https://lwvuv.org/ April 2024



# News & Views



### **Upcoming Events**

April 8 Total Eclipse of the Sun April 18 Board meeting April 25 RCV Meeting April 30 Last day to register to vote in May primary

May 8 Garden Tour tickets on sale

May 9 Board Meeting

May 16 Annual Meeting

May 17 - 19 LWVOR Council in Newport

May 21 Primary Election Day May 27 Memorial Day

June 1 Pride Month Begins June 8 Spring Garden Tour June 13 Board Meeting June 27 - 30 LWV Convention

June 30 End of Fiscal Year

#### **BOTTLE DROP FUNDRAISER**

We have registered as a non-profit with the Bottle Drop Give account to raise money to help inform and inspire people to vote!

We have 50 bags and tags available at all LWVUV events. Fill it up, and head to the bottle drop at 740 NE Garden Valley; scan the tag affixed to the blue bag to unlock the secure drop door. Supporters can also donate funds from their personal BottleDrop account to our Give account by logging into their account and finding League of Women Voters of Umpqua Valley.

Contact Sherry Couron at <a href="mailto:couron121@msn.com">couron121@msn.com</a> for more bags! Thanks for your support we look forward to watching our \$\$\$\$ grow!

# Experience Roseburg

We paid \$735 for a yearlong quarter page printed ad in the area Visitor's Guide. It's a quarter page ad. Take a look and let us know what you think! The Garden Tour also has an ad and link on its online presence:

https://www.experienceroseburg.com/event/spring-gardentour-2024/1892/

### **GET YOUR ELECTION SIGNS!**

The LWV of Umpqua Valley has 3 different kinds of signs for sale. They are double-sided, printed on sturdy paper, coated to make them rain-proof, and 18 inches by 12 inches (not self-standing). See LWV Umpqua Valley FOR MORE INFORMATION AND PHOTOS OF THE SIGNS:

- 1) End Gerrymandering Now and on the back #Fair Maps
- 2) Vote411 and on the back Register to Vote
- 3) Voting is People Power and it's blank on the backside

The signs are \$5 each plus UPS shipping. Contact them at info@lwvuv.org.

# **Oregon 2024 Ballot Measures**



# **Highlights:**

- Oregon will be the fifth state to decide on a <u>ranked-choice</u> <u>voting</u> ballot measure after the state legislature voted to refer an amendment authorizing its use to the ballot.
- Oregon has the only state legislature that cannot impeach state executive officials. The <u>state legislature</u> voted to send an amendment to voters that would authorize the impeachment process during the 2023 legislative session.
- The legislature voted to send a constitutional amendment to the ballot to establish an Independent Public Service Compensation Commission to determine certain public officials' salaries.

#### On the November ballot:

Type	Title	Description
<u>LRCA</u>	Impeachment of Elected State Executives Amendment	Allow the Legislature to impeach elected state executives
<u>LRCA</u>	Independent Public Service Compensation Commission Amendment	Establish the Independent Public Service Compensation Commission to determine certain public officials' salaries
<u>LRSS</u>	Ranked-Choice Voting for Federal and State Elections Measure	Establish ranked choice voting for federal and state offices

At least 45 other potential ballot measures are in the signature gathering phase. LWV of Oregon currently supports Initiative Petitions 9 and 14. The League advises, "Think Before You Ink." If you support either of these two measures, visit LWVOR's website to find out how you can sign the petitions. The process will require you to download a form, print it and sign it, and mail it in.

**IP 9, Official Ballot Title:** Limits campaign contributions; political advertisements identify largest contributors; campaigns disclose true funding sources; other provisions.

**IP 14, Official Ballot Title:** Amends Constitution: Repeals legislature's redistricting process; creates redistricting commission; equal number Democrats, Republicans, others; requires 2025 redistricting.

LWVUV will introduce Oregon RCV on Thursday, April 25, 2024, at 6PM – 7:30PM at the Roseburg Public Library, 1409 NE Diamond Lake Blvd.

Please help us welcome Sol Mora and Tajahnae Stocker in the South Umpqua Room at the Library. **RCV will be on the November ballot.** Mora and Stocker will present information to better understand how Ranked Choice Voting works and provide tools on how to best explain it.



"We are overjoyed that our state lawmakers passed HB 2004 to provide the opportunity for Oregonians to make a meaningful choice about the future of their democracy," said Sol Mora, HB 2004 Coalition Leader, and Advocacy Director at the Coalition of Communities of Color.

"We know that Oregon voters are frustrated. Ranked choice voting is a simple improvement that will help focus campaigns on the issues and give voters more options to elect their true favorites. Candidates will also benefit from ranked choice voting by being able to run without fear of splitting the vote, which will help more youth, people of color, working-class people, and candidates from rural communities get elected."

HB 2004 was sponsored by Speaker Dan Rayfield, Majority Leader Julie Fahey, Representative Khanh Pham, Senator Janeen Sollman, and many other legislative champions. The legislation is also supported by over 35 community organizations representing thousands of Oregonians from across the state, including the Coalition of Communities of Color, Next Up Action Fund, Urban League of Portland, Rural Organizing Project, SEIU 503 and 49, Oregon AFSCME, AFT-OR, and the League of Women Voters of Oregon. ~KTVZ.com June 25, 2023

# The League of Women Voters believe RCV elections are more inclusive, giving voters a meaningful way to express their preferences.

The Oregon Student Mock Election's (OSME) curriculum spells it out. Here's how it works:

Voters order the candidates by their  $1^{st}$ ,  $2^{nd}$ ,  $3^{rd}$ , etc., choices of candidates for a given race. The  $1^{st}$  choice ballots are counted. If any one candidate wins more than 50% of the votes cast in the first round, the election is over, and the winner announced. If none of the candidates have more than 50% of the vote, the candidate with the lowest percentage of votes in round 1 is removed and the  $2^{nd}$  choice votes for their voters go to the remaining candidates. If there is still no candidate with 50% of the votes, that process is repeated: the candidate with the lowest percentage of votes is removed and their votes are moved to their voters'  $3^{rd}$  choice candidates. As soon as there is a candidate with at least 50% of the vote, the counting stops. That will always happen by the time the field is reduced to 2 candidates. There are also short video examples on our YouTube channel. <a href="https://bit.ly/3yiitz0">https://bit.ly/3yiitz0</a>

Our April 25 meeting will be a hybrid meeting so that you can choose to be present in-person at the Library or you can join us via Zoom. More information about that will be detailed prior to the event. Plan to arrive early 5PM to help set up. The media is encouraged to attend. Refreshments will be served.



# Rural Organizing Project by Robin Wisdom

What is ROP? The Rural Organizing Project has been defending democracy and standing against anti-democratic violence in Oregon for over 30 years. ROP works at the Capitol during legislative sessions as does our LWVOR Action Team. It's "mission is to strengthen the skills, resources, and vision of primary leadership in local autonomous human dignity groups with a goal of keeping such groups a vibrant source for a just democracy."

ROP began in 1992 when the Oregon Citizens Alliance targeted gay and lesbian Oregonians as second-class citizens. ROP's challenges earned them a national reputation and now has over 80 groups in 35 Oregon counties and one tribal community.

The Rural Organizing Project came to Roseburg on Jan. 23. I had the great pleasure of meeting Emma Ronai-Durning, an ROP Organizer. We had a fabulous meeting and created a new friendship. ROP's representatives scattered around the state the month of January to contact as many groups as they could, including other Leagues. We discussed League's concerns and ROP shared its interests.

ROP is hosting a "Rural Caucus and Strategy Session" on Saturday, April 6<sup>th</sup> from 9AM to 5:30PM in Woodburn, and is inviting many organizations to attend. ROP would like to help set the direction and priorities for our rural dignity movements in the upcoming year, a consequential election year. Organizations are encouraged to share stories about what they are working on and help decide on a plan of action for 2024 and work collectively with other groups.

I am encouraging League members to attend the Caucus on April 6<sup>th</sup> and report back to LWVUV on the meeting sharing what was discussed, and how our League might participate with others around the state. If you are interested in attending the Caucus, please contact me: Robin Wisdom, 541-784-8672 rwisdom@jeffnet.org





The public was invited to attend an informative meeting about Gerrymandering and Campaign Finance Reform on Thursday, Feb. 15 at 6PM at the Roseburg Public Library. Speaker Norman Turrill of the state League addressed these two subjects. The League of Women Voters had been collecting signatures to place these two ballot measures on the November ballot. Signature forms were available at the meeting.

Every 10 years, the US Census requires that states must re-draw legislative and congressional electoral districts to account for population changes. Currently, these legislative and congressional districts in Oregon are drawn by legislators and subject to a veto by the Governor.

Politicians have a built-in conflict when they are allowed to choose their own voters. Maps are "gerrymandered" to protect incumbent politicians which was 97% successful in the past.

**Initiative Petition 14** would end gerrymandering by creating an Independent Redistricting Commission made up of a balanced number of republicans, democrats, and independents. The Commission would draw district lines that would make elections fairer. 42% of Oregon voters are not affiliated as a D or an R and are not fairly represented under the current system.

As of now, March 2024, Initiative Petition 14 has been stopped from proceeding. It is now in an appeals court because Our Oregon and others filed a lawsuit to stop IP14, saying it addresses two subjects. A constitutional amendment can only address one subject. Even if the court decides in our favor, it is too late to collect as many signatures as needed. If you have signed petitions in your possession, please send them in regardless.

**Initiative Petition 9** would limit campaign contributions and identifies large contributors and true funding sources. Its passage would prohibit contributions by corporations. Individuals or political committees would be limited to \$2000 per



candidate to statewide office, \$1000 to a candidate for any other state office, and \$500 per candidate for a local government office.

However, IP 9 is suspended. The Oregon Legislature quickly approved HB 4024 near the end of the session which enacts *some* Campaign Finance Reform legislation. Honest-Elections calls HB 4024 inadequate, but it is suspending further signature gathering for IP 9. They promise to try again in the future so Oregon can have real CFR.

The Feb. 15 meeting was our first "hybrid" meeting which was held online via Zoom as well as in person. The library has the means to allow us to hold Zoom meetings at the same time as we welcome those who would like to attend in person. About 20 people attended. Refreshments were served, and the meeting was open to the public.

"Gerrymandering is the act of redrawing the lines of a congressional district to give one political party a voting advantage over another. Technically, gerrymandering is illegal, but it's hard to prove. Typical gerrymandering cases in the United States take the form of partisan gerrymandering, which is aimed at favoring one political party while weakening another; bipartisan gerrymandering, which is aimed at protecting incumbents by multiple political parties; and racial gerrymandering, which is aimed at maximizing or minimizing the impact of certain racial groups."



In January, the LWVUV board fulfilled their obligation to report to LWV any recommended program items. We agreed to accept the National league program proposal for 2024: Campaign for Making Democracy Work® which includes Voting Rights, Improving Elections, Redistricting, Money in Politics and the Electoral College. Our board reported to LWV in the past biennium our League worked on voting rights, improving elections, money in politics and redistricting based on national and state positions.

When submitting our input, we supported adding the Vermont Concurrence on updating the LWVUS Position on Privatization, with a focus on healthcare, to the LWVUS Convention agenda. <a href="https://lwvofvt.org/positions/position-on-privatization/">https://lwvofvt.org/positions/position-on-privatization/</a> They want to advocate for changing the for-profit healthcare system to a publicly- funded system. See accompanying article for more information.

We did not hold a member-wide program planning meeting this past January because at previous years' meetings we only had one or two other members attend. Therefore, the board of directors answered the planning questions and sent them into LWV.

There is still time to suggest a one- or two- year study if there is something you would like to champion and become a focus for our League to work on, please do so before April 18th, the next time the board of directors will meet. Please include an outlook for work and scope. Studies are used to develop a League position on a local issue, which is the basis for advocacy for or against the issue.

# PROPOSED VERMONT CONCURRENCE STATEMENT LWVVT Update to LWVUS Position on Privatization1

The League of Women Voters of the United States believes that health care, like other programs that provide and protect basic human needs, should be considered a public good. The League believes that public funding, oversight, and delivery of essential health care services (including tests, treatments, facilities, etc.) are necessary to optimize equity and access (including for racially, economically, geographically, and other underserved populations). Similarly, quality, transparency, accountability, and affordability are critically necessary for

effective administration. Further, the League supports public oversight of all aspects of health care from policy-making to administration to accountability, and public participation in policy-making and accountability, as essential.

The League believes the current private-enterprise, for-profit business model for providing health care is inappropriate for the common good, or to meet the basic needs of the most vulnerable members of society. It is not working for most Americans, their providers, or their communities in the following ways:

 Private for-profit corporations have a fiduciary responsibility to their shareholders rather than to patients or public health. The League favors a system where fiduciary responsibility is to patients.

- Health care is not discretionary spending where consumers can choose what product or service, which brand, and how much to purchase. Patients do not have perfect information, and they are usually not able to make decisions and seek care based on comparison shopping. The League favors a system that ensures that patients needing health care have those needs assessed based on "standards of care," offered equitably and constrained by public policy rather than the patient's ability to pay. Lack of a profitable market for
- providers can create health-care deserts in poor or low-population areas. The League favors a system where all communities have

access to quality basic health care because this will improve both individual and public health. • Free market principles require that anyone who benefits from a service must pay for it, and anyone who does not pay for it should not benefit from it. The League favors a system where health care needs are met regardless of a patient's ability to pay because this will improve our longevity, and general welfare. People do not consume health care on a supply-demand curve. A person without a disease has no

interest in purchasing treatment

for that disease even if it is free. A person whose child's life depends upon a standard treatment should not have to forego their child's care because its purchase price is beyond their means. In addition, patients cannot legally vary the amount of a prescribed product they purchase based on price, nor would such variation typically serve their health.

In addition, the League supports health care as a public good for fiscal reasons. Our current multipayer, multi-layered system contains significant financial waste, including excessive

administrative costs and misdirected marketing costs that create additional barriers to care. Therefore, where private entities fail to deliver, the League supports de-privatizing.

In sum, the League opposes further privatization of needed health care and favors deprivatization of services and facilities that are currently owned, managed or financed by for-profit corporations. 1 Black text has been excerpted exactly from LWVVT position (12/14/23). References to VT have been generalized, with adjusted wording in blue.

# **GARDEN TOUR 2024**

# BY NANCY FARRIS, Chair



Annual Spring Garden Tour Saturday, June 8, 2024 10 -5; \$15/ticket

The Garden Tour Committee has been hard at work pulling together all the details necessary to put on the annual tour. And it is set!

Six very enthusiastic West Roseburg residents are opening their garden spaces to us all.

#### SNEAK PREVIEW:

- In addition to our regular talent, this year some new-to-us artists, crafters and musicians will be joining the tour.
- Two of the gardens are on hillside properties with fabulous views.
- A winery is offering a 50% discount on tasting.
- Two of the eateries along the route are participating for the first time.
- And our "first" for this year is the inclusion of the Discovery Garden, the Douglas County Master Gardeners' great work near the Umpqua River.

We are glad for the opportunity to bring small, local businesses, artists, musicians, gardeners and visitors together for this one day, community event. Come, bring a friend! Give this day to

musicians, gardeners and visitors together for this one day, community event. Come, bring a friend! Give this day to your favorite father for an early Father's Day gift!

All gardens are a work in progress All gardens are unique No garden is perfect

# State Legislature Passes Bipartisan, Practical Limits on Money in Politics

The passage of House Bill 4024 means campaign contributions in the state will be capped starting in 2027.

**SALEM, OR** – A legislative bipartisan coalition of Oregon State Senators passed <u>House Bill 4024</u> to establish practical limits on campaign contributions. Oregon is currently one of only five states with no limits on political campaign contributions.

\$\$\$\$ Now how about the Federal folks working on the NATIONAL Laws? HB 4024 enacts reasonable campaign contribution limits that will level the playing field for regular Oregonians and protect campaigns from the undue influence of special interests. The measure enables everyday donors to participate meaningfully through Small Donor Committees – which allow the grouping of contributions less than \$250. Additionally, the measure provides for the participation of nonprofit, community-based organizations – which are (1) required to be 501(c) organizations that have been in existence for at least 18-months and (2) be composed of members who volunteer their time or donate money.

"Oregonians deserve a campaign finance system that is transparent and accountable," said Senate Democratic Leader Kate Lieber (D -Beaverton & SW Portland), who co-carried the bill on the floor. "As evidenced by the bipartisan support and compromise that brought this bill through the House and the Senate Committee on Rules, this measure reflects a true Oregon Way solution to a complex issue."

The measure contains strong anti-proliferation language and prohibits the creation of sham organizations to avoid campaign finance limits or skirt the transparency and disclosure requirements of the bill. It also enacts greater disclosure requirements so that voters are better informed about who is paying for campaign advertisements.



"For two decades, Oregonians have demanded campaign finance reform. In 2003, as House Majority Leader, I proposed reasonable campaign finance reform and worked across the aisle on the issue. I'm glad this Legislature could achieve a bipartisan solution that will increase transparency for voters while ratcheting down uncontrolled contributions," said Senate Republican Leader Tim Knopp (R - Bend), who co-carried the bill on the floor.

HB 4024 creates a new campaign finance dashboard within the Oregon Secretary of State's Office and requires entities to report the original sources of contributions that pay for independent expenditures. Furthermore, it strengthens investigation and enforcement of campaign finance violations and allows for complainants to appeal decisions to an Administrative Law Judge. House Bill 4024 way signed by the Governor March 20, 2024. For more information follow these links:

https://olis.oregonlegislature.gov/liz/2024R1/Downloads/MeasureAnalysisDocument/82722 https://www.opb.org/article/2024/03/07/oregon-lawmakers-approve-campaign-finance-limits/

# 2024 Primary Oregon Student Mock Election







The League of Women Voters of Oregon will be hosting the 2024 Student Mock Election (OSME) in both May and November, with the help of a grant from Oregon Humanities. Oregon's Secretary of State Office has endorsed this nonpartisan educational activity. Educators who want their students to have the opportunity to participate in the May Primary mock election can register online at <a href="https://www.lwvor.org/mock-election">www.lwvor.org/mock-election</a>, by providing the teacher name, school name and location, and the approximate number of students who will be voting in May. (Students are not registered by name.) Registration is open now and will close on May 5.

Students will have an authentic Oregon voting experience, including ballot races and measures taken from the official Oregon primary ballot. Student ballots can be cast anytime between May 1 and May 10. Voting results must be reported to LWVOR by the May 10 deadline. Final results will be shared with the public on May 17. Participating educators will receive the mock ballots, forms for submitting results, and two lesson plans with ideas and resources for teaching students about ranked-choice voting, the ten recognized Oregon political parties, and the implications of the closed primary on nonaffiliated votes. All educators also have access to the award-winning Civics Education Curriculum and a General Mock Election lesson plan available year-round at



One Medford educator said of his 2022 mock election participation, "My students had very diverse results. The week of lessons was wonderful and offered me one of my best weeks of teaching this year." A Morrow County educator said, "This was great, the ballot information was super, and the kids really appreciated having a voice. Thank you!"

In addition to public schools, LWVOR welcomes private, charter, and home school educators. The election is aimed at grades 6-12 but could be appropriate for younger students, as well. For questions, comments, or suggestions, contact the OSME Coordinator at mockelection@lwvor.org.

Our local League has a Voter Service Committee and they are busy trying to inform teachers about these resources, and support their use. For more information or to volunteer - Contact Jenny Carloni, jennifer.carloni@gmail.com or 541-672-1914.

Hey, do you know the LWV has a Youth Council? - Interested in voting rights, public policy, and politics? The League of Women Voters of Oregon is excited to support young Oregonians. Join our Youth Council to build power for yourself and your community! If you are 16 years or older you may apply for LWVOR Youth Council. If you know an eligible youth or student age 16+ with an interest in civic engagement, you may nominate them.

# **Senate Commemorative Resolution for Alice Bartelt**

Senate President Rob Wagner requested League support in compiling and processing Senate Resolution 203 commemorating Alice Bartelt, our recently deceased LWVOR President. Alice was instrumental on the Oregon League of Women Voters board and Action Team. She is greatly missed.

#### Senate Concurrent Resolution 203

Sponsored by Senators WAGNER, FREDERICK; Senators JAMA, MANNING JR (Presession filed.) Whereas Alice Bartelt was born in Norfolk, Virginia, on August 27, 1947, to Ruth and Gene Parkhurst; and Whereas as the daughter of a career Navy man, Alice Bartelt lived on the island of Cuba for several years before moving to San Diego, California, where she attended elementary school and high school and met her future husband, Richard "Dick" Alan Bartelt; and Whereas Alice and Dick Bartelt eloped and were married in 1966 in San Francisco, California; and

Whereas Alice Bartelt earned her undergraduate degree from San Francisco State University; and

Whereas Alice and Dick Bartelt moved to Portland, Oregon, in 1970, where they raised a family and where Alice put into earnest action her lifelong passion for supporting local, national and global women's rights organizations; and

Whereas Alice Bartelt graduated with a law degree from Lewis and Clark Law School in 1981 and practiced workers' compensation law for 25 years before retiring in March 2007 from SAIF Corporation, where she served as a staff attorney; and Whereas Alice Bartelt was a Professional Registered Parliamentarian and a member of the National Association of Parliamentarians and the American Institute of Parliamentarians; and

Whereas Alice Bartelt served as a parliamentarian for numerous organizations, including the American Association of University Women of Oregon, the Democratic Party of Oregon, the Episcopal Diocese of Oregon, the League of Women Voters of Oregon, the Oregon Association of Parliamentarians, the Oregon Republican Party, the Sons of Norway, the Washington County Democrats, Women First and Zonta International; and

Whereas Alice Bartelt was an active member of, and served on the boards of, the American Association of University Women (Oregon president, 1998-2000), the American Institute of Parliamentarians, Americans

United for Separation of Church and State, the Diversity Section of the Oregon State Bar, the League of Women Voters of Oregon (Advocacy Chair, 2011-2023, and president from 2023 until her death), Pro-Choice Oregon, the Oregon Association of Parliamentarians, Oregon Women Lawyers, Women First and Zonta International (from 2016 until her death); and Whereas Alice Bartelt served faithfully at the Episcopal Parish of St. John the Baptist in Portland as an acolyte and reader in worship and as a stalwart volunteer and financial contributor to the church's social ministries, especially in its material support and justice advocacy for the people of Western Farm Workers Association in Hillsboro, Oregon; and

Whereas Alice Bartelt was a committed voice for democracy and for voting rights; and

Whereas Alice Bartelt was always willing to step in to fill a need, to serve as a mentor and to share her limitless knowledge of Robert's Rules of Order and parliamentary procedures; and

Whereas Alice Bartelt spent tens of thousands of hours over the course of her remarkable life volunteering for the causes dear to her heart; and Whereas Alice Bartelt died on August 29, 2023; and

Whereas Alice Bartelt is survived by her daughters Barb Damon and Sandy Meyers; grandchildren Scott and Hayden Meyers; sister Karen Farrington and her children; and her longtime partner, Paul Moore; now, therefore.

Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon: That we, the members of the Eighty-second Legislative Assembly, celebrate the life and accomplishments of Alice Bartelt. and we recognize and honor her contributions to the people of this state; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution shall be presented to the family of Alice Bartelt as an expression of our sympathy and condolences. Adopted by Senate February 28, 2024 Obadiah Rutledge, Secretary of Senate Rob Wagner, President of Senate Adopted by House March 5, 2024

**Enrolled** 

# Annual Meeting Notice - Save the Date!

LWVUV's annual meeting will take place at the lovely CH Bailey House Bed and Breakfast (121 Melton Rd, Roseburg) on Thursday, May 16<sup>th</sup> and will start at 5:30PM.



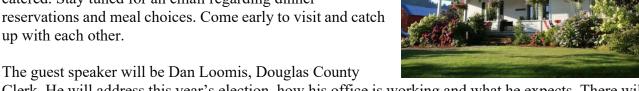
LWV Umpqua's Annual Meeting - Thursday, May 16, 2024 -5:30PM



We have the distinct privilege of dining and meeting together at the CH Bailey House, owned and operated

Sherry and Jay Couron, League members. This is such an enchanting venue! We do hope that you will be able to attend. The annual meeting program will be postal mailed to each household during the month of April.

Friends and guests are invited to attend. Dinner will be catered. Stay tuned for an email regarding dinner reservations and meal choices. Come early to visit and catch up with each other.



Clerk. He will address this year's election, how his office is working and what he expects. There will be a O & A session. Please bring your questions. Also, You will be able to buy Spring Garden Tour 2024 tickets at this meeting. This is always an important League event, and we look forward to seeing everyone get together.

#### **Board of Directors 2023-2024**

Sherry Couron	<u>couron121@msn.com</u>	Treasurer
Julee Wright	juleewright48@gmail.com	Secretary
Nancy Farris	<u>nfarris73@icloud.com</u>	Garden Tour
Jenny Carloni	jennifer.carloni@gmail.com	
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### **Contact Us!**

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LWVUV YouTube ...https://bit.ly/3bfyx60

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"We inform voters and inspire people to vote."