THEY NEVER HAD TO BEAT YOU IN AN ELECTION

They just had to beat you down

until you stopped standing up.

Anatomy of the Maricopa County Hostile Takeover

And What You Can Do About It!

Written for the Precinct Committeemen of Maricopa County — and for every other county in Arizona to watch for



Figure 1. 4 Steps to the White House

You elect the State Committeemen. State Committeemen elect the leadership of the Arizona Republican Party, write its rules, and pass its resolutions — and the same body produces the State Delegates Arizona sends to the Republican National Convention, who vote on the convention rules, the platform, and the nomination for President of the United States.

That is what the seat you hold is attached to. Four moves, and not one of them is an election for public office.

And the first move is arithmetic. **Arizona allocates one state committeeman for every three Precinct Committeemen.** Your seat is not a vote for a state committeeman — three of your seats *create* one. Which means every empty seat in your district is not just a missing volunteer. It is a fraction of your district's voice at the State Party, deleted before anyone casts a ballot.

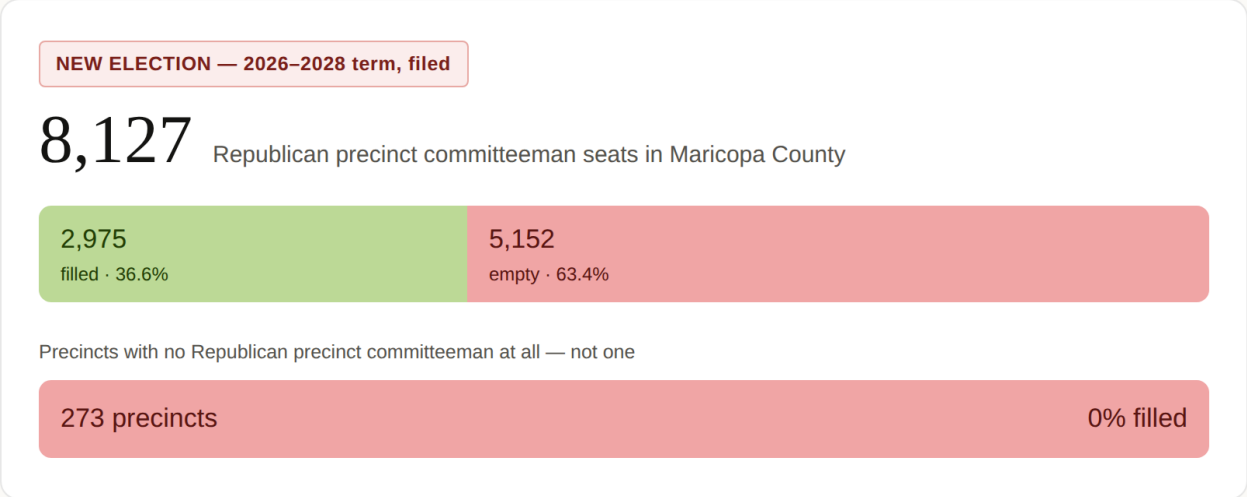


Figure 2. Republican Precinct Committeeman positions in Maricopa County

For the 2026–2028 term there are **8,127** Republican Precinct Committeeman seats in Maricopa County. **2,975** are filled. **5,152** are empty. In **273** precincts there is no Republican Precinct Committeeman at all — not one.

Nobody voted for that. No motion was made, no resolution passed, no election held on whether Maricopa County Republicans should surrender two thirds of their own organization.

Your seat has never mattered more than it does right now

Arizona just recorded its lowest primary turnout since 2008 — roughly 26 percent, down from 35 in the comparable 2022 primary. Three out of four Republicans who could have voted did not. Not because they were prevented. Because they concluded it did not matter.

And here is what we hear at the doors, over and over: **they are sick of the fighting.** Not of the country, not of the principles. Of the fighting.

Precinct Committeemen are sick of it too. That is why the seats in this account are empty.

The fighting is not a side effect of the takeover. It is the method.

Read the timeline that follows and you will not find a single one of these Districts losing a vote. **No one was outvoted.** A Chairman censured. Boards resigning in full, and their replacements resigning after them. Three removal elections against one man in a single month. Applications left in a drawer. Not one of those is an election won. Every one of them is a reason for a decent person to go home.

You cannot take a District by beating it — there is no vote large enough and no coalition cheap enough. But you can make a room unbearable, and an unbearable room empties itself.

So when we fight each other, we are not resisting the takeover. We are performing it for them, unpaid.

That is a tactical observation, not a moral one. Every argument that drives one more volunteer out of one more meeting does work no amount of money could buy — and it costs the people doing it nothing, because we do it to ourselves.

What quitting actually costs

Men died for this. Not as a figure of speech — they left farms and families and did not come back, so that who governs would be settled by argument and ballot rather than by force. **An inheritance held by nobody is not held.**

When you quit because you are angry — and the anger is earned; nobody is asking you to pretend otherwise — you do not punish the people who angered you. They are still in the room. You have handed them your share and gone home.

It does not arrive as a catastrophe. It arrives as a seat, then a precinct, then a District, then a State Committeeman who was never elected because too few of you were left to elect one. A little at a time, until one day there is nothing left to hold.

5,113 positions in this county have no candidate at all. That is what it looks like while it is happening.

And know what you are voting for

The quieter half is voting the way you were told to vote. A Precinct Committeeman who takes a slate or a leader's word without asking what is behind it is not participating in a Party — he is supplying a signature to somebody else's decision.

Every action described in these pages required a room willing to vote as directed. Not one would have survived a room that asked, *show me the rule you are citing.* **A vote you cannot explain is not your vote.**

So: stay in the room, and stop making the room a place people flee. Disagree, take the vote, live with it. Extend to the person across the table the assumption that they are also there on a Tuesday night for reasons that have nothing to do with money.

Your job has never mattered more than it does at 26 percent turnout, with 262,000 Republicans in this county who have no volunteer assigned to them at all — because there is almost nobody left doing it, and the arithmetic at the end of this article shows how fast that can be fixed by the people still standing.

Why every other county should read this

Maricopa County outvotes all fourteen other Arizona counties combined, inside the Party as well as at the ballot box.

956 of Arizona's 1,762 Republican precincts are in Maricopa County — 54.3 percent. A majority of the state's precincts means a majority of its Precinct Committeeman seats, which means a majority of the State Committeemen who elect the leadership of the Arizona Republican Party and produce its State Delegates. Maricopa also holds **58.2 percent of Arizona's registered Republicans** — 897,104 against 645,500 in all the other counties together.

Whoever controls Maricopa County controls the Arizona Republican Party outright, without a single vote from anywhere else in the state. No coalition required. No other county has to agree.

At full strength Maricopa's 8,127 seats would produce roughly 2,709 State Committeemen. On the 2026 signature filings, about 768. The majority did not move elsewhere — it collapsed, and what is left of it is decided in a handful of District meetings by a few hundred people.

Every other county in Arizona is governed by what happens in twenty District meetings it does not attend — and the method described here works in any county with empty seats. Yavapai, Pinal, Pima and Mohave should read the timeline as symptoms, not as somebody else's history.

Why your districts were the targets

CURRENT PRECINCT COMMITTEEMEN — 2024–2026 term, seated

Filled · Vacant — attacked directly · LD10 — 60+ applications unprocessed · LD22 — First Vice Chair's District · Vacant — other Districts

LD	Registered Republicans	Seats	Seated	Vacant	Filled / vacant — tick marks the 49.4% county average
LD3	**88,044**	713	469	**34.2%**	
LD28	78,267	659	290	56.0%	
LD4	**67,240**	581	364	**37.3%**	
LD14	**67,222**	548	253	**53.8%**	
LD29	**64,404**	485	179	**63.1%**	
LD10	**60,035**	496	227	**54.2%**	42.1% if processed
LD13	52,323	453	280	38.2%	
LD27	50,495	438	212	51.6%	
LD15	48,133	361	224	38.0%	
LD2	46,731	387	156	59.7%	
LD25	46,666	357	132	63.0%	
LD12	44,332	394	278	29.4%	
LD9	35,251	308	137	55.5%	
LD8	29,361	280	107	61.8%	
LD5	27,079	258	173	32.9%	
LD22	**22,117**	187	31	**83.4%**	
LD11	17,954	165	118	28.5%	
LD24	17,638	162	32	80.2%	
LD23	15,573	128	30	76.6%	
LD26	14,720	139	100	28.1%	

Figure 3. Seats, vacancies, and Republican registration by Legislative District

This analysis covers the twenty Legislative Districts lying substantially within Maricopa County. LD16 and LD30 are excluded — five and thirty allocated seats here, mostly in other counties, and no vote on the Executive Guidance Committee.

Rank those twenty Districts by registered Republicans, then by Precinct Committeeman seats. The same six appear at the top — and **five of those six were interfered with.** Four came under direct attack from

the County Committee: LD3 (713 seats), LD4 (581), LD14 (548), LD29 (485). The fifth, LD10, was handled differently.

Together those five hold **2,823 Precinct Committeeman seats — 37.6 percent of the 7,499 Republican seats allocated across those twenty Districts — and 346,945 registered Republicans, 38.8 percent of the county's Republicans.** Nearly two fifths of Maricopa's Republican strength, in five Districts out of twenty.

Those 346,945 Republicans are represented inside their own Party by 1,492 seated Precinct Committeemen — one for every 233. And a District is controlled not by all its Committeemen but by a majority of those who show up to one meeting. In practice, a few hundred people. You are one of them.

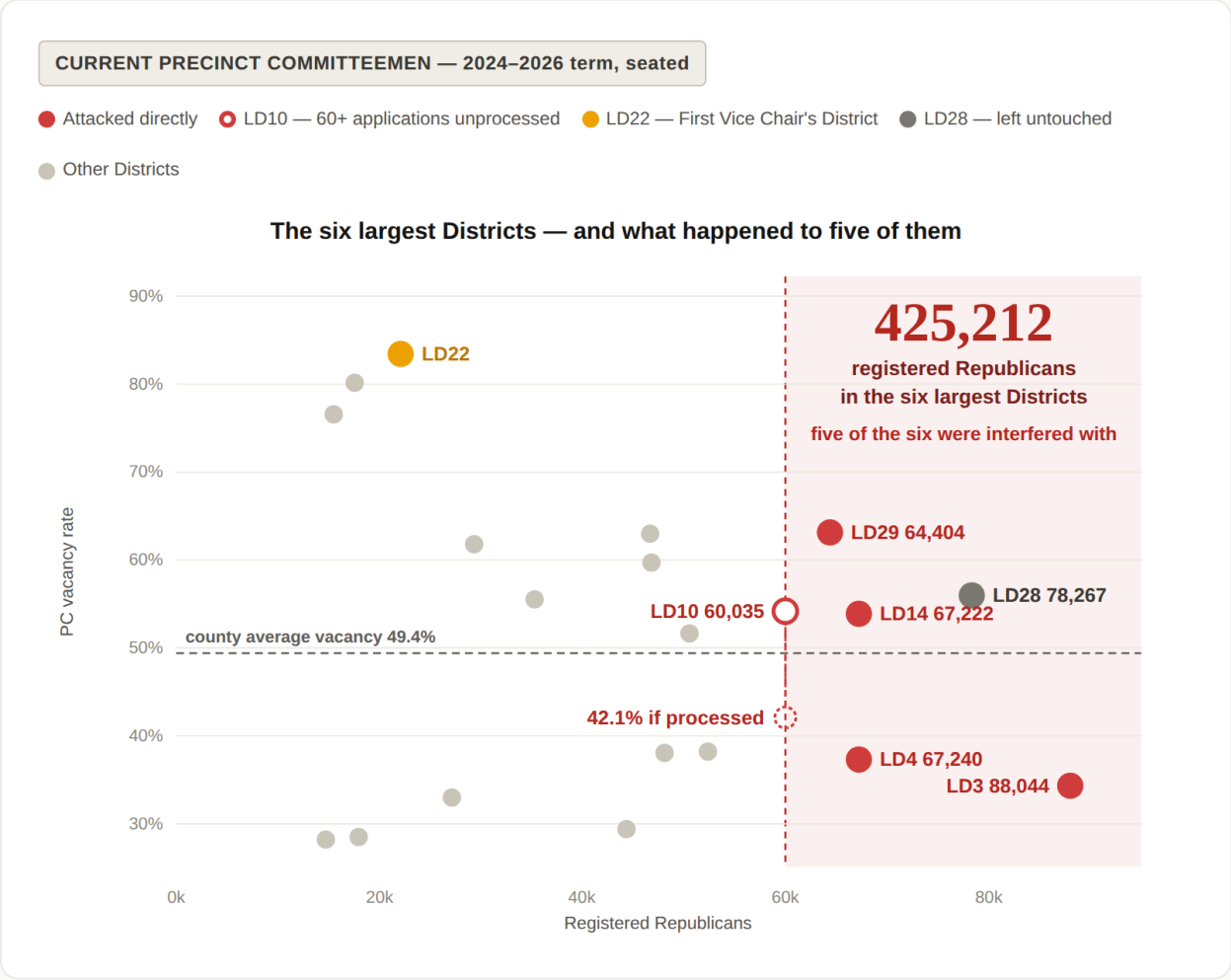


Figure 4. Registered Republicans against PC vacancy rate, by District

Size alone does not explain the choice. What makes a district decisive is the seats it actually fills, because an empty seat casts no vote.

Countywide vacancy for the 2024–2026 term was 49.4 percent. **LD3 sat at 34.2 percent and LD4 at 37.3 — the two lowest of any large district.** The one large District genuinely left alone was LD28 —

second in the county at 659 seats, and already 56.0 percent vacant, twenty-two points emptier than LD3. A District that cannot fill its own seats delivers no votes at a District meeting, which is the only thing a takeover needs. There was nothing in it worth taking.

LD10 is the different case. It appears at 54.2 percent vacant, unremarkable — but **more than sixty Precinct Committeeman applications from LD10 went unprocessed by the County Chairman in 2023.** Sixty seated PCs would have put it at 42.1 percent, below the county average. The district did not fail to recruit.

One more number. Shelby Busch — the County Committee's First Vice Chair throughout, and chair of Arizona's 2024 convention delegation — sits in LD22. LD22 is allocated 187 seats and has 31 filled, an **83.4 percent vacancy rate — the highest of any Legislative District in Maricopa County.**

LD3 has 469 seated Precinct Committeemen. LD22 has 31.

The districts that were attacked are the districts that did the work. If you are reading this from one of them, that is not a coincidence — it is the reason.

So: you do not need a campaign, a donor, or a single public vote. You take five district meetings, one at a time.

What was done



Figure 5. Timeline, December 2022 to June 2024

In December 2022 the Maricopa County Chairman challenged LD3's organizational meeting and wrote three times in five days — December 14, 17 and 19 — that the challenge concerned only the State Committeeman election and that the officer election was not in question. In March 2023 the district's officers were replaced anyway.

The State Party rejected it. AZGOP Chairman Jeff DeWit cancelled that meeting by unanimous vote of the state board, then wrote twice that the officers elected December 1, 2022 retained their positions, that

no legal election had been held since, and that under A.R.S. § 16-823 the county has no statutory authority to interfere in a district's elections.

In court, Judge Frank Moskowitz rejected the county's proxy allegation: no competent evidence that the December election violated any controlling Arizona statute. On the March election he found no statutory violation either — because § 16-823 is narrow and the court has no jurisdiction over a party's internal affairs. Whether the March election complied with the party's own bylaws, he wrote, was not for the court to decide.

In LD4, Chairman Dan Farley resigned. His successor, Morgan Perry, faced three removal elections in May 2024 alongside accusations — later disproven — that he did not live in the District. **Mr. Perry prevailed in all three votes, one by a single vote.** The residency route needs no vote at all: under A.R.S. § 16-822(D) a Committeeman's seat becomes vacant when he moves out of his precinct, and § 16-823(C) requires a District to elect its Chairman from its membership. It removes a Chairman twice over — which is why it was tried after three votes had failed.

In LD14 the disruption was aimed at Chairman Andrew Adams. That district absorbed it and held.

In LD29 no removal vote was ever needed. The Chairman was censured in 2023. In 2024 the entire board resigned, and the board that replaced it resigned in full as well. The district is on its third treasurer and can no longer reach quorum.

A removal can be contested. A resignation cannot. The seat simply empties.

And appointment ran both ways. The County Chairman's signature is required before any applicant is seated, which makes the same signature a tool for selection as well as denial: applications from some Districts went unprocessed while appointments elsewhere moved. Denying a seat and granting one are the same instrument, used in opposite directions.

And the method is still running. Joe Neglia — copied on the original December 2022 emails, parliamentarian to the county leadership throughout, removed from the 2024 convention rules committee — now advises the AZGOP, and has advised the State Party and the current LD3 Chairman that the votes of individual Precinct Committeemen in a statutory election may be recorded and retained. A ballot is secret so that a member can vote against the people who hold power over him and still be in the room next month. Strip that away and the ballot becomes a roster of who was disloyal.

By June 2024 the leadership that ran these operations chaired Arizona's delegation to the Republican National Convention. The RNC's own legal counsel drafted credential challenges against six of that delegation's leaders, withdrawn only after delegation chair Shelby Busch signed a written commitment that neither she nor anyone she influenced would disrupt the convention. The national party stood down in exchange for a promise about how Arizona would behave on the floor.

And Arizona's own national committeewoman, Liz Harris, who took that office on April 27, 2024 as the delegation was being assembled, is recorded saying that a **"small group of elites led by Shelby Busch chose Arizona's delegates to the convention."** The Arizona Republican Party's published account says the opposite — that Busch's peers elected her delegation chair. Both cannot be true. Either a body voted, or a group chose.

Under Rule 5 of the 2024 state convention and congressional district caucus rules, delegates are elected, and an election leaves a tally. Those records have not been produced. A party that cannot produce the tally of an election it insists took place has answered the question without saying a word.

Who's picking your legislators and elected officials?

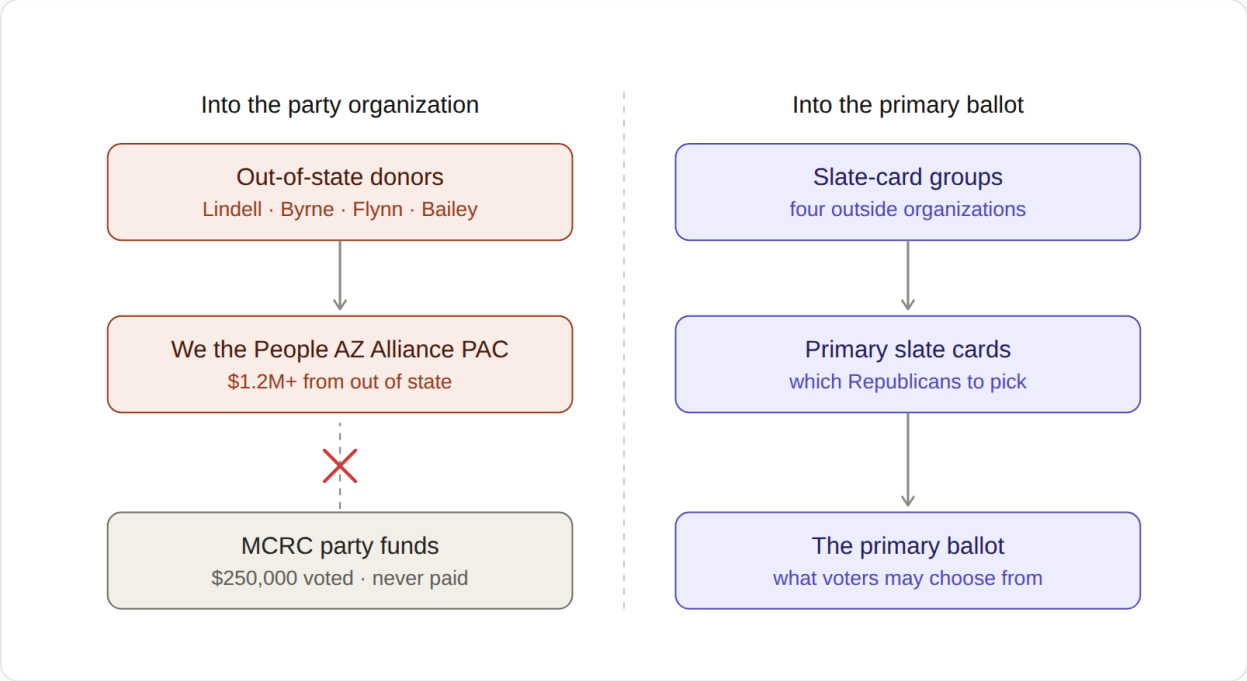


Figure 6. Two routes outside money takes into Arizona Republican outcomes

Capturing district boards is the cheap route. There is an expensive one running alongside it.

We the People AZ Alliance PAC — since renamed — is co-founded and chaired by Shelby Busch. Its reported backers include Mike Lindell, Patrick Byrne, General Michael Flynn and John Bailey of Arkansas — not one of them an Arizonan. More than $1.2 million has come into the PAC from out-of-state donors.

The County Committee's executive committee then voted to direct up to $250,000 of party money to that same PAC. LD4 Chairman Dan Farley objected publicly: the county's own vice chair had co-founded the recipient, and her partner draws income from it. The proposal was withdrawn and no county money was

transferred. **No money changed hands. The vote is the point** — the governing body of the largest county Republican organization in Arizona voted to send a quarter million dollars of members' money to a private PAC chaired by its own first vice chair, and it took a district chairman's public objection to stop it.

Farley resigned. His successor faced three removal elections.

Why the primary and not November

Turning Point Action, the Arizona Free Enterprise Club, EZAZ and The Crimson Saguaro issue slate cards — golden tickets — telling Republican voters which Republicans to pick. Not in the general election. In the **Republican primary**, the one contest where only Republicans vote.

In LD3, Republicans outnumber Democrats 88,044 to 34,430. In LD28 it is 78,267 to 34,700. In districts drawn like that the general election ratifies what the primary already decided. **Whoever shapes the Republican primary has chosen the officeholder, and the November ballot is a formality.**

Now look at who is doing the telling. **The Crimson Saguaro's Golden Ticket is written by an unaffiliated voter** — someone directing the nominations of a party he has declined to join.

Arizona's primary is semi-open, so an unaffiliated voter may request a Republican ballot. What he cannot do is be bound by the Party's rules, because those rules reach members and no one else. He faces no bylaw, no censure, no letter, and no committee with standing to tell him to stop.

The Precinct Committeeman down the street does. **The same act — recommending Republicans to Republicans — is restrained in the member and unreachable in the non-member.**

Here is the part that should stop you. Party bylaws restrain the Party and its Precinct Committeemen from putting a thumb on a contested primary. They do not restrain the PACs, and they certainly do not restrain a man who never joined. **The rule written to keep candidate selection in the hands of the membership now binds only the membership.**

A volunteer who spent a year earning her seat is told she may not favor a candidate. His slate card reaches a hundred thousand Republicans; her one vote reaches a District meeting.

And the restraint is a letter, not a rule

This District tested the proposition. LD3 distributed its own recommendation card in a Scottsdale City Council race — a nonpartisan municipal contest, not a Republican primary. The Arizona Republican Party responded with a letter. Nothing followed: no enforcement, no sanction, no finding, and no change in what LD3 was doing.

The restraint on the membership is a letter. Which leaves the asymmetry sharper, not softer. The four outside organizations never receive the letter, because they are not members and no rule reaches them.

The volunteers do — and most of them, being people who joined an organization in order to follow its rules, stop. **The restraint works on exactly the people who were never the problem.**

The primary has been held. The names on your November ballot are already fixed, narrowed in a contest where the only organized county-wide guidance Republicans received came from four outside organizations funded largely from outside Arizona — and the one group the party's own rules place closest to the voters was the only group forbidden to speak.

Both ends of an election are settled before a single voter votes. The general election still happens. By then the choices have been made.

The scoreboard



Figure 7. Seats lost, current PCs against new-election filings

Judge the county leadership the way any organization judges its management: by what it produced.

Between the term that just ended and the one now beginning, those twenty Districts went from **3,792 seated Republican Precinct Committeemen to 3,014 filings** — a net loss of **778, better than one in five** — while the number of allocated seats *grew*.

The current cycle is worse. When filing closed for 2026, **3,014 Republicans had filed for 8,127 seats.** Only **2,304 filed with nominating signatures**; the other 710 filed as write-ins, and a write-in must still be written in. If only the signature filers are seated, Maricopa will fill **28.3 percent of its authorized quota** — 2,304 of 8,127 seats. Sixteen of the twenty Districts filed fewer people than they seated last term — LD3 fell by 139, the largest drop in the county. Only four grew: LD11, LD22, LD23 and LD26.

The five Districts that were interfered with held 39.3 percent of the county's Precinct Committeemen. They account for **47.7 percent of the loss.**

Now run that through the three-to-one ratio, because this is where the loss stops being about volunteers and starts being about power. Last term Maricopa's 3,792 seated Committeemen produced roughly **1,264 State Committeemen.** At 3,014 filings the county produces about **1,004.** If only the signature filers are seated, about **768.**

Maricopa County has forfeited somewhere between 260 and 496 **State Committeemen** — between a fifth and nearly two fifths of its voice in the body that elects the State Party's leadership and produces Arizona's national delegates. No vote was taken. No rule was changed. The seats emptied and the weight went with them.

It matters in one more way. When the arithmetic leaves a remainder, those fractions have been combined and filled by appointment — a practice that drew a legal challenge before the January 2026 state meeting. As the number of real, elected committeemen falls, the appointed remainder decides proportionally more. An empty seat does not stay empty in its effect. It transfers.

An organization that loses 778 Precinct Committeemen while spending three years fighting the five Districts that still had them was not outmaneuvered by Democrats. **No opposing party did this. It was done from the inside** — to the members whose names should be sitting in those empty seats.

Whether the emptying was the objective or merely the result is a question about intent, and intent is the hardest thing to prove. It matters less than it seems: the outcome is identical either way, and the outcome is not in dispute. Everything else here can be argued about. That cannot.

Four Moves from a Precinct Meeting to the White House

Epictetus taught that some things are within our power and most are not, and that wisdom begins with knowing which is which.

You do not control the County Committee, the court's jurisdiction, or who chairs the delegation in 2028. You control three things, and they are enough.

Know your bylaws and your statutes

Not what someone tells you they say — what they actually say. Download them. Print them. Bring them to the meeting.

Title 16, Chapter 5 of the Arizona Revised Statutes runs about eight sections and takes twenty minutes. **§ 16-823** tells you what a County Committee has no authority to do to your District — the section the State Chairman cited when he wrote that your District is independent and sovereign. **§ 16-822** tells you when your seat becomes vacant. **§ 16-828** governs proxies.

Every removal and every disputed election in this account happened because someone asserted authority to a room that had not read the rules. Twenty minutes buys you the ability to recognize a hostile takeover attempt while it is happening. A Chairman who has read them is nearly impossible to fool. A room that has read them is impossible.

Fill the seat, and bring one

There are 2,975 seated Republican Precinct Committeemen in Maricopa County. If every one of us brought a single person to fill a single vacant seat, we go from 2,975 to **5,950** — more than half of every empty seat in the county filled, and the county from 36.6 percent to better than 73 percent. The strongest Republican organization Maricopa has had in a generation, built in one cycle, by each of us doing one thing once.

Not a campaign. Not a donation. One person, one seat.

And file properly, because an application only becomes a Precinct Committeeman if somebody processes it — in 2023 more than sixty from a single District were not. Submit yours in writing. Keep a copy. Note the date. Follow it to the Board of Supervisors and confirm you were seated. **If it stalls, say so out loud, by name and by date.** Sixty people who filed quietly left no record. Sixty who file loudly cannot be handled the same way.

Take the training, and pick a program

All of it is free and already built.

- **TrainPCs.com** — video training on how to change a mind, the door-knocking flyer, the Precinct Committeeman handbook, and the activism calendar.
- **everythingrepublican.org/10minday** — fifteen personal texts a day, content supplied. 105 voters a week, 5,400 a year, from one volunteer on a couch. The right first assignment for anyone you recruit.

- **everythingrepublican.org/move-ins** — new arrivals register at the MVD; in-state movers are the quieter problem, because **the Post Office does not forward mail-in ballots.**
- **Voter registration** — not an extra. Registering voters is one of the duties of the office you hold. Every Republican you register is a vote that has to exist before anyone can turn it out.
- **Minutemen** — the volunteer corps you can sign up for directly. Reachable on short notice, ready to move when something needs doing. Not a committee and not a mailing list — people who show up, the way this was always supposed to work.
- **Drop and Roll** — getting the message to voters' doors. One volunteer drops the flyer, the car rolls to the next house. That is the whole method and the whole name. No meetings, no speeches, no argument with anyone — just a neighbourhood covered in an afternoon.

Senior community outreach, electioneering from October 7, and voter guide distribution are running now. Contact **Everything Republican** to be put on any of them.

Pick one. Then bring one person with you.

No one is entitled to your vote. Not through manipulation, not through false information, not through influence, and not because they hold an office and you do not. That vote is the entire reason the seat exists.

Everything in this account was accomplished by people who understood one thing most Republicans never learn: the distance from a precinct meeting to the White House is four moves, and every one runs through you. Nobody spends three years fighting an office that does not matter.

They never had to beat you in an election. They only had to beat you down until you stopped standing up. **That is the one move you can refuse.**

You are four moves from the White House. Act like it.