,22 45:9 45:14 2009 39:23 2010 11:17 42:7 46:10,14,17 47:22 2011 11:24 16:24 40:23 48:22 49:1,3 50:23 51:5 52:2 53:23 2012 42:9,15 46:21</p>	<p>2014 42:10 46:21 51:16 201519800020 60:22 2016 15:19 17:1 25:24 41:21 42:10,16,19,21 43:9,17,23 44:6,14,18 45:11,14,22,24 46:21 47:18 2017 1:15 2:24 3:4,22 4:2 19:20,24 21:24 31:21 40:25 58:25 60:16 21 19:11,13 20:2 21:3,6,7,23 22:16,20 24:11 25:6 29:20 30:11 23 42:16 24 43:18 24.1 58:23 25 2:24 3:4 43:18 25,000 21:5 252-243-9000 1:24 26 43:19 26.5 53:24 27 9:20,24 42:17 48:5 28 1:15 9:9,20 9:25 12:24 13:3 37:15 42:16,18,21 28th 57:1 60:16 29 5:4,4 58:25 29th 59:5</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <hr/> <p>3 32:22 30 42:8,9 45:25 48:4 54:3 31 42:10 43:19 55:5 32 5:4,4 42:10</p>	<p>44:1 32.9 53:21 33 18:17 45:23 34 31:6 43:20 35 42:8,9 35-15 38:22 36 42:9 38 44:14 39 44:16</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <hr/> <p>40 44:8 45:4 54:2 41 45:11,24 43 9:17 38:17 44:9 53:24 44 5:16 37:4 45 9:17 46 32:8 47.37 26:10 48 45:22 48.3 26:4 48.5 53:22 49 41:14</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <hr/> <p>5 49:14,21 50:1 5:00 1:15 5:30 8:8 5:40 5:20 5:45 8:7,7 5:47 8:9 5:48 8:17 50 42:4 49:7 51:1,11,20 53:18 50-plus 41:4 50.5 53:19 500,000 41:22 50s 56:1 51 38:23 40:21 51.71 26:8 52 9:16 52.63 25:25 54 42:7 57:5 55 2:9 42:4 43:13 44:21 56 38:17 42:6,7 44:22</p>	<p>56.5 53:19 57 43:12 44:6 58 43:17 44:20 45:10 59 44:19</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">6</p> <hr/> <p>6 8:15,16 6:16 8:18 60 42:15 43:11 44:19 62 45:21 63 42:19 44:24 44:25 65 42:14 44:23 67 45:3,13 68 45:1,13 69 42:12 691 3:22 4:1,2 5:10 8:21 18:12,19 30:25 31:8 32:3,10 32:12 54:25 55:6</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">7</p> <hr/> <p>7 5:8,10,17 7:25 59:19 70 42:14 43:22 43:25 45:2 71 43:24 45:18 72 43:24 73 42:13 45:12 45:19 74 45:18,19 75 29:18 47:25</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">8</p> <hr/> <p>8 10:2 11:9 12:4 13:13 14:9 15:25 18:10,12 18:18</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">9</p> <hr/> <p>9 25:9 27:12 28:21 30:15,23 30:25 31:6 900 46:13 927 59:15</p>
--	---	---	---	---

9642:6				
--------	--	--	--	--