

Affirmative

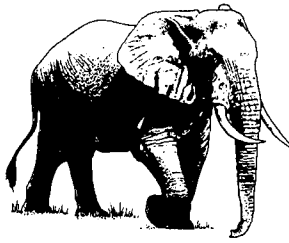
Edward R. Jagels

ORANGE COUNTY D.A. Mike Capizzi's speeches aren't going to make anyone forget Winston Churchill. Come to think of it, they're not even going to make anyone forget Bob Dole. His style is measured, controlled, legalistic, and — yes — downright boring. No audience at a Capizzi fundraiser will ever swarm out into the street ready to do battle with evildoers, galvanized by the force of the prosecutor's rhetoric.

Yet, it is precisely Capizzi's careful, calm, and cautious approach to public safety issues that has made him the standard bearer for law-and-order conservatives in his campaign for attorney general. Months before the primary, over three fourths of California's elected District Attorneys (including a large number of Democrats), and almost half the Sheriffs, have already endorsed Capizzi. While some no doubt are at least partially motivated by distaste for his likely opponent, ultra-liberal Senator Bill Lockyer, law enforcement's overwhelming support for Capizzi is a clear indication that he is perceived as an able and honest professional.

Capizzi's stature with law enforcement is no accident. He has "earned his stripes" over the last 30 years, trying tough cases, fashioning innovative programs, and building the Orange County D.A.'s Office into a nationally-respected prosecutorial agency.

Ed Jagels is the Kern County District Attorney. In 1990, he co-authored and acted as campaign chairman for the Crime Victim Justice Reform Act (Proposition 115), which streamlined California's criminal justice system and reversed numerous Bird Court decisions.



A
California Political Review
Debate

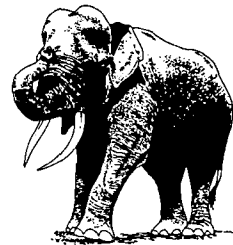
Resolved:

Michael Capizzi

has been a good Orange County
District Attorney.

Negative

Leon McKinney



HERE'S ORANGE County District Attorney Michael Capizzi two years ago, responding to accusations that his prosecutions of Assemblyman Scott Baugh and others involved in the 1995 special election that recalled Doris Allen and replaced her with Baugh were selective and motivated by Capizzi's personal political ambitions: "A cornerstone of democracy is public confidence in the electoral system. In this regard, a prosecutor's duty is to vigorously enforce the law in general and in particular as it applies to assure honest elections" because "Orange County is not Chicago." Also, "We don't concern ourselves with the political ramifications of what we do. We simply react to the conduct of others. If people commit criminal acts we're going to respond."

Now, here's Capizzi after clos-

Leon McKinney is a long-time observer of and writer on Orange County politics.

ing his investigation of *Hermanidad Mexicana Nacional's* Santa Ana chapter and its leader, Nativo V. Lopez, for possible conspiracy to commit voter fraud and other felonies during the 1996 Dornan-Sanchez 46th Congressional District election: "*Que sera, sera.*" Orange County isn't Chicago; it's Mexico City. And I want to make sure Hispanics consider me their friend as I run for attorney general." Okay, okay, Capizzi never really said that as far as I know. But, judging by his handling of *Hermanidad*, I wouldn't be surprised if that's what he thinks.

Capizzi's claims that his prosecutions are impartial, apolitical, and driven by his passion for "honest elections" are echoed by James P. Fox, San Mateo County DA and former California District Attorneys Association president. "It is clear," Fox wrote to the *Orange County Register* in April 1996, "that for a number of years there has been a 'single standard' in political

Jagels

No portion of the district attorney's mission is more frustrating than welfare fraud prosecution. Overworked D.A.s traditionally have tended to give the area short shrift, believing that the resources dedicated to such cases are better directed at "more serious" crime and that "the judges won't give welfare cheats any jail time anyway." Mike Capizzi didn't accept that view. His response to the problem has made Orange County a model "welfare fraud" county, repeatedly studied by other jurisdictions.

Capizzi helped create and later greatly expanded the county's Early Detection Program. Rather than passively wait for the occasional welfare fraud case to be brought to him, Capizzi assigned investigators to review thousands

of welfare applications which appeared in any way suspect. About 70 percent turned out to be fraudulent. While the program still includes a prosecution component, the main purpose is to detect and deny applications of people who aren't entitled to welfare benefits. In 1996, the program saved the taxpayers over \$87 million.

Capizzi has also been tough on violent crime. The TARGET program, a combined prosecution, police and probation effort, was created by Capizzi and others to smash the gangs in the City of Westminster. In two years, serious gang-related crime declined by 67 percent. The program was so successful the Board of Supervisors provided funds for its expansion to six other cities.

Perhaps the pinnacle of any lawyer's career is the opportunity to argue a case before the United

States Supreme Court. Only a handful of attorneys have ever done so. Capizzi is a member of that elite group. He wrote the briefs and successfully argued and won two cases of immense importance to the administration of justice, and perhaps even to our society's quality of life.

IN *MILLER V. CALIFORNIA*, the issue before the Court was whether a nationwide "lowest common denominator" standard for obscenity must apply, or whether, on the other hand, local community standards could be used to determine what is obscene. The answer to this question would determine what kind of material could be proscribed as pornography. The case was of seminal importance in any effort to inhibit the gradual coarsening of our lives which an avalanche of por-

McKinney

corruption cases in Orange County: vigorous prosecution of anyone who violates the law, based upon facts and law. No consideration is given for politics." Is that so? Let's look at Capizzi's record.

In 1993, Capizzi sat on complaints that the Tustin Unified School District and other districts were violating the state education code and the 1974 Political Reform Act by campaigning against Proposition 174 using school resources and during class. Although the complaint was filed on September 29, 1993, amid substantial press coverage of the allegations, the D.A.'s office ignored it until November 17, conveniently after the election was over and 174 had been defeated.

In 1994, Fullerton City Clerk Ann York refused to order a special

election that would have forced several city council members (friends of hers) who'd just been recalled for raising taxes to vacate their seats. Recall supporters say after Capizzi ignored the complaint they'd filed they went to court, where the judge directed the clerk to call the election. Capizzi claims he took no action because his office was never contacted. However, the *Orange County Register* ran articles and editorials about the Fullerton recall being thwarted by York. Why would a D.A. so vehement about "honest elections" wait for someone to file a complaint?

COMPARE THOSE TWO episodes involving the liberal government establishment — where Capizzi yawned — with his investigations of Baugh and other conservatives. Here, according to his friend, liberal Republican political consultant Ei-

leen Padberg, Capizzi started the Baugh investigation because "the *LA Times* was investigating it so aggressively that he had to take a look at it." When the county grand jury refused to indict Baugh in 1995, Capizzi didn't give up as he did later with Hermandad; he empanelled a new grand jury in 1996 to get a 22-count indictment against Baugh. Orange County Judge James Smith threw out the indictment in September 1996, saying Capizzi had "destroyed the independence of," "misled," and "improperly used" the grand jury. Among other acts, Capizzi withheld exculpatory evidence that tended to clear Baugh and directed the grand jury to investigate *Register* reporter Jean Pasco's opinions of his prosecutions. Capizzi then refiled charges directly against Baugh. Another judge then threw out many of the charges again.

I was told by some of Capizzi's

Jagels

nography inevitably brings.

Capizzi successfully argued that, within certain limits, local jurisdictions have the right to impose consensus standards in defining obscenity and the right to criminalize the dissemination of material so defined. A loss could have meant that the attitudes of West Hollywood or San Francisco's North Beach would set obscenity standards for our neighborhoods.

Capizzi also personally argued and won the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case of *Hicks v. Feiock*, which was a watershed event for those charged with enforcing child support obligations. In California, the district attorney has that responsibility. At Capizzi's urging, the Supreme Court reversed a California appellate

court and held that in child support civil contempt actions, the defendant (the non-paying parent) rather than the district attorney has the burden of proving his or

There is nothing illegal about setting up a "straw man" candidate, but there is plenty illegal about lying about the source of a campaign contribution.

her means, or lack thereof, to pay child support. This seemingly arcane ruling about who has the burden of proof has important ramifications. A parent can be jailed for contempt in such cases only if

it can be shown that his or her failure to pay child support is willful. Usually the district attorney has little information about the defendant's ability to pay; the defendant, on the other hand, always knows. Had the appellate court ruling stood, it would have made it virtually impossible to collect child support through the use of contempt proceedings. As a result of the *Feiock* decision, thousands of California's children are better off and millions of dollars in welfare payments have been saved. Capizzi's early appreciation of the significance of the case, and his willingness to take on what many perceived as a lost cause, has made a tremendous difference.

Given Capizzi's accomplishments, you might wonder why we are debating his record in the pages of a journal of conservative

McKinney

targets in the Baugh case that investigators told them Capizzi would "be glad to trade an assemblyman for a congressman [Rohrabacher] or a speaker [Pringle]." Baugh told me Capizzi's prosecution of him, his Huntington Beach district office chief of staff Maureen Werft, Representative Dana Rohrabacher's campaign manager and fiancée Rhonda Carmony, along with his prosecution of two Orange County supervisors and other county officials in connection with the 1994 county bankruptcy were designed to provide cover for his having failed to investigate and prevent the bankruptcy — Capizzi ignored a 1993 audit of county investments that indicated county treasurer Citron's schemes were dangerous and rebutted John Moorlach's warnings

in the summer and fall of 1994 — and to enhance his statewide name recognition. "No consideration is given for politics"?

CONTRAST CAPIZZI'S hell-for-leather prosecution of Werft with his "oh well" attitude toward Hermandad. Capizzi filed *felony* charges against Werft in March 1996 for having registered to vote and having voted in Orange County while working in Sacramento for the summer of 1995. Supporters of Werft found more than 100 individuals in Werft's district apparently illegally registered at business addresses. Discussing this with county registrar staff, they learned former Registrar Don Tanney had informed Capizzi of hundreds of such violations county-wide, but that Capizzi had done nothing. Tanney acknowledged to me that he had referred "20 to 50"

cases of illegal voter registration and voting to Capizzi and that to his knowledge Capizzi had indeed taken *no action*. Werft ended up pleading guilty to misdemeanors and filed for bankruptcy.

By now, the numbers involved in the Dornan-Sanchez election contest are well known: 748 people were positively identified by the U.S. House investigation as having illegally voted in the 46th Congressional District election. "Circumstantial" evidence indicated another 196 had also voted illegally. According to INS records, only 156 of the 1,278 Orange County residents registered by *Hermandad* prior to November 1996 were confirmed as legal voters.

Hermandad was proven to have offered money and prizes (a new car) for registering and voting through *Hermandad*. Dornan foe Michael Farber, according to published reports, allegedly bragged of

opinion. There is a simple two-word answer: Scott Baugh. Capizzi is prosecuting Republican Assemblyman Baugh and several others for campaign law violations. This effort has infuriated some highly partisan and very influential Republicans who accuse Capizzi of "grandstanding" and currying favor with Democrats. Baugh is innocent, they argue, and even if he isn't, Capizzi's reaction has been disproportionate. The violations are "minor" and should be settled by the FPPC.

THUS FAR, four defendants have pleaded guilty to misdemeanors involving signature gathering. Baugh is set for trial. He is accused of concealing a \$1,000 contribution from Laurie Campbell, a Democrat whom his staff allegedly later set

up to run in the same special election in which Baugh himself was running. (It was believed that her presence was necessary to split the Democrat vote and insure a Baugh victory.)

If the press and public knew about the contribution, the nature of the scheme would have been obvious and Baugh's chances adversely affected. So Baugh allegedly reported that the contribution, the existence of which could not be hidden, was a loan from him to his own campaign.

There is nothing illegal about setting up a "straw man" candidate, but there is plenty illegal about lying about the source of a campaign contribution. In fact, this sort of evasion is exactly what the Political Reform Act, which Capizzi has a duty to enforce, was designed to prevent.

Ironically, most of the pol-

iticians whom Capizzi has prosecuted in the past — Assemblyman Bruce Young, Mayor James Wilson, former Orange County Treasurer Robert Citron, Supervisor Robert Battin, kingmaker Louis Cella — have been Democrats. Only now is he being subjected to criticism for a "political" prosecution. Mike Capizzi is doing his job the way we conservatives expect it to be done. He ought to be allowed to do it without carping by his natural allies.

Rebuttal: McKinney

So Michael Capizzi has lowered the boom on deadbeat dads, gangster homeboys, porn purveyors, and welfare cheats. One cheer for Mike Capizzi. I think he would have

hiding *Hermandad* files from D.A. investigators. Nativo Lopez predicted for more than a year he would be indicted, saying, "mistakes may have been made." Sanchez campaign manager John Shallman stated in sworn testimony to Congress that Lopez asked for money in exchange for persuading voters to cast ballots for Sanchez. Lopez's wife and another *Hermandad* employee refused to be interviewed by investigators and fled to Mexico. According to Capizzi the pair illegally registered 632 non-citizens. Other *Hermandad* staff members also refused to be interviewed. Many of the people *Hermandad* had registered claimed to speak no English and flashed little cards in the faces of investigators declaring they were invoking their Fifth Amendment rights against self-incrimination.

With all this Capizzi failed to get indictments and then, unlike in

Baugh's case, declined to file charges directly. How many more illegal votes would have been uncovered had Capizzi pursued *Hermandad* as zealously as he did the county supervisors, Baugh, Werft, and Car-

Capizzi withheld exculpatory evidence that tended to clear Baugh and directed the grand jury to investigate Register reporter Jean Pasco.

mony?

Government school employees get to use taxpayer dollars to campaign. City clerks can nullify elections. Both Capizzi and the county supervisors fail to watch over our

tax monies, but only the supervisors get prosecuted. An assemblyman is hounded to get "a congressman or a speaker." Maureen Werft, bankrupted, was forced to plea bargain for the crime of registering and voting one time in her home district, while Hispanic activists get off scot-free for registering hundreds of non-citizens. It is illegal for Capizzi willfully to choose to prosecute some cases but not others solely due to his personal political reasons. He's been an appalling district attorney.

Rebuttal: Jagels

What is most illuminating about Mr. McKinney's argument is what he *doesn't* talk about! On the resolution: Resolved that Michael Capizzi has been a good Orange County District Attorney, Mr.

McKinney

served taxpayers better by reading former Orange County Auditor-Controller Steve Lewis's August 1993 audit, which raised suspicions about Bob "Vegas" Citron's investment schemes. Instead, Capizzi denied in Court ever receiving the audit (strange, all seven supervisors received it, as did the media and numerous citizens, including me). He then attempted to prosecute Lewis and two county supervisors, charging they had failed to act on the information in the audit. But California's Fourth District Appellate Court removed Capizzi from the case, recusing him after finding that the D.A.'s office had received the audit and that the prosecution should not proceed in the hands of a man whose *own* failure to act on the in-

formation gave him a strong incentive to lay blame elsewhere.

Now, on Scott Baugh: Attorney Dana Reed, a leading expert on the Political Reform Act, tells anyone who'll listen that investigating Baugh and Campbell was the FPPC's responsibility until it uncovered criminal acts. "Only in Orange County do we have a D.A. who appears obsessed with PRA violations," Reed told reporters.

Capizzi's prosecution of Baugh involved severe abuses of his office. On December 22, 1995, seven armed D.A. investigators raided Baugh's house, refused to allow him to get dressed, assaulted him, and tried to take his camera when he took pictures of them. Capizzi denied everything until a witness confirmed the struggle, then Capizzi claimed his thugs had politely asked for the camera and that an

investigator had merely "bumped" Baugh.

The raid occurred right after Baugh's supporters filed a complaint against Capizzi himself for committing the *same* election code violations on his, Capizzi's, own nomination papers for which the D.A. was busy prosecuting Rhonda Carmony. Capizzi released his 22-count indictment against Baugh five days before Baugh's March 26, 1996, primary, after many press leaks — a gross violation of the prosecutors' code of conduct which says prosecutors should bend over backwards to avoid even *appearing* to influence elections.

IN SEPTEMBER 1996, Superior Court Judge James Smith threw out the substance of Capizzi's Baugh indictment. The judge said Capizzi had "misled," "im-

Jagels

McKinney ignores 69,000 prosecutions a year, thousands of dangerous felons sent to state prison, hundreds of difficult jury trials successfully prosecuted, a crime rate down 35 percent, child support collections up 30 percent, a statewide influence on legislation and training.

NO, MR. MCKINNEY instead cites *five* cases in which either Republicans were defendants or Democrats in his view were not harried with sufficient ardor.

This tendency to judge a district attorney by political criteria, rather than the manner in which he or she conducts the meat-and-potatoes public safety aspects of the job, is worrisome, because it portends a time when the election of

prosecutors may be decided on partisan considerations irrelevant to competence. But, this a rebuttal, so I better get to rebutting:

1. *Maureen Werft* — Ms. Werft, who later became Scott Baugh's chief of staff, had lived in Sacramento for more than a year when she volunteered to work on the Doris Allen recall and the Baugh campaign. She continued to live in Sacramento, commuting to Orange County on weekends. In order to be able to vote for Baugh, she registered at an acquaintance's apartment, which she had never even visited. She then voted. That's illegal, as even Mr. McKinney must concede. Ms. Werft pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor.

2. *Scott Baugh* — Contrary to Mr. McKinney's assertion, the 1995 grand jury was *never asked* to indict Mr. Baugh. It merely aided in the

investigation by taking the testimony of a few witnesses shortly before its term ended. The indictment of Baugh by the 1996 grand jury was quashed by Judge Smith because of a so-called *Johnson* error. The ruling was based on a highly arcane legal point, having nothing to do with Baugh's guilt or innocence.

There is an interesting (and amusing) sidelight to the Baugh case. Remember the "straw man" candidate, Laurie Campbell? The "real" Democrat, whose vote the Baugh forces sought to split, was Linda Moulton-Patterson. She turned in signatures on her nomination papers which she claimed she had personally collected, but hadn't. She was reported to the D.A. by none other than Mr. McKinney. And Capizzi prosecuted her, obtaining a stiffer sentence than Ms. Werft got. Funny, Mr. McKinney apparently doesn't think Capizzi's

properly used," and "destroyed the independence of" the grand jury. The D.A. withheld evidence that cleared Baugh: several dozen statements by Baugh's treasurer, Dan Traxler, that established that *Traxler* was responsible for falsifying Baugh's campaign reports, that he had assured Baugh the reports were correct, and had urged him to "go ahead and sign." Baugh had no knowledge of the reporting errors. Thus, as Judge Smith said, Traxler's grand jury testimony, sanitized by Capizzi to include only what appeared to implicate Baugh, "had no credibility." Also, the prosecutors and the grand jury foreman nine times illegally refused to permit one witness, James Righimer, to leave the room to confer with his attorney. George Kennedy, president of the California District Attorneys Association, asked for the transcript of Ri-

gheimer's interrogation to use as an example of what *not* to do.

Capizzi's response to Judge Smith? Have Assistant D.A. Brent Romney "hint" broadly, in private, to the judge that an embarrassing episode involving Smith's wife might be disclosed *unless Smith recused himself*. When Smith refused to be bullied, Capizzi refiled charges directly against Baugh.

Baugh offered to plead guilty to the *misdemeanor* of *unintentionally* filing incorrect campaign reports. But Capizzi demanded a guilty plea to *intentionally* filing them — a felony that would deprive Baugh of his Assembly seat and his law license. What kind of D.A. not only suppresses evidence showing clearly that not Baugh, but his treasurer, is responsible for reporting errors, but goes even further, continuing to hound Baugh regardless of the evidence? One kind would be a

D.A. running for Attorney General *and* disinclined to let the mere innocence of a juicy target interfere with his political ambitions.

Baugh told me he'd "never" admit to a crime he had not committed. Last September 14, Traxler, in a deposition, gave a written confession *again* exonerating Baugh. On November 24, a second judge — Bill Evans — largely repeated Judge Smith's actions, *again* dismissing most of Capizzi's charges against Baugh.

Capizzi's blatant double standard in choosing who, what, and how aggressively to prosecute and his appalling abuses of his office should embarrass other D.A.s. Instead they circle the wagons. It's troubling that so many D.A.s seem to see protecting and promoting one of their own as more important than the integrity of the justice system. CPR

conduct in prosecuting Ms. Moulton-Patterson was "appalling." But, then, she's a Democrat.

3. *Fullerton City Clerk Ann York* — Ms. York, in an apparent attempt to save money, wanted to schedule a recall during a regular election. The Superior Court ordered her to call an immediate special election. It was a purely civil matter, over which the district attorney had no authority.

4. *Tustin School District* — The District printed some material critical of the voucher initiative, and some speakers at a staff motivational meeting denigrated the initiative. Unfortunately, while the Penal Code prohibits expending public funds on electioneering, the Education Code at the time allowed expenditures for the dissemination of "factual" information relating to the district. The conduct in ques-

tion arguably was protected under the latter code. That's too bad, but hardly proof of a left-wing conspiracy within the District Attorney's Office.

5. *Hermanidad Mexicana* — The case was taken to the Grand Jury by Capizzi's Office, but the Jury



refused to indict anyone. Since the proceedings are secret, we don't know why for sure, but some deductions are possible.

The people who registered were told that they could legally do so, and probably did so in good faith.

The targets of the investigation were the individuals who signed them up. These persons, in turn, probably claimed that they thought it was all right to register people who would be citizens by election time. The Grand Jury may have found that persuasive.

MR. MCKINNEY also accuses Capizzi of "fail[ing] to investigate and prevent the bankruptcy [of Orange County]," but the district attorney has no authority over the investment decisions of the treasurer, an independent elected official. One might as well blame the sheriff or the parks director as Capizzi.

One final note: a cursory glance at Mr. McKinney's piece reveals that virtually every one of his sources is a defendant. I hope that if he ever writes anything about me he talks to someone other than just the guys I am prosecuting. CPR

Republicans Turn Tail on Dornan-Sanchez

Clinton's INS learns its record-keeping is an embarrassment, even for a government agency; Congressional Democrats learn the GOP won't fight vote fraud.

Leon McKinney

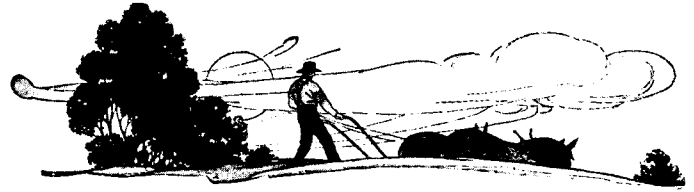
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES voted in early February to end former Representative Robert Dornan's challenge of his 1996 defeat by Representative Loretta Sanchez, saying that with "only" 748 documented illegal votes plus another 196 votes that the evidence strongly indicated were also illegal, Dornan had *not* met the criteria for overturning Sanchez' 979-vote victory.

Republicans trumpeted what House Oversight Committee Chairman Bill Thomas (R-California) called a "precise and legally determined analysis," adding that they had made it "clear that future vote fraud will not escape the scrutiny of this House of Representatives." Bull. What the Democrats have learned is that Republicans won't fight vote fraud. From the beginning, it appeared GOP leadership had decided Dornan must not win. Why? Evidently, the imperatives of avoiding the dreaded "racist" label and staying out of anything that might resemble a tough political fight simply outweigh concerns for fair and honest elections.

Republican leaders cooperated with Democrats in setting criteria for determining what constitutes an illegal vote that made it extremely (and, in the interests of reasonable proof, unnecessarily) difficult to throw out *any* votes as illegal. They also allowed the Department of Justice and the INS to stonewall Congress, while shrugging their shoulders at a mountain of evidence indicating that Sanchez, her campaign, and *Hermanidad Mexicana Nacional* might have committed felonies.

The House Oversight Committee reported that, of the original 7,841 "suspect votes" in California's 46th congressional district 1996 election — a list comprised almost entirely of people that INS databases indicate are non-citizens for one reason or another: they'd applied for naturalization, student visas, permanent resident alien status, refugee status, or had been deported for committing crimes — it turns out that 5,303 were "legitimate registrants" according to Congress. In other words, Doris Meissner's INS is so unbelievably incompetent even for a government agency that 68 per

Leon McKinney is a CPR contributing editor.



cent of those whom INS records indicate are non-citizens really are citizens after all!

The remaining 2,538 individuals were "suspect registrants"; of these, 1,718 didn't vote and 820 did. Of that 820, 624 were declared "documented" illegal voters while only "circumstantial" evidence indicated the other 196 had voted illegally. House Oversight added 124 absentee ballots disallowed by the Orange County Voter Registrar to the "documented" 624 illegal votes to arrive at the final number of 748.

Something smells here. Republicans were right to insist on a rigorous, fair process, but then went too far. In comparing INS records with the Orange County voter files for the 46th, the requirement for determining an illegal vote was that for each voter in question the listing in the voter file had to match up with an INS listing *exactly* by name, birth date, birthplace, *and* address. Ding, ding, ding. That last hurdle cleared almost every suspect voter. Californians *do* move frequently, and immigrants more often than others. So, if you're a non-citizen, just move at least once and your vote won't be challenged. Great. Thanks, Newt.

AND THANKS ALSO, NEWT, for allowing the Justice Department to ignore repeated formal requests by Congress to prosecute Sanchez, *Hermanidad*, and everyone else who refused to comply with subpoenas duly issued under the FCEA, and for allowing INS to stonewall. When will Republicans learn to use their powers as Congressional majority to compel executive branch officers to appear and answer for their acts? When will they learn, for instance, to zero-out budget appropriations if necessary for agencies that violate their constitutional duty to be accountable to the Congress? Probably never.

And why aren't Dornan and his attorneys yelling about this appalling betrayal? Maybe because the House is still debating whether to pay Dornan's \$500,000 legal fees. The Democrats, having stolen an election and bullied Republicans into cooperating, have also arranged that you and I will pick up Sanchez' legal bills but are insisting that Dornan, as the "loser," cover his own. This gives Republican leaders leverage to keep Dornan quiet: if he isn't, they might arrange to agree with Democrats not to pay his bill. And people wonder why I'm considering leaving the Republican party. ☐