

PROVISIONAL VOTING NARRATIVES

Description: To construct the narratives, a researcher examined newspaper accounts, state websites, and reports from third-party organizations to gather information on the experience with provisional voting in the 2004 election. To organize the information derived from this examination, we created an information system that catalogues information about the states (i.e. whether a state was new to provisional voting, the percentage of provisional votes counted, the method of notifying voters if their vote was counted, etc.) and combined it with Moritz's collection and analysis of statutes, regulations and litigation.

Progress: The state-by-state database is complete, as is a first draft of all state narratives. This work has been shared with the larger team and is being reviewed currently in preparation for constructing analysis and recommendation of alternative approaches for provisional voting required under Task 3.5.

Work Plan: In the next month, revisions of the narratives will be complete. In addition to this research, we will expand upon vote fraud research and examine further the relationship between instances of vote fraud and ensuing election reforms.

SURVEY OF COUNTY ELECTION OFFICIALS

Description: The Center for Public Interest Polling (CPIP) at Eagleton conducted a national survey of county election officials to measure several aspects of provisional voting. The survey was designed to determine the following factors related to provisional voting at the county (or equivalent election jurisdiction) level:

- The content and quality of instructions provided to county officials by the states;
- The steps taken by county officials to pass information on to poll workers;
- Differences in experience between states new to provisional voting and those that had some form of provisional ballot before HAVA; and
- Recommendations to improve and/or reduce the need for provisional voting.

Progress: The fielding and initial analysis of the survey results are complete.

Work Plan: The information derived from the survey will be considered in drafting the analysis and alternatives document required under Task 3.5.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The contract lists 7 tasks (3.10 – 3.16) related to Voter Identification Requirements. During the reporting period, we have completed tasks 3.10 and 3.11. The research on Voter ID requirements is proceeding concurrently with our work on the experience of provisional voting.

Task 3.10: Legislation, regulations, and litigation

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation with regard to Voter Identification Requirements. When complete, this information will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task.

Description: The Moritz team has compiled statutes on Voter Identification, and will provide a summarized analysis of this research to the project team for review.

Progress: The chart created to collect data on voter identification is complete and is now being reviewed. Voter identification statutes are being collected.

Challenges: Identifying the relevant statutes has been challenging because of the different terminology used from state to state to codify voter identification issues, and because many states have scattered election law provisions throughout their codes. This variety from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Work Plan: Review of the voter identification chart, the collection of the voter identification statutes, and the writing of the state by state summaries will be completed by the end of August.

SUPPLEMENTS TO LEGAL ANALYSIS

To supplement the legal analysis, the Eagleton team is undertaking two research efforts: First, compiling information on the debate over voter ID in the states; and second, estimating the effect on turnout of voter ID requirements. Tracking the continuing political debate over voter identification reveals that the relatively narrow HAVA requirements for voter identification have apparently sparked in many states a broader concern with more rigorous identification requirements for all voters. We are following these developments both to monitor possible secondary effects of HAVA on voter ID, and to provide a rich collection of alternative approaches for consideration.

Individual narratives for the states with significant activity in voter ID will provide a resource for understanding the wide range of experience in the 2004 election. The narratives will include an appraisal of the prevalence and nature of vote fraud, a focus of the concern

with increasing the rigor of voter ID requirements. The next key milestones will be the completion of the state database and drafting the first narratives.

VOTER ID AND TURNOUT ANALYSIS

The second supplemental analysis will provide objective information on a contentious feature of the debate over voter ID in the states: the effects of more rigorous voter ID regimes on voter turnout and the relationship between the voter ID regime and vote fraud. As part of this effort, Eagleton is undertaking a statistical analysis to gauge the effect of a state's voter ID regime on turnout, especially turnout by minority and elderly voters.

Description: We are creating a database and gathering statistics on the effects of state-level voter identification requirements on voter turnout at the county-level in the 2004 election.

Progress: The collection of data for the Voter ID-Turnout analysis is complete. The assembled database contains population demographic data, voter registration data and voter turnout data from all 50 states, 3113 Counties, and the District of Columbia. It also contains exit poll data from the 50 states, providing demographic data of voter turnout. The analysis of that data is well underway.

Challenges: The initial methodology that was devised to investigate the questions involved in this part of the study proved insufficient, as the necessary data was unobtainable (the Census Bureau has not yet released their 2004 data). After re-developing an appropriate methodology, the necessary data has been assembled, we have resumed the analysis of this data.

Projection: The analysis of the impact that voter identification requirements have upon voter turnout should be completed around mid-August.

Task 3.11 Public meeting on Voter Identification Requirements

Description: In early July, we continued our efforts to identify specific Voter ID topics or issues and panelists who could shed light on them. We recommended a focus on the debate over Voter ID now underway in the states. To provide a vivid picture of the debate, we recommended that one panel include specific legislators on opposite sides of the issue from two different states, Mississippi and Wisconsin. We also discussed adding a researcher to the panel in order to place the debate in a national or historical context. We also recommended a panel of two academic researchers with contrasting points of view, to address the effects of Voter ID provisions under HAVA. In response to our suggestions, EAC staff recommended a panel of two state election directors to address the interaction of Voter ID with HAVA.

By mid-July, the EAC had decided which topics and speakers should be invited, however most of those speakers proved unable to attend.

Progress: Tom O'Neill and Dan Tokaji attended the EAC Public Meeting held in Pasadena on July 28. Their presentations at the meeting described the progress of the research and our developing perspective on how to assess the quality of the provisional voting process in the states and identify possible steps for improvement.

Challenges: The changes in the scheduling of the July meeting delayed and ultimately made it impossible to assemble a panel, from which we could derive substantive insight into voter identification issues as they are playing out in the states. Additionally, due to the date of the hearing, the information from the hearing was not available as early in the research process as contemplated in the contract.

Projection: Preparation of the hearing summary will likely be delayed, due to the team's focus on preparation of the analysis and alternatives paper.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

PEER REVIEW GROUP

Description: A feature of our proposal was the creation of a Peer Review Group (PRG). The EAC indicated at our first meeting in May that it would review our recommendations for members of the PRG. Our initial vision of the PRG was a small group of scholars and representatives of advocacy organizations that would comment on the research design, review drafts of our analyses and reports, and, in general, identify areas of the research that should be strengthened and help us improve the breadth, depth and clarity of reports based on that research.

Progress: Upon reflection, the project team agreed that the PRG should not include representatives of advocacy groups. We concluded that as representatives they would feel obligated to act as advocates for positions already taken by their groups. While advocacy organizations might be consulted as stakeholders during the course of our work, they were unlikely to achieve the goals we had in mind for the PRG as a source of advice on research design, methodology, and analysis. We submitted a revised list of potential members, substantially comprised of academics, to the EAC for review.

The EAC responded with suggestions concerning both the balance of the PRG's membership and the creation of additional committees to review our work. We provided an analysis of the cost and time involved in adopting the EAC's suggestions as well as with suggestions for a balanced selection of academics for the Peer Review Group. In the end, the EAC determined that Eagleton should appoint a balanced Peer Review Group of its own choosing. Initial phone calls were made to all members of that group by the end of July, and written invitations and descriptions of the process have gone to all possible members who had indicated their interest in serving.

Challenges: Communications on this issue with the EAC were not clear or timely. The purpose of the PRG is to review our work, and to comment on our research design, which is well underway. We had planned to have the PRG in place early enough in the project to enable them to provide feedback, including the research design. While we are

confident in the quality of our work, the experience and perspective of the Peer Review Group will strengthen our analysis and recommendations as we find a way to receive its critique in the more limited time now available. The delay in creating the Peer Review Group will result in a delay in the completion of the final draft of the analysis and alternatives paper and in the preliminary guidance document.

Projections: The work of the PRG will be about 2 weeks behind the milestones indicated in the work plan.

COORDINATION AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

Collecting and merging information and data from myriad sources is a demanding requirement of this research. We have developed two principal mechanisms to facilitate the analysis of the material collected or created in the project: an information system and an internal website for easy access to drafts and reports.

INFORMATION SYSTEM

Description: The statutory data and reports prepared by the Moritz College of Law will be merged with the political and procedural data and analysis prepared by the Eagleton Institute of Politics to provide a cohesive final product to the EAC, which will include a compendium of case law and statutes regarding provisional voting and voter identification.

Progress: The Moritz team has provided Eagleton staff with all completed work. An Eagleton staff member reviews the content and formats of data from all supporting research and will (re-)format once the work has been completed for the compendium and reports submitted to the EAC. The researchers and staff at Eagleton have created a shared folder on the Institute's server for the safe storage of work and access for those staff members. All of this work is being reviewed by the project team to ensure that a broad survey is being performed.

Projections: By the end of July 2005, much of the above referenced research has been completed. The entire project team has begun the process of reviewing all work, and will combine and format all documents and materials in preparation for our final reporting to the EAC.

INTRANET

Description: All project team members have signed on to the Intranet site. The Intranet facilitates the exchange of information and collaboration among project participants.

Progress: Project team members regularly post drafts, completed materials and spreadsheets online for internal review. The intranet has been extremely helpful to team members and serves as an internal website with announcements and important documents readily available to all team members.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The financial reporting for this project is supervised and prepared by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting (DGCA) at Rutgers. Financial reporting on grant accounts is limited to actual expenses that have been incurred during the reporting period. Our contact at DGCA is: Constance Bornheimer, (732) 932-0165, EXT. 2235.

A detail of expenses incurred from project inception through June 30, 2005, is attached.

Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV

07/15/2005 04:16 PM

To Thomas R. Wilkey/EAC/GOV@EAC, Juliet E. Thompson/EAC/GOV@EAC
cc Sheila A. Banks/EAC/GOV@EAC, Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV@EAC, Amie J. Sherrill/EAC/GOV@EAC
bcc

Subject Fw: Eagleton Institute June 2005 Progress Report

Should any of you all need or want a sense of what Eagleton has done on provisional voting and voter identification in preparation for the Cal Tech meeting, attached is their June monthly report.

K

Karen Lynn-Dyson
Research Manager
U.S. Election Assistance Commission
1225 New York Avenue , NW Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
tel:202-566-3123

— Forwarded by Karen Lynn-Dyson/EAC/GOV on 07/15/2005 03:57 PM —



"Lauren Vincelli "

07/14/2005 04:43 PM

Please respond to

To klynndyson@eac.gov

cc "Tom O'Neill"

Subject Eagleton Institute June 2005 Progress Report

Ms. Dyson,

Attached please find the June 2005 Progress Report for the project entitled, "Contract to Provide Research Assistance to the EAC for the Development of Voluntary Guidance on Provisional Voting and Voter Identification Procedures." If you have any questions regarding any part of this document please direct them to Tom O'Neill at: [REDACTED] (908)794-1030.

The financial reporting for this project is performed by the Division of Grant and Contract Accounting at Rutgers University. A copy of this report was not made available to us in an electronic format. Hard copies of the Progress Report and Financial Report have been Fedex'ed to you this afternoon and should arrive to your attention tomorrow morning. Please let me know if you do not receive this package by tomorrow afternoon.

Thank you for your time, have a great evening.

Best,
Lauren Vincelli

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EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

*Contract to Provide Research Assistance to The EAC
For the Development of Voluntary Guidance on
Provisional Voting and Voter Identification Procedures*

**MONTHLY PROGRESS REPORT
JUNE 2005**

For
UNITED STATES ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION
1225 New York Avenue N.W., Suite - 1100
Washington, DC 20005

July 14, 2005

Prepared by:
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
191 Ryders Lane
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8557

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OUTLINE

- Introduction
- Provisional Voting
 - Task 3.4
- Voter Identification Requirements
 - Task 3.10
 - Task 3.11
- Project Management
 - Task 3.1
- Financial Report

INTRODUCTION

This report describes our progress from the start of the project on May 26 through June 30, 2005. It includes brief descriptions of key tasks; progress made; challenges encountered or anticipated; milestones reached; and projections for work to be completed in the coming month.

The objective of the contract is to assist the EAC in the collection, analysis and interpretation of information regarding HAVA provisional voting and voter identification requirements on which to base policy recommendations as guidance for the states in the conduct of the 2006 elections. The work has begun well, thanks to the clarity of the EAC's expectations and the strong collaboration by the scholars and staff at the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, and the Moritz College of Law at the Ohio State University.

The document report is divided into 4 sections that cover: Provisional Voting, Voter Identification Requirements, Project Management, and the Financial Report. Each section references the specific tasks described in paragraph 3 of the contract.

Please direct any questions or comments about this report to Tom O'Neill at: tom_oneill@verizon.net or (908) 794-1030.

PROVISIONAL VOTING

Tasks 3.4 – 3.9 in our contract relate to provisional voting. Work on the first of these must be complete before proceeding to later tasks. The work plan provides for two months to complete Task 3.4. Work on this task is on schedule.

Task 3.4: Collect and analyze state legislation, administrative procedures, and court cases. Understand the disparities and similarities of how provisional voting was implemented around the country.

LEGISLATION, REGULATIONS, AND LITIGATION

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation. When complete, this information will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task. It also will provide a base of understanding for the analysis of states' actual experience with provisional voting in 2004, for which the Eagleton team has lead responsibility.

Description: The Moritz team includes faculty, an executive administrator, a reference librarian, and several research assistants. It began immediately to compile statutes, case law and administrative procedures regarding Provisional Voting. The team has created a 50 state chart to summarize information on provisional voting. Categories for which state statutes and administrative procedures are being reviewed include:

- *When did the state create a system compliant with the HAVA provisional ballot requirements?*
- *Who may be eligible to cast a provisional ballot? and*
- *What is the process for discovering whether your provisional ballot was counted in the election?*

Progress: Initial research for 27 states, including the collection of provisional voting statutes is complete. This phase of the work is on schedule for completion by August 1. By the beginning of the week of July 11, Moritz's full time research assistant will move from voter identification research to gathering and organizing case law on provisional voting.

Challenges: Identifying the relevant statutes has been challenging; states use different terminology to codify provisional voting issues. Many states have scattered election law provisions throughout their codes. This variation from state to state makes creating a snapshot view across states a challenge. The team is meeting this challenge, and the work is on schedule.

PREPARATION FOR AND EXPERIENCE WITH PROVISIONAL VOTING

The Eagleton team is constructing a narrative description for each state of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. It is also surveying a stratified random sample of county election officials to improve its understanding of actual practice in administering provisional voting.

Description: To construct the narratives, a researcher is examining newspaper accounts, state websites, and reports from third-party organizations to determine what information is publicly available about these issues during the 2004 election. To organize the information derived from this examination, we are creating an information system that will make it possible to catalog the basic information about the states (i.e. whether a state was new to provisional voting, the percentage of provisional votes counted, the method of notifying voters if their vote was counted, etc.) and combine it with Moritz's collection and analysis of statutes, regulations and litigation. The information system will make it possible to provide answers to such topics of particular interest listed in the contract as: "How did preparation for provisional voting vary between states that had some form of provisional voting and those that did not?" and "How did litigation affect implementation?"

Progress: The researcher in this area has identified sources of information for every state and the collection process is well underway. Verified database entries for 24 states are complete, as are two state narrative summaries. This phase of the research is on schedule for completion by the end of July.

Challenges: A key challenge is determining just what states actually did in practice to verify and count provisional ballots. A second challenge has been determining the variations in policy within individual states. We are still wrestling with resolving this challenge, but the work is on schedule.

Work Plan: By the end of the July, the compilation of statutes, administrative regulations, and litigation will be complete and ready to be combined with the state-by-state narrative compiled by Eagleton. That will form the basis for the analysis and recommendation of alternative approaches for provisional voting required under Task 3.5.

SURVEY OF COUNTY ELECTION OFFICIALS

This survey will help the research team understand more about such key topics of interest as:

- "How did the experience of provisional voting vary between states that previously had some form of provisional voting and those where provisional voting was new in 2004?"
- "Did state and local processes provide for consistent counting of provisional ballots?"
- "Did local officials have a clear understanding of how to implement provisional voting?"

The survey results will supplement the information on these topics from the compilation of statutes, regulations and cases and from the narrative we are constructing for each state.

Description: The Center for Public Interest Polling (CPIP) at Eagleton is conducting a national survey of county election officials to measure several aspects of provisional voting. The survey is designed to determine the following factors related to provisional voting at the county level:

- The content and quality of instructions provided to county officials by the states
- The steps taken by county officials to pass information on to poll workers;
- Differences in experience between states new to provisional voting and those that had some form of provisional ballot before HAVA; and
- Recommendations to improve and/or reduce the need for provisional voting

Progress: The survey instrument is complete. CPIP has compiled a list of election officials at the county level and at the municipal or regional level for states that do not assign the election responsibility to counties. It was forwarded to the call center, Schulman, Ronca & Bucuvalas Inc., (SRBI) the week of July 5, 2005. A sample will be drawn the week of July 12. Human Subjects Approval from Rutgers University was granted July 12. Pre-notification letters will be sent to election officials around July 12-13, 2005. The EAC has reviewed a draft of this letter, which we have now revised to make clear that the survey will increase our understanding of the provisional voting process, but is not being conducted on behalf of the EAC.

Challenges: We made special efforts to expedite Human Subject Approval to meet the schedule in the work plan. In the absence of an existing, reliable database of local election officials, we had to create one especially for this project. In order to provide a valid comparison between the states new to provisional voting with those that previously had some form of provisional ballot we doubled the sample size from 200 to 400. This increase will require an increase in the budget for the survey from \$15,000 to about \$24,000. We intend to reallocate costs within the existing budget to make this improvement possible, and will submit a letter describing the reallocation to the EAC in mid-July.

The sample has been, and will continue to represent the biggest challenge in this survey. Compiling the sample required substantial coordination and research to determine the accuracy of the identity and contact information for potential respondents. The difficulty in determining the appropriate contact is attributed to variation in county election officials' titles, jurisdiction types, and state and county election structures across the country. In addition to the potential pitfalls of reaching the appropriate county official, another factor in actually making contact with this special population will be dependent upon the hours that they keep, and may be hindered by the summer season.

Work Plan: This questionnaire will be pre-tested by July 15, and will field July 18 through August 5, 2005. This is somewhat later than projected in the revised work plan, but the information will arrive in time to be considered in drafting the analysis and alternatives document required under Task 3.5.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

The contract lists 7 tasks (3.10 – 3.16) related to Voter Identification Requirements. During the reporting period, we have made substantial progress in the first two tasks, which constitute the information-gathering phase of the work on Voter ID. The research of Voter ID requirements is proceeding concurrently with our work on the experience of provisional voting.

Task 3.10: Legislation, regulations, and litigation

The research team at the Moritz College of Law has the lead responsibility for the collection and analysis of legislation, administrative procedures and litigation. When complete, this information will constitute the compendium of legislation, administrative regulations, and case law called for under this task.

Description: A team of Election Law@Moritz faculty, executive administrator, a reference librarian, and several research assistants is compiling statutes on Voter Identification, and providing a summarized analysis of this research.

Progress: The Moritz team has created a 50-state chart to record data on voter identification. Categories for which state statutes and administrative regulations are being reviewed include: “*Who is required to present ID*”, “*Types of ID required*”, and “*Consequences of having no ID*”. We have completed the initial research for 45 states and have collected the voter identification statutes for those states. An *Election Law@Moritz* Fellow is conducting an academic literature review on voter identification. This literature review will help shape the analytical framework that will guide us when the compendium of statutes and administrative regulations is complete.

Challenges: Identifying the relevant statutes has been challenging because of the different terminology used from state to state to codify voter identification issues, and because many states have scattered election law provisions throughout their codes. This variety from state to state makes creating a snap-shot view across states a challenge.

Projections: At the current rate, a draft of the voter identification chart should be complete on schedule, by the end of July. Work on the literature review will continue into August, but will be available to inform the analysis of alternative approaches for voter identification called for by Task 3.12 of the contract.

SUPPLEMENTS TO LEGAL ANALYSIS

To supplement the legal analysis, the Eagleton team is undertaking two research efforts: First, compiling information on the debate over voter in the states; and second, estimating the effect on turnout of voter id requirements. Tracking the continuing political debate over voter identification reveals that the relatively narrow HAVA requirements for voter identification have apparently sparked in many states a broader concern with more rigorous identification requirements for all voters. We are following these developments both to

monitor possible secondary effects of HAVA on voter ID, and to provide a rich collection of alternative approaches for consideration.

Individual narratives for the states with significant activity in voter ID will provide a resource for understanding the wide range of experience in the 2004 election. The narratives will include an appraisal of the prevalence and nature of vote fraud, a focus of the concern with increasing the rigor of voter ID requirements. This work is on schedule to be completed by the end of July. The next key milestones will be the completion of the state database and drafting the first narratives.

VOTER ID AND TURNOUT ANALYSIS

The second supplemental analysis will provide objective information on a contentious feature of the debate over voter ID in the states: the effects of more rigorous voter ID regimes on voter turnout and the relationship between the voter ID regime and vote fraud. As part of this effort, Eagleton is undertaking a statistical analysis to gauge the effect of a state's voter ID regime on turnout, especially turnout by minority and elderly voters.

Description: We are creating a database and gathering statistics on the effects of state-level voter identification requirements on voter turnout at the county-level in the 2004 election. Analysis on the county-level will enable us to estimate the influence of ID requirements on various age groups, races, ethnicities and gender groups. We are compiling data from both the 2000 and 2004 Presidential elections to measure the effect that changes in ID requirements may have had on voter turnout through two national election cycles.

Progress: The structure of the database is complete. It contains demographic information from the Census, and turnout data from various sources. The researcher assigned to this task is devising the syntax that will be required to run the statistics when the dataset is complete. The methodology for this part of the study is complete, and the actual data collection will soon be finished.

Projection: We are waiting for the Census Bureau to release the 2004 County Demographic Estimates. We have ordered and await the arrival of 2 datasets that contain voter turnout and voter registration numbers on the county-level for both the 2000 and 2004 elections. Once these two sources of information are received, the researcher will insert this information into the existing database, clean up the dataset, and begin to run the statistics. By that point, the researcher will have separated the states into various ID-requirement groupings that have been determined by the team, which will require coordination with several other parts of the study. This work is on schedule. By the end of July, the researcher should have county-level and state-level statistics on the impact of each ID system upon turnout, analyzed through various demographic features on the county-level.

Task 3.11 Public meeting on Voter Identification Requirements

Description: We are working closely with EAC staff, particularly the General Counsel, to plan a half day public meeting on Voter ID requirements. Presentations at the meeting will form an important part of the information we are compiling about Voter ID requirements and the strengths and shortcomings of a range of alternative approaches.

Progress: We have recommended a focus on the debate over Voter ID now underway in the states. To provide a vivid picture of the debate, we have recommended that one panel include legislators on opposite sides of the issue from two different states. Our research identified Mississippi and Wisconsin as two states to focus on, and we have recommended specific legislators from each. We have discussed with staff adding a researcher to the panel to put the debate in Wisconsin and Mississippi in either a national or historic context. We also recommended two researchers from contrasting points of view, to address the effects of Voter ID provisions under HAVA and broader provisions that are now the subject of national debate. EAC staff recommended a panel of two state election directors to address the interaction of Voter ID with HAVA. We are awaiting a decision on our recommendations from EAC staff. We have no reason not to believe that the work is on schedule to be completed in time to organize a productive meeting on July 28.

Challenges: The date and location of this hearing has been changed twice since the beginning of the project. It was originally scheduled to take place in late June, but was rescheduled for July to allow the June hearing to focus on voting machine technology. The regular meeting was rescheduled for July 26 in Minneapolis, and was recently changed to July 28 in Pasadena. The changes in the scheduling of the July meeting have complicated our choice of panelists. More seriously, the changes mean that information from the hearing will not be available as early in the research process as contemplated in the contract. This timeframe will now require the team to summarize the hearing events at the same time that we are drafting the analysis and alternatives paper in early August.

Additionally, while our contract states that the "Contractor shall be responsible for all aspects of planning and conducting this hearing in consultation with the EAC," we have been asked only to make recommendations of topics and panelists, and the arrangements for the organization of the hearing are in other hands. This lack of clarity has caused some confusion and has delayed invitations to panelists. Thanks to frequent communication with members of the EAC, the process now seems to be working smoothly.

Projection: We believe the work is on schedule for completion in time to recruit the panelists for the July 28 hearing. Preparation of the hearing summary will likely be delayed because of the need to complete the analysis and alternatives paper.

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PROJECT MANAGEMENT

Immediately after announcement of the award of the contract, Eagleton and Moritz began supplementing the core group that had prepared to proposal to building a highly qualified team to undertake the work. That team was in place by mid June, just a few weeks after the contract award.

As described in the proposal, the direction of the project is the responsibility of a five-person committee of faculty and staff from Eagleton and Moritz, chaired by Dr. Ruth Mandel, Director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics. Project Director Thomas O'Neill, a consultant to Eagleton, reports to this team and provides day-to-day guidance and coordination for the research. A weekly meeting of all the researchers engaged in the project is the primary means of coordinating the work. We have recently added an internal website to facilitate the review and revision of written materials.

Task 3.1 Update the Work Plan

The first task was completed on time with the submission of a detailed work plan and timeline. EAC staff requested that the work plan be supplemented with a Gantt chart created on MS Project, and we submitted that a few days later.

PEER REVIEW GROUP

Description: A feature of our proposal was the creation of a Peer Review Group (PRG). The EAC indicated at our first meeting in May that it would review our recommendations for members of the PRG. Our initial vision of the PRG was a small group of scholars and representatives of advocacy organizations that would comment on the research design, review drafts of our analyses and reports, and, in general, identify areas of the research that should be strengthened and help us improve the breadth, depth and clarity of reports based on that research.

Progress: Upon reflection, the project team agreed that the PRG should not include representatives of advocacy groups. We concluded, as representatives they would feel obligated to act as advocates for positions already taken by their groups. While advocacy organizations should be consulted as stakeholders during the course of our work, they were unlikely to achieve the goals we had in mind for the PRG as a source of advice on research design, methodology, and analysis. We submitted a revised list of potential members, substantially comprised of academics, to EAC for review.

The EAC responded with suggestions concerning both the balance of the PRG's membership and the creation of additional committees to review our work. We answered with an analysis of the cost and time involved adopting the EAC's suggestions as well as with suggestions for a balanced selection of academics for the Peer Review Group. We have not received response on this correspondence from the EAC, and the recruitment of the group is on hold.

FOCUS - 8 of 21 DOCUMENTS
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- SENATE

From
Peg
Lotgren only

Tuesday, October 15, 2002

107th Congress, 2nd Session

148 Cong Rec S 10412

REFERENCE: Vol. 148, No. 135

SECTION: Senate

TITLE: HELP AMERICA VOTE ACT OF 2002_CONFERENCE REPORT

SPEAKER: Mr. DODD; Mr. McCONNELL; Mr. KOHL. ; Mr. WYDEN

TEXT: [*S10412]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of the conference report accompanying H.R. 3295, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 3295) to require States and localities to meet uniform and nondiscriminatory election technology and administration requirements applicable to Federal elections, to establish grant programs to provide assistance to States and localities to meet those requirements and to improve election technology and the administration of Federal elections, to establish the Election Administration Commission, and for other purposes, having met, have agreed that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment, signed by a majority of the conferees on the part of both Houses.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will proceed to the consideration of the conference report.

(The report is printed in the House proceedings of the Record of October 8, 2002.)

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I am very pleased this afternoon to bring to the attention of the Senate the conference report agreement on legislation to reform our Nation's election laws. I anticipate we will not need the full time allocated. I would like to think Members are so interested they would like to come over and share their thoughts with us on this subject. But knowing there are no votes today, that is not likely to occur so we will probably use a lot less time than the 2 hours required.

I note the presence of my friend and colleague, Senator McConnell, the ranking member of the Rules Committee.

Before getting to the substance of my remarks, let me begin by thanking him and his staff, and the staff of Senator Bond as well, one of our conferees, and that of my own two conferees on the Democratic side, Senators Durbin and Schumer, and their staffs, not to mention my own staff, Kennie Gill and others, for the tremendous work done on the Senate side of this effort.

It is somewhat ironic. I understand we are going to get this done. It is a quiet afternoon after Columbus Day. Members are still back in their States having spent the weekend with their families before returning tomorrow when we will have some additional votes as we begin to wind up this 107th Congress. It is somewhat ironic in a sense that we are in this sort of quiet stillness of this Chamber with only two of us here to talk, when you consider what gave rise to this legislation—the fact that there was one of the most tumultuous elections in the history of [*S10413] our country that galvanized the attention, not only of the people of this country but those throughout the world. For more than a month, every single news program, day in and day out, 24 hours a day, was of eyes peering through hanging chads and people bellowing at each other in a voting precinct in Florida, with courtrooms packed, around the corner from here, in the United States Supreme Court.

011482

The irony is all of that turmoil provoked us to step up and find out whether our election laws could do with some changing_not that it all occurred in Florida or in just the 2000 election_but today, as we approach the second anniversary of that election, we find ourselves in a quiet Chamber with a couple of Members talking about something that both of us believe is a rather historic piece of legislation.

When you consider that unlike other matters that come before this body, despite the fact that our colleagues may claim expertise in every subject matter that comes before them, this is truly one in which each Member who serves here is an expert because they would not have arrived here had they not been elected. To that extent, we have an appreciation of elections beyond the awareness of the average citizen in this country. So the fact that we_as Democrats and Republicans, in a time when people question whether or not we can come to terms about some of the major issues of the day, can take a subject matter so rife with partisanship as an election, with all of the scars, the wounds, the admonitions, the rhetoric, the demagoguery, use whatever words you want_were able in this Congress to craft legislation that passed the other body by a substantial margin, and passed this body 99 to 1, and then the conference report passed the House by a vote of 357-48, and we hope a substantial vote will occur here as well, is a tribute to the membership of this body, to the leadership of this body, and the other body as well_that we were able to get this done.

If I may say so, I have been here 21 years. I have had proud moments when I have been involved in other legislative efforts. None exceeds the sense of pride I have over this particular accomplishment. Again, no one can ever claim that they were responsible in a legislative process for the final result. A lot of people can take legitimate credit for helping us achieve what we are asking our colleagues to support tomorrow when we vote before noon.

This agreement, as it said, represents many mouths of effort. That effort took place amid a steady stream of news reports that predicted the demise of election reform. While those reports bewailed the lack of progress in conference negotiations, they overlooked the fact that, instead of a lack of progress, conferees were making progress. Working quietly during early mornings, late nights, and long weekends, we crafted the conference agreement that is before the Senate this afternoon.

It is a bipartisan and bicameral agreement. It is one that, I believe, merits the support of our colleges in the Senate.

It is one that has already been approved by the other body by a vote of 357 to 48. And it is one that the Administration has said the President is prepared to sign.

Twenty-three months ago, our Nation was thrown into turmoil because we learned a painful reality: that our democracy does not work as well as we thought it did, or as it should. More than 100 million citizens went to the polls on election day 2000_November 7. Four to six million of them_for a variety of reasons_never had their votes counted. Some were thwarted by faulty machinery. Some were victims of wrongful and illegal purges from voter lists. Others fell victim to poorly designed ballots. But all of them_all_were denied the right to effectively exercise their most fundamental right as American citizens: the right to vote.

Regardless of which candidate one supported, there is no disagreement that election day 2000 was not a proud day for our democracy.

It was a day of deep embarrassment for a nation rightly viewed by the rest of the world as a beacon light of self-government. But that day was also, in a very real sense, a gift. Had there never been a contested election like the election of 2000, the problems plaguing our Nation's elections would likely never have been addressed. So it was in a sense a gift. If you were to find a silver lining in what occurred that day, what we are producing and asking our colleagues to support may be it.

The legislation we present to the Senate today goes a long way toward fixing those problems and righting those wrongs. It does justice to the American voter. It breaks new ground. It is, I believe, the first civil rights legislation of the 21st century. It is not a perfect bill. But it will make our democracy work better and be stronger.

Two hundred and thirteen years ago at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, the Framers decreed that the administration of federal elections is not the job of just the States, or just the Federal Government, but the job of both.

Until now, that vision of cooperation and partnership has largely been honored in the breach. The Federal Government has for the most part been an observer, not a partner, in the conduct of elections for Federal office.

Starting now, with this legislation, that pattern comes to an end. For the first time_if you exclude the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in which the Federal Government told States what not to do_they must not levy poll taxes, must not set literacy tests_the National Government steps up to more fully meet its constitutional duty to uphold the soundness and

sancity of the ballot. This is the first time the Federal Government is saying what we must do together to make our elections stronger. With this bill, we move closer to the day when every vote cast will be a vote counted.

Our bill achieves this progress in three ways: with new rights, new responsibilities, and new resources.

First, new rights. The conference agreement establishes new voting rights for our citizens. These include:

The right starting in 2004 to cast a provisional ballot. With this right, no qualified voter can ever again be turned away from the polling place without being able to cast at least a provisional ballot. There are some States that are doing this already and have been for years. Many do not.

The right to check and correct one's ballot if the voter made a mistake. I know this is a radical idea. In this way, voters need never again leave a polling place haunted by the thought that they voted for the wrong candidate, or nullified their own vote by over-voting.

The right of all voters to cast a private and independent ballot. Today, millions of disabled Americans face two options on election day, both of them bad: they either vote with the assistance of a stranger, or they do not vote at all. In the 2000 elections alone, some 20 million of them took the second option because the barriers to the ballot box were just too daunting.

With this legislation, henceforth beginning in the year 2006 those days will come to an end. Starting with this bill, a disabled voter will have the same right to cast a private and independent ballot as any other voter.

That provision dealing with providing for accessibility improvements in voting systems may not be required to go into effect until 2006. Obviously, some States may do that before. There is something in this bill that says you cannot do that. But at the very least, by the year 2006.

The bill also creates the right to have, at each polling place, printed, posted information, including a sample ballot and a listing of voter rights and responsibilities. In this way, our bill will sharply reduce the risk of confusion and error on election day.

In addition, our bill requires states to develop "uniform and nondiscriminatory" standards for counting ballots because whether or not your ballot will count should never depend on the county or precinct where you happen to live and the economic circumstances there.

Second, our bill establishes new responsibilities for voters, for States, and for the Federal Government.

To address concerns about **FRAUD**, voters seeking to vote for the first time in a state will be responsible for producing some form of identification. Senator Bond was particularly instrumental in crafting these provisions. We thank him.

States will be responsible for producing statewide computerized lists of registered voters. Once these lists are up and running, it is our hope and expectation that the risk that individuals [*S10414] may be voting multiple times in multiple jurisdictions will be minimized if not eliminated altogether.

Let me add, by the way, that when it comes to the computerized statewide lists, a voter may not have to register again. If you live in a State that provides for state-wide registration, or wants to provide for state-wide registration, this requirement will facilitate that so that if you move around in that State from one county to another, or from one community to the next, a statewide voter registration list means you don't have to register again. If you move from one community and one precinct to the other, with the statewide list, you register once. If you stay in that State, you may be registered forever in that State regardless of where you may live or move to under state-wide registration.

That is not an insignificant burden we are lifting for many people in this country who move. If they are renters who can't afford homes and who want to participate in the process, every time they move from one precinct to the next, they have to register to vote. That will be over with, under state law providing for state-wide registration once provisions on the statewide voter registration requirements of this bill become effective.

To ensure that the requirements of the bill are met, States will also be required to establish meaningful enforcement procedures to remedy voters' grievances. And at the federal level, the Department of Justice will be responsible for enforcing the provisions of the act.

011484

Third, this legislation would commit unprecedented new resources to improving and upgrading all aspects of our elections. It authorizes some \$3.9 billion over the next three years to help states replace and renovate voting equipment, train poll workers, educate voters, upgrade voter lists, and make polling places more accessible for the disabled.

I thought it worthwhile to note that since the elections of 2000, only three States_maybe a couple more_have made any effort at all to reform and update their election laws and requirements that voters use in the various States. It is always costly to do this. Frankly, as the Presiding Officer, a former Governor, can attest, when there are budget constraints and a lot of demands are being made, there has not been a great constituency out there advocating spending money to buy new voting equipment, or new voting machinery, or to train poll workers. There are many other demands on a State budget that have much larger constituencies than those who might say we ought to improve the voting systems of the country. The fact of matter is, despite a public outcry about all of this, there has been very little action over the years_even in the wake of the 2000 elections.

So it seems clear to us that if we are truly going to command States, in a number of provisions, to do things differently, to suggest that they do so without providing the resources would be yet once again an unfunded mandate. We know how States feel about Federal requirements when there are not resources to support meeting those requirements.

This legislation provides \$3.9 billion_some that will flow immediately, and others subject to development of state plans and submission of applications. I will not go into all the details this afternoon. But the idea is that the Federal Government is going to become a real partner financially in the conduct of these elections. It does not mean the conduct of elections is going to be fully supported by the Federal Government. Obviously, States, communities, and municipalities have to allocate resources for every election. But with these changes we are talking about, the costs, by and large, are going to be borne by the Federal Government. This is the first time we will become such an active participant in improving the election systems of our country.

Lastly, this legislation establishes a new commission_the Election Assistance Commission_to assist states and voters. I want to acknowledge Senator McConnell's pivotal role in conceiving of this commission. In coming years, it will serve as an important source of new ideas and support for states as they take steps to improve the caliber of their elections.

It allows us to have an ongoing relationship with election officials at the State and local level day in and day out rather than waiting for some crisis to occur or for some disastrous election result where we then go out and form some ad hoc commission to go back and look at what happened.

For the first time, we are going to have a permanent commission that doesn't have rulemaking authority, except to the extent provided under section 9(a) of "Motor-Voter," but sets voluntary standards and guidelines_a source of information for people to access, as we will, I am sure, in the years to come with technology being what it is, and a demand for efficiencies by the American public to update and to simplify the process to make voting as user friendly as it can possibly be while simultaneously protecting against the abuses in which some may wish to engage.

We will now have a permanent venue where those ideas can be heard and recommendations can be made so that we will be involved on a continuing basis in a seamless way with the conduct of something as fundamental and as important as the elections in this country.

New rights, new responsibilities, new resources. And with them, a new day for our Nation's democracy.

Almost 2 years from the 2000 elections, this legislation will help America move beyond the days of hanging chads, butterfly ballots, and illegal purges of voters and accusations of voter **FRAUD**. It will make the central premise of our democracy_that the people are sovereign_ring even more truly in the years to come.

This legislation has the support of many individuals and organizations that have been critical to its success.

They include former Presidents Ford and Carter. We thank them for their work on the National Commission on Federal Election Reform. They met early on and crafted some recommendations and ideas. They held hearings around the country. Once again, it is a great tribute to President Ford and President Carter for their ongoing commitment to this country and for the allocation of time from their schedules to dedicate efforts to make recommendations on how we might improve the election process. I thank them.

The Congressional Black Caucus_for whom this legislative effort was the number one priority_I thank Eddie Bernice Johnson particularly as the Chair of the Black Caucus; John Conyers, my coauthor of this bill from the very

outset; and every other member of the Black Caucus who has been tremendously helpful in working with us on this legislation and lending support to this final product.

The National Association of Secretaries of State has been tremendously helpful. It is a bipartisan group that deals every day with the election laws in our country. They have to grapple with them. It is critically important. Everything we talked about on which they had some input to let us know whether or not these things will work obviously, many of them have not been tested yet, and time will only tell. But because they were involved here, we think the likelihood of things not working as well as one might normally expect will be minimized.

I particularly thank my secretary of state, Susan Bysewicz of Connecticut, who has done a remarkable job in our State, has been tremendously creative, and was a source of a lot of good solid information.

Secretary of State Kathy Cox of Georgia_I want to commend Georgia, by the way, one of the three States that made significant changes on their own in the election laws of their own States. They did a tremendous job. And Kathy Cox deserves a lot of credit for stepping up and doing things early on.

I thank Secretary of State Chet Culver of Iowa, the youngest secretary of state in the country and the son of a former colleague of ours who is doing a fantastic job, for his input. Ninety-two percent of the people of Iowa are registered to vote. It is one of the highest in the country. They have 300,000 new registered voters in the last 3 1/2 or 4 years in Iowa. Seventy-two percent of the people of that State voted in the last election. It is really a remarkable result, and a lot of it, again, is the result of the creative work of the secretary of state of Iowa. [*S10415]

The NAACP has been tremendously helpful; the AFL-CIO; the United Auto Workers; the National Federation of the Blind; the United Cerebral Palsy Association; the American Foundation of the Blind; and the National Association of Protection and Advocacy Systems, which represents persons with disabilities. I thank them for all of their tremendous help.

I ask unanimous consent that letters from these organizations and individuals in support of this legislation be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The National Commission on

Federal Election Reform.

October 4, 2002.

Former Presidents Ford and Carter Welcome the Agreement Reached on Election Reform Legislation.

Today, former Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter, along with Lloyd Cutler and Bob Michel, co-chairs of the National Commission on Federal Election Reform, welcomed the bipartisan agreement struck by the House and Senate Conference Committee on a bill to reform federal elections.

"The bill represents a delicate balance of shared responsibilities between levels of government," Ford and Carter said. "This comprehensive bill can ensure that America's electoral system will again be a source of national pride and a model to all the world." Indeed, all four of the co-chairs share the belief of Congressman John Lewis (D-GA) and others that, if passed by both Houses and signed by President Bush, this legislation can provide the most meaningful improvements in voting safeguards since the civil rights laws of the 1960s.

Washington Bureau,

NAACP,

Washington, DC, October 8, 2002.

Re Conference Report to H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act (election reform)

Members,

011486

U.S. Senate,

Washington, DC.

Dear Senator: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), our nation's oldest, largest and most widely-recognized grassroots civil rights organization supports the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act and we urge you to work quickly towards its enactment.

Since its inception over 90 years ago the NAACP has fought, and many of our members have died, to ensure that every American is allowed to cast a free and unfettered vote and to have that vote counted. Thus, election reform has been one of our top legislative priorities for the 107th Congress and we have worked very closely with members from both houses to ensure that the final product is as comprehensive and as nondiscriminatory as possible.

Thus we are pleased that the final product contains many of the elements that we saw as essential to addressing several of the flaws in our nation's electoral system. Specifically, the NAACP strongly supports the provisions requiring provisional ballots and statewide voter registration lists, as well as those ensuring that each polling place have at least one voting machine that is accessible to the disabled and ensuring that the voting machines allow voters to verify and correct their votes before casting them.

The NAACP recognizes that the actual effectiveness of the final version of H.R. 3295 will depend upon how the states and the federal government implement the provisions contained in the new law. Thus, the NAACP intends to remain vigilant and review the progress of this new law at the local and state levels and make sure that no provision, especially the voter identification requirements, are being abused to disenfranchise eligible voters.

Again, on behalf of the NAACP and our more than 500,000 members nation-wide, I urge you to support the swift enactment of the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act. Thank you in advance for your attention to this matter; if you have any questions or comments I hope that you will feel free to contact me at (202) 638-2269.

Sincerely,

Hilary O. Shelton,

Director.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Washington, DC, October 8, 2002.

Dear Senator: The AFL-CIO supports the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act.

This conference report will help improve our nation's election system in several important ways. It will allow registered individuals to cast provisional ballots even if their names are mistakenly excluded from voter registration lists at their polling places. It will require states to develop centralized, statewide voter registration lists to ensure the accuracy of their voter registration records. It will also require states to provide at least one voting machine per polling place that is accessible to the disabled and ensure that their voting machines allow voters to verify and correct their votes before casting them.

Since the actual number of individuals enfranchised or disenfranchised by the conference report on H.R. 3295 will depend on how the states and the federal government implement its provisions, the AFL-CIO will closely monitor the progress of this new law especially its voter identification requirements. We will also increase our voter education efforts to ensure that individuals know and understand their new rights and responsibilities.

Sincerely,

William Samuel,

Director, Department of Legislation.

Paralyzed Veterans

of America,

011487

Washington, DC, October 15, 2002.

Chairman

Christopher J. Dodd,

Ranking Member Mitch McConnell,

Senate Rules and Administration Committee, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Senators: On behalf of the members of the Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA), I want to congratulate you and your staff on the hard work that was done to bring forth a bipartisan Election Reform conference report. The House of Representatives passed the report overwhelmingly, recognizing the fact that our federal government, since the presidential election of 2000, needed to take steps to ensure the public that their votes do indeed count. This bill, the Help America Vote Act of 2002, does that.

The bill provides funds to states and local jurisdictions to recruit and train poll workers. It will allow for replacement of antiquated mechanisms, like punch card and lever voting machines, with machines that will allow voters to verify their vote before the ballot is cast, including voters with disabilities.

This legislation will charge the Architectural Transportation Barriers Compliance Board known as the Access Board to develop minimum standards of access at polling places and to consult with other organizations for research and improvements to voting technology.

This legislation will allow the Secretary of the Health and Human Services to make payments to eligible states and local jurisdictions for the purposes of making polling places accessible: including the paths of travel, entrances, exits, and voting areas of each polling facility. It will ensure sites are accessible to individuals with disabilities including those who are blind or visually impaired, in a manner that provides the same opportunity for access and participation including privacy and independence.

In addition the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall provide the Protection and Advocacy Systems of each State grant monies to ensure full participation in the electoral process for individuals with disabilities, including registering to vote, education in casting a vote and accessing polling places.

Again, PVA congratulates you on this legislation which, when implemented and fully funded, will provide tremendous access for PVA members and all people with disabilities in exercising their constitutional right to vote. PVA stands ready to work with you and your staff on implementation of this legislation which ensures confidence in our citizens and our democracy that indeed every ones vote cast will indeed count.

Sincerely,

Douglas K. Vollmer,

Associate Executive Director for Government Relations.

National Federation

of the Blind,

Baltimore, MD, October 9, 2002.

Hon. Robert Ney, Chairman,

Hon. Steny H. Hoyer, Ranking Minority Member,

Committee on House Administration, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

Dear Mr. Chairman and Congressman Hoyer: I am writing to express the strong support of the National Federation of the Blind (NFB) for the Help America Vote Act of 2002. Thanks to your efforts and strong bipartisan support, this legislation includes provisions designed to guarantee that all blind persons will have equal access to voting procedures

and technology. We particularly endorse the standard set for blind people to be able to vote privately and independently at each polling place throughout the United States.

While the 2000 election demonstrated significant problems with our electoral system, consensus regarding the solution proved to be much more difficult to find. Part of that solution will now include installation of up-to-date technology for voting throughout the United States. This means that voting technology will change, and devices purchased now will set the pattern for decades to come.

With more than 50,000 members representing every state, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, the NFB is the largest organization of blind people in the United States. As such we know about blindness from our own experience. The right to vote and cast a truly secret ballot is one of our highest priorities, and modern technology can now support this goal. For that reason, we strongly support the Help America Vote Act of 2002, and appreciate your efforts to enact this legislation.

Sincerely,

James Gashel,

Director of Governmental Affairs. [*S10416]

United Cerebral Palsy

Associations,

Washington, DC, October 9, 2002.

Dear Senator Dodd: United Cerebral Palsy Association and affiliates support the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act. We also take this opportunity to commend you for the work you did to ensure that all people with disabilities have equal access under this act.

This legislation, while not perfect, will go a long way in improving the ability of people with disabilities to exercise their constitutional right and responsibility to vote. The funding allocated for the multiple provisions of H.R. 3295 is critical, and we pledge to work with Congress to ensure that this funding is made available.

UCP stands ready to assist states' and local entities as they work toward compliance of this very important legislation. The changes outlined in the bill must be adopted swiftly, correctly and fairly, and it will be incumbent upon us all to help in this process.

Finally, UCP applauds you and your colleagues on your dogged determination to pass legislation that will make distinct improvements at the polls and in the lives of voters with disabilities.

Sincerely,

Patricia Sandusky,

Interim Executive Director.

American Foundation for the Blind, Governmental Relations Group,

Washington, DC, October 9, 2002.

The Hon. Christopher Dodd,

U.S. Senate, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Senator Dodd: The American Foundation for the Blind supports the conference report for S. 565 and H.R. 3295. We are pleased that the conference report contains the disability provisions of the Senate bill.

Already this year, in some jurisdictions, blind and visually impaired voters have, for the first time, been able to cast a secret and independent ballot. We look forward to the day when all voters with visual impairment will have full and independent access to the electoral process.

The mission of the American Foundation for the Blind (AFB) is to enable people who are blind or visually impaired to achieve equality of access and opportunity that will ensure freedom of choice in their lives. AFB led the field of blindness in advocating the enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA). Today, AFB continues its work to protect the rights of blind and visually impaired people to equal access to employment, information, and the programs and services of state and local government.

Sincerely,

Paul W. Schroeder,

Vice President, Governmental Relations.

AARP,

National Headquarters,

Washington, DC, October 10, 2002.

The Hon. Christopher J. Dodd,

Chairman, Senate Rules and Administration Committee,

Senate Russell Office Building, Washington, DC.

The Hon. Mitch McConnell,

Ranking Member, Senate Rules and Administration Committee,

Senate Russell Office Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Senators: We are writing to express our support for the bipartisan election reform conference report on H.R. 3295. AARP recognizes that significant compromise was required by all parties to produce an agreement that would advance the process of effective and fair election reform. The Senate-House conference report contains a mix of provisions that both strengthen and hinder citizen ability to exercise the legal right to vote and have that vote counted. Despite its shortcomings, however, we believe the overall effect of the compromise agreement will be to reform and enhance the nation's voting system.

AARP is pleased that the compromise:

Requires states to develop and maintain centralized polling lists;

Requires polling sites in each jurisdiction to meet accessibility standards and provide user-friendly voting equipment for persons with disabilities;

Makes provisional ballots available to voters whose names may be erroneously absent from registration lists;

Permits voters to verify and correct their voting preferences before casting them;

Provides Federal funds to encourage state & local reforms; and

Provides for training of elections administration staff and polling site workers.

Unfortunately, the H.R. 3295 compromise report weakens some existing voting rights and contains certain provisions that AARP believes will increase the chances of a recurrence of the problems that plagued the 2000 Presidential Elections. The report:

Imposes voter identification requirements that discourage participation by low income, minority and foreign-born citizens;

Encourages purging of voter registration lists without current law assurances to prevent illegal purging of legal voters;

Permits the denial of registration if the registrant possesses either a driver's license or social security number but fails to write it on the registration form; and

Denies legal recourse for improper election administration, while lacking adequate enforcement provisions to ensure that the ballots of all legal voters are counted.

These provisions undermine existing voting protections, and provide technical loopholes that can discourage or intimidate potential legal voters_ especially those who are low income, minority and foreign-born.

Ultimately, the success of this legislation in affording all eligible citizens the opportunity to vote and have that vote accurately counted depends on implementation by the states. AARP_ through the advocacy and voter education efforts of our national and state offices_ will work with states, election officials and other civil rights organizations to ensure that election reform implementation is fair and does not discourage citizen voter participation. We appreciate your leadership in bringing about these critically important advances. And, we look forward to working with you to further our most basic right as citizens_ the vote. If you have any questions, please feel free to call me or have your staff contact Larry White of our Federal Affairs staff at [REDACTED]

Sincerely,

Christopher Hansen,

Director of Advocacy.

National Association of Protection & Advocacy systems,

October 9, 2002.

The Hon. Chris Dodd,

U.S. Senate, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Senator Dodd: The Protection and Advocacy System (P&A) and the Client Assistance Programs (CAPs) comprise a federally mandated, nationwide network of disability rights agencies. Each year these agencies provide education, information and referral services to hundreds of thousands of people with disabilities and their families. They also provide individual advocacy and/or legal representation to tens of thousands of people in all the states and territories. The National Association for Protection and Advocacy Systems (NAPAS) is the membership organization for the P&A network. In that capacity, NAPAS want to offer its support for the passage of "The Help America Vote Act of 2002" (H.R. 3295).

NAPAS believes that the disability provisions in the bill go far to ensure that people with all types of disabilities_ physical, mental, cognitive, or sensory_ will have much improved opportunities to exercise their right to vote. Not only does this bill offer individuals with disabilities better access to voting places and voting machines, but it also will help provide election workers and others with the skills to ensure that the voting place is a welcome environment for people with disabilities. NAPAS is very pleased that P&A network will play an active role in helping implement the disability provisions in this bill.

NAPAS is well aware that there are still some concerns with certain provisions of the bill. We hope that these concerns can be worked out, if not immediately, then as the bill is implemented. It would be extremely unfortunate if people continued to face barriers to casting their ballot after this bill is signed into law.

Finally, We want to thank the bill's sponsors, Senators Dodd (D-CT) and McConnell (R-KY) and Representatives Ney (R-OH) and Hoyer (D-MD) for their hard work and perseverance. We look forward to working with each of them to ensure the swift and effective implementation of this important legislation.

Sincerely,

Bernadette Franks-Ongoy,

President.

[From News Common Cause, Oct. 8, 2002]

Common Cause President Praises Election Reform Agreement

Statement by Scott Harshbarger, president and chief executive officer of Common Cause, on the conference agreement on the election reform bill:

"The Help America Vote Act of 2002 is, as Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) has said, the first major piece of civil rights legislation in the 21st century. Nearly two years after we all learned that our system of voting had serious flaws, Congress will pass these unprecedented reforms.

"For the first time, the federal government has set high standards for state election officials to follow, while authorizing grants to help them comply. Billions of dollars will be spent across the country to improve election systems.

"This bill, while not perfect, will make those systems better. Registration lists will be more accurate. Voting machines will be modernized. Provisional ballots will be given to voters who encounter problems at the polling place. Students will be trained as poll workers.

"As Common Cause knows from a seven-year fight to pass campaign finance reform, compromise often comes slowly. We thank the bill's sponsors, Senators Dodd, Mitch McConnell (R-KY), Christopher Bond (R-MO), and Representatives Robert Ney (R-OH) and Steny Hoyer (D-MD) for their work. Their persistence_ even when negotiations bogged down_ brought this bill through.

"After the President signs the bill, states will need to act. Implementing this bill will require state legislators to change laws, election officials to adopt new practices, polling places to alter their procedures, and poll workers to be retrained.

"These far-reaching changes will not come easily. The bill's enforcement provisions are [*S10417] not as strong as the 1993 Motor Voter law or the 1965 Voter Rights Act. Some states may lag behind and fail to implement these changes properly; some polling places will experience problems like in Florida this year; others may have problems implementing the new identification provisions.

"Common Cause and our state chapters will work with civil rights groups and other to ensure that states fully and fairly implement the new requirements. We will help serve as the voters' watchdogs: citizen vigilance can protect voters from non-compliant states.

"Voters can now look to marked improvements at the polls in the years ahead, thanks to the bipartisan leadership of the bill's sponsors."

National Association

of Secretaries of State,

Washington, DC, October 9, 2002.

Committee on House Administration,

Longworth Building,

Washington, DC.

Dear Chairman Ney and Ranking Member Hoyer: The National Association of Secretaries of State (NASS) congratulates you on the completion of H.R. 3295, the "Help America Vote Act." The bill is a landmark piece of bipartisan legislation, and we want to express our sincere thanks for your leadership during the conference negotiations. We also commend your Senate colleagues: Senators Chris Dodd, Mitch McConnell and Kit Bond.

The nation's secretaries of state, particularly those who serve as chief state election officials, consider this bill an opportunity to reinvigorate the election reform process. The "Help America Vote Act" serves as a federal response that stretches across party lines and provides a substantial infusion of federal money to help purchase new voting equipment

and improve the legal, administrative and educational aspects of elections. In fact, our association endorsed the original draft of H.R. 3295 in November 2001.

Specifically, the National Association of Secretaries of State (NASS) is confident that passage of the final version of H.R. 3295 will authorize significant funding to help states achieve the following reforms:

Upgrades to, or replacement of, voting equipment and related technology;

Creation of statewide voter registration databases to manage and update voter registration rolls;

Improvement of poll worker training programs and new resources to recruit more poll workers throughout the states;

Increases in the quality and scope of voter education programs in the states and localities;

Improvement of ballot procedures, whereby voters would be allowed to review ballots and correct errors before casting their votes;

Improved access for voters with physical disabilities, who will be allowed to vote privately and independently for the first time in many states and localities;

Creation of provisional ballots for voters who are not listed on registration rolls, but claim to be registered and qualified to vote.

We want to make sure the states will get the funding levels they've been promised, and that Congress will provide adequate time to enact the most substantial reforms. Please be assured that the nation's secretaries of state are ready to move forward once Congress passes H.R. 3295 and the President signs it.

If we can be of further assistance to you, your staff members, or your colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives, please contact our office.

Best regards,

Dan Gwadosky,

NASS President,

Maine Secretary of State.

National Conference

of State Legislatures,

Washington, DC, October 7, 2002.

Hon. Robert Byrd,

Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee,

Washington, DC.

Hon. Bill Young,

Chairman, House Appropriations Committee,

Washington, DC.

Dear Chairmen Byrd and Young: On behalf of the nation's state legislators, we urge you to make reform of our nation's election processes a reality by providing sufficient funding to implement H.R. 3295. The conference agreement announced today will provide an effective means for states and counties to update their election processes without federalizing election administration. NCSL worked closely with the conferees in the development of this legislation and is satisfied that it keeps election administration at the state and local level, limits the role of the U.S. Justice Department

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to enforcement, does not create a federal private right of action, and establishes an advisory commission that will include two state legislators to assist with implementation. NCSL commends the conferees for their work on this landmark legislation and is committed to implementing the provisions of H.R. 3295 to ensure every voter's right to a fair and accurate election.

To ensure proper implementation and avoid imposing expensive unfunded mandates on the states, it is critical that the federal government immediately deliver sufficient funding for states to implement the requirements of this bill. Neither of the existing versions of appropriations legislation provides sufficient funding for election reform. We urge you to fully fund H.R. 3295 at the authorized level of \$2.16 billion for FY 2003.

The Congressional Budget Office has estimated that it may cost states up to \$3.19 billion in one-time costs to begin implementing the provisions of this legislation. In this current fiscal environment, it will be extraordinarily difficult for states to implement the minimum standards in the bill without immediate federal financial support. States are already facing budget shortfalls for FY 2003 of approximately \$58 billion. Thirteen states have reported budget gaps in excess of 10 percent of their general fund budgets. To satisfy their balanced budget requirements, states are being forced to draw down their reserves, cut budgets, and even raise taxes.

We look forward to working with you to keep the commitment of the states and the federal government to implementing H.R. 3295. If we can be of assistance in this or any other matter, please contact Susan Parnas Frederick [REDACTED]; susan.frederick@ncsl.org) or Alysoun McLaughlin [REDACTED]; alysoun.mclaughlin@ncsl.org) in NCSL's state-federal relations office in Washington, D.C.

Sincerely,

Senator Angela Z. Monson,

Oklahoma, President, NCSL.

Speaker, Martin R. Stephens,

Utah, President-elect, NCSL.

National Association

of State Election Directors,

Washington, DC, October 10, 2002.

Hon. Bob Ney,

Hon. Steny Hoyer,

House Administration Committee,

Washington, DC.

Dear Congressmen Ney and Hoyer: The National Association State Election Directors (NASED) congratulates you on the successful completion of the final conference report on H.R. 3295. This initiative will significantly affect the manner in which elections are conducted in the United States. On balance, H.R. 3295 represents improvements to the administration of elections. As administrators of elections in each state we express our appreciation to you and your staff for providing us access to the process and reaching out to seek our views and positions on how to efficiently and effectively administer elections.

As with all election legislation, H.R. 3295 is a compromise package, which places new challenges and opportunities before state and local election officials. We stand ready to implement H.R. 3295 once it is passed by Congress and signed into law by the President. Implementation of this bill will be impossible without the full \$3.9 billion appropriation that is authorized. The success of this bold congressional initiative rests in large measure upon the appropriation of sufficient funds to bring the bill's objectives to reality.

We found the bipartisan approach to this legislation refreshing and beneficial. Thank you again for including NASED in the congressional consideration the bill.

If we can be of further assistance, please contact our office.

Sincerely,

Brook Thompson,
President, NASED.

National Association of Counties,

Washington, DC, October 9, 2002.

Hon. Christopher Dodd,

Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration, U.S. Senate, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

Hon. Mitch McConnell,

Ranking Minority Member, Committee on Rules and Administration, U.S. Senate, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Chairman Dodd and Senator McConnell: We would like to congratulate you and thank you for your leadership, perseverance and hard work in reaching agreement in the House-Senate conference on the "Help American Vote Act of 2002." We believe the final bill is a balanced approach to reforming election laws and practices and to providing resources to help counties and states in improving and upgrading voting equipment. The National Association of Counties supports H.R. 3295 as it was approved by the House-Senate conference Committee.

We are very concerned about Congress providing the funds to implement the new law. While there is much confusion at this time about the appropriation process for FY2003, we strongly urge the leadership of the House and Senate and President Bush to support inclusion of \$2.16 billion in a continuing resolution. This is the amount authorized for FY2003 by the "Help American Vote Act." We believe that funding and improving voting practices in the United States is as important as our efforts to strengthen homeland security.

Thank you again for your continuing efforts to fund and implement this new law.

Sincerely,

Larry E. Naake,
Executive Director.

Mr. DODD . Mr. President, I also would like to mention the tremendous assistance provided by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the League of Women Voters, and People for the American Way.

Before I turn to my colleagues who wish to be heard, I would be remiss if I [*S10418] did not publicly express my gratitude to my fellow conferees. I already mentioned Senator McConnell, Senator Bond, Senator Durbin, and Senator Schumer. I thank their staffs as well.

I want to take a moment as well to thank an individual I had never really met before_ I may have met him before, but I did not certainly know him_ and that is the chairman of the House Administration Committee, Bob Ney, from the State of Ohio, who serves in a tough job as chairman of that committee. He has been in the Congress, I think, about 8 or 10 years.

He worked very hard on this legislation. And I developed a great deal of respect and affection for Bob Ney. We are of different parties and, obviously, different States, not serving together in the House of Representatives.

But Bob Ney and his staff were tenacious, hard working, and determined to get a bill. I commend them for that. We were not sure we were going to be able to get it done in the end, as it appeared at several points this may not work. And because Bob Ney felt strongly that we had an obligation to try, we are here today with this product on which they had a successful vote in the other body. So I commend Bob Ney for his tremendous efforts and that of his staff.

Steny Hoyer is the ranking Democrat on the House Administration Committee. I have known Steny for years. Unlike Bob Ney, Steny and I have been good friends for a long time. Steny Hoyer has been as committed to election reform issues as anyone, as well as his commitment to the disabled.

He was one of the prime architects of legislation affecting the disabled. So while we talked about that a lot in this body during the consideration of our bill, we certainly need to extend credit to Steny Hoyer for his commitment to those issues as well.

So the team of Bob Ney and Steny Hoyer, putting together the product they did, deserves a great deal of credit and recognition for what we hope will be the adoption of this conference report tomorrow and the signing by the President of this, we think, historic piece of legislation.

On more occasions than I can recall, the three of us—Steny Hoyer, Bob Ney, and myself—along with staffs, spent a lot of late nights. I am looking around the Chamber at faces who were with me in those rooms in the wee hours of the morning, and long weekends, going back and forth. And I appreciate all of their efforts. We had some tough moments, but in any good piece of legislation there will be tension. And if people are committed to try to work things out, you can produce results such as we have in this legislation. So without their persistence and the patience of all involved, we would not be here. And I thank them.

Last but far from least, I thank John Conyers, the dean of the Congressional Back Caucus, for his stalwart support. The day we introduced a bill, that is not unlike what we are asking our colleagues to support here, I stood in a room with two people, in front of a bank of cameras, as we laid out this particular idea. And the two individuals with me in that room were John Conyers and John Sweeney of the AFL-CIO. And I thank both of them.

But John Conyers has been tireless. He has never given up on this. He knew that compromises would have to be struck, and he insisted we reach those compromises even though he would prefer, in some instances, that provisions of the bill not be included. But a great legislator, a good legislator, understands that when people gather for a conference, unfortunately, they arrive with their opinions, and you are not going to be able to get your own way all the time. So John Conyers was tremendously helpful. I began this journey with him a long time ago. And I could not end these remarks without extending my deep sense of appreciation to him and to his staff for their tremendous help.

In closing, I would like to add only this: Of all the many important issues considered by this Senate in this Congress, I do not think any others may argue this—but I do not think any are going to exceed this one in significance. I know we have had important debates on Iraq and other such questions, but I think what Mitch McConnell, Kit Bond, and my other conferees, Senator Durbin, Senator Schumer, and others who were involved in this—what we have achieved certainly ranks in the top echelons of accomplishments, I would say the best thing we have done in this Congress. We have not achieved a lot in this Congress, but I think this is one of the most significant things.

I think this is the kind of legislation you can talk to your grandchildren about or they will read about and say that even if we did not do anything else in this Congress, this is a significant accomplishment for the American people.

Thomas Paine, as I have quoted him over and over again over the last year and a half or so of this discussion, said 207 years ago:

The right to vote . . . is the primary right by which other rights are protected. To take away this right is to reduce a man to slavery, for slavery consists in being subject to the will of another, and he that has not a vote . . . is in this case.

So, Mr. President, I thank again my colleagues; for the bedrock principle in our Republic is simply this: the consent of the governed. We are a nation where the people rule, and they rule not with a bullet but with a ballot. That sacred, central premise of our Republic is given new power by this conference agreement. It can make America a more free and democratic Nation. That kind of opportunity comes our way only rarely, at most maybe once in a generation, on average. It is an opportunity that has emerged out of adverse circumstances—a close and controversial election for the Presidency of the United States.

By seizing that opportunity and passing this conference agreement, we in this body can transform a national moment of adversity into the promise of a future with the right to vote that will have new resonance for every citizen of America. I urge adoption of this conference report.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Dayton). The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. McCONNELL . Mr. President, first, let me say to my good friend from Connecticut, this is, indeed, something to celebrate on a bipartisan basis in a Congress that could use a celebration. This may have been the most unproductive and unsuccessful session of the Senate in my 18 years here: no energy bill; no terrorism insurance bill and until tomorrow, at least no appropriations bills; no budget; no homeland security bill; only 44 percent of President Bush's U.S. circuit court nominees confirmed.

A couple of items we did pass were at least in this Senator's judgment not very good: a flawed campaign finance reform bill and a bloated farm bill.

We could use a celebration. And the Senator from Connecticut and I would like to encourage all of our Senators to feel good about the piece of legislation that will be adopted tomorrow.

This is, indeed, a significant accomplishment, an important piece of legislation. Even if we had a very productive Congress, and a Senate that was passing landmark legislation on virtually a weekly basis even if that had been the case this year this legislation would have stood out as something important for the Nation and something well worth doing.

So, Mr. President, I rise today with a tremendous amount of pride and enthusiasm about this landmark legislation. Although the Senate, as I just suggested, has been mired in partisanship and virtually calcified over various pieces of legislation, and the confirmation of judges, the House-Senate conference committee on election reform has achieved an historic bipartisan, bicameral consensus.

Nearly 2 years ago, this Nation had a painful lesson on the complexities and complications State and local election officials face in conducting elections. In response, legislators on both sides of the Hill introduced legislation to address the problems exposed in the 2000 election. The various pieces of legislation ran the gamut in approach and emphasis, but all were unified in their goal of improving our Nation's election systems.

In December of 2000, Senator Torricelli and I introduced the first of what was to become four bipartisan compromise bills that I have sponsored or cosponsored. From the beginning, I have been committed to providing not [*S10419] only financial assistance but also informational assistance to States and localities.

The best way to achieve both of these goals is by establishing an independent, bipartisan election commission. The commission will be a permanent repository for the best, unbiased, and objective election administration information for States and communities across America.

And that is really important because what happens I used to be a local official early in my political career is that you are confronted with vendors selling various kinds of election equipment, and there is really no way to make an objective analysis of what your needs are. On the other hand, this new commission will be a repository for expertise and unbiased advice to States and localities across America about what kind of equipment might best suit their situation.

This concept has been one of the cornerstones of each of the bills that I have sponsored. It was recommended by the Ford-Carter Commission, supported by the President, and has been perfected in this conference agreement. The commission will not micromanage the election process, but will instead serve as a tremendous resource for those across America who conduct elections.

This conference report will help make all elections more accurate, more accessible, and more honest, while respecting the primacy of States and localities in the administration of elections. For the first time ever, the Federal Government will invest significant resources to improve the process, roughly \$3.9 billion. Every State will receive funds under this legislation, and the smaller States are guaranteed a share of the pot. The funds will be used by the States in a manner they determine best suits their needs, rather than the Federal Government prescribing a one-size-fits-all system. Whether it is by replacing a punchcard or a lever voting system or educating and training poll workers, States are provided the flexibility to address their specific needs.

The mantra of this legislation, coined by the distinguished senior Senator from Missouri, Kit Bond, has been to "make it easier to vote and harder to cheat." We have achieved that balance in this conference agreement by setting standards for States to meet, standards which the Federal Government will pay 95 percent of the cost to implement. Voting systems will allow voters to verify their ballots and allow voters a second chance, if they make a mistake, while maintaining the sanctity of a private ballot.

Voting will become more accessible to people with disabilities, an issue admirably and vigorously championed by Senator Dodd. Provisional ballots will be provided to all Americans who show up at polling sites only to learn their

names are not on the poll books. Such a voter's eligibility will be verified, however, prior to the counting of the ballot to ensure that those who are legally entitled to vote are able to do so and do so only once; again, making it easier to vote and harder to cheat.

To protect the integrity of every election, this conference report makes significant advancements in rooting out vote **FRAUD**. Congress has acted properly to curtail **FRAUD**ulent voting and reduce duplicate registrations, both interstate found to be more than 720,000 nationwide and intrastate. The provisions of this bill are carefully drafted to address this impediment to fair and honest elections, and we provided the States with the means and the resources to address this problem.

First, States will establish secure, computerized Statewide voter registration databases that contain the name and information of each registered voter. The accuracy of the voter registration list is paramount to a fair and accurate election. The motor voter bill of 1993 has done grievous harm to the integrity of the system by junking up the voter rolls and making it extremely difficult to systematically ensure that only eligible voters are registered.

Second, every new registrant will be required to provide their driver's license number, if they have been issued one, or the last four digits of their Social Security number. If they have neither, the State will assign them a unique identifier. This information will be matched with the department of motor vehicles which will in turn match their data with the Social Security Administration. States which use the full nine-digit Social Security number for voter registration are given the option to avail themselves of this important new provision. Contrary to the assertions of some, the only thing this provision impedes is vote **FRAUD**.

Third, first-time voters who register by mail will have to confirm their identity at some point in the process by photo identification or other permissible identification. This provision was championed by Senator Bond, and its importance was once again highlighted just this past week in South Dakota where there is an ongoing joint Federal and State investigation of **FRAUD**ulent voter registrations.

According to press reports in South Dakota, people are registering weeks after they have died, and one eager voter even completed 150 voter registration cards. Is that an enthusiastic voter or what?

The South Dakota Attorney General succinctly summed up the problem:

It's pretty easy to register under a false name, have the registration confirmation sent back to your home, then send in by mail an absentee ballot request, get it and vote under the false name, send it back and get it counted.

Under this legislation, that is not going to be possible any longer. That is a step in the right direction for our democracy.

These three provisions will ensure that dogs such as Ritzy Mekler, Holly Briscoe, and other stars of "Animal Planet" will no longer be able to register and vote. These provisions will ensure that our dearly departed will finally achieve everlasting peace and will not be troubled with exercising their franchise every 2 years. And importantly, the provisions will ensure that voter rolls will be cleansed and protected against **FRAUD**ulent and duplicate registrations.

This conference report also provides remedial safeguards for every American's franchise. The Department of Justice will continue its traditional role of enforcing Federal law. In addition, each State will design and establish a grievance procedure available to any voter who believes a violation of law has occurred. States are best equipped to promptly address the concerns of its voters, and I compliment Senator Dodd for his foresight on this issue.

This legislation also makes significant improvements to protect the votes of those who have committed themselves to protecting all Americans, and that is our men and women in uniform.

I have touched upon just a few of the highlights of this historic piece of legislation. After nearly 2 years of discussions, negotiations, introductions and reintroductions of election reform bills, we now stand ready to vote on the most important piece of legislation before Congress in many years.

I thank, again, Senator Dodd for his steadfast leadership. He committed 110 percent of himself to this issue and worked tirelessly to bring us to this day. I also thank Senator Bond for all of his work to protect the integrity of the election process. I also congratulate my colleagues on the other side of the Hill for their significant achievement: Congressman Bob Ney of Ohio, chairman of the conference, did a superb job; and our good friend Steny Hoyer, ranking member, who was outstanding as well.

And to the staff people involved in this, my own staff on the Rules Committee: Tam Somerville; I particularly commend Brian Lewis, who was there from beginning to end in this process_ as far as I am concerned, this will be known as the Brian Lewis bill around my office_ and his able right hand, Leon Sequeira, and Chris Moore and Hugh Farrish, all of the Rules Committee staff.

For Senator Bond, Julie Dammann and Jack Bartling of Senator Bond's staff were superb. And for Senator Dodd, Kennie Gill, Shawn Maher, Ronnie Gillespie, we enjoyed working with them, and they, too, should feel about good about this. From Congressman Ney's staff, Paul Vinovich, Chet Kalis, Roman Buhler, Pat Leahy_ they have a staffer named Pat Leahy, how about that_ and Matt Petersen. And from Congressman Hoyer's staff, Bob Cable, Keith Abouchar and Len Shambon.

This is indeed a happy day, not just for Senator Bond and myself, but for [*S10420] all Members of the Congress. This is a remarkable achievement we can all feel good about. We look forward to seeing it pass tomorrow by an overwhelming margin. I am sure the President at some point will want to sign this with appropriate flourish down at the White House.

Again, I thank my colleague from Connecticut and yield the floor.

weekend voting

Mr. KOHL. I thank the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee for clarifying a provision in the bill. As the Senator knows, I am the sponsor of legislation moving Federal elections from the first Tuesday in November to the first weekend in November. It is my hope that moving Federal elections to the weekend will increase voter turnout by giving all voters ample opportunity to get to the polls without creating a national holiday. My proposal would also have the polls open the same hours across the continental United States, addressing the challenge of keeping results on one side of the country, or even a state, from influencing voting in places where polls are still open.

The Senate version of the election reform legislation before us included a provision sponsored by Senator Hollings and myself which directed the Election Administration Commission to study the viability of changing the day for congressional and presidential elections from the first Tuesday in November to a holiday or the weekend, with the possibility of looking at the first weekend in November. Unfortunately, during the conference on this bill, the studies section was refined to direct the Election Administration Commission to study the "feasibility and advisability of conducting elections for Federal office on different days, at different places, and during different hours, including the advisability of establishing a uniform poll closing time" with a legal public holiday mentioned as one option but no mention of weekend voting. Is it correct that there was no specific intent to leave out weekend voting as an option?

Mr. DODD. The Senator from Wisconsin is correct. The conferees intended that the new Election Administration Commission consider all options for election day, including the Senator's interesting proposal to move elections to the weekend. There was also no intent to limit the Election Administration Commission to considering just one day as an election day. It is my hope that the commission will examine all options, including the possibility of holding elections over two days as suggested in Senator Kohl's proposal.

Mr. KOHL. I thank the Senator from Connecticut for this clarification. I hope that the Election Administration Commission will seriously consider moving federal elections to the weekend. I will continue to advocate for weekend voting as a means of increasing voter turnout and addressing the need for uniform poll closing times in federal elections.

Mr. DODD . Mr. President, I yield 15 minutes to my colleague from Oregon, Senator Wyden.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN . Mr. President, let me join in the extraordinarily important comments that have been made by Senator Dodd and Senator McConnell. This has been a huge and arduous task that had to be bipartisan. The fact is, you can't get anything done that really is important without it being bipartisan.

I take a moment to thank Senator Dodd. He has been extraordinarily patient with me and with all of the Members of this body who come from States that have pioneered innovative approaches.

It is fair to say right now with millions of Americans essentially being early voters, there have been estimates that something along the lines of 15 percent of the American people are going to vote early.

The legislation that Senator Dodd and Senator McConnell brings to us today protects the wave of the future_ this early voting_ whether it be by absentee ballot or the pioneering vote-by-mail system.

What this legislation does is protect the early voters_ the person we are seeing more and more of in the American political process_ by, in effect, taking steps to discourage **FRAUD** at the front end when people register, and then making sure that people don't face unnecessary barriers and hassles when they actually participate in the fall of even-numbered years. So I commend Senators Dodd and McConnell for their work in this area.

Suffice it to say, at various stages in the discussion, I wasn't sure that we were going to make it. Look at how the debate began when this bill first came to the floor of the Senate. It seemed to me and others that millions of Americans would have been turned away from the polls because they didn't have with them a valid photo identification or a copy of a utility bill. It would have disenfranchised millions of Americans. I and others made that point to Chairman Dodd and Senator McConnell, and we began a very lengthy set of negotiations that involved Senators Dodd, McConnell, Bond, Cantwell, Schumer, and I. Together we were able to work out an agreement with respect to the photo identification provision. It protects fully the vote-by-mail system. In fact, it protects all Americans who want to vote early, as I have mentioned. It is outlined in section 303 of the conference report.

I thought I would take a minute to describe how this provision would work. Beginning in January 2004, anyone who registers to vote for the first time, let's say in Oregon, has the choice of registering by providing a driver's license number, the last four digits of their Social Security number, a copy of a current utility bill, bank statement, government document, or a valid photo identification. When they cast their ballot by mail, Oregon's State elections officials will verify the voter's eligibility consistent with State law by signature verification. Under our Oregon election law, an elections official determines voter eligibility by matching the signature on the registration with the signature on the mail-in ballot. Oregon's signature match system would not change.

My primary concern throughout this discussion has, of course, been to support our pioneering vote-by-mail system, which I think is the wave of the future. But as we have seen in recent days it is not just Oregon but a variety of other States are going to see millions of people saying they want to take the time, essentially through the fall when people are considering the candidates, to look at the statements put out and reflect on them in a way that is convenient for them.

We said at the beginning of this discussion that we wanted to discourage **FRAUD** and encourage voters. I think that is what the Dodd-McConnell legislation does. I am particularly pleased that it does so in a way that protects Oregon's pioneering system and all of those around this country who are going to be voting by mail.

Senator McConnell just mentioned that this is, in his view, just about as important as it gets for the Senate. I will reaffirm that statement. After all of the problems that we have seen in Florida, after you look at all of the challenges in terms of getting young people excited about politics and excited about the democratic process, what this legislation does is it reaches out and says: We understand those concerns. We understand that the American people feel more strongly about this subject than just about anything else because it is what we are about. It is about our values, our principles; it is what the Senate is all about. So I am very pleased that Senators Dodd and McConnell had the patience to work with some of us who, I am sure, were fairly prickly and difficult along the way. I don't know how many hours we had in negotiations just looking at the arcane details of some of the vote-by-mail States. But Senator Dodd said we are just not going to give up. We understand that you are doing something very exciting in the Pacific Northwest, and we encourage it.

In effect, what Senator Dodd has done is not just protect the Oregon system but allowed this country to build on something that I think is the wave of the future; that is, people voting essentially throughout the fall. We have seen_ as reported recently in various States as they innovate with different kinds of systems_ a variety of approaches that are being tried. My own sense is that it won't be very long before people start voting online in this country. [*S10421]

So what Senator Dodd has done is made it clear that he is going to stand with all of us in the Senate who want to discourage **FRAUD**, and we are going to do it at the right time and in the right way, which is essentially at the front end when people come to sign up for the electoral process. But then, after we can ascertain they are who they say they are, they are not going to face innumerable hassles and barriers when they actually show up to vote.

So my thanks to Senator Dodd and his staff, Carole Grunberg, who is here. She has championed for us the Oregon vote-by-mail system. But with Senator Dodd in the Chamber, I want him to know how much I appreciate what he is doing. It means a tremendous amount to my constituents and also to this country and to the future of American voting.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD . Mr. President, before my colleague leaves the floor, I thank him and his staff as well for their tremendous contribution. One of the things we did in this bill_ I say to my friend from Oregon that he is in large part responsible for this, I probably should give him more credit for this_ we set Federal standards and rights that never have existed before in all Federal elections across the country, and we have enumerated the rights in this bill.

One of the things I fought very hard to preserve is that what constitutes a valid registration of a voter and what constitutes a valid vote is left up to the States. We don't federalize registration and we don't federalize how votes get counted. We have left that to the States. It would be overreaching to go that far.

I must say some of the most creative ideas on how to make this basic franchise accessible to the maximum number of people, the most creative ideas are occurring in our States across the country. There are differences in places, and States ought to have the flexibility of deciding what system works best for them.

I will tell my colleague, I have learned of some fascinating historical stories. Going back, people have said: Where in the Constitution does it say you have to be a citizen to vote? Well, it is the 14th and 15th amendments. The 14th amendment describes what a citizen is, and the 15th amendment says all citizens have the right to vote.

There was a time_ and the Presiding Officer may find this interesting_ when we discovered as part of our research that in the latter part of the 19th century, in certain areas of the upper Midwest, in efforts to attract immigrant populations to settle in some of the vast farmlands there, they actually said: We will allow you to vote in Federal elections_ which they did. I cannot find the lawsuit that stopped it. I think it may have been by tradition, but it provided that the person who signed up made a promise that they would someday become a citizen. That was the condition that you had to fill out.

There are actually some jurisdictions in this country, by the way, not in Federal elections but local elections, where noncitizens, by municipal law, are allowed to vote.

The State of Oregon is, I think, on the cutting edge. I agree with my colleague on this. Maybe because I have a head of gray hair, but I like the idea of a community gathering at a polling place. There is a sense of community spirit about showing up.

In my town of East Haddam, CT_ it is a small place with only a few thousand people and where I have lived for the last two decades_ we all gather in the old townhall, literally around the potbellied stove. The folks I have known for the last two decades run the polling operations there. We like it that way. I am not suggesting there is a younger generation coming along who do not like the way they do it in Oregon_ I suspect they might, and I suspect there will be States allowing people, in the not-too-distant future, to vote by Internet.

I thank him for bringing forward the Oregon and, we should add, the Washington experience, because they are similar experiences, to this debate. The fact we managed to accommodate the unique voting circumstances in their States gave rise to the idea there actually may be other States that may want to move in this direction. In fact, the provisions authored by my colleague and included in the conference report can be used by every state, and not just by Oregon and Washington. We thank Senator Wyden for his contribution and for making this a stronger and a better bill, and one that does maintain its sensitivity to the unique requirements and needs of people across this vast country of ours. I thank the distinguished Senator from Oregon for his contribution.

I note as well_ it is somewhat an irony_ I recall vividly the day Senator McConnell and I had announced we had reached an agreement, at least on the Senate version of this bill, our colleague who is now presiding over the Senate was presiding over the Senate that very day. He would not have known on that day a year and a half ago he would be presiding today as well. I thank him.

Mr. President, I wish to note because there are so many wonderful staff people and they do not get the credit they deserve_ we get to stand here and give the speeches and our names go on the bills. There are literally dozens of people who work incredible hours to produce the kind of legislation we are endorsing today.

I mentioned already the Members on the House side, my colleagues, Bob Ney and Steny Hoyer, the principal House advocates. There was a long list of conferees, by the way, in the House. A number of committees of jurisdiction touched on matters in this bill, from the Ways and Means Committee to the Armed Services Committee_ I will forget some_ a lot of committees. So there were a lot more conferees from the other body on the conference committee. I thank them.

I extend my special appreciation for the invaluable expertise and contributions in negotiating this bill to final passage to Paul Vinovich, one of the principal staff people for Bob Ney, and Chet Kalis, who is a wonderful individual. Both of these men are remarkable people and did a fantastic job, not just for Bob Ney and the Republican side, but they always had the sense they wanted to get a bill done, and that is a big difference when you are in a conference. If you are looking across the table at people and if the negotiating is to stop something or to make something happen, what a difference it is when you talk to people who give you the sense they want something to happen. I thank them.

I thank Roman Buhler, a tough negotiator; Matthew Petersen; and Pat Leahy.

From the office of Steny Hoyer: Bill Cable. I have known Bill for all my years in Congress. When I served in the other body, Bill Cable was a terrific staff person then. He has a wonderful institutional memory about the Congress of the United States. Steny Hoyer is truly fortunate to have Bill Cable with him. I thank him for the long hours he put in on this legislation.

Keith Abouchar and Lenny Shambon were wonderful. They are knowledgeable people and have been very helpful on this. They understand the laws, and have a wonderful expertise in motor voter registration and how these proposals work.

I further thank John Conyers. I mentioned already my coauthor of this legislation initially, but I want to also thank his staff. I thank Perry Apelbaum, Ted Kalo, and Michone Johnson, who were just wonderful and tireless in their efforts. I thank them for their tremendous work. Along with John, they were a great source of information and guidance during some very delicate moments on how we ought to proceed.

Tom Daschle, our leader in the Senate, has been tremendously helpful through all of this. He asked me how long the original bill would take on the floor of the Senate when it came up. We had gotten through this, worked out the agreement, and there were a lot of demands for time on the floor. He looked at me and said: How long do you think it will take to debate the election reform bill?

I said: Mr. Leader, I think we can do it in 2 days.

Mr. President, if you look around, you can see the smiles on the faces of some of the floor staff. I think we were on the floor 9 days, had 46 amendments, and there were a hundred more, at least, proposed. I took some very healthy ribbing from the majority leader and others on the staff when they would look at me day after day [*S10422] and say: How long did you say this bill would take? It took a lot longer than we anticipated.

I thank Andrea LaRue, Jennifer Duck, Michelle Ballantyne, Mark Childress, and Mark Patterson from the majority leader's staff for their patience and assistance.

With regard to Senator McConnell's staff, we spent a lot of time with Senator McConnell's staff. We spent more time with Senator McConnell's staff than with Senator McConnell, and he would be the first to say that. Tam Somerville, Brian Lewis, and Leon Sequeira are also very fine and hard-working staff members. Brian Lewis, poor Brian got saddled with more responsibilities. With all of this coming together, committee staff had to deal with campaign finance reform and election reform all at once. There were demands on their time, pulling them in two different directions, as we were trying to get this bill completed in the Senate so we could get to conference because we knew we had a long conference ahead of us. I express my gratitude to Brian. He is knowledgeable, worked hard, and made a significant contribution. I appreciate it very much.

Senator Schumer's staff: Polly Trottenberg, Christine Parker, Cindy Bauerly, and Sharon Levin were very helpful. I thank them.

Senator Bond: Julie Dammann and Jack Bartling. We had some real go-rounds with Senator Bond's staff on some of the provisions in this bill. I thank both of them for a lot of effort. Jack Bartling spent a lot of time during the Senate consideration, going back months and months ago, sitting up late nights in my conference room and going through what we wanted to do and how it might work. I occasionally would run into Jack off the Hill. Even in off hours in restaurants, we would end up being seated next to each other unintentionally by the maitre d'. We spent all day working on this legislation, and when I went out for an evening with my wife and child, who ended up sitting next to me but Jack Bartling, and here we go again carrying on conversations. I thank Jack.

I thank Jennifer Leach and Sara Wills on Senator Torricelli's staff. Senator Bob Torricelli offered some of the earliest versions of election reform. Early on he thought we ought to do something about election reform and worked

with Senator McConnell and others to craft legislation. He agreed to work with us on our bill when we developed it. I thank Senator Torricelli for working very hard on campaign election reform.

Senator McCain's staff: Ken LaSala. I offer a special appreciation for his invaluable expertise and contributions in negotiating and bringing this bill to final passage.

Senator Durbin's staff: Bill Weber was tremendously helpful to us. I thank him.

I thank Beth Stein and Caroline Fredrickson from Senator Cantwell's staff. I mentioned Oregon, Senator Wyden and his State, and the Senator from the State of Washington, Ms. Cantwell, had similar circumstances and were concerned about how the provisions of this bill would work in a State where a significant number of the people vote by mail. They wanted to be sure we were not doing anything here that was going to prohibit them from conducting their elections in the way they have done successfully for some time.

I mentioned Senator Wyden. I thank Carol Grunberg for her work as well.

The floor staff, again, were tremendously patient with this Member. I tied up the cloakroom for hours one Friday trying to get holds lifted on this bill.

The floor staff was tremendously helpful. Marty Paone, Lula Davis, Gary Myrick, members of the cloakroom staff, were tremendously supportive.

I apologize for going through all of this and mentioning these names. I could just submit them for the Record, but I want to say their names because just putting their names in the Record does not do justice to the amount of time and effort people have put in. So I beg the indulgence of the Chair and others as I go through this.

This may sound mundane or boring to those who are watching it, but I am someone who believes very strongly we ought to give more recognition to the people whose names never appear much around this place and yet who make incredible contributions to a product like this.

I want to thank the Office of Legislative Counsel. Let me explain what legislative counsel does. These are the people who actually write these bills. We tell them what we are thinking, these grand ideas of ours. A Senator has a grand idea. The staff tries to put language around the grand idea and then they go to legislative counsel, who then has to write it in a legalistic way so it can actually mean something because words have specific meaning.

So the legislative counsel's office was instrumental—we asked them to work around the clock on a few instances. Literally, they were up all night producing language because we were running up against the clock to get this bill done. So to Jim Scott and Jim Fransen of the Office of Senate Legislative Counsel, and Noah Wofsy, from the House legislative counsel, I want to express my deep sense of gratitude to them for their work. They sat down very objectively. Noah Wofsy is on the House side under the Republican leadership in the House. Jim Scott and Jim Fransen are in the Senate under the Democratic leadership of the Senate, but neither side was partisan in any way. I can honestly say if I sat them in a room and asked them for their views on how this ought to be written, I would never know from which party they had been chosen to do the job. They are that objective and that professional in how they do it.

Sometimes I wish America could watch this when they talk about laws. They could then see people such as these who are so dedicated and see to it that we can get it right. They did not bring political baggage to that discussion and debate.

I mentioned some history earlier about the upper Midwest and these other places. The Congressional Research Service, CRS, was the organization that provided me with some historical framework and background in the conduct of elections and also provided side-by-side versions of bills along the way. And we thank them: Kevin Coleman, who is an analyst in the American National Government; Eric Fischer, senior specialist in Science and Technology; L. Paige Whitaker, legislative attorney at the Congressional Research Service; David Huckabee, who is a specialist in American National Government; and Judith Fraizer, who is an information research specialist. They did a great job, and we are very grateful to them as well.

I wish to thank my own staff. Obviously, in my own heart and mind they come first, as one might expect, but my mother raised me to be polite so I mentioned other people first. I am particularly grateful to my own staff who worked very hard on this. Through my bellowing and barking, and doing all the things we do and wondering why we could not reach agreements earlier—I hope I was not too impatient with them—I want to thank Shawn Maher, who is my legislative director. He was tremendously patient and did a great job. Kennie Gill, who is the staff director and chief counsel of the

Rules Committee, is just one of the most knowledgeable people about this institution I have ever met in my 27 years in Congress. I have met Members who have great respect for the institution, its history, its traditions, what these buildings mean, and what membership means in the other body or this body. I have never met anybody, Member or non-Member, who has as much reverence for this institution as Kennie Gill, and I thank her.

Ronnie Gillespie, who is a terrific individual as well, is our counsel on the Rules Committee. She did a terrific job and I am very grateful to her, as well as my own staff, Sheryl Cohen, Marvin Fast, Alex Swartzel and Tom Lenard. Sheryl Cohen is my staff director, chief of staff of my office, and has to manage all of these things going around. She does a wonderful job, and I am very grateful to her. From the Rules Committee, Carole Blessington, Beth Meagher, Hasan Mansori, and Sue Wright also deserve some very special recognition. Chris Shunk, Jennifer Cusick, and Sam Young are non-designated staff on the Rules Committee staff, who kept the vouchers going during this time and they do wonderful work. There are some former members who were part of this effort who had to leave for various reasons before the completion of this bill, but the fact they are not here does not mean they should not be recognized. Stacy Beck, [*S10423] Candace Chin, and Laura Roubicek are three people I want to thank.

That is 60 individuals I have mentioned. There may be others I have missed. If I have missed them, I apologize, but I want them to know that all of us, regardless of political persuasion or ideology, thank them, and millions of Americans ought to as well because we never would have achieved this conference report, been able to write this bill, had it not been for these 60 individuals and many more like them.

I have not mentioned the individuals on the outside that worked on this, the NAACP, the National Association of Secretaries of State, the AFL-CIO, the various disability groups. There are literally hundreds of people who are involved in this journey over the last year and a half to produce this conference report. I know normally we do not take as much time to talk about all of this, but I think Senator McConnell and I, and not because it is a pride of authorship, but we think we have done something very historically significant. We are changing America. We are changing the way America is going to be choosing its leadership. We want everyone to participate in this country. It is a source of significant embarrassment to me that there are individuals who cannot participate.

I served in the Peace Corps in Latin America back in the 1960s. So I am asked periodically to go and observe elections, particularly in Latin America, because I know the language and have knowledge of the area. I cannot say how moving it is to watch some of these desperately poor countries where the people who lack any formal education, or have very little of it, will literally stand in line all day, walk miles through blistering and difficult weather, intimidation, fear of literally being killed if they show up, and they vote. They look to us as a beacon of what it means as a free people to be able to choose who represents us, from the most insignificant office on the municipal or town level to the Presidency of the United States. The idea that each and every one of us can be a part of making those choices, and the fact that only 50 percent of our eligible population does so, ought to be a source of collective shame. While this bill is not going to eradicate all of that, when we consider how hard some people fight to be free, how blessed we are as a people and how little is asked of us to participate in the process which has historically distinguished us as a people, our sincere hope today, as we vote tomorrow on this bill, is we have made it easier for people to meet that obligation and made it more difficult for those who would like to scam it in some way. But the most important thing this legislation does is to make it easier for people to make that choice.

So all of those who have been involved in this have my profound sense of gratitude, and I am very confident that sense of gratitude is going to be expressed by millions of people for years to come because of what we have done in the wake of a tragedy in the year 2000, on November 7. We have responded to it with this legislation. Not in every sense, but on some of the core questions, this Congress has stepped up to the plate and responded to those issues. The leadership and Members of the other body, as well as the leadership here, can rightfully claim a proud moment when this bill passes the Senate tomorrow and President Bush signs this legislation as the permanent law of our land.

SUBJECT: ELECTION LAW (90%); CONFERENCES & CONVENTIONS (90%); CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS (90%); LEGISLATION (90%); ELECTION AUTHORITIES (90%);

LOAD-DATE: October 16, 2002

FOCUS - 11 of 21 DOCUMENTS

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- *HOUSE*

Thursday, October 10, 2002

107th Congress, 2nd Session

148 Cong Rec H 7836

REFERENCE: Vol. 148, No. 133

SECTION: House

TITLE: CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 3295, HELP AMERICA VOTE ACT OF 2002

SPEAKER: Mr. NEY; Mr. HOYER; Mr. EHLERS; Mr. CONYERS; Mr. GONZALEZ; Mr. MENENDEZ; Mr. FATTAH; Mr. DAVIS of Florida; Ms. WATERS; Mr. PRICE of North Carolina; Mr. LANGEVIN; Ms. BROWN of Florida; Mrs. MALONEY of New York; Ms. KILPATRICK; Mrs. MEEK of Florida; Ms. DeLAURO; Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas; Ms. SCHAKOWSKY; Mr. DAVIS of Illinois; Ms. SOLIS; Mr. HOLT; Mr. BOEHLERT; Mrs. JONES of Ohio; Ms. McCARTHY of Missouri; Mr. VITTER; Mr. HASTINGS of Florida

TEXT: [*H7836]

Mr. NEY . Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House of October 9, 2002, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 3295) to establish a program to provide funds to States to replace punch card voting systems, to establish the Election Assistance Commission to assist in the administration of Federal elections and to otherwise provide assistance with the administration of certain Federal election laws and programs, to establish minimum election administration standards for States and units of local government with responsibility for the administration of Federal elections, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of House of Wednesday, October 9, 2002, the conference report is considered as having been read.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of October 8, 2002, at page H 7247.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney).

General Leave

Mr. NEY . Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H.R. 3295.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. NEY . Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this has been a long, winding process that is about to conclude tonight, in what I think is going to be known as one of the most important votes that any Member of this body can cast, not only for this session but for the future, for decades to come, of the future of the voting process for the citizens of the United States. [*H7837]

I am pleased to present to the House the conference report for H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act of 2002. This legislation will have a profound and positive impact on the way we conduct Federal elections in this country. At the heart of the bill are some fundamental principles:

One, that every eligible citizen shall have the right to vote.

Two, that no legal vote will be canceled by an illegal vote.

Three, that every vote will be counted equally and fairly, according to the law.

When this legislation goes into effect, the voting citizens in this country will have the right to a provisional ballot, so no voter will be turned away from a polling place, no voter will be disenfranchised, just because their name does not appear on a registration list.

Henceforth, instead of simply being told to go home, the voters will be able to cast a provisional ballot which will be counted according to State law.

Voters will now also be able to have the opportunity to check for errors and verify the accuracy of their ballot in privacy before it is cast. No more will voters have to wonder if their vote was properly recorded or not. By guaranteeing them the right to verify the accuracy of their ballot in privacy, voters will be able to leave the polling place confident and certain that their vote was cast and counted in complete secrecy as they intended it to be.

This bill contains tremendous advances for individuals with disabilities. This legislation requires that every polling place in the country have at least one voting system that is accessible to the disabled, meaning individuals with disabilities, including the blind and visually impaired. They will now have the right to cast a secret and secure ballot in the same manner as all other Americans do.

No longer will individuals with disabilities have to rely on an assistant, or compromise the secrecy of their ballot. They will be able to vote in a private and independent manner, the same way all their fellow citizens do, many for the first time in their lives.

The legislation establishes a maximum error rate for voting system performance. This error rate is a measure of the performance of voting system prototypes under laboratory conditions to determine that the system counts votes accurately in accordance with national standards stands in Section 3.2.1 of the Voting System Standards adopted by the FEC.

I will include Section 3.2.1. for the record.

At the heart of our elections system is the process of how we maintain our records on who is eligible to vote. Currently, thousands of election jurisdictions across the country manage these records independently. Some employ the latest technologies and database management techniques to ensure accuracy and reliability. Others need improvement.

This bill will require each State to develop a Statewide registration system. These systems will modernize, centralize and improve current methods for ensuring the accuracy of registration lists.

The current system in many States creates inefficiencies and duplications, as voters often move from one jurisdiction to another within a State without notifying the jurisdiction that they used to live in before they made the move. The result is that a single individual may appear on more than one registration list in a State.

These Statewide systems will make it possible for States to more effectively maintain voter registration information, as they should. States will have more accurate systems to protect voters from being mistakenly removed from the list, while ensuring that costly duplicates that invite voter **FRAUD** are quickly removed.

The lists maintained by the State will be the official list used to determine who is registered to vote on Election Day. Uniformity and integrity in the system will be assured as local election jurisdictions will no longer be able to maintain separate lists.

This bill contains important new guarantees for military and overseas voters. Military voters will be guaranteed assistance and information that they need from the Department of Defense so they can complete and return their ballots on time. The military is required to mark all ballots so it can be determined when they were mailed, so no valid military ballot will be rejected for lack of a postmark. All enlistees will receive a voter registration form upon enlistment. We all know how important that is for those who are serving their country and laying their lives on the line.

State election officials must establish a single office where military and overseas voters can get information on how to vote in that State. For the first time, they will be required to accept ballots mailed early from military personnel whose duties, for example, on a submarine, may prevent them from mailing ballots on a date close to the election. For the first time, we will have a report on the number of applications received and absentee ballots sent out to military and overseas voters, together with the number of those ballots that have been returned. Studies of these numbers may help us determine how to future improve participation and turnout among those voters.

Our election system is dependent on tens of thousands of election officials and 1.5 million volunteer poll workers in over 7,000 jurisdictions serving over 150 million voters across this great country. In the general election for Federal office, all of these people come together during a 24-hour period to chose our leaders. It is an incredibly complicated process that must be choreographed precisely to ensure its success. This means that education and training is critical to the success of our elections system. This legislation provides needed funds to complete that task across the United States.

A provision in this package that has been the subject, frankly, of some controversy is the voter ID provision that was included in the Senate-passed bill and is included in this conference report.

I want to emphasize this provision does not require voters to present an actual photo ID. In recognition of the fact that some citizens do not have such an ID, the bill allows a voter a number of options to identify themselves, including a bank statement, utility bill or government check. The provision applies only to first-time voters who register by mail. Language has been added to ensure it will be administered in a uniform and non-discriminatory manner, Mr. Speaker.

The voter ID provision is very important and will go a long way toward enhancing the integrity of our election process. People should not be permitted to register by mail and then vote by mail without ever having to demonstrate in some fashion they are the actual human being who is eligible to vote. I think this is at least the minimal we can ask.

This provision will help to end the practice of ghost voting, whereby people who do not exist are miraculously somehow able to vote. We should all keep in mind that a person whose vote is canceled out by an illegal vote has been disenfranchised every bit as much as an individual who has simply also been turned away from the polls. In either case, that is not the correct thing to do. This ID provision will protect against **FRAUD** of this type, and I am glad the conference saw fit to include it in the package.

Mr. Speaker, the election that took place in November of 2000 demonstrated there are serious problems in our election system. While the initial attention was focused on Florida, we have all learned over the past 2 years that the problems encountered were not unique but in fact were widespread. We just simply did not know it because there was not an election of the magnitude of the presidential that brought all of this to light through the national media.

While the problems varied from State to State, one common problem was a failure to devote sufficient resources to election infrastructure. Not surprising, when State and local officials are faced with the decision of how to spend their limited resources and have to choose between things citizens use every day, like roads and schools, or spend it on equipment that might get used only a couple of times a year, like election equipment, the latter has often come up short; and this bill will help to solve that.

This lack of resources has left States with old and unreliable voting equipment, inadequate training and education of voters and poll workers and, frankly, poor registration systems. [*H7838]

While State and local governments have been charged with the responsibility of running elections for Federal office, they have simply received no assistance from the Federal Government. This bill changes that.

It is time for the Federal Government to provide some funding to make sure that the world's greatest democracy has an election system it can have pride and confidence in. And remember, when we take our thoughts of democracy across the waters and we try to monitor elections, we have to have our own house in order so that we have the confidence that other countries will see that our system is the best it can be.

The Help America Vote Act will provide Federal financial assistance to the tune of \$3.9 billion in authorized funding over the next 3 years. We can no longer ask State and local governments to bear all of the expense without any assistance from us.

I would also note that according to figures from the Congressional Research Service and the State Department, the United States has spent more than \$3 billion over the past 7 years to promote democracy abroad. I support that; I think

we need to be promoting democracy in other countries. I just believe we need to start spending some Federal dollars to bolster our own democracy here at home.

I would also note that meeting the requirements of this act will not be cheap. If we want and expect State and local governments to meet the requirements we are imposing on them, we will have to provide the funding that will make it possible for them to do so. If we do not, we have done nothing more than pass another unfunded mandate to the States, and we do not want to do that. This bill will cause States and localities to fundamentally restructure their election systems in a host of tremendous ways. We need to provide the funding to make sure that happens.

In addition to the funding it provides, the bill will assist the States with their election administration problems by creating a new Federal election assistance commission. This independent, bipartisan entity will be responsible for providing advice, guidance, and assistance to the States. It will act as a clearinghouse for information and make recommendations on best practices.

I want to stress that the name of the commission, the Election Assistance Commission, is not an accident. The commission's purpose is to assist States with solving their problems. It is not meant and does not have the power to dictate to States how to run their elections. This will not be a bill where Washington, D.C. turns around and says, this is the way you do it. It will not have rulemaking authority. The fundamental premise of the legislation on the commission was to have no rulemaking authority, and it cannot impose its will on the States; but I have to tell my colleagues, it has a heart to this commission, and it has the ability to make changes.

This commission was an important point the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and I talked about when we devised the Ney-Hoyer bill, because we wanted to make sure it worked for local governments and we wanted to make sure that this would be carried out.

Historically, elections in this country have been administered at the State and local level. This system has had many benefits that have to be preserved. The dispersal responsibility for election administration has made it impossible for a single centrally controlled authority to dictate how elections will be run and thereby be able to control the outcome. This leaves the power of responsibility for running elections right where it needs to be: in the hands of the citizens of this country. Local control has the further added benefits of allowing for flexibility so that local authorities can tailor their procedures to meet demands and unique community needs.

Further, by leaving the responsibility for election administration in the hands of local authorities, if a problem arises, the citizens who live within their jurisdictions know whom to hold accountable. The local authorities who bear the responsibility cannot now and not in the future be able to point the finger of blame at some distant, unaccountable, centralized bureaucracy.

By necessity, elections must occur at the State and local level. One-size-fits-all solutions do not work and only lead to inefficiencies. States and locales must retain the power and the flexibility to tailor solutions to their own unique problems. This legislation will pose certain basic requirements that all jurisdictions will have to meet, but they will retain the flexibility to meet the requirements in the most effective manner.

State and local officials from every State in America will have a voice on this commission. While the commissioners will have expertise and experience with election issues and administration, they can still benefit from the advice and council of those who are on the ground, running elections around this country. State and local election officials in each State will ultimately bear the responsibility for carrying out the commission's recommendations so their voices must be heard as these guidelines and recommendations and best practices are developed.

The Help America Vote Act strikes the appropriate balance between local and Federal involvement. It provides for Federal assistance, acknowledging the responsibility we share to ensure that the elections that send all of us to Washington are conducted properly, without concentrating power in Washington in a manner that will prove at best ineffective, and at worst dangerous.

This conference report has received the support of a very diverse group of organizations that care about how elections are run in this country. I would like to introduce into the Record the statements of support from the following organizations: the National Commission on Federal Election Reform (Ford-Carter Commission), National Conference of State Legislatures, National Association of Secretaries of State, National Association of Counties, The Election Center, National Federation of the Blind, Common Cause, National Association of State Election Directors, United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, NAACP, American Foundation for the Blind, National Association of Protection Advocacy Systems, and United Cerebral Palsy Association.

Mr. Speaker, let me also say that I have presented the thrust of the bill, I have presented the heart of the bill. We have a couple of speakers, and then I am going to conclude by also telling how this bill got here.

[Media release from the National Commission on Federal Election Reform]

Former Presidents Ford and Carter Welcome the Agreement Reached by the Congress on Election Reform Legislation

Oct. 4, 2002. Today, former Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter, along with Lloyd Cutler and Bob Michel, co-chairs of the National Commission on Federal Election Reform, welcomed the bipartisan agreement struck by the House and Senate Conference Committee on a bill to reform federal elections.

"The bill represents a delicate balance of shared responsibilities between levels of government," Ford and Carter said. "This comprehensive bill can ensure that America's electoral system will again be a source of national pride and a model to all the world." Indeed, all four of the co-chairs share the belief of Congressman John Lewis (D-GA) and others that, if passed by both Houses and signed by President Bush, this legislation can provide the most meaningful improvements in voting safeguards since the civil rights laws of the 1960s.

For more information on the National Commission on Federal Election Reform, please contact Ryan Coonerty at [REDACTED] or Margaret Edwards at [REDACTED].

National Conference

of State Legislatures,

Washington, DC, October 7, 2002.

Hon. Robert Byrd,

Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee, Capitol Building, Washington, DC.

Hon. Bill Young,

Chairman, House Appropriations Committee, Capitol Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Chairmen Byrd and Young: On behalf of the nation's state legislators, we urge to make reform of our nation's election processes a reality by providing sufficient funding to implement H.R. 3295. The conference agreement announced today will provide an effective means for states and counties to update their election processes without federalizing election administration. NCSL worked closely with the conferees in the development of this legislation and is satisfied that it keeps election administration at the state and local level, limits the role of the U.S. Justice Department to enforcement, does not create a federal private right of action, and establishes an advisory commission that will include two state legislators [*H7839] to assist with implementation. NCSL commends the conferees for their work on this landmark legislation and is committed to implementing the provisions of H.R. 3295 to ensure every voter's right to a fair and accurate election.

To ensure proper implementation and avoid imposing expensive unfunded mandates on the states, it is critical that the federal government immediately deliver sufficient funding for states to implement the requirements of this bill. Neither of the existing versions of appropriations legislation provides sufficient funding for election reform. We urge you to fully fund H.R. 3295 at the authorized level of \$2.16 billion for FY 2003.

The Congressional Budget Office has estimated that it may cost states up to \$3.19 billion in one-time costs to begin implementing the provisions of this legislation. In this current fiscal environment, it will be extraordinarily difficult for states to implement the minimum standards in the bill without immediate federal financial support. States are already facing budget shortfalls for FY 2003 of approximately \$58 billion. Thirteen states have reported budget gaps in excess of 10 percent of their general fund budgets. To satisfy their balanced budget requirements, states are being forced to draw down their reserves, cut budgets, and even raise taxes.

We look forward to working with you to keep the commitment of the states and the federal government to implementing H.R. 3295. If we can be of assistance in this or any other matter, please contact Susan Parnas Frederick

(202-624-3566; susan.frederick@ncsl.org) or Alysoun McLaughlin ([REDACTED] alysoun.mclaughlin@ncsl.org) in NCSL's state-federal relations office in Washington, D.C.

Sincerely,

Senator Angela Z. Monson, Oklahoma,

President, NSCL.

Speaker, Martin R. Stephens, Utah,

President-elect, NCSI.

National Association

of Secretaries of State,

Washington, DC, October 9, 2002.

Committee on House Administration,

Longworth Building,

Washington, DC.

Dear Chairman Ney and Ranking Member Hoyer: The National Association of Secretaries of State (NASS) congratulates you on the completion of H.R. 3295, the "Help America Vote Act." The bill is a landmark piece of bipartisan legislation, and we want to express our sincere thanks for your leadership during the conference negotiations. We also commend your Senate colleagues: Senators Chris Dodd, Mitch McConnell and Kit Bond.

The nation's secretaries of state, particularly those who serve as chief state election officials, consider this bill an opportunity to reinvigorate the election reform process. The "Help America Vote Act" serves as a federal response that stretches across party lines and provides a substantial infusion of federal money to help purchase new voting equipment and improve the legal, administrative and educational aspects of elections. In fact, our association endorsed the original draft of H.R. 3295 in November 2001.

Specifically, the National Association of State (NASS) is confident that passage of the final version of H.R. 3295 will authorize significant funding to help states achieve the following reforms:

Upgrades to, or replacement of, voting equipment and related technology;

Creation of statewide voter registration databases to manage and update voter registration rolls;

Improvement of poll worker training programs and new resources to recruit more poll workers throughout the states;

Increases in the quality and scope of voter education programs in the states and localities;

Improvement of ballot review procedures, whereby voters would be allowed to review ballots and correct errors before casting their votes;

Improved access for voters with physical disabilities, who will be allowed to vote privately and independently for the first time in many states and localities;

Creation of provisional ballots for voters who are not listed on registration rolls, but claim to be registered and qualified to vote.

We want to make sure the states will get the funding levels they've been promised, and that Congress will provide adequate time to enact the most substantial reforms. Please be assured that the nation's secretaries of state are ready to move forward once Congress passes H.R. 3295 and the President signs it.

If we can be of further assistance to you, your staff members, or your colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives, please contact our office at [REDACTED].

Best regards,

Dan Gwadosky,

NASS President,

Maine Secretary of State.

National Association of Counties,

Washington, DC, October 9, 2002.

Hon. Bob Ney,

Chairman, House Administration Committee, House of Representatives, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, DC.

Hon. Steny Hoyer,

Ranking Democrat, House Administration Committee, House of Representatives, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Chairman Ney and Representative Hoyer: We would like to congratulate you and thank you for your leadership, perseverance and hard work in reaching agreement in the House-Senate conference on the "Help America Vote Act of 2002." We believe the final bill is a balanced approach to reforming election laws and practices and to providing resources to help counties and states in improving and upgrading voting equipment. The National Association of Counties supports H.R. 3295 as it was approved by the House-Senate conference Committee.

We are very concerned about Congress providing the funds to implement the new law. While there is much confusion at this time about the appropriation process for FY2003, we strongly urge the leadership of the House and Senate and President Bush to support inclusion of \$2.16 billion in a continuing resolution. This is the amount authorized for FY2003 by the "Help America Vote Act." We believe that funding and improving voting practices in the United States is as important as our efforts to strengthen homeland security.

Thank you again for your continuing efforts to fund and implement this new law.

Sincerely,

Larry E. Naake,

Executive Director.

Election Center,

Houston, TX, October 8, 2002.

Hon. Robert Ney,

Hon. Steny Hoyer,

Hon. Christopher Dodd,

Hon. Mitch McConnell,

House Administration Committee and Senate Rules Committee, Washington, DC.

Congressmen Ney and Hoyer and Senators Dodd and McConnell: On behalf of the elections community of America, I want to congratulate each of you for accomplishing what grizzled veterans said could not be done: you have produced bi-partisan legislation that will help America cure the worst of the problems discovered in Election 2000.

011511

The Election Center neither supports nor opposes legislation_our members nationwide will do that on their own_but we can state what we believe the impact of the legislation will do for American elections.

This bill is not perfect. Few pieces of legislation that deal with complex issues are. And I know that there have been public comments from some quarters that they dislike provisions contained in the legislation. I hope that we all can remember that agreements between the two parties are hard to satisfy when we talk about something as fundamental as the democratic process.

As leaders of the committees of jurisdiction in the U.S. House and the U.S. Senate you have fashioned legislation which does, however, address many of the serious problems discovered in Election 2000. You have found methods which reach and solve many of the real problems and provides a role for each level of government. Real progress is offered in your legislation in assuring Americans that they will be able to go exercise their right to vote and have those votes counted.

Finding the right balance of voter protections, integrity of the process, and yet not upsetting the ability of states and local governments to maintain responsibility for this process has not been an easy task. You have managed to reach consensus that protects the rights of minorities, extends new services to the blind and disabled, to military and overseas voters, and allows the states to help rebuild the infrastructure of elections. The months of delay waiting on bi-partisan legislation have developed a true compromise bill. While perfection may not have been reached, it is a good compromise for our democracy.

Congratulations on a job well done. This is responsible legislation.

Sincerely,

R. Doug Lewis,

Executive Director.

National Federation

of the Blind,

Baltimore, MD, October 9, 2002.

Hon. Robert Ney,

Chairman,

Hon. Steny H. Hoyer,

Ranking Minority Member,

Committee on House Administration, House of Representatives, Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Chairman and Congressman Hoyer: I am writing to express the strong support of the National Federation of the Blind (NFB) for the Help America Vote Act of 2002. Thanks to your efforts and strong bipartisan support, this legislation includes provisions designed to guarantee that all blind persons will have equal access to voting procedures and technology. We particularly endorse the standard set for blind people to be able to vote privately and independently at each polling place throughout the United States.

While the 2000 election demonstrated significant problems with our electoral system, consensus regarding the solution proved to be much more difficult to find. Part of that solution will now include installation of up-to-date technology for voting throughout the United States. This means that voting technology will change, and devices purchased now will set the pattern for decades to come.

With more than 50,000 members representing every state, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, the NFB is the largest organization of blind people in the United States. As such we know about blindness [*H7840]

from our own experience. The right to vote and cast a truly secret ballot is one of our highest priorities, and modern technology can now support this goal. For that reason, we strongly support the Help America Vote Act of 2002 and appreciate your efforts to enact this legislation.

Sincerely,

James Gashel,

Director of Governmental Affairs.

Common Cause President Praises Election Reform Agreement

Statement by Scott Harshbarger, president and chief executive officer of Common Cause, on the conference agreement on the election reform bill:

"The Help America Vote Act of 2002 is, as Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) has said, the first major piece of civil rights legislation in the 21st century. Nearly two years after we all learned that our system of voting had serious flaws, Congress will pass these unprecedented reforms.

"For the first time, the federal government has set high standards for state election officials to follow, while authorizing grants to help them comply. Billions of dollars will be spent to across the country improve election systems.

"This bill, while not perfect, will make those systems better. Registration lists will be more accurate. Voting machines will be modernized. Provisional ballots will be given to voters who encounter problems at the polling place. Students will be trained as poll workers.

"As Common Cause knows from a seven-year fight to pass campaign finance reform, compromise often comes slowly. We thank the bill's sponsors, Senators Dodd, Mitch McConnell (R-KY), Christopher Bond (R-MO), and Representatives Robert Ney (R-OH) and Steny Hoyer (D-MD) for their work. Their persistence_ even when negotiations bogged down_ brought this bill through.

"After the President signs this bill, states will need to act. Implementing this bill will require state legislatures to change laws, election officials to adopt new practices, polling places to alter their procedures, and poll workers to be retrained.

"These far-reaching changes will not come easily. The bill's enforcement provisions are not as strong as the 1993 Motor Voter law or the 1965 Voter Rights Act. Some states may lag behind and fail to implement these changes properly; some polling places will experience problems like in Florida this year; others may have problems implementing the new identification provisions.

"Common Cause and our state chapters will work with civil rights groups and others to ensure that states fully and fairly implement the new requirements. We will help serve as the voters' watchdogs: citizen vigilance can protect voters from non-compliant states.

"Voters can now look forward to marked improvements at the polls in the years ahead, thanks to the bipartisan leadership of the bill's sponsors."

National Association of

State Election Directors,

October 10, 2002.

Hon. Bob Ney,

Hon. Steny Hoyer,

House Administration Committee, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Congressmen Ney and Hoyer: The National Association of State Election Directors (NASSED) congratulates you on the successful completion of the final conference report on H.R. 3295. This initiative will significantly affect the manner in which elections are conducted in the United States. On balance, H.R. 3295 represents improvements to the

administration of elections. As administrators of elections in each state we express our appreciation to you and your staff for providing us access to the process and reaching out to seek our views and positions on how to efficiently and effectively administer elections.

As with all election legislation, H.R. 3295 is a compromise package, which places new challenges and opportunities before state and local election officials. We stand ready to implement H.R. 3295 once it is passed by Congress and signed into law by the President. Implementation of this bill will be impossible without the full \$3.9 billion appropriation that is authorized. The success of this bold congressional initiative rests in large measure upon the appropriation of sufficient funds to bring the bill's objectives to reality.

We found the bipartisan approach to this legislation refreshing and beneficial. Thank you again for including NASED in the congressional consideration of the bill.

If we can be of further assistance, please contact our office at [REDACTED]

Sincerely,

Brook Thompson,

President.

International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America,

Washington, DC, October 8, 2002.

Dear Senator Dodd: This week the Senate may take up the conference report on the election reform legislation (H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act). The UAW supports this important legislation and urges you to vote for this conference report.

In our judgment, the conference report on H.R. 3295 will make significant improvements in our nation's election system. In particular, this legislation will require the states to allow registered individuals to cast provisional ballots if their names are mistakenly excluded from voter registration lists at their polling places. It also requires the states to ensure that voting machines allow voters to verify and correct their votes before casting them. And it requires the states to develop centralized, statewide voter registration lists to ensure the accuracy of their voter registration records. The legislation authorizes substantial new federal funding to help the states implement these reforms.

The UAW urges Congress to closely monitor progress by the states and federal government in implementing the provisions of this legislation. We believe it is especially important to make sure that the voter identification requirements are not implemented in a manner that disenfranchises or discriminates against any group of voters.

Thank you for considering our views on this important legislation to reform our nation's election system.

Sincerely,

Alan Reuther,

Legislative Director.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations,

Washington, DC, October 8, 2002.

Dear Senator: The AFL-CIO supports the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act.

This conference report will help improve our nation's election system in several important ways. It will allow registered individuals to cast provisional ballots even if their names are mistakenly excluded from voter registration lists at their polling places. It will require states to develop centralized, statewide voter registration lists to ensure the accuracy of their voter registration records. It will also require states to provide at least one voting machine per polling place that is accessible to the disabled and ensure that their voting machines allow voters to verify and correct their votes before casting them.

Since the actual number of individuals enfranchised or disenfranchised by the conference report on H.R. 3295 will depend on how the states and the federal government implement its provisions, the AFL-CIO will closely monitor the

progress of this new law_ especially its voter identification requirements. We will also increase our voter education efforts to ensure that individuals know and understand their new rights and responsibilities.

Sincerely,

William Samuel,

Director,

Department of Legislation.

National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People,

Washington, DC, October 8, 2002.

Re conference report to H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act (election reform).

Dear Senators: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), our Nation's oldest, largest and most widely-recognized grassroots civil rights organization supports the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act and we urge you to work quickly towards its enactment.

Since its inception over 90 years ago the NAACP has fought, and many of our members have died, to ensure that every American is allowed to cast a free and unfettered vote and to have that vote counted. Thus, election reform has been one of our top legislative priorities for the 107th Congress and we have worked very closely with members from both houses to ensure that the final product is as comprehensive and as nondiscriminatory as possible.

Thus we are pleased that the final product contains many of the elements that we saw as essential to addressing several of the flaws in our Nation's electoral system. Specifically, the NAACP strongly supports the provisions requiring provisional ballots and statewide voter registration lists, as well as those ensuring that each polling place have at least one voting machine that is accessible to the disabled and ensuring that the voting machines allow voters to verify and correct their votes before casting them.

The NAACP recognizes that the actual effectiveness of the final version of H.R. 3295 will depend upon how the states and the federal government implement the provisions contained in the new law. Thus, the NAACP intends to remain vigilant and review the progress of this new law at the local and state levels and make sure that no provision, especially the voter identification requirements, are being abused to disenfranchise eligible voters.

Again, on behalf of the NAACP and our more than 500,000 members nation-wide, I urge you to support the swift enactment of the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act. Thank you in advance for your attention to this matter; if you have any questions or comments I hope that you will feel free to contact me at (202) 638-2269.

Sincerely,

Hilary O. Shelton,

Director. [*H7841]

American Foundation

for the Blind,

Washington, DC, October 2, 2002.

Hon. Christopher Dodd,

U.S. Senate, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Senator Dodd: The American Foundation for the Blind supports the conference report for S. 565 and H.R. 3295. We are pleased that the conference report contains the disability provisions of the Senate bill.

Already this year, in some jurisdictions, blind and visually impaired voters have, for the first time, been able to cast a secret and independent ballot. We look forward to the day when all voters with visual impairments will have full and independent access to the electoral process.

The mission of the American Foundation for the Blind (AFB) is to enable people who are blind or visually impaired to achieve equality of access and opportunity that will ensure freedom of choice in their lives. AFB led the field of blindness in advocating the enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA). Today, AFB continues its work to protect the rights of blind and visually impaired people to equal access to employment, information, and the programs and services of state and local government.

Sincerely,

Paul W. Schroeder,

Vice President,

Governmental Relations.

United Cerebral

Palsy Associations,

Washington, DC, October 9, 2002.

Dear Senator Dodd: United Cerebral Palsy Association and affiliates support the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act. We also take this opportunity to commend you for the work you did to ensure that all people with disabilities have equal access under this act.

This legislation, while not perfect, will go a long way in improving the ability of people with disabilities to exercise their constitutional right and responsibility to vote. The funding allocated for the multiple provisions of H.R. 3295 is critical, and we pledge to work with Congress to ensure that this funding is made available.

UCP stands ready to assist states' and local entities as they work toward compliance of this very important legislation. The changes outlined in the bill must be adopted swiftly, correctly and fairly, and it will be incumbent upon us all to help in this process.

Finally, UCP applauds you and your colleagues on your dogged determination to pass legislation that will make distinct improvements at the polls and in the lives of voters with disabilities.

Sincerely,

Patricia Sandusky,

Interim Executive Director.

National Association of

Protection & Advocacy Systems,

October 9, 2002.

Hon. Chris Dodd,

U.S. Senate, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

Dear Senator Dodd: The Protection and Advocacy System (P&A) and the Client Assistance Programs (CAPs) comprised a federally mandated, nationwide network of disability rights agencies. Each year these agencies provide education, information and referral services to hundreds of thousands of people with disabilities and their families. They

also provide individual advocacy and/or legal representation to tens of thousands of people in all the states and territories. The National Association for Protection and Advocacy Systems (NAPAS) is the membership organization for the P&A network. In that capacity, NAPAS wants to offer its support for the passage of "The Help America Vote Act of 2002 (H.R. 3295).

NAPAS believes that the disability provisions in the bill go far to ensure that people with all types of disabilities _physical, mental, cognitive, or sensory_ will have much improved opportunities to exercise their right to vote. Not only does this bill offer individuals with disabilities better access to voting places and voting machines, but it also will help provide election workers and others with the skills to ensure that the voting place is a welcome environment for people with disabilities. NAPAS is very pleased that P&A network will play an active role in helping implement the disability provisions in this bill.

NAPAS is well aware that there are still some concerns with certain provisions of the bill. We hope that these concerns can be worked out, if not immediately, then as the bill is implemented. It would be extremely unfortunate if people continued to face barriers to casting their ballot after this bill is signed into law.

Finally, we want to thank the bill's sponsors, Senators Dodd (D-CT) and McConnell (R-KY) and Representatives Ney (R-OH) and Hoyer (D-MD) for their hard work and perseverance. We look forward to working with each of them to ensure the swift and effective implementation of this important legislation.

Sincerely,

Bernadette Franks-Ongoy,

President.

Federal Election Commission

voting system standards_section 3.2.1

3.2.1 Accuracy Requirements

Voting system accuracy addresses the accuracy of data for each of the individual ballot positions that could be selected by a voter, including the positions that are not selected. For a voting system, accuracy is defined as the ability of the system to capture, record, store, consolidate and report the specific selections and absence of selections, made by the voter for each ballot position without error. Required accuracy is defined in terms of an error rate that for testing purposes represents the maximum number of errors allowed while processing a specified volume of data. This rate is set at a sufficiently stringent level such that the likelihood of voting system errors affecting the outcome of an election is exceptionally remote even in the closest of elections.

The error rate is defined using a convention that recognizes differences in how vote data is processed by different types of voting systems. Paper-based and DRE systems have different processing steps. Some differences also exist between precinct count and central count systems. Therefore, the acceptable error rate applies separately and distinctly to each of the following functions:

- a. For all paper-based systems: (1) Scanning ballot positions on paper ballots to detect selections for individual candidates and contests; and (2) conversion of selections detected on paper ballots into digital data.
- b. For all DRE systems: (1) Recording the voter selections of candidates and contests into voting data storage; and (2) independently from voting data storage, recording voter selections of candidates and contests into ballot image storage.
- c. For precinct-count systems (paper-based and DRE): Consolidation of vote selection data from multiple precinct-based systems to generate jurisdiction-wide vote counts, including storage and reporting of the consolidated vote data.
- d. For central-count systems (paper-based and DRE): Consolidation of vote selection data from multiple counting devices to generate jurisdiction-wide vote counts, including storage reporting of the consolidated vote data.

For testing purposes, the acceptable error rate is defined using two parameters: the desired error rate to be achieved, and the maximum error rate that should be accepted by the test process.

For each processing function indicated above, the system shall achieve a target error rate of no more than one in 10,000,000 ballot positions, with a maximum acceptable error rate in the test process of one in 500,000 ballot positions.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Twenty-three months ago, uncertainty gripped our great democracy. The United States of America, the wealthiest and most technologically advanced Nation in the world had failed, in my opinion, its most basic election duty: the duty to count every citizen's vote and count it accurately.

The votes of an estimated 4 million to 6 million Americans went uncounted in November of 2000. This national disgrace cried out for comprehensive Federal reform. Thus, I am proud today to strongly support the historic, bipartisan conference report before us, the first Civil Rights Act of the 21st century.

The Help America Vote Act of 2002 is the most comprehensive package of voting reforms since enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The conference report authorizes unprecedented Federal assistance: \$3.9 billion over 3 years to help States improve and upgrade every aspect of their election systems. This funding will replace outdated voting equipment, train poll workers, educate voters, upgrade voter lists, and make polling places accessible for the disabled.

Furthermore, this legislation prescribes an array of new voting rights and responsibilities. States will now be required to provide provisional ballot to ensure no voter is turned away at the polls. It requires that we give voters the opportunity to check for and correct ballot errors. It provides at least one voting machine per precinct that allows disabled voters, including those with visual impairments, to vote privately and independently; and it provides for an implementation of a computerized statewide voter registration database to ensure accurate lists.

In addition, the conference report will require States to set standards for counting ballots and to define what constitutes a vote. To ensure the integrity of our election system, first-time voters who register by mail will be required to produce some form of identification and States will be obligated to maintain accurate voting registration lists.

This legislation, Mr. Speaker, also establishes a bipartisan 4-member elections assistance commission which will issue voluntary guidelines regarding [*H7842] voting systems, administer grants, and study election issues. To ensure compliance, the conference report requires States to set up administrative grievance procedures. The U.S. Department of Justice will also be responsible for Federal enforcement.

Finally, let me remind my colleagues that passage of this conference report does not finish the journey. We now have, in my opinion, Mr. Speaker, a moral opportunity to ensure that this authorization is fully funded. I urge my colleagues to support this conference report. It will strengthen the foundation of democracy and shore up public confidence in this most basic expression of American citizenship, the right to vote and to have one's vote counted.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEY . Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Ehlers).

Mr. EHLERS . Mr. Speaker, I rise to engage the chairman of the Committee on House Administration and sponsor of this legislation in a brief colloquy.

I commend the chairman's effort in crafting this important legislation and bringing it before us today. In particular, I wish to thank him and his staff for working so closely with me in incorporating provisions of H.R. 2275, which I introduced with the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Barcia) and which was passed by the Committee on Science last year. My legislation established an independent commission charged with developing technical standards to ensure the usability, accuracy, security, accessibility, and integrity of voting systems. This concept is included in the conference report in section 221 in the form of the Technical Guidelines Development Committee.

The conference report charges this committee with the duty of developing voluntary voting system guidelines and then recommending these technical standards to the newly created election assistance commission.

I am seeking clarification from the chairman that it is his intent that these guidelines should include standards to ensure the usability, accuracy, security, accessibility, and integrity of voting systems, including those areas described in section 221(e)(2).

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney), the chairman of the Committee on House Administration, to respond to this request.

Mr. NEY . Mr. Speaker, the gentleman's interpretation of the language in the conference agreement is correct.

Mr. EHLERS . Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for his assurance and for his hard work on this conference report.

Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I rise in support of the conference agreement on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act of 2002. I thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney), the chairman, and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer), the ranking member, for their hard work on this. We have all worked very hard to produce this bill, but their leadership is what pulled it through.

For a month after the November 2000 election, we watched in disbelief as Florida's troubled election system became a national drama and fodder for the late-night talk shows. Polling station workers across Florida struggled to discern the true intent of a voter based on their interpretation of the now-infamous hanging chad. Because of Florida's problems, the most precious component of our democracy, the expression of the free will of individual voters, was turned into a battle between attorneys. After the dust settled, we put Florida's voting system under a microscope and analyzed the flaws that troubled citizens and legislators alike.

After the Florida voting problems occurred, I, as a scientist, quickly realized that we needed to improve the technical flaws in our voting systems before State and local officials made large investments of taxpayer dollars in new voting equipment that may, in fact, be substandard. Scientists at MIT and Cal Tech came to the same realization and launched a joint research project to uncover the technicals flaws in our voting systems and equipment. I thank them for their work and for their cooperation with us in this area.

After careful analysis of the problem and the MIT and Cal Tech study, I was appalled to discover many potential problems. For example, a high school computer hacker, or any other hacker, could sabotage some computer voting systems and make them display erroneous vote totals. In response to these problems, I drafted H.R. 2275 in conjunction with my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Barcia).

In analyzing flaws of voting equipment, one of the key issues I identified was that the FEC's standards for voting equipment had been woefully inadequate for many years. It was very clear that we needed legislation to improve the process for developing technical standards for voting equipment, and H.R. 2275 was designed to address this need.

The legislation before us today contains almost all of H.R. 2275's provisions. It will improve voting equipment, because while we can debate the particulars of how to administer an election or which voting equipment to buy, no one will disagree that any voting system should be based on the best possible standards to ensure the usability, accuracy, security, accessibility, and integrity of voting equipment.

I know that new technical standards do not capture the public's attention, but they are the very foundation upon which voting accuracy and reliability rests, just as all of our commerce rests on reliable universal standards.

This conference report takes the concepts from H.R. 2275 and corrects a glaring flaw in our existing technical standards development process by creating a new 14-member panel chaired by the director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology. This panel will develop and recommend voluntary technical standards to ensure the usability, accuracy, security, accessibility and integrity of voting systems. A newly created Election Assistance Commission will then determine whether or not to adopt these voluntary standards.

Finally, the Commission will publish a central list of systems that are certified as meeting the current Federal standards. Since these standards are voluntary, States are still free to choose voting systems that are not certified, but now State election officials will be able to use this list to guide the purchasing decisions. This is a relatively simple, straightforward process that will lead to great improvement throughout our voting system.

With these provisions, voters can rest assured that casting their vote on equipment that meets the new Federal standards will mean that their vote counts.

I would also like to point out the strong anti-FRAUD provisions in this legislation. We must not only guarantee that each vote counts, we must also ensure these votes are not diluted by FRAUDulent votes. This bill will guard against FRAUD of many different types and will ensure that votes will be recorded accurately. We certainly do not want a return to the Tammany Halls or the Boss Prendergasts of the past.

Once again, I thank the gentleman from Ohio (Chairman Ney) and the ranking member, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer), for working with me to incorporate my thoughts in this legislation. I believe our collaboration has made a good bill even better, and I urge all of my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference agreement on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act of 2002.

For a month after the November 2000 election, we watched in disbelief as Florida's troubled election system became a national drama and fodder for the late night network shows. Polling station workers across Florida struggled to discern the true intent of a voter based on their interpretation of the now infamous "hanging chad." Because of Florida's problems, the most precious component of democracy—the expression of the free will of individual voters—was turned into a battle between lawyers. After the dust settled, we put Florida's voting system under a microscope and analyzed the flaws that troubled citizens and legislators alike.

But the problems Florida faced weren't unique, nor were they new. **FRAUD**, outdated and inadequate voting equipment, poor access for handicapped voters, poor training of polling station workers, and voter disenfranchisement have occurred in local, state, and national elections for years. But it took Florida's elections to spur Congressional action to correct these flaws. We can be proud that the agreement before us today addresses, and takes [*H7843] action to correct, each of these issues, among others.

After the Florida voting problems occurred, as a scientist I quickly realized that we needed to improve the technical flaws in our voting systems before state and local officials made large investments of taxpayer dollars in new voting equipment that may, in fact, be substandard. Scientists at MIT and Caltech came to the same realization and launched a joint research project to uncover the technical flaws in our voting systems and equipment. I thank them for their work and for their collaboration with me in this area.

After careful analysis of the problem and the MIT and Caltech study, I was appalled to discover many potential problems. For example, a high school computer hacker, or any other hacker could sabotage some computer voting systems and make them display erroneous vote totals. In response I drafted H.R. 2275, in conjunction with my colleague from Michigan, Mr. Barcia, to address the many problems we found. In analyzing the flaws in voting equipment, one of the key issues I identified was that the Federal Election Commission's standards for voting equipment have been woefully inadequate for many years. It was very clear that we needed legislation to improve the process for developing technical standards for voting equipment, and H.R. 2275 was designed to address this need. My legislation was reported out of the House Science Committee with the encouragement of Science Committee Chairman Boehlert.

The legislation before us today contains almost all of H.R. 2275's provisions. It will improve voting equipment because, while we can debate the particulars of how to administer an election or which voting equipment to buy, no one will disagree that any voting system should be based on the best possible standards to ensure the usability, accuracy, security, accessibility, and integrity of voting equipment. I know that new technical standards do not capture the public's attention, but they are the very foundation upon which voting accuracy and reliability rests, just as all our commerce rests on reliable, universal standards. From the moment that you walk into a voting booth until your vote is officially recorded, the adequacy of the standards underlying this process will help determine whether or not your vote is recorded correctly. For example, standards help ensure that new "touch screen" technology does not bias your vote for one candidate over another, that voting equipment will afford access to all individuals with disabilities, and that your vote will be transmitted securely and recorded correctly.

This conference report takes the concepts from H.R. 2275 and corrects a glaring flaw in our existing technical standards development process by creating a new 14-member panel, chaired by the Director of The National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST). This panel will develop and recommend voluntary technical standards to ensure the usability, accuracy, security, accessibility, and integrity of voting systems. A newly created Election Assistance Commission will then determine whether or not to adopt these voluntary standards. Once the Commission adopts these standards, labs accredited by the Commission will be able to test voting equipment and certify that new equipment meets the federal standards. Finally, the Commission will publish a central list of systems that are certified as meeting the current federal standards. Since these standards are voluntary, states are still free to choose voting systems that are not certified, but now state election officials will be able to use this list to guide their purchasing decisions.

The legislation also includes a research and development program to support the standards development process and to develop better voting technology and systems. This is critical because research must underpin decisions that the standards development committee will be making. In addition, we need research to help improve our voting equipment and systems for future elections.

This is a relatively simple, straightforward process that will lead to great improvement throughout our voting system. With these provisions, voters can rest assured that casting their vote on equipment that meets the new federal standards will mean that their vote counts. I would also like to point out the strong anti-FRAUD provisions in this legislation. We must not only guarantee that each vote counts; we must also insure those votes are not diluted by FRAUDulent votes. While flawed voting equipment can undermine a person's right to have their vote recorded accurately, FRAUD can undermine our entire voting system. In my 25 years in elected office I have seen voting FRAUD in many different forms. It occurs more often than the American people know. The anti-FRAUD provisions in this legislation are common-sense measures that reasonable people will agree that we must have in order to preserve the integrity of our elections. We don't want any new Tammany Halls or Boss Preudergasts in the USA!

I want to thank Chairman Ney and Ranking Member Hoyer again for working with me to incorporate my thoughts on this legislation. I believe our collaboration has made a good bill even better, and I urge all of my colleagues to support the bill.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 1/2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Conyers), one of the most senior Members of this House, the ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary, a giant in the civil rights movement of this country, whose voice is always heard on behalf of those who are dispossessed, downtrodden, or discriminated against. It is an honor to be his friend and an honor to serve with him in this House.

Mr. CONYERS . Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the manager, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer), for his kind introduction, but, more importantly for what he did to help us come here today; on February 28 for his bill; on March 27 for my bill. We have been working tirelessly, and I have come to know the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Ney), the chairman of the committee that had jurisdiction. I commend him. We have come a long, long way together.

I am very grateful to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Ehlers) for his technological contributions.

To the gentlewoman from California (Ms. Waters), who headed the Election Reform Task Force for the Democratic Caucus, I praise her, whose study was a classic, along with that of the Commission on Civil Rights, the Carter-Ford Election Reform Commission, and more than a dozen other historic studies that have gone into this measure.

I am also pleased to have had and enjoy the support of the caucus of which I am a dean, the Congressional Black Caucus. I am very grateful to all of them for their work, not just in forming the legislation and contributing to the process, but going to Florida and going across the country and putting their time in.

I am looking at the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. Brown) in particular, who I appreciate; and our other sister on the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. Jackson-Lee); and the Chairperson of the caucus, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. Eddie Bernice Johnson), who was heroic in this matter.

So I stand here, Mr. Speaker, commending all of our friends. I cannot omit the chairman of the committee in the Senate, Chris Dodd, who worked tirelessly for 18 months to bring us to this point, a point that was brought to us by the fact that 6 million votes were thrown out in the last Presidential election. Forty-seven percent of the disabled encountered physical barriers at the voting place, and 10 times as many African American voters in Florida were likely to have had their ballot discarded in the last Presidential election. So we have worked on a bill with major standards.

What does this bill do?

One, nobody can spoil a ballot anymore in America when this bill becomes law, no way. If you vote, the machine selected by the State, or another apparatus, has to make sure that the voter has not spoiled his ballot or her ballot before they walk out of that booth.

Number two, there is provisional voting, so any election dispute is protected; that one is not sent to a phone number that nobody ever answers or a building where the office is closed. The vote is allowed in a separate stack, and then the determination that it be included or not is a permanent record kept to be re-examined by the voter or authorities.

Three, it says that that voting site must be accessible to the disabled.

Finally, we have provisions written about language requirements. Many people went to the polls and could not read the English language carefully or clearly enough.

Then, of course, there is \$3.9 billion of funds.

The last point, this is not a perfect bill. We fought against voter ID provisions, citizen check-offs, Social Security numbers. We are going to watch it carefully in the next Congress. If it requires correcting, everybody on this side of the aisle and the chairman of the subcommittee promises that we will take whatever corrective action is necessary.

I thank Congress for their efforts in this movement.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. [*H7844]

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his contribution; but not just tonight, I thank the gentleman for his contribution over a career of fighting for people and ensuring that their rights are observed and expanded.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Gonzalez), the son of an extraordinary Member of this House who fought for the little people of America all the time and was a giant in this House; and his son, of which he would be supremely proud, promises to be equally committed to people.

Mr. GONZALEZ . Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

To my esteemed colleague, the gentleman from Maryland, I thank him very much for those wonderfully kind words. Dad was incredibly unique for many, many reasons; and he is missed.

First, I would like to start off saying that I stand here today in opposition to this bill. It is a difficult time to stand here against a bill that does contain some very good language and make some giant strides in election reform. The drawbacks, though, basically will cancel out the true benefits of this bill.

I will start off by giving credit where credit is due, and that is for everyone who worked so hard out of this House to get out a decent bill that took the best parts of what the Senate had to offer to attempt a compromise, bring it in here in some form that would be acceptable to a majority of the Members. I know that took a lot of work, and there has been progress. I thank the Members for their efforts.

For the first time in the United States election history, an ID requirement is mandated. I attended hearings in Pennsylvania; missed a couple, I believe, in Illinois; was in Florida and Texas, California, because we had committees, we had commissions, that conducted hearings throughout this Nation. Not once, not once was there ever pointed out that there was a problem that would require a national ID requirement. This came out of the clear blue.

The Members that sit in this House tonight will tell us in their conversations, it did not emanate out of this House, not from Members of the House of Representatives.

What am I talking about? I will tell the Members what I am talking about: They have made voter registration, and the very act of voting, more difficult. As good as this bill is, it complicates the process, and it will disenfranchise individuals, individuals that live in my community, because all of the Members run for office. We know the registration process, and we know the voting process because we become part of it, and we are in those neighborhoods.

What this bill does for mail-in registration: no driver's license, no ballot; no utility bill, no ballot; no government check, no ballot; no bank statement, no ballot; no Social Security number, no ballot.

Now, Members may say, we will provide them provisional ballots. Those do not count. Those do not really count. We are talking about what happened in Florida. This gives some sort of a voting right, whatever a provisional ballot really is, because that vote truly is not going to be counted until something is cleared up.

On top of it, on top of it now, we are going to have a driver's license or a Social Security or a special four-digit assigned number. That is not just for mail-in ballots, Mr. Speaker, that is anybody, first-time registrants within a State. Even if they cross the county line, they still go through all of this. If they do not have a driver's license, they should give us the last four digits of their Social Security number. If they do not have that, we will assign them a number.

But if they do have a driver's license, if they do have a Social Security number and we use the last four digits, we need those verified. We are going to have those verified before we have a database system in place by 2004, because all this goes into effect. States will get waivers, move it to 2006. We will not even have the ability to do this.

If any Member has ever been part of a voter registration drive, they know how it is done. There is a deputy that goes up there, because no one can simply go and have something filled out and take it back. They will be asking for the driver's license. They do not have it? Then the Social Security.

But for a mail-in ballot, which a majority of the ballots in my community are submitted in this fashion, why? How long has it been since these Members have actually looked at the voter registration card in their counties? It is simple, it is unique, it is efficient. There has never been a problem that would mandate the type of requirement that we will be instituting on a nationwide basis. This will impact communities. It will impact the Latino communities.

I end by advising everybody that the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the National Council of La Raza, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, and the National Puerto Rican Coalition all oppose this legislation.

Mr. NEY . Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. Menendez).

(Mr. MENENDEZ asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MENENDEZ . Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding time to me, and I thank the ranking member.

Mr. Speaker, let me say, in this great country of ours democracy can only flourish when we make all our voices heard. That is why it is important to do all we can to ensure that no vote is nullified.

I want to commend the sponsors of the Help America Vote Act. Much hard work went into crafting this legislation that seeks to address the problems that plague our Nation's voting system; and when this bill was first debated on the House floor, I sought to offer an amendment to enhance the civil rights provisions of the bill, including ensuring accessibility of polling places, provision for provisional voting, and strengthening the National Voter Registration Act. I am pleased that some of these things were included in the final bill.

However, I want to join my colleague, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Gonzalez), in our concerns about other provisions that were added in the conference report. While these new identification provisions may be offered to ensure that our voting system is free of error and **FRAUD**, I fear these provisions may lead to further disenfranchise many Latino voters.

Under this bill, a Federal requirement for voter identification is created. This will be the first time ever such a provision exists in our Nation's law. I fear this starts a dangerous precedent. States will be required to ask a voter registration applicant or a first-time voter for a current driver's license number or the last four digits of their Social Security number or have a new four-digit number created and assigned to this applicant.

At a time that we should be encouraging people to come and register and be part of the democratic process, these new requirements add burdensome responsibilities in the process of voter registration and ultimately discourage voters. These people are citizens, and they know that you have to be a citizen to register to vote, which is why this whole other provision of checkoff, of citizenship checkoff, further delays the process and causes the possibility for registrars who may not see that checkoff take place to delay the ability of that individual to ultimately vote.

Lastly, we speak from experience, through manipulation of voter laws and voter intimidation. Many parts of our community and many parts of this country, including in my home State of New Jersey, have had laws used against them to ensure that they cannot vote. So in our objection we are concerned about the implementation of laws as written, and we are raising concerns about the potential or unequal administration of the law. We have seen it happen in the past, and we hope it will not continue in the future.

It is not just Hispanics, by the way. When Wisconsin looked at making changes to their voting laws, they conducted a study that found over 120,000 Wisconsin residents who did not have a driver's license or photo identification cards. Well, individuals such as these have their voices and their votes ultimately will be heard. [*H7845]

I intend to vote for the bill because clearly there are many good provisions in it, and it provides desperately needed resources so that all of our States can update their voting systems, but we want to wave our sabers now and let it be understood that we intend to follow this process every step of the way, through the regulatory process, through what is promulgated in that regard, through its implementation to make sure that no citizen, particularly citizens of Hispanic decent, enter this democratic process with greater difficulty or with the inability to have their vote and their voice considered.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. Menendez) for his comments. I think they were well taken, as the comments from the gentleman from Texas were well taken. And I will join him and I know the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) will as well to ensure that their fears are not realized.

Mr. Speaker, how much time remains on our side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Simpson). The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) has 18 1/2 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) has 6 1/2 minutes remaining.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Fattah), the next ranking Democrat on the committee who has been such a critical participant in forging this legislation.

Mr. FATTAH . Mr. Speaker, let me thank the managers of this bill for their work, not just here on the floor but more importantly in the conference committee. And also I add kudos to Senator Dodd, who has really worked hard with the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and also to pay deference to the dean, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Conyers).

This is a good bill. It is not, as we now know, a perfect bill; but it is a bill that moves this process forward.

Mr. Speaker, I served as a teller here in the House, and I had to record the results from the Florida election and the Presidential race in the year 2000. And we know that not only were there votes not counted by many in the State of Florida, but throughout this country there are holes in our democracy. And this bill is an attempt to respond to that.

We have worked the will of the conference committee, merging ideas in the Senate and the House. There are things in this bill that I am sure your Senate colleagues would rather not be there and things we prefer not be a part of this bill, but there is a shared consensus of the conferees; and we would hope that it would receive an overwhelming favorable endorsement here in the House, and I think it will move our democracy toward a more perfect Union.

Announcement by the Speaker Pro Tempore

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would remind Members that it is not in order to cast reflections on the Senate, either positively or negatively on individual Senators.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I know the Speaker of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Hastert), is on the floor and he is about to leave. With him is his deputy chief of staff, Mr. Stokke. Before he leaves, I want to take the opportunity to thank him and Mr. Stokke. Both of these gentlemen were vitally interested in this legislation. Both were extraordinarily helpful in seeking its passage. The Speaker has committed to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) and I that he will work with us to make sure that this obligation is not an unfunded mandate, but in fact that we give the States the resources necessary. I wanted to thank the Speaker before he leaves the floor and thank Mr. Stokke, as well.

Mr. NEY . Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. Davis), a member of our committee who has been intimately involved throughout this consideration and was so important in making sure that we had a bill that we could pass.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida . Mr. Speaker, I wanted to commend the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) on their work.

Mr. Speaker, as a Floridian I need to provide a little more sober assessment as to where we are and where we need to go.

I painfully need to first point out that we began discussing this issue right after the November 2000 elections, and it has taken the verge of the next set of elections to revisit the issue. We should not just be talking about this issue at election time. This is a burden we all bear, Federal, State and local. The people that testified before the House Administration Committee pointed out to us that the legislation, if it was going to work, was not just about replacing machines. It was about making sure that we had qualified people who were trained to use the machines. And, unfortunately, once again in my home State of Florida we have provided another painful lesson as to just how right they were.

Let me also point out that tonight is only half the battle. This is an authorization bill; but the guts of the bill, apart from some of the issues that have been discussed earlier, have to do with some of the funding that needs to be provided. I want to urge the President for the first time to stand up and be counted on this and to release the funds that he has sequestered that would provide the first \$400 million in installment for this bill and to work with Democrats and

Republicans to fund this bill, because without funding, the bill will only be an expression. It will not be action by this Congress.

So this is the beginning tonight. I applaud the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney), but we need to get to work on finishing the bill.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. Waters), who chaired the special committee on election reform and held hearings all over this country and heard from literally hundreds of citizens on the issues confronting them at election time. "Revitalizing Our Nation's Election System" is a report issued by the Waters Commission, which was extraordinarily helpful to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) and me in bringing this legislation to fruition. I thank her for that. I thank her for the contributions she has made. I am honored to serve with her.

Ms. WATERS . Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) for the hard work they put in trying to get this election law passed so that we would not experience what we have experienced in Florida and other parts of this country.

Mr. Speaker, my ancestors could not vote. My ancestors were blocked from being able to vote with such tactics as forcing them to have to pay poll taxes and take literacy tests. And we saw some of the same kind of tactics used in Florida and some other parts of this country in the national election that basically stunned the world. And so when the Democratic House minority leader, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Gephardt), asked me to lead the Democratic Caucus Special Committee on election reform, I said, yes, I must do this.

The committee was given the responsibility to travel throughout America and examine our Nation's voting practices and equipment. Over a 6-month period, this committee held six public field hearings in Philadelphia, San Antonio, Chicago, Jacksonville, Cleveland, and Los Angeles. We heard from election experts.

We heard from election experts and hundreds of voters about what is right and wrong with our election system. I was overwhelmed about the outpouring of interest and the support we received from our Nation's voters.

The conference report before us today authorizes grants to test new voting equipment and increases access to polling places by voters with disabilities. The conference report establishes election standards that require States to allow voters to check and correct their ballots, provide access to disabled voters, allow provisional voting when there is question of an individual's eligibility.

This is not a perfect conference report, and I had to think long and hard about supporting it. I do not like any ID requirements. We do not have any in California. I do not like having to ask people for a driver's license or a Social Security number. [*H7846]

But despite those things that I do not like and what I think is wrong with this bill, I am going to support it because we need to get started with correcting what is wrong with our election systems here in America. And hopefully, we will continue to work on this so that we can come up with perfect legislation to deal with those problems.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for her comments and again would pledge with the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) and myself and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Conyers) and others to continue to work with her towards those solutions.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Price). The gentleman has been involved with election reform as long as I can remember. He is an extraordinary leader on this bill and in this House on these issues.

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina . Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the conference report on the Help America Vote Act. I want to congratulate the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney), the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Conyers), and others who have relentlessly pursued this historic bipartisan agreement.

Mr. Speaker, the problems that Florida experienced at the polling places and its primaries again this year demonstrate that our last national election was not just a once-in-a-life-time phenomenon. The problems that plagued us 2 years ago will continue to occur if we do not take action to address them. This legislation takes that action.

It requires States to meet minimum Federal election standards. It authorizes funds to help implement those standards and to educate voters, improve equipment, train poll workers and improve access for disabled voters. It also incorporates key elements of legislation I helped author, the Voting Improvement Act, H.R. 775, to buy out unreliable and outdated punch card machines, the type of equipment that has the highest error rate.

Mr. Speaker, now more than ever we need to make sure that every American can participate fully in our democratic form of government. We must ensure that every vote is counted. I urge my colleagues to take a significant step towards achieving these goals by joining me in support of the conference report, H.R. 3295.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. Eddie Bernice Johnson), the distinguished chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, who has been involved since the very first day in demanding that we pass election reform, in focusing in on election reform and working towards the adoption of the bill; and I thank her for her efforts.

(Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I want to use this minute to say that I want to thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney), whom I visited the very first day of the session to talk about this, and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer), who stayed the course, and Senator Dodd and the Senate who led the deliberations in the Senate.

There was such an overwhelming outcry from this Nation and internationally that came to the Black Caucus after January 6, 2001, that we knew we had to act.

This became the number one priority for the Congressional Black Caucus to do something about election reform.

The faith in the system had gone. Today hopefully it will start to restore it. This is not to say this is a perfect bill, but it is to say that it is a major, major step in the right direction; and we hope that the President will keep his word to me. He made it a public statement when he said he will support it, and he would see that the money would be in the budget.

We appreciate it; and, Mr. Speaker, this is the civil rights bill of the new millennium.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 3295, a bill that will restore integrity to our nation's voting system. I strongly urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, today is a proud day for the Congressional Black Caucus. Throughout this Congress, election reform has been our number one legislative priority.

On January 6, 2001, our Members walked out of this chamber to protest the voting irregularities and intimidation that resulted in a President who was appointed by the Supreme Court, rather than elected by the people.

We said we would not rest until the right to vote of every American was protected.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to say that after 21 months of floor speeches and field hearings, we are very, very close to delivering on our word.

Now, this legislation is not perfect. But it is a tremendous step forward. And, with the 2002 elections just a mere 26 days away, and the 2004 elections on the horizon, it's time to move the ball down the field.

It's time to implement the centralized voter registration and standardized balloting called for by this bill.

It's time that we fund training and technical assistance programs to educate poll workers and replace faulty voting machinery.

And it's time to implement provisional balloting, so that no voter will get turned away from the polls if their eligibility is challenged.

These provisions will all go a long way toward correcting the disenfranchisement that we witnessed in 2000.

However, because I believe that these regulations should be enacted quickly, I am concerned that this legislation gives states waivers to push back their deadlines for many of these protections.

I am also troubled that this legislation authorizes funding for these programs without appropriating the \$3.9 billion dollars that they will require.

Lastly, for far too long, we have seen voting regulations corrupted and used to deny the votes of millions of people, especially people of color.

We must remain vigilant that the voter protections in this legislation are implemented evenly and effectively. And we must ensure that they are enforced with the full weight of our justice system.

Our work is cut out for us. It is easy to see that this legislation is really only the beginning. But it is a good beginning.

Now, I must thank the Members of the Conference Committee from both Chambers for working many, many late nights to complete their work on this legislation.

In particular, I would like to thank the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Hoyer, who has been battling to extend these important protections to our nation's voters. I would also like to commend Chairman Ney for his work in helping reach this compromise.

Finally, let me thank the Members of the Congressional Black Caucus for their extraordinary work. In particular, I must commend the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Conyers, for his leadership in co-authoring one of the original House election reform bills and for working to ensure that this bill became a reality.

As I conclude, let me remind my colleagues: The time to improve our elections system is now. We must make sure all Americans can register to vote, remain on the rolls once registered, vote free from harassment, and have those votes counted. I believe that this bill achieves those goals.

I call upon my colleagues to vote in favor of this legislation today. Mr. Speaker, we must act before another day has passed.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. Langevin), a freshman Member of this House, an extraordinary Member of this House, who has been very much involved in the adoption of this bill as former Secretary of State in the administration of elections and a person who has confronted the challenges of barriers to participation. His participation was critical to the passage of this measure.

(Mr. LANGEVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LANGEVIN . Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be here on this historic day to urge passage of H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act. The measure sets minimum standards for elections and provides States with the much-needed resources to upgrade voting equipment, improve election accuracy and provide voter education and poll worker training.

This legislation has rightly been called the first civil rights legislation of the 21st century because it will ensure that all Americans can participate fully in our democracy by being guaranteed the fundamental right to vote.

We would not be here without the leadership of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer), my good friends on the Committee on House Administration. Their diligent efforts to craft a [*H7847] bipartisan election reform bill demonstrates the successes that we may enjoy by setting aside our differences and working for the good of the American people. I particularly appreciate their work to make our polling places and election equipment accessible to people with disabilities.

I encourage my colleagues to vote for this measure.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. Brown), who has stood on this floor, stood up in Florida and stood in every forum to demand that we do what we can to ensure that every person's vote counts.

(Ms. BROWN of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. BROWN of Florida . Mr. Speaker, to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney), the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer), Congressional Black Caucus, and I have got to say Senator Dodd, we would not be here today if it was not for their leadership.

I tell my colleagues this is a great day. I know this is not a perfect bill, but it is the perfect beginning. I say that over and over again because, as I stand here today, 27,000 of my constituents' votes were thrown out because of old equipment. Do my colleagues hear me? Twenty-seven thousand votes that have not been counted to date.

And I want to say to the young people, it does matter who is in charge. It matters who is in charge, and this is the first step that we have taken to correct that, the first step.

I know that all of the civil rights community is not happy with this bill. I am not happy with it. The reason why I am not happy with it is because it took so long to get here. I wanted it here for the midterm elections. It is not, but it will be for the 2004 election.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a perfect bill but, for me, it is the greatest accomplishment of the 107th Congress. The greatest thing we have done is to make sure that what happened in the 2000 election never happens again in this country.

Mr. Speaker, I am here today to say that it matters who is in charge.

To the young people, I want you to know that your vote does matter, and that every vote counts. And voting matters because the person in charge sets the agenda. In Florida, and here in Washington, it is very clear just who is in charge and who is setting the agenda. Clearly, the Republican party thinks it is much more important to cut taxes and send the Federal budget into deficit than to focus on issues like election reform, health care, Social Security, and education.

There is no perfect bill, but this bill is a beginning. It has been 628 days since the 2000 election, and here we are, nearly 2 years later, and have just passed an election reform bill. I am thrilled we finally have an election reform bill though: We now have a bill which gives over \$170 million to the State of Florida for election reform, and \$3.6 billion to the States overall. Not perfect, but a good start. This bill requires States to do things they should have done long, long ago: Provisional balloting, replacing outdated punch-card voting machines, properly trained poll workers, educating voters, and upgrading voter lists . . . and making polling places more accessible for the disabled.

Everyone in this country and throughout the world knows that the 2000 elections were a complete sham. In my district alone, Florida's Third Congressional District, 27,000 of my constituents' votes were thrown out. Let me repeat that: 27,000. Now I know who won the last election and it was not the person sitting in the White House right now who is guiding this country into war.

And the incredible thing is that since the 2000 elections, in the State of Florida, Governor Bush has only spent \$32 million to overhaul the voting system. So, Florida, with 16 million people, spent \$32 million, while our neighbor, Georgia, with only 8 million residents, spent \$54 million on election reform.

I guess we see where the Florida Governor's priorities lie. He, like the Republican party here in Washington, is mainly interested in tax cuts for the country club group. Election reform just isn't very high up on their list.

In fact, the Governor did not even allow enough time during the Florida primaries to hold mock elections to educate voters and poll workers before the primaries.

Now I know there is no perfect bill, and I know many in the civil rights community and many here tonight are not happy with this compromise. And I am disappointed it has taken so long to reach a compromise and get an election reform bill passed. And I'm unhappy the conference report today will not pass in time to affect the mid-term elections. But I am happy to see we are ending the 107th Congress with a bill, and that we are finally addressing the problem of elections in this country. No, Mr. Speaker, this bill is not perfect, but it is to me, the greatest accomplishment of the 107th Congress, and I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" on the conference report.

Announcement by the Speaker Pro Tempore

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Simpson). The Chair would remind all Members it is not in order to refer to individual Senators except as the sponsor of a measure.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. Maloney).

(Mrs. MALONEY of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MALONEY of New York . Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report and important civil rights bill that will make much-needed reforms in the way that we vote. For too long Americans had to deal with outdated

polling practices, alleged **FRAUD** and confusing voting equipment and inexperienced poll workers. While the bill is not perfect, with this legislation we will begin to make improvements that prevent election controversies that continue to emerge in different parts of the Nation.

I am pleased to see that two provisions that I offered along with the gentleman from New York (Mr. Reynolds), my friend and colleague, have been included in the legislation. The bill ensures that overseas voters who fill out an application for voter registration will automatically receive an absentee ballot for two Federal general elections following registration. Additionally, the bill establishes an office in each State to respond to overseas voters inquiries. Overseas voters deserve the same opportunities to cast their ballots in elections as those who are able to make it to their local polling place on election day.

This is a movement towards truly every vote counting, and I commend the great leadership of the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney).

Overseas voters deserve the same opportunities to cast their ballots in elections as those who are able to make it to their local polling place on election day.

I have spoken with Ambassadors, members of the armed services, and other American citizens living abroad who have expressed their desire to establish a more effective voting process for those living overseas.

Our constituents deserve to be a part of the electoral process no matter where they live.

With the passage of this legislation, we will ensure that each citizen's vote truly does count.

I'd like to commend my colleagues Chairman Ney and Ranking Member Hoyer for their work on this issue and for bringing this bipartisan legislation to the floor.

I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. Kilpatrick).

(Ms. KILPATRICK asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. KILPATRICK . Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney), as well as the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) for yielding the time and bringing the bill to the floor, some 20 plus months after the worst catastrophe in American history happened in our country.

The right to vote and have that vote counted is the most sacred thing an American citizen can have, and this bill begins the process of rectifying the very bad past that we experienced in 2000.

I want to commend the work of the committee. I want to work with my colleagues to see it implemented properly. I like the emphasis on high school and college students and voter education.

On that, I want to work with the committee to see that literacy is addressed. Too many people in America cannot read or read between the 4th and 6th grade level. We have got to make sure that the election materials reach that population so that it can vote.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I will cast my vote for this bill and ask that we continue to do the things necessary so all people's vote count and all people who are registered can vote.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act. I also want to commend [*H7848] Chairman Ney and Ranking Member Hoyer for their hard work on this landmark legislation.

In the aftermath of the 2000 election and the ensuing controversy that prevailed, it became abundantly clear that it was essential for our Nation to overhaul election administration processes. Our consideration of this act could not occur at a more favorable time because the specter of possible voter **FRAUD**, voter disenfranchisement and ballot confusion remain.

H.R. 3295 authorizes \$3.9 billion over 3 years to help States replace punch card and lever voting machines to improve the administration of elections. As we prepare for mid-term elections, once again the political stakes are high.

H.R. 3295 is important legislation because its enactment will enable voters to check for and correct ballot errors in a private and independent manner. The act will also ensure that legitimate voters will not be turned away from the polls. Furthermore, H.R. 3295 requires that States maintain clean and accurate voter lists.

As the Representative for the 15th Congressional District in Michigan, I am acutely aware of the vital importance of empowering every prospective voter. In the recent past, numerous black voters were disenfranchised due to the imposition of insidious practices designed to prohibit voter participation. Literacy tests, poll taxes, and voter intimidation were employed successfully to thwart black voter participation. However, a new day has dawned and Americans can now look forward to the overhaul of election administration.

I do, however, want to alert my colleagues to a concern I have about voter literacy, a problem that affects American voters. The average American reads on a 4th to 6th grade level. Therefore, it is imperative that we take steps to ensure that voting instructions and materials accommodate the literacy level of the average American. I am pleased that the conference report includes provisions to make voting sites accessible to persons with disabilities, and it affirms the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Nonetheless, I continue to have reservations about the potential for voter disenfranchisement.

As a former educator, I recognize the importance of reading and comprehending written material. I refer my colleagues to the provision in the bill that authorizes a total of \$3 billion over fiscal year 2003 through fiscal year 2005 that can be used in part to provide voter education. It is my hope that some part of those resources will be used to address voter literacy.

I am pleased to support the conference report, and I am confident the provisions of the bill will usher in critical changes that will serve to enhance the legitimacy of our electoral process.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. Meek), an extraordinary Member of this body who will be leaving this body and we will be poorer for it, who experienced firsthand the trauma of people coming to the ballot box and being unable to cast their vote and being assured that it counts.

(Mrs. MEEK of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MEEK of Florida . Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer), my good friend, for yielding me the time.

It was once said that all that is required for evil to triumph is for good people to do nothing. We had some very good people doing something on this: the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney), the gentlewoman from California (Ms. Waters), the Congressional Black Caucus, the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. Brown) and the entire lot, they wanted to do something, not just say nothing could be done because of the problems. The problems were faced.

We do not have a perfect bill, but we have the very best we could get, and it could not have been done without the people that I just mentioned. So I am glad that I lived to see this bill happen, and we all are very emotional about it because of the fact this, to us, is an emancipation of some of the problems we have had with voting in this country, and I want to thank the writers of this bill and the people who participated in it.

For once, we will go forward to do something better for this country and so that everybody can be created equal.

Mr. Speaker, this Conference Report is an important milestone for democracy in America. I am thrilled that the election reform conferees have heeded the will of the Congress and the American people and reached an Election Reform Conference Agreement that takes enormous steps toward ensuring that every voter counts equally and that every vote cast is counted. Last week, when this House overwhelmingly approved my Motion to Instruct the Election Reform Conferees to produce a Conference Report by October 4, 2002, the prospects for election reform were still very much in doubt.

I congratulate my good friends Representative Steny Hoyer, Senator Chris Dodd, Chairman Bob Ney, Senator Mitch McConnell, Senator Charles Schumer, Senator Kit Bond, the Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Representative Eddie Bernice Johnson, Representative John Conyers, Representative Maxine Waters, Representative Corrine Brown, Representative Alcee Hastings, my other CBC Colleagues, and my South Florida Democratic Colleagues Peter Deutsch and Robert Wexler on this outstanding achievement.

From the day of the 2000 Presidential election catastrophe in Florida and elsewhere to today, including last month's primary election fiasco in Florida, I vowed that I would not rest until the Congress passed and adequately funded a real election reform bill and the President signed it into law. The Conference Agreement is an important step toward achieving my goal. The next step is to honor our shared commitment to adequately fund the implementation of this legislation through our appropriations process so that we do not create an unfunded mandate for the states.

As many of you know, I had a problem myself in last month's primary election when I stopped by a library branch in my precinct to cast an early vote. I was delayed from voting for more than 30 minutes because the only computer available was not working and the election officials on duty said that they couldn't verify that I was an eligible voter. So the need for election reform is not some abstract matter to me. It is something real and very personal. When I said, "No more Florida voting problems", I meant it. It remains extremely important to me to achieve real election reform for my constituents before I conclude my congressional service.

Mr. Speaker, the Conference Report is an historic achievement, certainly the most important piece of election and voting rights legislation since the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It will mean millions of dollars in Federal assistance to Florida and every other state and will go a long way toward making voting rights problems, such as those that occurred in Florida, a thing of the past.

The Conference Report contains such important protections as provisional voting, 2nd-chance voting, privacy in voting for voters with disabilities, statewide computerized lists of registered voters, and uniform and nondiscriminatory standards for counting ballots so that your chance to have your vote counted will not depend on where you live. It also authorizes \$3.8 billion in funding over the next three years to help states replace and renovate voting equipment, train poll workers, educate voters, upgrade voter lists, and make polling places more accessible for the disabled.

When this Conference Report becomes law, no qualified voter can ever again be turned away from the polling place without first being offered the opportunity to cast a provisional ballot. Voters will be able to correct their ballots easily if they make a mistake and vote for the wrong candidate, or nullify their ballot by voting for too many candidates.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a perfect bill. Like virtually every Conference Agreement, the Conference Report is the product of negotiation and compromise. As a result, it contains some provisions from the Senate bill, like the voter ID requirements for first time voters and the related and redundant citizenship check-off declaration, that would not be in the bill if I alone had been able to draft it.

Some civil rights organizations have expressed their concerns that the voter ID provisions and the citizenship check-off requirement could have a discriminatory and disproportionate impact on those prospective voters, such as racial and ethnic minorities, students, the poor, and people with disabilities, who are substantially less likely to have photo identification than other voters. Given my commitment to voting rights, I take these concerns seriously, but, they do not affect my support for this Conference Report.

To address the concerns about voter ID, I urge the Election Assistance Commission to be established by this Conference Report to carefully monitor the implementation of the voter ID requirements by the states so that the Commission may make recommendations for further reform if it uncovers evidence that these requirements are interfering with the opportunity of any qualified voter to vote and have his vote counted.

Mr. Speaker, when the House and the Senate approve this Conference Report and the President signs it, and we fully fund its implementation, we will take an enormous step toward ensuring that all qualified voters receive an equal right to vote and to have their vote counted.

I urge all my Colleagues to support this Conference Report. [*H7849]

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DeLauro), assistant Democratic leader, outspoken strong fighter for a citizen's right to vote, have that vote counted, an extraordinarily effective worker on behalf of the passage of this bill.

Ms. DeLAURO . Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation and thank those who have made it possible.

Not long ago we took our right to vote for granted, but what occurred in Florida 2 years ago and again last month reminded all Americans how very sacred that right is. The right to vote is a cornerstone of our democracy, the most basic and most essential expression of citizenship. When that right is put into doubt, when citizens cannot know that a

ballot cast is a ballot counted and that their unique voice has not been heard, it undermines confidence of our entire political system as well as the government formed on the foundation of our ballots.

People must simply have the confidence that their vote counts. That is what this legislation is about. It authorizes nearly \$4 billion during the next 3 years to modernize our equipment, poll worker training, voter education, improved voter lists, improved voter access, provisions that would alert voters to improperly marked ballots like those we saw during the last presidential election. It goes a long way toward restoring the integrity of our electoral system.

Our work is not done. We must make sure that the funds for this bill are not merely authorized but appropriated so that this historic legislation does not become just another empty promise. At a time when American leadership in the world is critical, following through reforming on our election system is simply too important to address halfheartedly.

I am proud to support it.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. Jackson-Lee), a member of the conference committee who succeeded Barbara Jordan in her seat, an extraordinary fighter for our Constitution and for our people, and she is following in that tradition.

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas . Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Maryland very much for yielding me the time.

The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) did stay the course and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney), the chairman and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Conyers), and to be admonished, I know I will be, Senator Dodd. The work that they all have done has brought us to this place.

When I went to Florida, I saw many people in the aftermath of the 2000 election as we sought the recount; and they were minorities, they were elderly, they were Jewish Americans, they were Hispanic Americans. They were Americans, and each of them said that their vote had not been counted.

Today, let me thank my colleagues because we do have the civil rights act of the millennium but, more importantly, the most historic piece of legislation since the Voter Rights Act of 1965 which helped create the seat that Barbara Jordan held in this United States Congress.

So I am very gratified that we will now have provisional balloting. We will now have State-wide registration. We will now have the ability for disabled individuals to access the voting place. We will now have the ability for funding so that we can get rid of punch cards and we can get rid of paper ballots if the communities desire to do so.

Might I say that I am very grateful as well that the thousands of people who have been purged from the rolls now will have language in this legislation that they must have notice before they are purged. I am grateful that that particular provision that I desired to get in in working with the advocacy groups, we were able to clarify it. Because thousands of persons were purged off the rolls without knowing in the State of Texas, and thousands were purged off in the State of Florida. We have much work to do.

I am opposed to the photo ID. I am opposed to discriminating against people because they are Hispanic or ethnic minorities. The photo ID, let us work on that.

This is a great bill, and I offer my support, but there is more work to be done.

Mr. Speaker, first, I would like to thank Mr. Hoyer, Mr. Conyers, Mr. Dodd in the Senate, Mr. Hall and Mr. Barcia of the Science Committee

I rise in support of the Help America Vote Act, although there are issues that should still be resolved. After the election debacles of the past two years, I had hoped that we could have produced a perfect solution to the problems that plague our voting systems. Unfortunately, we did not. But I feel that that should not keep us from passing this landmark piece of legislation. This is a major civil rights initiative of this century.

The bill we have before us takes a great stride toward giving the American people the fair and efficient system of voting that the American people deserve, but it should not be the final step. Even after this Act is signed into law, as I assume it will be, we must continue to be vigilant looking for obstacles that disenfranchise legal voters, and removing those obstacles.

As a Member of the Judiciary Committee and of the Science Committee, I have been actively involved in the development of this bill. Indeed, I served as a conferee on several parts of the legislation. In it, there is much in it to be pleased with. Voting is the cornerstone of any democracy, and must be above all suspicion. Every vote should be counted to ensure that every voter is being heard.

One excellent provision of this bill is that it follows the recommendation of the National Commission on Election Reform by taking full advantage of the expertise and experience at the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST). NIST has long been reporting on voting standards and technologies, and should be the perfect group to direct and coordinate efforts to develop performance-based standards for voting equipment. Such standards will improve the accuracy, integrity, and security of our polling systems.

When this bill first came out of conference, it included language that would have forced any state employing these standards to pay royalties to the company that developed it, although those standards were developed with taxpayers funds. Thanks to a well-coordinated, bipartisan effort by us conferees from the Science Committee, this language was removed. We also ensured that once standards are created, that NIST will also be charged with accrediting the labs that will certify election equipment, to make it more likely that smart plans will translate into real benefits.

Other victories have come in the field of purging of registered voter lists. Although purging of voter-rolls, may be a well-intentioned attempt to remove inappropriate votes from being cast, such purging has rarely, if ever, been done effectively and fairly. Done improperly, purging can be an expensive tool for discrimination or mistreatment. Consistently through the history of our nation, purging has been a mechanism for silencing minorities, and the socio-economically disadvantaged.

In Florida alone, thousands of eligible voters have been misidentified as being as felons who are unable to vote: 3,700 before election 1998, and 11,000 before election 2000. There is no reason to think that this is a Florida-specific problem. This means that perhaps hundreds of thousands of American citizens, living in the richest Democracy in the world, are having their fundamental right to vote stripped due to clerical errors. This is absolutely unacceptable. I have fought to preserve language in this bill that will ensure that voters are not unfairly purged from the voting rolls. In Texas thousands of voters were purged from the rolls without notice. The language I insisted on adding requires notice to be given to the voter and two federal elections to occur before that voter would be purged.

I know that this is a somewhat contentious piece of legislation. I had hoped that election reform would draw us all together in the name of reaffirming the principles of democracy. There are several groups, whose opinions I deeply respect, who feel we should reject this bill because it is not perfect. They are, as I am, concerned that some provisions, such as the reliance on driver's licenses and social security numbers and utility bills as forms of identification, could be used to disenfranchise the elderly, the disabled, the homeless, racial and ethnic minorities who might not have such documentation. This would bring about a disproportionate burden on voters who deserve to vote and have their vote counted.

We are also worried that simple errors in filling out registration forms, such as the failure to check a box, or to supply a driver's license number, could jeopardize a person's ability to vote. Such restrictions could significantly hamper the efforts of get-out-the-vote campaigns that enable hundreds of thousands of Americans to take part in the Democratic process each election year. There will always be a balancing-act between making it easy for people to vote, and making it difficult for people to commit voter-FRAUD. Although it is not perfect, I feel the present bill is a decent compromise. [*H7850]

As the world's greatest Democracy, we must ensure that our elections meet the highest standards of integrity. Pushing the cause of Democracy is primary part of our foreign policy. The eyes of the world are upon us every two years as Americans go to the polls. It is a disservice, not only to the American people, but to all people around the world who aspire to our level of freedom, when we sink to the lows that were seen in Florida in 2000, and again this year.

The Help America Vote Act of 2002, will set the bar for our elections, and election-systems of the future. We should always seek to raise that bar as technology improves and obstacles are recognized. However, with elections upcoming, now is the perfect time to demonstrate our commitment to progress in making each vote count. Mr. Speaker, I support the Help America Vote Act, and urge my colleagues to do the same, and look forward to the bill being fully funded.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. Schakowsky), a member of the Waters Commission on which I also had the opportunity to serve.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY . Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) for succeeding in bringing forward an election reform bill that will help move our election system into the 21st century. I thank the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) for making this a top priority and relentlessly fighting for its passage.

I had the privilege of being one of the vice chairs of the Democratic Caucus Special Committee on Election Reform under the able leadership of our chairwoman, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. Waters), who tirelessly traveled the country holding many hearings. From young and old voters, people of color and with disabilities, we heard a clear message. Without minimum election standards and a commitment of Federal dollars, voters will continue to be disenfranchised and history doomed to repeat itself.

I am particularly pleased that this legislation includes a crucial proposal similar to legislation I introduced last year, the Provisional Voting Rights Act of 2001. Under provisional voting, duly registered voters can feel confident that if their name does not appear on the registration list they will be permitted to vote. They will not have to go to a police station or leave the polling place in order to get their provisional ballot.

Any meaningful election reform proposal must include this measure and the Help Americans Vote Act does.

It is not perfect, but it will bring us closer to ensuring that every citizen can vote and every vote will be counted.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

We come now to the end of this debate. It has been a short debate, too short a debate; but it has been a long road from November 2000 to today. It was a road taken by many people.

Paul Vinovich, the chief counsel of our committee, Chet Kalis, who has done an extraordinary job on this bill and was one of the anchors, in my opinion, as we worked through this bill. Roman Buehler, who had strong contributions to this bill and a great knowledge that he brought to the consideration of this bill. Pat Leahy, who did an extraordinary job himself. Matt Petersen, Maria Robinson, Keith Abouchar, Dr. Abouchar, of my staff, who from the very first of this bill has worked daily on its provisions. Len Shambon, Bill Cable, Matt Pinkus, Noah Wofsy, Bob Bean, Neil Volz, who are no longer with us; and Beth Stein, who now works in the Senate.

All of these staffers have played an extraordinary role.

Mr. Speaker, I acknowledged earlier the Speaker of the House. I want to acknowledge the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Gephardt), who was steadfast in his support of this process and whose help was absolutely critical to the final product and who met with the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney) and me when we requested him to do so to discuss how we could move this bill forward.

And then, Mr. Speaker, let me say to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Young), who is on the floor here today, that the gentleman from the State of Florida, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, my dear and close friend, one of the giants of this institution, his commitment to funding this legislation was and is absolutely critical. He and the Speaker have been extraordinarily supportive. And now we come to a challenge to get the \$2 billion that we are going to need for this year and the \$1 billion after that and the \$1 billion after that to ensure that this is not an empty promise.

Mr. Speaker, there are two bills I think that when I end my career I will look back on as being the most important bills in which I was involved: one that I had the privilege of sponsoring, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and this bill I have had the privilege of cosponsoring with my friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ney).

There was an article in the paper just a few days ago talking about the gentleman from Ohio and me and our relationship and how we worked together in a nonpartisan fashion. Not in a bipartisan fashion, but in a nonpolitical, nonpartisan fashion, knowing full well that Americans expect us to work together to make sure this institution works as well as it possibly can, with fairness to all 435 Members. I am blessed by the fact that the gentleman from Ohio is committed to that objective and he runs an open, fair, and effective committee. I am pleased and honored to be his colleague.

I want to say as well that I am honored to have served in this House that has come to this day in a bipartisan fashion. When the roll is called, we are going to see the overwhelming majority of Republicans and the overwhelming majority of Democrats vote to ensure that every American not only has the right to vote but will be assured that this greatest of democracies will ensure that every individual, high or low, black or white, rich or poor, will be assured that their vote will count.

Mr. NEY . Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

It has been said that this bill will make it easier to vote and harder to cheat, and that is true; but this bill goes way beyond a simple phrase, and I want to thank everybody that has made this bill possible.

I want to thank the people who worked on the Ford-Carter Commission, obviously, Presidents Ford and Carter. Their commission performed a tremendous service and their recommendations had a profound effect. I had the pleasure 2 days ago to be able to talk personally to Presidents Ford and Carter, and they expressed their tremendous support for this measure and their thanks to the Congress for passing it.

I want to thank the members of the conference committee. First, of course, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer). If it were not for the gentleman from Maryland, and he came to me and he proposed the ideas and he had a vision, if it were not for him, we simply would not have had the product in the direction obviously out of the House to be where we are at today, and I want to thank him for his integrity. He is a distinguished ranking member. He heeded the call to make elections work, to restore the faith in our system; and without his persistence and gentle persuasion at critical moments, this bill would not have been possible. And I want to thank him for what he has done for his country and for the citizens.

I want to recognize the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Ehlers), who provided invaluable support for the scientific end of it; the gentleman from New York (Mr. Reynolds), whose concern over the rights of military and overseas voters are strongly reflected in this bill; the gentleman from California (Mr. Doolittle), who insisted on strong anti-FRAUD and privacy protections; the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Stump) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. McHugh), from the Committee on Armed Services, who helped to make this bill a landmark piece of legislation for military voters; the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Kirk).

And although he is not a conferee, I want to especially mention the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Buyer), whose detailed input on the military voting issue significantly improved the bill. The gentleman from California (Mr. Thomas) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Shaw), from the Committee on Ways and Means, should be given the credit for crafting the provisions to protect voter privacy. The gentleman from New York (Mr. Boehlert) [*H7851] and the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. Morella) made sure also that the voice of the scientific community came through.

I also want to pay special tribute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Blunt), the chief deputy whip, whose advice and guidance through the process based on his experience as the Missouri Secretary of State was essential to the final compromise.

I also want to thank the Members on the minority side who served on the conference committee: the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Fattah), the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Davis), who are tremendous Members. We are very blessed on House Administration, on both sides of the aisle, to have such terrific members: the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Skelton) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Conyers), who gave advice and who was always willing to be there; the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Barcia); the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. Jackson-Lee); the gentleman from New York (Mr. Rangel); and the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. Langevin), whose support on the disabilities issue was tremendous; the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. Eddie Bernice Johnson), who always was concerned through the whole process to be part of it; and many other Members, Mr. Speaker.

I especially wanted to thank also the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Gephardt), who met with the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and me, and also I want to thank the Speaker of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Hastert), whose unwavering support through the past 2 years kept this process on track and has gotten us to where we are today. He had the commitment and the faith this could be done. And Mike Stokke, his staff member.

I want to thank the groups whose efforts and support made this possible: the National Association of Counties, including their staff, Ralph Tabour; the National Association of Secretaries of State, including our Secretary of State Ken Blackwell of Ohio, who picked up the phone on the first day after the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and I got together and said he wanted to be a part of the process to help, through the Secretaries of State; Ron Thornburg, past president of NASS, Secretary of State for Kansas; also Sharon Priest, Secretary of State of Arkansas, valuable input, and their executive director, Leslie Reynolds.

The National Conference of State Legislatures, NCSL, including Speaker Marty Stephens from Utah and staff Susan Parnes-Frederick. The Election Center and their executive director, Doug Lewis. The National Federation of the

Blind, including their staff Jim McCarthy. The National Commission on Federal Election Reform, executive director Phillip Zelikow.

And I want to mention our staff for their extraordinary, and I mean extraordinary, efforts. People talk about conference committees. There were discussions and they started at 10 a.m. and they ended at 3:15 and then started the next day at 8 a.m. and they ended at 2:15. There was a great deal of time put in on a very technical bill.

But I want to thank, from the Committee on House Administration, Paul Vinovich, our staff director, Chet Kalis, Roman Buhler, Matt Petersen, Pat Leahy, Maria Robinson, Chris Krueger, and also Will Heaton, our chief of staff of our personnel office, who kept that going. Not with us today, Neil Volz, who was originally in the process, and Jim Forbes, who was press secretary then, and our current press secretary, Brian Walsh. All of them had an integral part in making this happen.

For the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer) and the staff of the Committee on House Administration, Bill Cable, Keith Abouchar, Lenny Shambon, all were extremely valuable.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my wife, Liz, and my son, Bobby, and my daughter, Kayla, for putting up with me not spending enough time with them in the last couple of weeks.

Also the staff of Senator Chris Dodd: Kennie Gill and Ronnie Gillespie and Sean Marr. The staff of Senator Mitch McConnell: Brian Lewis and Leon Sequeria. For Senator Kit Bond: Julie Damman and Jack Bartling. And especially legislative counsel Noah Wofsy for the House and Jim Scott for the Senate.

From the Senate side, there is no question the integrity, the desire, the vision, the perseverance of Senator Dodd. If it were not for that, we also would not be here tonight. He has done something that will live on for a long time, also along with the other two Senators, Mitch McConnell and Kit Bond.

As I said at the beginning of this process, Mr. Speaker, so many months ago, that for this effort to succeed we would have to be doing it in a bipartisan manner. We are about to witness the realization and fulfillment of that prediction.

I am grateful to my friends on the other side of the aisle, as well as on the other side of the Capitol, for their willingness to put partisanship aside and work together to produce this much-needed piece of legislation for the American people.

The United States of America is the world's greatest democracy. We need an election system that is worthy of that legacy. This bill will give us an election system that all Americans can have pride in. Langston Hughes, the poet, wrote, "Dream your dreams, but be willing to pay the sacrifice to make them come true." Our veterans have sacrificed with their blood, from the beginning of this country through the revolution, to make sure we can be here tonight to debate and argue all these points that are important to us. And on top of that, people died to get the right to vote in this country. We cannot forget that.

So, therefore, this bill is important. This is the bill that is going to produce, long after we are gone, the results that we need to have faith in the system.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, we talk about what we can do for our constituency, and there are a lot of issues. We debate important issues, such as if we are going to go to war or not, and issues important to our domestic agenda. But people have to be here to be able to vote on those issues. They have to be elected at all levels throughout the United States. And the greatest gift we can give, as Members of this House tonight, the greatest gift we can give to our constituency is to vote for this measure and take back to our constituency the ability to have them have faith in the system; a knowledge that tonight America did her work on the floor of this House, as boards of elections do their work every single election across our great country.

And also Members can take the gift back to their people that tonight the body politic worked for the good of the people. The body politic did something that, again, long after we are gone, people will benefit from. Tonight America shines. We need everyone's vote and support.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois . Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my support for the conference bill on election reform, H.R. 3295. Members of both parties have worked very hard to reach agreement on this measure over several months. Although I am concerned that some of the bill's provisions relating to voter identification will not make it easier for new

voters to cast their ballots, I believe this legislation represents significant progress in addressing the problems we witnessed in our last national election.

I am especially pleased that the language in this bill relating to the accessibility of voting systems for people with disabilities reflects the stronger provisions for participation outlined in Mr. Langevin's July 9 motion to instruct, which I and several of my colleagues cosponsored.

Thanks to Mr. Shimkus and Mr. Ehrlich for their help in making the conferees aware of the importance of these provisions. Their recognition that this bill must ensure people with disabilities will be able to exercise their fundamental right to cast a secret ballot demonstrates that full participation in the electoral process by all Americans is truly a bipartisan concern.

I commend the members of the conference committee for their work on this bill and I urge its passage.

Ms. SOLIS . Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my concerns about the Help America Vote Act Conference Report, H.R. 3295. I am pleased that this conference report includes provisions that help voters in the greater Los Angeles area. For example, it provides money for the upgrade of our voting system. This will greatly assist the Los Angeles County Registrar Recorder and County Clerk transition out of the punch-card voting system.

However, I'm disappointed that this conference agreement also includes provisions that can lead to the disproportionate disenfranchisement of our Nation's minority voters. It requires first-time voters who register by mail [*H7852] to bring current photo identification to the polls or a copy of a current utility bill, bank statement, paycheck, or other government document that shows the name and current address of the voter. Our Federal courts have recognized that the use of a photo ID causes a disparate impact on ethnic and racial minority communities. Nevertheless, the photo ID requirement is still part of this bill.

Also problematic is the variation in consequences for failing to meet presumably equal voting prerequisites _being a citizen and being over the age of 18. Unfortunately, this bill has harsher consequences for voters who inadvertently forget to check a box affirming their citizenship than for voters who forget to certify they are 18 or older. This may lead to the disenfranchisement of voters who are English language learners or new to the voting system, including Latinos and Asians.

In addition, I am concerned about the provision that restricts access to information about provisional ballots to the individual who cast that ballot. Unquestionably, the confidentiality of votes cast as well as personal information should be protected. But information about provisional ballots such as where they were issued, should not be hidden from commissions that review and ensure fair voting. Based on this provision, it is unclear if commissions would have full access to information that would help them determine any inconsistencies in the provisional voting process.

While this bill is called the Help America Vote Act, I am afraid it may not help the fastest growing population in America _Latinos_ vote.

Mr. HOLT . Mr. Speaker, I support the Help America Vote Act and applaud Representatives Hoyer and Ney for their good work on this legislation.

The turmoil surrounding the 2000 Presidential election showed our Nation that we need to improve the instruments of voting and the means of electing our office holders. Even the Supreme Court Justices spoke of the need for uniform voting procedures. This bill does much to advance democracy.

Many of the problems with our electoral process lie in the disparities of our voting system. For instance, while some counties have modern voting machines that leave little room for error, others use dated punch-card ballots that can lead to the now-famous hanging and dimpled chads. In fact, studies show that 18 percent of Americans vote using technology that prevailed around the time Thomas Edison invented the light bulb. And nearly 33 percent of Americans vote by punching out chads, a system implemented during the Johnson administration. Yet many States and localities continue to use these outdated systems because of the exorbitant cost to replace them.

This bill takes many important steps towards that much-needed electoral reform. The Help America Vote Act would create the Election Assistance Commission and authorizes studies to analyze issues ranging from ballot design to voter accessibility.

However, this legislation goes beyond studies and agencies. It would authorize over \$400 million to buyout existing punch card voting devices from states and counties. Moreover, this legislation will provide \$2.25 billion to establish and maintain more accurate voter registration lists.

The bill also establishes minimum standards for State election systems. These standards include uniform means for determining what constitutes a vote on different types of equipment, sets new standards to accommodate individuals with disabilities, gives voters the opportunity to correct voting errors, ensures that uniformed and overseas voters have their votes counted, and requires more accurate registration lists.

Moreover, this bill authorizes the Attorney General to monitor and enforce these standards.

I am happy to support this bill as a step ahead in civil and voting rights.

Mr. BOEHLERT . Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Help America Vote Act, a bill that is the product of many days and nights of hard work on both sides of the aisle and both Houses of Congress. It is the product, too, of the collaborative efforts of the Science Committee and the House Administration Committee.

This bill is a carefully constructed compromise. It expands the right to vote by requiring that states allow provisional voting. It includes commonsense measures to prevent FRAUD. And, by providing over \$3 billion to States to buy out antiquated voting machines, train poll workers, educate voters, and improve the administration of Federal elections, the bill helps ensure that fiscally strapped States and localities will still be able to meet the tough requirements the bill imposes.

But perhaps one of the most fundamental reforms taken from provisions passed by the Science Committee last year is the improvement the bill makes in the way technical standards are developed for voting equipment. Most Americans pay no attention to this arcane field of technical specifications, tolerances, and error rates and that's as it should be. For when it goes right, no one notices.

But when it goes wrong when the chads of punch card ballots don't align correctly, or when electronic voting machines automatically shut down before the polls are supposed to the entire world quickly becomes all too familiar with its technical vocabulary.

Strong technical standards will become even more important as the country strives to live up to the new requirements of this bill, especially the requirement that each state compile a computerized database of all its registered voters. Such lists will surely make vast improvements in how America votes, but if they are not also to expose us to the misdeeds of hackers and other cyber criminals, we must develop robust computer security standards to protect these systems.

I want to thank Mr. Ney, the chairman of the House Administration Committee, for his hard work on crafting this bill and his willingness to include provisions of the Science Committee's to strengthen the way critical, but often overlooked, voting equipment standards are developed.

I urge my colleagues to support this important bill.

Mrs. JONES of Ohio . Mr. Speaker, I rise to talk about a piece of legislation that, if passed, will remove the barriers that have blocked many American citizens' right to vote. If Congress agrees to the passage of H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act of 2002, antiquated machines will be replaced, adequate assistance will be provided for our Nation's elections, nondiscriminatory and uniform requirements would be enforced, improved military and overseas voters ballot access will be provided, and the opportunity for young Americans to be involved in the voting process will be established.

Without legislation that helps Americans to have their vote count, barriers of participation will continue to plague many of our communities, and; therefore, increase the growing number of outdated voting equipment, alleged intimidation by police and lack of translators, as mandated by law.

As recent as the last Presidential election, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP, requested an investigation into the voting practices. The 14th amendment, which ensures equal protection under the law, was the basis for the Supreme Court's decision not to allow recounting in Florida. Ironically, an amendment designed in 1866 to protect the rights of minorities was used to protect a system which disenfranchised them in 2000.

It is also interesting that in addition to the votes that were not counted in Florida, there were voting irregularities in the 11th Congressional District of Ohio. Thousands of voters on the mostly African American east side of Cleveland, OH, went to vote, only to be turned away. Because of a 1996 State law cutting Cleveland precincts by a quarter, their polling places had been changed. The Cuyahoga County Board of Elections said that it sent postcards to registered voters telling them of the switch. But of 85 African Americans who were asked about the postcards during 2 1/2 days of interviews done by the Los Angeles Times, only one said he received notification.

"I never got a card, never," said Francis Lundrum, an East Cleveland native. He said he bellowed at an election worker: "I am a veteran of the United States armed forces! I want to vote!"

It did no good.

Lundrum and the others who were turned away should have been given provisional ballots, to be certified later. Among those who did not get a voting ballot was Chuck Conway, Jr., who stated, "I think there was some stinky stuff going on."

As a U.S. Representative, it truly saddens me to hear of voting irregularities, not only with my constituency, but to all who were not afforded the right to have their vote count. I urge my colleagues to seriously consider what will happen to the future of our democratic process if we do not pass this sensible piece of legislation. It is my hope that for our next general election cycle, Americans can proudly say that every vote does count. I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of H.R. 3295.

Ms. McCARTHY of Missouri . Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report on H.R. 3295, the Help American Vote Act. I wholeheartedly endorse the meaningful collaboration of the bipartisan group, led by my colleagues Congressman Ney and Congressman Hoyer.

The Help American Vote Act corrects the mistakes with our election system that were highlighted in the aftermath of the 2000 election. I have seen firsthand the challenges inadequately equipped polling places and poorly trained poll workers pose to our communities. This measure will go far in ensuring everyone's right and access to a vote.

I introduced bipartisan election reform legislation to establish a federal grant program to provide assistance to States for modernizing [*H7853] and enhancing voting procedures and administration. The substantive changes that my legislation proposes are contained in the detailed election reform conference report we will pass today. I applaud this bill because it provides states with both the standards and the funding to make real election reform happen. This legislation authorizes \$3.0 billion over 3 years for a grant program administered by the commission to help States meet election requirements, train poll workers, provide voter education, and administer elections.

The Help American Vote Act also requires States to abide by uniform and nondiscriminatory requirements, such as providing provisional ballots, implementing statewide voter registration databases and ensuring that each precinct has at least one machine that is accessible to the disabled. It also establishes an Election Assistance Commission, a bipartisan commission that will issue voluntary guidelines, issue grants, and administer research grants, and pilot projects.

Mr. Speaker, this bill would provide the most meaningful reform to our democratic election system since the civil rights laws were enacted in the 1960s. It is time to pass real election reform, time to Help American Vote. This legislation will restore the confidence of the American people in our election process and encourage all citizens to take part in one of the paramount processes that defines us as a nation. Strengthening our election system strengthens our democracy.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" on this conference report.

Mr. VITTER . Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the election reform conference report before us today.

I have strongly advocated election reform in my home State of Louisiana in the past and continue to do so here in Congress. I am pleased that this legislation is a strong step toward correcting many of the flaws in the current system.

Following the 2000 election, I was incensed that there would be any attempt by political operatives to disenfranchise our brave men and women in the Armed Services overseas. In response I introduced legislation to remedy the situation, and am pleased to see the conference report takes important measures similar to the ones I proposed to ensure military overseas ballots are counted. Our service personnel deserve no less.

I applaud the efforts of the conference to address the issue of voter FRAUD as well. Statewide voting lists, presenting identification when voting, purging names from lists for those that do not vote, and strengthening penalties for those convicted of voting FRAUD will all help States deal with the problem of vote FRAUD, which is an assault on our democratic system.

Lastly, I would like to commend the conferees for their work in helping ensure that the disabled have access to voting machines in each precinct. Voters should never be disenfranchised because of any sort of disability and I now hope Congress will follow through with funds.

I would like to commend Chairman Ney, who met with me on a number of occasions to work on a variety of election reform issues, as well as Ranking Member Hoyer and all the conferees that worked out this compromise.

I urge my colleagues to support the election reform conference report.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida . Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the conference report of H.R. 3295, the Help America Vote Act.

I begin by thanking my good friend from Maryland, Mr. Hoyer, for keeping this issue at the forefront of this body's agenda. Given the daunting task of bringing this conference report to the floor, the gentleman from Maryland has remained the voice of justice for the tens of thousands of Americans who had their right to vote stolen from them on Election Day 2000. I thank him for his work and leadership on this issue and so many others.

Additionally, I commend the chairman from Ohio, Mr. Ney, for his continued efforts to get this bill to the floor. Even while Members of the chairman's own party were fighting against this bill and the President still refuses to make election reform a priority, I have never doubted the chairman's sincerity and resolve to get this bill passed.

Mr. Speaker, 628 days have passed since Election Day 2000 and, until today, Congress has remained largely silent. Just last month, in Florida, my constituents reaped the first-hand benefits of Federal inaction. On November 5, voters throughout this country will be returning to the same broken election system of 2000 because it took Congress nearly 2 years to act.

So, while I will ultimately support this conference report, I cannot come to the floor today with the same jubilation and admiration for this bill that some of my colleagues have. Frankly, we should be ashamed of ourselves. While we improved our homeland security, we neglected the integrity of our democracy.

The conference report that the House is considering has many qualities that hold true to the title's implication. That is, the bill actually helps Americans vote. Improving voter accessibility, establishing statewide voter registration lists, determining what constitutes a vote, increasing voter education and poll worker training, and providing States with the dollars to meet these standards, are just a few of the good qualities of the report.

However, this bill is not perfect by any means. The ID provisions in the report drastically alter voter registration and absentee voting procedures. The inclusion of these provisions will ultimately discourage and intimidate first-time and veteran voters alike. Further, the opt-out until 2006 provisions provide States with an opportunity to delay reform until after the next Presidential election. After the last election, I expected these provisions to be removed. But they weren't.

Mr. Speaker, the passage of today's conference report is merely the first step in true election reform. Congress must now put its money where its mouth is and appropriate the \$3.9 billion authorized in this report. Unfunded mandates are just lip service, and States need our help. If Congress fails to fund election reform in 2003, 2004, and 2005, then we can count on many states opting out until 2006. This places the reliability of our election system in jeopardy for 4 more years.

As I have said so many times before, we must never again find ourselves questioning the methods by which we choose our elected officials. Hopefully, we never will. After all, help is on the way_though it may take a few years to get there.

I urge my colleagues to support the conference report.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Simpson). All time for debate has expired.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the conference report.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the conference report.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. HOYER . Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were _yeas 357, nays 48, not voting 26, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 462]

YEAS - 357

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Akin
Allen
Andrews
Armey
Baca
Bachus
Baird
Baker
Baldacci
Baldwin
Ballenger
Barcia
Barrett
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berkley
Berry
Biggert
Bilirakis
Bishop
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boehlert
Boehner
Bono
Boozman
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Brown (SC)
Bryant

Burr
Burton
Buyer
Calvert
Camp
Cantor
Capito
Capps
Cardin
Carson (IN)
Carson (OK)
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Clay
Clayton
Clement
Clyburn
Combest
Condit
Conyers
Costello
Cox
Cramer
Crane
Crenshaw
Crowley
Culberson
Cummings
Cunningham
Davis (CA)
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
Davis, Jo Ann
Davis, Tom
Deal
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dingell
Doggett
Dooley
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Emerson
Engel

English
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Farr
Fattah
Ferguson
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fossella
Frank
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Gallegly
Gekas
Gephardt
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Graves
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Grucci
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Harman
Hart
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Herger
Hill
Hilleary
Hilliard
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoeffel
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hooley
Horn
Hoyer
Hulshof

011543

Hunter
Hyde
Inslee
Isakson
Israel
Issa
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Keller
Kelly
Kennedy (MN)
Kennedy (RI)
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind (WI)
Kirk
Kleczka
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
LaFalce
LaHood
Lampson
Langevin
Lantos
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Leach
Lee
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Luther
Lynch
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Markey
Mascara

Matheson
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCrery
McDermott
McGovern
McHugh
McInnis
McIntyre
McKeon
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Millender-McDonald
Miller, Dan
Miller, George
Mollohan
Moore [*H7854]

[H8KS03049]YEAS Moran (VA)

Morella
Myrick
Nadler
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Osborne
Ose
Owens
Oxley
Pallone
Pascrell
Payne
Pelosi
Pence
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Phelps
Pickering
Pitts
Platts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Portman
Price (NC)

Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Rehberg
Reynolds
Riley
Rivers
Roemer
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Ross
Rothman
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Rush
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sawyer
Saxton
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schrock
Scott
Serrano
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simmons
Simpson
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Solis
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stenholm

Strickland
Stupak
Sullivan
Sweeney
Tancredo
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thune
Thurman
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Towns
Turner
Udall (CO)
Upton
Visclosky
Vitter
Walden
Walsh
Waters
Watkins (OK)
Watson (CA)
Weiner
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Wexler
Wicker
Wilson (NM)
Wilson (SC)
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn
Young (FL)

NAYS - 48

Barr
Becerra
Bonilla
Callahan
Cannon
Capuano
Coble
Collins
Cubin
Duncan
Everett
Filner

Flake
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Gutknecht
Hoekstra
Hostettler
Istook
Jones (NC)
Kerns
Kingston
Lucas (OK)
Mica
Miller, Jeff
Moran (KS)
Napolitano
Otter
Pastor
Paul
Putnam
Rodriguez
Sabo
Schaffer
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Smith (MI)
Souder
Thomas
Thornberry
Toomey
Udall (NM)
Velazquez
Wamp
Watt (NC)
Watts (OK)
Whitfield

NOT VOTING - 26

Berman
Blagojevich
Bonior
Cooksey
Coyne
Dicks
Ehrlich
Ganske
Gutierrez
Houghton
Jenkins
King (NY)
Lipinski
Manzullo
Matsui
Miller, Gary
Murtha

Neal
Ortiz
Reyes
Roukema
Stump
Sununu
Taylor (NC)
Waxman
Young (AK)

Messrs. COBLE, COLLINS, JEFF MILLER of Florida, CANNON, OTTER, WAMP, FILNER, CAPUANO, WHITFIELD, SOUDER, HOEKSTRA, and Ms. VELAZQUEZ changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Messrs. SAWYER, PETRI, GREEN of Texas, and OBEY changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Simpson). Without objection, the House insists on its disagreement to the Senate amendment to the title.

There was no objection.

SUBJECT: VOTERS & VOTING (91%); ELECTION LAW (90%); CONFERENCES & CONVENTIONS (90%); CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS (90%); LEGISLATION (90%); ELECTION AUTHORITIES (90%);

LOAD-DATE: October 14, 2002

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ROME DIVISION

FILED IN CLERK'S OFFICE
U.S.D.C. rome

OCT 18 2005

Common Cause/Georgia,
League of Women Voters of
Georgia, Inc.,
The Central Presbyterian
Outreach and Advocacy Center,
Inc.,
Georgia Association of Black
Elected Officials, Inc.,
The National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People (NAACP),
Inc., through its Georgia State
Conference of Branches,
Georgia Legislative Black Caucus,
Concerned Black Clergy of Metropolitan
Atlanta, Inc., and the following
qualified and registered voters under
Georgia law:
Mrs. Clara Williams,

LUTHER D. THOMAS, Clerk
By: *[Signature]* Deputy Clerk

Plaintiffs,

v.

CIVIL ACTION FILE
NO. 4:05-CV-0201-HLM

Ms. Evon Billups, Superintendent
of Elections for the Board of
Elections and Voter Registration
for Floyd County and the City
of Rome, Georgia,
Ms. Tracy Brown, Superintendent
of Elections of Bartow County,
Georgia,
Mr. Gary Petty, Ms. Michelle
Hudson, Ms. Amanda Spencer, Mr.
Ron McKelvey, and Ms. Nina
Crawford, members of the Board
of Elections and Registration of
Catoosa County, Georgia,
Judge John Payne, Superintendent
of Elections of Chattooga County,
Georgia,
Ms. Shea Hicks, Superintendent of
Elections for Gordon County,

Georgia,
Ms. Jennifer A. Johnson,
Superintendent of Elections for
Polk County, Georgia,
Mr. Sam Little, Superintendent of
Elections for Whitfield County,
Georgia, individually and in their
respective official capacities as
superintendents or members of the
elections boards in their individual
counties, and as class representatives
under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure
22(b)(1) and (b)(2) of a class
consisting of all superintendents and
members of city and county boards of
elections throughout the State of
Georgia, and
Honorable Cathy Cox, individually and
in her official capacities as
Secretary of State of Georgia and
Chair of the Georgia Elections Board,

Defendants.

ORDER

This case is an action to have the photo identification ("Photo ID") requirement in the 2005 amendment to O.C.G.A. § 21-2-417 (Act No. 53), declared unconstitutional both on its face and as applied, and to enjoin its enforcement on the ground that it imposes an unauthorized, unnecessary, and undue burden on the fundamental right to vote of hundreds of thousands of registered Georgia voters, in violation of article II, section 1, paragraph 2 of the Georgia Constitution, the Fourteenth and Twenty-Fourth Amendments to the federal Constitution, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C.A. § 1971(a)(2)(A) and (a)(2)(B)), and Section 2 of the

Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C.A. § 1973(a)). The case is before the Court on Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction [2] [23].

I. Background

A. The Parties

Plaintiff Common Cause/Georgia is a chapter of Common Cause, Inc. (Compl. ¶ 1(a).) Common Cause is a non-partisan citizen lobby organized as a not-for-profit corporation under the laws of the District of Columbia, and is devoted to causes such as electoral reform, ethics in government, and the protection and preservation of the rights of all citizens to vote in national, state, and local elections, including educating voters about voting rights and procedures. (Id.)

Plaintiff League of Women Voters of Georgia is a non-partisan Georgia non-profit corporation that was founded in 1920. (Compl. ¶ 1(b).) Plaintiff League of Women Voters of Georgia's purpose is to encourage the informed and active participation by citizens in government at all levels, including the protection of the right of all citizens to vote and the education of voters about voting rights and procedures. (Id.)

Plaintiff The Central Presbyterian Outreach and Advocacy Center, Inc. is a Georgia non-profit corporation that provides

support to people in poverty, including emergency services for basic human needs and assistance in achieving self-sufficiency, including assisting individuals in obtaining photo identification. (Compl. ¶ 1(c).)

Plaintiff Georgia Association of Black Elected Officials, Inc. is an unincorporated association of more than 700 elected officials throughout the State of Georgia who regularly conduct election campaigns and seek the votes of all registered, eligible voters. (Compl. ¶ 1(d).) It also promotes voter registration, education, and participation, preserves minority voting rights, and fights to ensure that no qualified voters are turned away on Election Day for failure to possess a Photo ID card in violation of their right to vote. (Id.)

Plaintiff the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ("Plaintiff NAACP"), through its Georgia State Conference of Branches, is the nation's oldest civil rights organization. (Compl. ¶ 1(e).) Plaintiff NAACP was formed in 1909 by a multiracial group of activists, and has nationwide membership as well as members and offices in Georgia. (Id.) Plaintiff NAACP has advocated for the advancement and protection of voting rights for minorities, and, throughout its history, has fought for access to the ballot, for its members and for others. (Id.) It also has fought to ensure

that racial minorities, low income people, and economically disadvantaged people have access to the ballot box and an equal opportunity to participate in the political process.

(Id.)

Plaintiff Georgia Legislative Black Caucus ("Plaintiff GLBC") was formed in 1966 and consists of elected African-American members of the House and Senate of the Georgia General Assembly. (Compl. ¶ 1(f).) Plaintiff GLBC's members, as elected representatives, engage in election campaigns, seek votes of registered, eligible voters, and also seek to make certain that the right to vote of all eligible citizens is protected and that no eligible voters are discouraged or prevented from voting on election day for failure to possess a Photo ID card in violation of their right to vote. (Id.)

Plaintiff Concerned Black Clergy of Metropolitan Atlanta, Inc. is a non-partisan, interfaith religious organization of mostly African-American members and laity whose mission is to provide leadership, advocacy, and service to the poor, the homeless, and the helpless in the metropolitan Atlanta area, including protecting their rights as citizens to full participation in the democratic process, including the right to register and vote without undue interference. (Compl. ¶ 1(g).)

Plaintiff Clara Williams is an African-American and duly

qualified and registered voter residing in the City of Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia. (Compl. ¶ 1(h)(ii).) Plaintiff Williams does not possess a Georgia driver's license, passport, or other form of government-issued Photo ID, and cannot readily obtain a Photo ID card from the State Department of Driver Services. (Id.)

Defendant Evon Billups is the Superintendent of Elections for the Board of Elections and Voter Registration for Floyd County, Georgia, and is charged with the duty of conducting elections in Floyd County, Georgia, and the City of Rome, Georgia. (Compl. ¶ 2(a)(i).) Plaintiffs have sued Defendant Billups in her individual and official capacities. (Id.)

Defendant Tracy Brown is the Superintendent of Elections for the Board of Elections and Voter Registration for Bartow County, Georgia, and is charged with the duty of conducting elections in Bartow County, Georgia. (Compl. ¶ 2(a)(ii).) Plaintiffs have sued Defendant Brown in her official and individual capacities. (Id.)

Defendants Gary Petty, Michelle Hudson, Amanda Spencer, Ron McKelvey, and Nina Crawford are members of the Board of Elections and Voter Registration for Catoosa County, Georgia, and are charged with the duty of conducting elections in Catoosa County, Georgia. (Compl. ¶ 2(a)(iii).) Plaintiffs have sued those Defendants in their official and individual

capacities. (Id.)

Defendant Judge John Payne is the Superintendent of Elections for the Board of Registrars for Chattooga County, Georgia, and is charged with the duty of conducting elections in Catoosa County, Georgia. (Compl. ¶ 2(a)(iv).) Plaintiffs have sued Defendant Payne in his official and individual capacities. (Id.)

Defendant Shea Hicks is the Superintendent of Elections for the Board of Elections and Registrations for Gordon County, Georgia, and is charged with the duty of conducting elections in Gordon County, Georgia. (Compl. ¶ 2(a)(v).) Plaintiffs have sued Defendant Hicks in her official and individual capacities. (Id.)

Defendant Jennifer A. Johnson is the Superintendent of Elections for the Board of Elections and Voter Registration for Polk County, Georgia, and is charged with the duty of conducting elections in Polk County, Georgia. (Compl. ¶ 2(a)(vi).) Plaintiffs have sued Defendant Johnson in her official and individual capacities. (Id.)

Defendant Sam Little is the Superintendent of Elections for the Board of Elections and Registration for Whitfield County, Georgia, and is charged with the duty of conducting elections in Whitfield County, Georgia. (Compl. ¶ 2(a)(vii).) Plaintiffs have sued Defendant Little in his official and

individual capacities. (Id.)

Defendant Cathy Cox is the Secretary of State for the State of Georgia, and is Chair of the State Election Board. (Compl. ¶ 2(a)(viii).) Defendant Cox has been designated as the Chief Election Official for purposes of the federal Help America Vote Act of 2002, and also is the Chief Election Official for purposes of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993. (Id.) Plaintiffs have sued Defendant Cox in her individual and official capacities. (Id.)

Plaintiffs allege that the superintendents and board members of the city and county boards of elections named in paragraphs 2(a)(i) through 2(a)(vii) of the Complaint are members of a class that consists of superintendents and members of city and county boards of elections in each of the 159 counties in Georgia, who are so numerous as to make their joinder impracticable. (Compl. ¶ 6.) Plaintiffs seek certification of a defendant class of all superintendents and members of all city and county boards of election in Georgia under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 23(b)(1) and (b)(2). (Id. ¶ 7.)

B. The Georgia Photo ID Requirement

Prior to the 1998 elections, voters in Georgia, like registered voters in a majority of other states, were not required to present identification as a condition of voting.

(Compl. ¶ 8.) In 1997, the Georgia General Assembly adopted O.C.G.A. § 21-2-417, which required registered voters in Georgia to identify themselves by presenting one of seventeen forms of identification to election officials as a condition of being admitted to the polls and of being allowed to vote. (State Defs.' Initial Br. Opp'n Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj. Ex. 1.) Prior to its amendment in 1997, O.C.G.A. § 21-2-417 permitted, but did not require, registered voters to present a Georgia driver's license or other form of official photographic identification as a method of identification as a condition of voting. (Compl. ¶ 10.) Under the version of O.C.G.A. § 21-2-417 as amended in 1997, voters remained free to use any of eight other methods of identification for voting, including a birth certificate, a social security card, a copy of a current utility bill, a government check, a payroll check, or a bank statement showing the voter's name and address. (State Defs.' Initial Br. Opp'n Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj. Ex. 1.) Additionally, voters who did not have, or could not find, one of the seventeen forms of identification specified in former O.C.G.A. § 21-2-417(a), were entitled to be admitted to the polls, to be issued a ballot, and to be allowed to vote simply by signing a statement under oath swearing or affirming that he or she is the person identified on the elector's certificate. (Id.)

In 2005, the Georgia General Assembly adopted House Bill 244, or Act 53 ("HB 244"), which amended O.C.G.A. § 21-2-417 to require that all registered voters in Georgia who vote in person in all primary, special, or general elections for state, national, and local offices held on or after July 1, 2005, present a government-issued Photo ID to election officials as a condition of being admitted to the polls and before being issued a ballot and being allowed to vote. Plaintiffs have presented evidence indicating that the Georgia House of Representatives approved the Conference Committee Report on Act 53 by a vote of eighty-nine Republicans and two Democrats, while seventy-two Democrats and three Republicans voted against it. (Decl. of Ron D. Hockensmith ¶ 5 & Ex. 1.) The Senate adopted the Conference Committee Report on Act 53, with thirty-one Republicans and no Democrats voting in favor of the Act and eighteen Democrats and two Republicans voting against the Act. (Id.)

Plaintiffs have submitted the Declaration of Margaret S. Smothers, the former Executive Director of the League of Women Voters of Georgia. (Decl. of Margaret S. Smothers ¶ 2.) Ms. Smothers served as the League of Women Voters of Georgia's lobbyist during the 2005 session of the Georgia General Assembly, and worked on voting rights issues, including the proposals to require Photo ID. (Id. ¶¶ 2-3.) Ms. Smothers

observed:

4.

One of the objections opponents had to the photo id proposals was that the proposals included no funding for public education to inform registered voters of the new requirements that they present a photo id card in order to have their vote counted. In contrast, when Georgia shifted to electronic voting machines, the budget and staff of the Secretary of State's office was temporarily increased in order to engage in extensive public education efforts to prepare voters for that change. At the March 21, 2005 hearing on HB 244 before the Senate Committee on State and Local Governmental Operations (SLOGO), Randall Evans, who sponsored the bill and who is currently a member of the State Elections Board expressed the opinion that the Secretary of State's office had funds available from its current budget and that the state could rely on the public education efforts of such groups as the NAACP and AARP. Similar statements about the advocacy groups being sufficient to educate the public were made on the Senate floor during the March 29, 2005 debate on the photo id bill.

5.

Advocacy groups opposed to the legislation suggested the issue be studied prior to the next legislative session to determine if there were in fact a serious number of incidents of voter impersonation. At the SLOGO hearing on March 21, 2005 referred to above, Senator John Wiles, chair of the committee, asked if the groups would prefer the legislation to be enacted in the 2005 session, thus, in his view, providing a year for the groups to conduct public education. It was apparent from this comment that the chair was either unaware or was not concerned that municipal elections are conducted in odd years.

(Id. ¶¶ 4-5.)

Defendant Cathy Cox, Georgia's Secretary of State

("Secretary of State Cox"), wrote a memorandum to the members of the Georgia State Senate, asking that the senators consider the "staggering opportunities for voter fraud" that HB 244 would create. (Pls.' Br. Supp. Mot. Prelim. Inj. Ex. A at 1.)

Secretary of State Cox observed:

By allowing any person, at any time within 45 days before an election, to vote an absentee ballot by mail - with no ID requirement and no requirement to state one of the current conditions for voting absentee (O.C.G.A. § 21-2-380) - such as being out of town on election day, having a disability, being over 75 years old, etc.), you would be opening a gaping opportunity for fraud. At virtually every meeting of the State Elections Board during the past 10 years, we have dealt with cases involving fraud or election law violations in handling or voting absentee ballots. HB 244 removes all restrictions on voting by mail, and thus makes it quite simple for someone inclined to commit fraud to do so.

This completely contradicts the reasons stated for another measure contained in HB 244 - the Photo ID requirement. If the authors are indeed concerned about voter fraud, they would not likely authorize the easiest - and most prevalent form - of election law violations: unregulated voting by mail. In the past 9 years, neither my staff nor I can recall a single case or complaint of a voter impersonating another voter at the polls - the issue sought to be corrected by mandatory photo identification. And had this been occurring, some voter surely would have complained upon finding that someone else had voted under their name. It hasn't happened.

I urge you to fully consider all the changes proposed by HB 244. This bill started out as the "housekeeping" legislation proposed by my office, but other bills - HB 597 and SB 84 - have now been merged into it. The bill attempts to solve a problem that does not exist while expanding the opportunity for fraud in the area that has long

been the most vulnerable to this type of abuse - the mailed absentee ballot.

(Id. at 1-2.)

On April 8, 2005, Secretary of State Cox wrote a letter to Governor Perdue expressing reservations about the Photo ID requirement contained in HB 244, and urging Governor Perdue to veto the bill. In her April 8, 2005, letter, Secretary of State Cox observed:

It is my strong belief that the picture identification requirement in House Bill 244 is (1) unnecessary, (2) creates a very significant obstacle to voting on the part of hundreds of thousands of Georgians, including the poor, the infirm and the elderly who do not have drivers licenses because they are either too poor to own a car, are unable to drive [a] car, or have no need to drive a car, (3) very unlikely to receive pre-clearance under the Voting Rights Act by the Department of Justice, (4) violates Art. II, section I paragraph I of the Georgia Constitution by adding a condition on the right to vote that is not contained in the constitution and (5) imposes an undue burden on a fundamental right of all citizens, the right to vote, in violation of both the state and federal constitutions."

(Id. at 1.)

Secretary of State Cox also expressed her belief that the Photo ID requirements of House Bill 244 are unnecessary:

One of the primary justifications given by the Legislature for the passage of the photo identification provisions of House Bill 244 - the elimination of voter ID fraud at the polls - is an unfounded justification. I cannot recall one documented case of voter fraud during my tenure as Secretary of State or Assistant Secretary of State that specifically related to the impersonation of a registered voter at voting polls. Our state

currently has several practices and procedures in existence to ensure that such cases of voter fraud would have been detected if they in fact occurred, and at the very least, we would have complaints of voters who were unable to vote because someone had previously represented himself or herself as such person on that respective Election Day. As a practical matter, there is no possibility that vote fraud of this type would have gone undetected if it had in fact occurred because there is a list of registered voters at each polling place that is checked off as each person votes. If the impersonator voted first, and the legitimate voter came to the polling place later in the day and tried to vote, he or she would be told that they had already "voted" and would not be allowed to vote a second time in the same day. It is reasonable to suspect that a voter who cared enough to show up at the polls to cast a ballot would almost certainly have complained - but there have been no such complaints. If the opposite occurred, and the legitimate person came to the polls first and cast his ballot, the impersonator who showed up later would not be allowed to vote for the same reason and the attempted fraud would have been prevented.

In addition, this state has adopted severe criminal sanctions for the type of voter impersonation that is purportedly of concern and it is evident that such penalties have been a sufficient deterrent. In essence, there is no voter fraud problem currently in existence that House Bill 244 addresses. Additionally, the concern for this type of voter fraud has not prompted other states to approve legislation as restrictive as House Bill 244. Forty-two of those states provide for other valid forms of identification besides photo identification. Of the other seven states, not one is as restrictive as the legislation recently enacted in our state. If this type of voting fraud was a national trend, other states would likely be adopting legislation as restrictive as House Bill 244.

In contrast to the lack of voter fraud relating to impersonation of voters at polls during my tenure, the State Election Board has reviewed numerous

cases of voter fraud relating to the use of absentee ballots. However, the Legislature, in adopting House Bill 244 grossly expanded the opportunities for absentee voting by mail without any photographic identification requirement whatsoever, even though absentee ballots pose more of a threat of voting fraud than people voting in a polling location in their community. As a result, the type of voter fraud that has frequently occurred in our state is not addressed, and in fact is enhanced by the expansion of vote-by-mail opportunities. In sum, the justification for House Bill 244 is but a pretext.

(Pls.' Br. Supp. Mot. Prelim. Inj. Ex. B at 1-2.) Secretary of State Cox also observed that the Photo ID requirements created substantial obstacles to many Georgia voters:

Requiring someone who is otherwise registered and fully qualified to vote to present a government issued picture identification at the polling place as a condition of voting places a very real burden on many people, and especially upon the poor and elderly who do not own or cannot drive a car and therefore do not have drivers' licenses. It is estimated by the League of Women Voters and the AARP that an estimated 152,664 individuals over the age of 60 who voted in the 2004 presidential election do not have a Georgia driver's license and are likely not to have other photo identification. For such voters to obtain identification is often an unnecessarily burdensome task, particularly if such voters are in retirement communities and assisted living facilities, or live in rural areas.

In addition, for many of the poorest residents of our state, photographic identification is not just a matter of unnecessary documentation that has no direct bearing on their day to day lives (they often have no need to drive or travel, or otherwise engage in activities that require a license), but is a burden of cost, economy and time. Although seemingly nominal, the \$8.00 fee for an identification card may be a cost that many of our poor residents are unable to bear. Given the fact