# IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF WYOMING

MEGHAN LANKER; WILLIAM AYERS,

Plaintiffs,

CASE NO. 10-CV-79-D

VS.

**APRIL 27, 2010** 1:43 P.M. - 2:25 P.M.

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING; UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING PRESIDENT, CASPER, WYOMING in his official capacity, also known as Tom Buchanan,

Defendants.

CITY OF LARAMIE,

Intervenor.

TRANSCRIPT OF ORAL RULING ON MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION BEFORE THE HONORABLE WILLIAM F. DOWNES CHIEF UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

**APPEARANCES:** (Page 1 of 2)

(All Counsel Appearing Via Video from Denver, Colorado)

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1	APPEARANCES: (Page 2 of 2)	
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7		Official Federal Court Reporter U.S. District Courthouse 111 South Wolcott, Room 217
8		Casper, Wyoming 82601 (307) 265-5280
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11	<b>City of Boulder</b> , 660 F.2d 1370, 1376 (10 <sup>th</sup> Cir. 1981)
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13	<b>Education Fund, Inc.</b> , 473 U.S. 788 (1985) 6
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# (Proceedings commence at 1:43 p.m.)

THE CLERK: All rise.

(Court enters.)

THE CLERK: Court is now in session.

THE COURT: Good afternoon. Please be seated.

The Court has considered the pending motion and the opposition provided by the University of Wyoming and issues the following order:

The Supreme Court and the Tenth Circuit

Court of Appeals have instructed that this Court must apply a four-prong test when evaluating whether a preliminary injunction should issue. Plaintiffs, as the moving party, bear the burden of establishing: First, a substantial likelihood of a success on the merits; second, that they will suffer irreparable harm in the absence of preliminary relief; third, that the balance of equities tips in their favor; and, fourth, that an injunction is in the public interest. Winter versus Natural Resources Defense Council, Inc., 129 S.Ct. 365, 374, 2008; American Civil Liberties Union versus Johnson, 194 F.3d 1149, 1155, Tenth Circuit 1999.

Where, as here, the scope of the requested preliminary injunction is such that it would afford the movants all the relief that might be recoverable at the conclusion of a full trial on the merits, the movants face an even heavier burden and must show that the four-part preliminary injunction

factors, quote, weigh heavily and compellingly in movant's favor before such an injunction may be issued, close quote.

O Centro Espirita Beneficiente versus Ashcroft, 389 F.3d 973, 975, Tenth Circuit 2004.

The Supreme Court has articulated a three-step framework to be used when analyzing restrictions on private speech on government property. *Cornelius versus NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.*, 473 U.S. 788, 1985. First, the Court must determine whether the speech at issue is protected by the First Amendment. If so, the Court must then, quote, identify the nature of the forum because the extent to which the government may limit access depends on whether the forum is public or non-public. *Id.* at 797.

Third, the Court, quote, must assess whether the justifications for exclusion from the relevant forum satisfy the requisite standard, close quote. The standard would include whether a content-based restriction can survive strict scrutiny, whether a content-neutral restriction is a valid regulation of the time, place or manner of the speech or whether a restriction in a non-public forum is reasonable.

Wells versus City and County of Denver, 257 F.3d 1132, 1138-39, Tenth Circuit 2001.

The defendants concede that the speech at issue in this case is protected under the First Amendment, and they could make no credible argument to the contrary. Defendants argue that the question posed is a very narrow one and that this Court should limit its forum analysis to the specific venue requested by Ms. Lanker, that being the University of Wyoming Sports Complex, also known as the "Multi-Purpose Gym." But such an approach ignores convincing evidence before this Court that suggests the University's real position with respect to Mr. Ayers' proposed speaking engagement; namely, that he was not welcome to speak anywhere on the University of Wyoming campus.

Ms. Lanker testified that when she first contacted the University of Wyoming athletic scheduling office, she was told that the Multi-Purpose Gym was available on April 28 and would require a rental fee in the range of \$650 to \$800. When Ms. Lanker called back to reserve the facility, she was told by the individual in charge of scheduling that she would, quote, have to make some calls first, close quote.

The next communication Ms. Lanker received was from the University of Wyoming General Counsel Susan Weidel.

According to Ms. Lanker, Ms. Weidel informed her that, quote, the University of Wyoming was not available as a venue for Professor Ayers, close quote.

When Ms. Lanker asked follow-up questions regarding the reason for the refusal, Ms. Weidel reiterated simply and without elaboration that the University was not available, according to the testimony of Ms. Lanker.

Although the defendants dispute plaintiffs' version of the University's response, the Court need not even take

Ms. Lanker's word for it. The substance of the telephone conversation at issue was summarized in an email sent from

Ms. Weidel to Ms. Lanker later that day. Ms. Weidel wrote:

Quote, pursuant to our telephone conversation, the University of Wyoming will not be available as a venue for the event you are hosting for Mr. William Ayers. As I mentioned in our telephone conversation, you may want to consider other large venues, both public and private, in both Laramie and Cheyenne, close quote. Plaintiffs' Exhibit 1.

The Court believes that this restriction means exactly what it says: Mr. Ayers is prohibited from using a venue on the University of Wyoming campus, period. Any explanation now offered that presumes to state otherwise ignores the unambiguous meaning of the general counsel's message.

Further, in explaining the University's position, defendant stated, quote, the University of Wyoming, here, has not limited Ayers' speech because it disapproves of his message. The University's actions are in response to the serious threats of violence which it received that are related and directed to Ayers' speech. Although undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance is not enough to overcome First Amendment rights, citing to *Tinker versus Des Moines*, the threats here show a specific intent to cause violence if Ayers

is allowed to speak on campus, close quote. With this statement, however, the Court is asked to reconcile a later statement in which the defendants represent, quote, nothing prohibits plaintiffs from speaking in a public forum such as Prexy's Pasture, an open area in the middle of the university campus, close quote.

This is somewhat conflicting with the testimony of President Buchanan that Prexy's Pasture would presumably be available as a forum for Mr. Ayers' speech. The Court finds the more recent retreat from the University's earlier position both unpersuasive and pretextual.

Even focusing exclusively on the Multi-Purpose Gym as the relevant forum, however, the restriction imposed does not pass constitutional muster. Defendants argue that the Multi-Purpose Gym is a, quote, limited public forum, close quote, as opposed to a, quote, designated public forum, close quote.

Although the Court is skeptical that the historical use of the Multi-Purpose Gym would support the University's position, because the restriction imposed by defendants cannot withstand even the more deferential standard applicable to a limited public forum, it need not decide that issue.

The Tenth Circuit has explained the distinction between the two types of fora as follows: Quote, a designated public forum is created when the government intentionally opens

a non-traditional public forum for public discourse. The government's action in excluding a member of a class to which a designated forum is made generally available is subject to strict scrutiny. A limited public forum, on the other hand, arises where the government allows selective access to some speakers or some types of speech in a non-public forum but does not open the property sufficiently to become a designated public forum. Any government restriction on speech in a limited public forum must only be reasonable in light of the purpose served by the forum and be viewpoint-neutral.

In a designated public forum, however, the government may only impose content-neutral time, place and manner restrictions that (a) serve a significant government interest; (b) are narrowly tailored to advance that interest; and (c) leave open ample alternative channels of communication, close quote. Shero versus City of Grove, Oklahoma, 510 F.3d 1196, Tenth Circuit 2007, internal citations omitted.

Plaintiffs argue that the defendants imposed an identity- and content-based restriction on Mr. Ayers' ability to speak on the University of Wyoming campus. Such a restriction, they argue, effectively gave the displeased public a, quote, heckler's veto, close quote. This Court agrees.

A heckler's veto is, by definition, quote, an impermissible content-based restriction on speech where the speech is prohibited due to an anticipated disorderly or

violent reaction of the audience, close quote. *Startzell* versus City of Philadelphia, 533 F.3d 183, Third Circuit 2008.

In Forsyth County versus Nationalist Movement, 505
U.S. 123, 134, 1992, the Supreme Court emphasized that, quote,
listeners' reaction to speech is not a content-neutral basis
for regulation, close quote. In other words, the First
Amendment does not permit a heckler's veto. Center for
Bio-Ethical Reform, Inc. versus Los Angeles County Sheriff's
Department, 533 F.3d 780, Ninth Circuit 2008; and Frye versus
Kansas City Missouri Police Department, 375 F.3d 785,
Eighth Circuit 2004, in which the Court stated, quote, the
prohibition of hecklers' vetoes is, in essence, the
First Amendment protection against the government effectuating
a complaining citizen's viewpoint discrimination, close quote.

The evidence in this case demonstrates the University prohibited Mr. Ayers from speaking based upon an undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance on the campus. At least as demonstrated by the evidence offered by the University, those fears were the result of, at best, veiled and indirect threats or predictions. Let's consider some of that evidence.

Exhibit A: An individual who identified himself by name and gave his phone number and indicated that he was, quote, bringing a group of friends on Monday to protest Bill Ayers' visit to campus, close quote.

Where is the threat in that? If he and other citizens who are concerned want to assemble, where is the threat?

Exhibit B: An individual called University staff a, quote, effen moron, close quote, and said that we, University of Wyoming, were all of a bunch of, quote, effen idiots, close quote, for allowing Ayers to speak on campus and told Mr. Ontiveroz, quote, once Bill Ayers gets done talking here, send him to Rock Springs and we can take care of him, close quote. While it's certainly unlikely that the invitation to come to Rock Springs was to attend a barbecue -- (audience laughter) -- it is nevertheless a very vague threatening statement at best.

Exhibit C: Another email from an individual who identified himself by name, and the University provided that exhibit and even has the gentleman's email address; and it states, quote, Bill Ayers is a scumbag, and you are bigger assholes for inviting this terrorist to the UW facility. I laughed long and hard at his cancellation. The best thing that miserable SOB could do is drop dead. For those of you that invited this prick, I think you should eat a mouthful of buckshot, close quote.

Not a pretty statement. But then the author, however profane, goes on to recognize the First Amendment. He says, quote, unfortunately Americans, paren, which you're not, close paren, have to tolerate your socialist speech based on your

First Amendment rights. That is also what affords me to call out what ungrateful douchebags you are, close quote; ending, quote, all the worst to you. Mike, close quote.

Well, Mike was mightily exercised. And he leaves us in no doubt of his thoughts about Mr. Ayers. But to read that as a direct threat is patently ridiculous.

Then the testimony of certain witnesses:

Dean Kay Persichitte, the incident in the grocery story wherein this individual never identified and never reported to the police, at least not timely, said, quote, you should be strung up, close quote, and that, quote, Ayers should bomb you, close quote.

Dr. Howard Willson testified receiving 30 calls, one of which was threatening in nature. The speaker said she estimated that the University would receive a couple of hundred thousand calls. Thirty calls.

Chief Stalder's testimony: No threats against the Laramie Civic Center. He was satisfied he could provide adequate security without detailing the security measures taken; that he frequently cooperated with the University of Wyoming Police; that there had been no discussion with the University Police regarding coordination of Mr. Ayers' pending speech. And I'm referring to the earlier April 5<sup>LII</sup> intended speech before he was uninvited. And the evidence is clear that neither the president nor anyone else in the administration

even consulted with the University of Wyoming law enforcement agency, the police department, about security concerns. If it happened, it's not in the record before the Court. Few threats were relayed to any law enforcement agency.

And even if the Court were to take the University's position as to the limitations of the Multi-Purpose Gym at face value, apparently the decision whether to allow or disallow a speech-related use rested entirely within the unfettered discretion of President Buchanan, there being no written policies about the terms and circumstances by which this building could be used.

In contrast to the evidence of the undifferentiated, general and veiled threats at issue in this case stands a long line of cases presenting much more particularized threats of violence and violent confrontation and sometimes, sadly, even a recent history of actual violence. This Court touched on some of these cases yesterday, and I add briefly to the discussion a few more today.

In March of 1965, Judge Frank Johnson of the
United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama
was asked to enjoin the State of Alabama from interfering with
the march of civil rights leaders from Selma to Montgomery,
Alabama. Judge Johnson's decision in the case of Williams
versus Wallace, 240 F.Supp. 100, Middle District of Alabama
1965, was issued just 12 days after what's now known in history

as "Bloody Sunday." On Bloody Sunday, March 7, 1965, 600 or so civil rights marchers headed east out of Selma on U.S. Route 80. They got only as far as the notorious Edmond Pettus Bridge, six blocks away, where state and local lawmen, acting under the color of law, attacked them with billy clubs and tear gas and drove them back into Selma.

At a time when the American south was a virtual powder keg of racial hostility and social unrest, arguments were made to Judge Johnson that violence would likely be carried out against the marchers, a fact all too well known to Judge Johnson based on the events of March 7.

Nonetheless, Judge Johnson rejected the State of Alabama's position that threats of violence from those who opposed the exercise of free speech can serve as a sufficient justification to cancel constitutional dictates. Judge Johnson wrote: The State's contention that there is some hostility to this march will not justify its denial. Nor will the threat of violence constitute an excuse for its denial. *Id.* at page 109, citations omitted.

Twenty-five years later, a district judge in the Middle District of Tennessee was asked to pass on the constitutionality of a city ordinance that allowed the city to deny a parade permit to, quote, any individual or group based on anticipation of violence being instigated or riots incited by such individual or group under circumstances when, at the

time of the application for the permit, there is a clear and present danger of imminent lawless action, close quote.

The plaintiffs in that case were the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan who intended to assemble and parade through the City of Pulaski, Tennessee, on January 13, 1990, in protest of the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday. It is reported more fully in the case of the KKK versus Martin Luther King Jr. Worshippers, et al., 735 F.Supp. 745, Middle District of Tennessee 1990.

The Court in that case found the above-quoted provision unconstitutional because it allowed, quote, too much latitude for discriminatory denial of the First Amendment right to free speech, close quote. *Id.* at 749.

The Court compared the ordinance at issue to a similar ordinance discussed by the Supreme Court in *Hague versus CIO*, 307 U.S. 496, 516, 1939.

The Hague court held that the ordinance was unconstitutional since it could, quote, be made the instrument of arbitrary suppression of free expression of views on national affairs, for the prohibition of all speaking will undoubtedly prevent such eventualities such as riots, disturbances or disorderly assemblages. But uncontrolled official suppression of the privilege cannot be made a substitute for the duty to maintain order in connection with the exercise of the right, close quote.

And referring to Judge Johnson's decision in Williams versus Wallace, the district court concluded, quote, as the threat of violence could not be used to abridge the First Amendment rights of the civil rights marchers in 1965, it may not be used to abridge the rights of the Ku Klux Klan in 1990. The duty of Pulaski is not to suppress the speech of the Ku Klux Klan but to maintain order in connection with the exercise of the right, close quote. Id. at 750.

Similarly, in *Beckerman versus City of Tupelo*, 664 F.2d 502, of the former Fifth Circuit Court 1981, the Court addressed the constitutionality of an ordinance that, in part, authorized the chief of police to deny a parade permit if he determined that the issuance would, quote, provoke disorderly conduct, close quote.

In *Beckerman*, the plaintiff, a group known as the International Committee Against Racism, challenged the ordinance as an impermissible prior restraint on First Amendment freedoms.

With respect to the above-referenced portion of the ordinance and drawing on Supreme Court precedent, the Fifth Circuit held: Quote, this provision falls as an impermissible prior restraint upon free speech because it is not narrowly drawn to relate to health, safety and welfare interests, but instead it sanctions the denial of a permit on the basis of the so-called "hecklers' veto." In authorizing the denial of a

permit because the licensor has determined the activity will provoke disorderly conduct in others, the state treads on thin ice. There is a host of Supreme Court cases dealing with the issue of the "hecklers' veto." In almost every instance, it is not acceptable for the state to prevent a speaker from exercising his constitutional rights because of the reaction to him by others, close quote.

The Court also stressed: A state may not unduly suppress free communication of views under the guise of conserving desirable conditions. It is firmly established that under our Constitution the public expression of ideas may not be prohibited merely because the ideas themselves are offensive to some of their hearers. *Id.* at 509 and 510.

See also National Socialist White People's Party versus Ringers, 473 F.2d 1010, 1014, Note 4, Fourth Circuit 1973, rejecting arguments that the use of facilities could be denied on the grounds that violence and damage to the facility would result, and citing Supreme Court and other precedent for the proposition that, quote, even if the record showed some history of violence attendant upon the Party's meetings or some threat of violence by hostile spectators, it would not constitute a proper basis for restraining the Party's otherwise legal First Amendment activity, close quote.

Yesterday I asked President Buchanan whether he understood that mere threats of violence standing alone could

not serve as a justification for the restriction of speech. Devoid of context, the question arguably, unquestionably involved a simplification of the law. For example, the Court recognizes the clear line of established precedent in areas neither urged by the defendants nor relevant based on the facts of this case. For example, Cantwell versus Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296, 308, 1940: Quote, when a clear and present danger of riot, disorder, interference with traffic upon the public streets or other immediate threat to public safety, peace or order appears, the power of the state to prevent or punish is obvious, close quote.

Both this question and another posed to the defendants' counsel during closing arguments invited defendants to provide the Court with the legal authority that best supports the position they are advocating in this court. In response, Mr. Rice cited the Court to two Supreme Court cases: Morse v. Frederick, 551 U.S. 393, 2007; and the seminal symbolic speech case of Tinker versus Des Moines, 393 U.S. 503, 1969.

The first case, Morse versus Frederick, is, quite simply, distinguishable from the facts of the case now before this Court. As best the Court can discern, the University has simply plucked an isolated statement from that opinion, that statement being, quote, the danger in this case is far more serious and palpable, close quote, assuming that its repetition

in any context will somehow make it so. With respect to the second case, *Tinker versus Des Moines*, in light of the Court's assessment of the evidence in this case, the Court is left guessing as to how this authority advances the University's position.

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In fact, consider the words of Justice Fortas, writing for the majority in 1969. His words are as relevant and powerful today as they were more than 40 years ago. He said, quote, in our system, undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance is not enough to overcome the right to freedom of expression. Any departure from absolute regimentation may cause trouble. Any variation from the majority's opinion may inspire fear. Any word spoken, in class, in the lunchroom or on the campus, that deviates from the views of another person may start an argument or cause a disturbance. But our Constitution says we must take this risk, and our history says that it is this sort of hazardous freedom, this kind of openness, that is the basis of our national strength and of the independence and vigor of Americans who grow up and live in this relatively permissive, often disputatious, society, close quote. Id., 393 U.S. at 508 and 509.

For the reasons just discussed, this Court finds that the plaintiffs have satisfied their burden of establishing a substantial likelihood of success on the merits of their First Amendment claim.

Having determined that there is a substantial
likelihood that plaintiffs will succeed on the merits of their
case, the Court must next address the remaining three
preliminary injunction factors. As defendants point out, this
first factor may play a decisive role; and once a substantial
likelihood of success on the merits, the other conditions of
injunctive relief will also be satisfied.

First, plaintiffs have established that they will suffer irreparable injury if the preliminary injunction is not granted. As the Supreme Court has stated, quote, the loss of First Amendment freedoms, for even minimal periods of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury, close quote. Elrod versus Burns, 427 U.S. 347, 373, 1976.

Accordingly, where, quote, First Amendment rights are infringed, irreparable harm is presumed, close quote.

Community Communications Company, Inc. versus City of Boulder, 660 F.2d 1370, 1376, Tenth Circuit 1981. See also Utah License Beverage Association versus Leavitt, 256 F.3d 1061, 1076, Tenth Circuit 2001.

Similarly, with respect to the balance of harms, the threatened injury to plaintiffs' constitutionally protected speech outweighs any damage to defendants caused by a preliminary injunction that requires them to conform their conduct to the requirements of the Constitution. See *Johnson*, 194 F.3d at 1163.

Finally, with respect to the public interest, quote, it is axiomatic that the preservation of First Amendment rights serves everyone's interest, close quote. Local Organizing Committee, Denver Chapter, Million Man March versus Cook, 922 F.Supp. 1494, District of Colorado 1996.

In conclusion, the Court suspects -- and indeed the evidence suggests -- that the public's response to Professor Ayers' visit and planned speech on the University of Wyoming campus was fueled largely by the negative recollection of his alleged acts, errors and omissions of more than 40 years ago.

There was, of course, no evidence received in this hearing on the detailed matters of Mr. Ayers' past, but this Court is of an age to remember the group of which he was a founding member. When the Weather Underground was bombing the Capitol of the United States in 1971, I served in the uniform of my country. Like many of my fellow veterans of that era, even to this day, when I hear the name of that organization, I can scarcely swallow the bile of my contempt for it.

The fact remains Mr. Ayers is a citizen of the United States who wishes to speak. He need not offer any more justification than that. The controversy surrounding the past life of Professor Ayers and the widely held public perception of his past conduct cannot serve as a justification to defrock him of the guarantees of the First Amendment.

The Bill of Rights is a document for all seasons. We don't just display it when the weather is fair and put it away when the storm is tempest. To be a free people, we must have the courage to exercise our constitutional rights. To be a prudent people, we have to protect the rights of others, recognizing that that is the best guarantor of our own rights.

For the reasons just set forth on the record by this Court, pursuant to Federal Rules of Civil Procedure 65(a)(1), defendants are enjoined from prohibiting Professor Ayers from speaking at the University of Wyoming Sports Complex, also referred to as the "Multi-Purpose Gym," on Wednesday, April 28, 2010.

Further, the University of Wyoming must take all reasonable steps, consistent with this order, to coordinate with the plaintiffs in scheduling Professor Ayers' on-campus address and to take all prudent steps to maintain order and to provide for the safety of participants and spectators. In this regard, the Court takes notice of the University of Wyoming's Central Scheduling Policy and the fact that critical provisions contained therein appear to be discretionary.

Given the constraints of time, the University is admonished that it cannot place unreasonable contractual demands on the plaintiffs which would frustrate the implementation of this order.

It is so ordered.

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             The court clerk is directed to obtain a transcript of
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    the Court's ruling from the court reporter. It is incorporated
    in a one-page order which will issue from the courthouse today.
 3
             Do I need to hear from counsel on any matter?
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 5
             MR. LANE:
                        Nothing from plaintiff at this time,
 6
    Your Honor. Thank you very much.
 7
        (Feedback from the Denver microphone.)
                        Nothing from the defendant, Your Honor.
 8
             MR. RICE:
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             THE COURT: Will you try again, counsel, please.
        (Feedback from the Denver microphone.)
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             THE REPORTER: I got it.
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             THE COURT: You got it?
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             THE REPORTER: Yes, sir.
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             THE COURT: All right. Thank you. Court is
    adjourned.
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             THE CLERK: All rise.
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        (Court retires to chambers.)
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             THE CLERK: Court will stand in recess.
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        (The proceedings conclude at 2:25 p.m.)
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1	REPORTER CERTIFICATE					
2	I, JAMIE L. HENDRICH, Official Federal Court Reporter					
3	in the United States District Court for the District of					
4	Wyoming, certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript					
5	from the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter.					
6	4.29.10/S/					
7	<b>Date JAMIE L. HENDRICH, CSR-RPR-CRR</b> Official Federal Court Reporter					
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