

## Qualifications and Resumes for Project Team

### QUALIFICATIONS

**Jeffrey Levine** - Director of Eagleton's Center for Public Interest Polling

Levine has written extensively on political behavior. He is author or co-author of chapters in three forthcoming books: *The Social Logic of Politics: Family, Friends, Neighbors, and Workmates as Contexts for Political Behavior* (Alan Zuckerman, editor), *The Behavioral Study of Political Ideology and Policy Formulation* (Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff, editors), and *The Persistence of Political Disagreement among Citizens: How Disagreement Survives within Communication Networks* (Robert Huckfeldt, Paul Johnson, and John Sprague, authors). Levine's research has also been published in a variety of academic journals, including *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *American Political Science Review*, and *American Journal of Political Science*. Currently, he is engaged in an ongoing research project that examines the incidence and nature of informal political debate and deliberation in the American electorate.

Before his appointment as Director of the Center for Public Interest Polling in 2004, Levine was Managing Director of a commercial research firm, where he directed hundreds of quantitative and qualitative research studies for a range of corporate, non-profit, and political clients. He has also provided public opinion analysis on MSNBC and the FOX News Channel.

Levine earned his B.A. in Political Science from University of Rochester and his M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from Indiana University.

**DON LINKY** - Director, Electronic Government Project

Linky is focusing on how electronic technology is affecting government, politics and public affairs. He also continues as president of the Public Affairs Research Institute of New Jersey, a corporate-supported nonprofit founded in 1930 that monitors New Jersey economic, demographic and fiscal trends, and as president of Joshua Communications, a for-profit publishing and information consulting firm.

During the administration of New Jersey Governor Brendan T. Byrne, Linky served as chief counsel to the governor and director of the Governor's office of policy and planning. He had key roles in the development of such programs as the Pinelands Protection Act, the Spill Compensation and Protection Act, the Community Development Bond Act, the Enterprise Zone program, and the creation of New Jersey Transit.

He is the editor or co-editor of the reference books *The New Jersey Directory: The Insider Guide to New Jersey Leaders*; *The New Jersey Almanac*; and *The New Jersey Municipal Almanac*, and serves on the editorial board of *The New Jersey Encyclopedia*. A native of Asbury Park, he now resides in Princeton.

Linky received a BA from Dartmouth College in 1968 and a JD from Harvard Law School in 1972. He also attended the London School of Economics and Political Science.

**RUTH B. MANDEL** - Director, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University  
and Board of Governors Professor of Politics,  
Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University

From 1971 through 1994, Ruth B. Mandel directed Eagleton's Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), where she remains affiliated as a Senior Scholar. Mandel teaches and writes about women and leadership, with emphasis on U.S. women's political history, women as political candidates and officeholders, women's political networks, and the "gender gap." She is the author of numerous publications about women's changing political roles. Recently, she headed an Eagleton team in developing the Young Elected Leaders Project, a new area of study focused on elected officials age thirty-five and under.

Mandel's public service includes a presidential appointment on the governing board of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. She has served as Vice Chairperson of the board since being named by President Bill Clinton in 1993 and reappointed by President George Bush in 2002. Mandel is a member of the Museum's Executive Committee, its Academic Committee, and chairs its Education Committee. She chaired the task group charged with proposing a governing structure for the new Museum. In the 1990's, she led the process to create the Museum's Committee on Conscience, which was established in 1996 with Mandel as its founding chair.

Professor Mandel is a member of the board of the Charles H. Revson Foundation. Her service has also included membership on the board of the National Council for Research on Women; the National Commission for the Renewal of American Democracy; Princeton University's Center for Jewish Life; the Mercer County Commission on the Status of Women; and various editorial boards for scholarly journals and academic publishers.

Awards include: Woodrow Wilson Public Service Award given in the Governor's Pride of New Jersey Awards (1992); Gloria Steinem Women of Vision Award presented by the Ms. Foundation (1996); Twenty-First Century Leadership Award, presented by the President of the National Women's Hall of Fame; Breaking the Glass Ceiling Award from Women Executives in State Government (1998); honorary Doctor of Public Service degree from Chatham College (1998); Award for Distinguished Policy Leadership and Advancement of Women in Public Life from the Women Legislators and College Presidents of Maryland (2002); Salute to the Policy Makers award from Executive Women of New Jersey (2004).

As an observer and analyst of American politics and emerging trends in leadership, she lectures and speaks frequently to a wide range of community, civic and academic audiences.

Ruth B. Mandel holds a B.A. in English from Brooklyn College and an M.A. and Ph.D. in American Literature from the University of Connecticut.

**THOMAS M. O'NEILL** -Project Director

For the past 20 years, O'Neill served as President of The Partnership for New Jersey and led its Leadership New Jersey, diversity management and education improvement programs. Previously he was Executive Director of The Center for Analysis of Public Issues in Princeton, which, among other research, analyzed campaigns and elections. He served for several years as election night analyst for New Jersey Network Television and for WNET-Channel 13 in New York.

**INGRID W. REED** - Director, New Jersey Project, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University

Ingrid W. Reed directs the Eagleton New Jersey Project, an initiative designed to reinforce and expand the contributions of Rutgers' Eagleton Institute of Politics to the governance and politics of its home state. Among its initiatives are programs on campaign and election activity, women and politics, welfare reform, and governance issues.

Recently Reed's work has focused on campaigns and elections from the point of view of the citizen. She is the co-author with Professor Gerald Pomper of a report with recommendations about the 1998 New Jersey Congressional Campaigns, *Not Bad But Not Enough*. She has conducted similar studies for the 2000 congressional campaigns, for the 2001 and 2003 for the New Jersey gubernatorial and legislative races, and 2002 U.S. Senate and House races. She is the author of *The 2001 New Jersey Election*, one of four reports prepared for The Century Foundation assessing the extent to which problems in the 2000 Florida election persisted in 2001. In March 2004, she presented a paper at Rutgers's Center for Government Services Policy Seminar Series on "Issues in Voter Participation: Do We Know What They Are? If We Know, What Can We Do About Them?" In partnership with Eagleton's Center for American Women and Politics, she organizes the BI-Partisan Coalition for Women's Appointments. In 2001-2002, Reed was associate director for a pilot project funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts and the NJ Department of Community Affairs, conducted collaboratively with Syracuse University's Maxwell School for Citizenship and Public Administration, that resulted in a report, *The New Jersey Initiative: Building Management Capacity in New Jersey Municipalities*.

Before joining the Eagleton Institute, Reed served as assistant dean of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs where she also

directed the Rockefeller Public Service Awards Program, and as vice president for public affairs and corporate secretary of The Rockefeller University in New York City.

Reed has written op-ed columns on politics for the *Home News and Tribune* (central New Jersey), *The Times of Trenton*, *New Jersey Law Journal*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *The Record*; as well as authored pieces on public administration, urban redevelopment, welfare reform and municipal management. She is frequently interviewed for analyses of New Jersey politics by state, national and international media.

In her public service activities, Reed has a wide range of experiences in state politics and planning, governance and community affairs. She has chaired the Capital City (Trenton) Redevelopment Corporation, a state agency, since it began in 1988. She is a founder and board member of New Jersey Future, the organization advocating the implementation of the State Development and Redevelopment Act, and she was on the board of the New Jersey Conservation Foundation and is currently on the Regional Plan Association, New Jersey Committee. She was elected to the board of the Community Foundation of New Jersey in April 2000.

Reed is a member of the board of the Institute of Public Administration (NYC). In 1993, she was elected a fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration and served on its special panel on Civic Trust and Citizen Responsibility. From 1983 to 1986, she held a Kellogg Foundation National Leadership Fellowship.

She is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Pennsylvania.

**JOHN WEINGART** - Associate Director, Eagleton Institute of Politics,  
Rutgers University

John Weingart is the associate director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. He also chairs two state commissions: the Highlands Water Protection and Planning Council and the Delaware and Raritan Canal Commission.

John's publications include the Eagleton Institute study, "Another Government Success Story: Citizen Volunteers on New Jersey State Boards and Commissions" (2004); *Waste Is A Terrible Thing To Mind: Risk, Radiation, and Distrust of Government* (described at [www.WasteIsATerribleThingToMind.com](http://www.WasteIsATerribleThingToMind.com)), and *Reform of Undergraduate Education* (written with Arthur E. Levine) which was named "Book Of The Year" by the American Council on Education.

Before coming to Eagleton, John served in New Jersey state government for 23 years during the administrations of two Democratic and two Republican governors. He worked at the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection from 1975 to 1994 where his posts included director of the Division of Coastal Resources and Assistant

Commissioner for Environmental Regulation. He then spent four years as Executive Director of the state's Low-Level Radioactive Waste Disposal Facility Siting Board.

John holds a B.A. in Sociology from Brandeis University and a Master's in Public Affairs from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School.

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## RUTH B. MANDEL

### Office

Eagleton Institute of Politics  
Rutgers, The University of New Jersey

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### Home

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### EDUCATION

B.A. 1960, Brooklyn College, English; Ph.D. 1969, M.A. 1962, University of Connecticut, English/American Literature

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Board of Governors Professor of Politics, Rutgers University, since 1994

Professor, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, 1985-94; Associate Professor, 1978-85; Assistant Professor, 1971-78

Director, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, since January 1995

Established in 1956, the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University explores state and national politics through research, education, and public service activities, linking the study of politics with its day-to-day practice. Eagleton offers graduate fellowship programs and an undergraduate certificate program for Rutgers students. The Institute's faculty and programs specialize in the study of: state legislatures; public opinion polling and survey research; women's participation in politics; minority and immigrant political participation; campaigns, elections and political parties; civic education and engagement; electronic democracy; and New Jersey politics.

Director, Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics, 1971-95

Built a research, education, and public service program to promote greater understanding of women's relationship to politics and government and to develop a body of knowledge about women's public leadership. Co-Director of CAWP, 1971-73; Educational Coordinator, 1971. CAWP was established in 1971.

Senior Scholar, CAWP, since 1995

Affiliated Faculty, Department of American Studies, since 2002

Affiliated Faculty, Department of Women's and Gender Studies, since 2001

Fellow, Douglass College, Rutgers University, since 1982

Member, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, since 1981

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of English, Rider College, 1970-71

Lecturer, Department of English, University of Pittsburgh, 1968-70

Part-time Instructor, Department of English, University of Connecticut, 1960-66

Teaching at Rutgers

Department of Political Science: Women and Political Leadership (graduate); Eagleton Seminar in American Politics (graduate);

Women and American Politics (undergraduate); Becoming A Public Citizen (undergraduate)

Department of Women's and Gender Studies: Leadership Scholar's Seminar (undergraduate)

Department of English: Autobiographies of American Women; Women and Contemporary Problems; Women in Modern America and England; Politics and Fiction

#### **PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT**

Vice Chairperson, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, the governing board of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum

Appointed Vice Chairperson in 1993 by President Clinton. Originally appointed to Council by President Bush (Council term 1991-1996); reappointed twice by President Clinton (1996-2001, 2001-2006).

Committees: Search Committees for Director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1992, 1995, 1998; Executive Committee (Vice Chair); Compensation Committee; Long Range Planning Committee; Development Committee; Academic Committee; Committee on Collections and Acquisitions; Chair, Task Force on Governance; Chair, Exploratory Group for A Committee on Conscience, 1994-96; Founding Chair, Committee on Conscience, 1996-97, 1999-2000; Chair, Strategic Planning Committee; Chair, Education Committee, 2003-04.

## **HONORS/AWARDS**

### **Awards/Honors**

Honoree, "Salute the Policy Makers—Awards Dinner Honoring Women of Achievement,"  
Executive Women in New Jersey, New  
Brunswick, NJ, May 6, 2004.

Honoree, as one of three Founders of the national Public Leadership Education Network on the  
occasion of its 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary  
Celebration, National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C., February 26, 2004.

Honoree, "Women of Distinction" award, American Association of University Women, June  
2002

Honoree, Women Legislators and Women College Presidents of Maryland, Maryland  
Independent College and University  
Association, Annapolis, Maryland, January 2002

Honoree, The Section for Women in Public Administration, American Society for Public  
Administration, March 2001

Honoree, "Women Who Make a Difference," Myrtle Wreath Annual Award, Hadassah Southern  
New Jersey Region, November 2000

Honorary Doctor of Public Service degree, Chatham College, Pittsburgh, PA, May 1998

Breaking the Glass Ceiling Award for a Person in the Public Sector, Women Executives in State  
Government, January 1998

Mary Louise Smith Chair in Women and Politics, Iowa State University, 1997-98

Twenty-First Century Leadership Award, presented by the President of the National Women's  
Hall of Fame, October 1996

Gloria Steinem Woman of Vision Award, presented by the Ms. Foundation for Women, May  
1996

The League of Women Voters of New Jersey 75th Anniversary Achievement Award, May 1996

Honoree, YWCA of Central Jersey, March 1993

Faculty Merit Awards, Rutgers University, 1982, 1988, 1993

Recipient of the Governor of New Jersey's Woodrow Wilson Public Service Award in the 1992  
Governor's Pride of New Jersey  
Awards Program

Designated "Jerseyan of the Week" by the *Sunday Star-Ledger*, October 18, 1992, January 8, 1995

The Barbara Boggs Sigmund Award: Leaders With Vision — Women in Politics, presented by the Women's Political Caucus of New Jersey, October 1992

Awarded The Douglass Medal by Douglass College of Rutgers University, June 1989

Named 1984 Ralph Bates Lecturer by the Chatham Board of Education, Chatham, NJ

Named one of 33 New Jersey Women of Achievement by *New Jersey Monthly*, October 1983

*Who's Who of American Women*, 1979-80

Nominee, Woman of the Year in Political Life, *Ladies' Home Journal*, 1977

US Office of Education Fellow, "Crisis: Women in Higher Education," July 1971

Research and teaching fellowships, University of Connecticut Graduate School, 1960-68

## PUBLICATIONS

**Books, Monographs, Book Chapters, Professional Journals**

*Political Generation Next: America's Young elected Leaders*, Ruth B. Mandel and Katherine E. Kleeman (Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, 2004).

"A Question About Women and the Leadership Option," in *The Difference "Difference" Makes*, ed. Deborah L. Rhode (Stanford University Press, 2003).

"Women's Leadership in American Politics: The Legacy and the Promise," in *The American Woman 2001-2001: Getting to the Top*, eds. Cynthia B. Costello and Ann J. Stone (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001).

"Susan Berresford," "Anna Quindlen," "Patricia Schroeder," "Christine Todd Whitman," interviews with Mary S. Hartman, editor, in *Talking Leadership: Conversations with Powerful Women* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999).

"Moving Forward Together—Women in Politics in the U.S.A.," in *Mehr Frauenfur Mehr Demokratie: Festschriftzu Ehren von Professor Dr. Barbara Schaeffer-Hegel*, ed. Ulla Weber (Berlin, Germany: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft Pfaffenweiler, 1998).

"Politics and Persuasion," in *We Are Listening: Report of the Vital Voices, Women In Democracy Conference* (Vienna, Austria: USIA Regional Program Office, 1998).

"Madeleine May Kunin," with Katherine E. Kleeman in *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, eds. Paula E. Hyman and Deborah Dash Moore (New York: Routledge, Inc., 1997).

Introduction to *American Women Speak: Voices of American Women in Public Life*, eds. Doris Earnshaw and Maria Elena Raymond, (California: Alta Vista Press, 1996).

*Voices, Views, Votes: The Impact of Women in the 103rd Congress*, with D. Dodson, S.J. Carroll, K.E. Kleeman, R. Schreiber and D. Liebowitz, monograph report from a research project (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute of Politics, 1995).

"A Generation of Change for Women in Politics," in *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, ed. Jo Freeman (Palo Alto: Mayfield, 1995).

"Doing It Whose Way? Women in Leadership," in *Our Vision and Values: Women Shaping the 21st Century*, ed. Frances C. Hutner (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994).

"The Political Woman," in *American Women in the Nineties*, ed. Sherri Matteo (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993). Earlier version in *The American Woman 1988-89*, ed. Sara E. Rix (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1988).

"Do Women Officeholders Make a Difference?" with Debra L. Dodson, in *The American Woman 1992-93*, eds. Paula Ries and Anne J. Stone (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992).

"No Striving for Glory Here: An Essay on Women and Leadership in the USSR," *Frontiers*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (Spring 1987), 16-22.

*The Impact of Women in Public Office: An Overview*, with Susan J. Carroll and Debra L. Dodson, monograph in a research series (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute of Politics, 1991).

"Women Officials: A Singular Bond," with Katherine E. Kleeman in *The Women's Economic Justice Agenda: Ideas for the States* (Washington, DC: The National Center for Policy Alternatives, 1987).

"Comparative Reflections," in *Women in Leadership*, section III, *Soviet Studies Series: Women in the Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: The Committee for National Security, 1985).

*In the Running: The New Woman Candidate* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1981). Paperback: Beacon Press, 1983. Excerpted in "Race, Gender, and State and Local Politics," in *State and Local Government in an Urban Society*, Richard D. Bingham (New York: Random House, 1986). Excerpted in *Women Leaders in American Politics*, James David Barber and Barbara Kellerman, eds. (Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986). Excerpted in "In the Running," *National Business Woman* (BPW: The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, October/November 1983). Excerpted in "Women Candidates: The Beginning of a Difference," *Graduate Woman*, Vol. 76, No.4 (AAUW, July/August 1982).

"Educating Political People: Familiarity Breeds Familiarity," in *Resocializing Sex Roles: A Guide for Educators*, eds. by Elinor B. Waters and Jane Goodman. Monograph of the National Vocational Guidance Association, 1980.

*Educating Women for Public Life: Report from the Visiting Program in Practical Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute of Politics, 1974).

"The Two Mystery Stories in Benito Cereno," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, XIV (Winter 1973), 631-642.

*The Assistant and A New Life: Ironic Affirmation*," *Critique*, VII (Winter 1964-65), 110-122; reprinted in *Bernard Malamud and the Critics*, eds. by L.A. Field and J.W. Field (New York, 1971).

#### Magazines and Other Writing

"The Coin Has Two Sides," for *Women's Leadership: Collective Endeavor or Individual Mission?* National Dialogue on Educating Women for Leadership, a monograph series of the Institute for Women's Leadership, Rutgers University (forthcoming 2003).

"Memory Alone Does Not Suffice," prepared for Days of Remembrance ceremonies, Washington, DC, April 2001 and published in: *Together*, publication of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, Vol. 15, No. 2 (New York); and in *Update*, publication of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Summer 2001 (Washington, DC).

"The Power of a Woman's Voice," review of *Living a Political Life* by Madeleine Kunin, *The Boston Sunday Globe*, April 10, 1994.

"The Year of the Woman?" *Rutgers Magazine*, Vol. 72, No. 2, Summer 1993.

Foreword, *Women in Office: Getting There and Staying There*, Joanne Rajoppi (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1993).

"Success for Women in 1992," *CAWP News & Notes*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Winter 1993.

"Year of the Woman': A Note of Caution," with Irwin N. Gertzog, *CAWP News & Notes*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1992.

"Building Women's Institutions," *CAWP News & Notes*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Spring 1992, pp. 15-16.

"1990 Election Credits and a Preview of Coming Attractions," *CAWP News & Notes*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Winter 1991.

Foreword, *Who's Who of Women in World Politics* (London and New York: Bowker-Saur, 1991).

"Women in Politics: Goals and Gains," *CAWP News & Notes*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Summer 1990.

"View From Our Bridge," with Katherine E. Kleeman, *SCAN*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (Washington, DC: Council for Liberal Learning of the Association of American Colleges, Sept./Oct. 1986).

"Old Myths Are Finally Getting Buried this Year," Guest Column, *USA Today*, September 22, 1986.

"Furthering Women in Political Leadership," with Katherine E. Kleeman, *Voice for Girls*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Girls Clubs of America, Fall 1984).

"A Pioneering Decade," *Commemorative Journal* (California Elected Women's Association for Education and Research, Winter 1984).

"Bringing More Women into Public Office — A Prefatory Note," in *Women Make a Difference*, report in a research series (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute of Politics, 1983).

"The Power of the Women's Vote," *Working Woman*, April 1983.

"How Women Vote: The New Gender Gap," *Working Woman*, September 1982.

"Winning With Women," *Women's Political Times* (National Women's Political Caucus, Winter 1982). Reprinted in *Bridging the Gap*, a publication of the American Society for Public Administration, March 1982.

"Networks of Women in Politics," *Networking* (American Council on Education, National Identification Program, Winter-Spring 1981-82).

"Women and Political Leadership: The Road Ahead," *State Legislatures* (National Conference of State Legislatures, January 1982).

"The Trouble with Women Candidates," *Ms*, May 1981.

Foreword, *The Women's Movement in Community Politics in the US*, Debra W. Stewart (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980).

"Introduction," Nancy Becker, *Lobbying in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute of Politics, 1978).

Foreword, *Women in Public Office 1977*, Center for the American Woman and Politics (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1978).

"Women," *Encyclopedia Americana: Year Book for 1976* (New York: Grolier, 1977).

Foreword, *Women in Public Office 1975*, Center for the American Woman and Politics (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1976).

"Women in Elected Office: Some Bad News, and Some Good," *Women's Political Times* (National Women's Political Caucus, Summer 1976).

## **SELECTED PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

### **Grants (since 2000)**

Principal Investigator with Debbie Walsh and Susan Sherr, The Pew Charitable Trusts (2001-2004), Young Elected Leaders Project (\$211,000).

Co-Principal Investigator with Mary S. Hartman and Marianne Gaunt, SROA grant (2000-2001), Women in Leadership Multimedia Oral History Project (\$25,000).

Co-Principal Investigator with Tobi Walker, The Schumann Fund for New Jersey (2000), Public Officials in the Classroom Project (\$15,472).

Co-Principal Investigator with Ingrid Reed, The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (2000), Election 2000 Campaign Research and Public Service Program (\$41,000).

Co-Principal Investigator with Tobi Walker, The Dodge Foundation (2000), New Jersey Civic Education Consortium (\$75,000).

**The Center for American Women and Politics was established in 1971 with \$50,000 from the Ford Foundation. Since that time, CAWP has raised funds from foundations, corporations and government. Selected grants during (or resulting from) my tenure as CAWP's director include:**

Charles H. Revson Foundation (1993-1995) for study of the impact of women in Congress; an assessment of research about women in office; and expansion of a database about elected women (\$458,000)

Charles H. Revson Foundation (1987-1991) for study of the impact of women in public office (\$450,000)

Charles H. Revson Foundation (1980-1985) for study of the routes women take to elective and appointive offices (\$220,000)

W.K. Kellogg Foundation (1990-1994) public leadership education for college-age women (\$962,000)

Ford Foundation (1997) for *Good Housekeeping* Award for Women in Government (\$326,000)

Ford Foundation (1996) for a study of women in the 104th Congress (\$75,000)

Ford Foundation (1993-94) for a conference to develop a research agenda for the study of women and American politics into the 21st century (\$75,000)

Ford Foundation (1991) for assessing the feasibility of developing a women officials' policy network (\$55,000)

Ford Foundation (1989) for research about the abortion issue's impact on elections (\$35,000)

Ford Foundation (1989) for meeting of representatives of national organizations of women officials (\$39,000)

Ford Foundation (1971-80) for general support and for two research grants programs: to study women's voluntary activities; and to study women and local government

Carnegie Corporation of New York (1981-88) for program for women state legislators (\$447,000)

Carnegie Corporation of New York (1978-84) for developing a public leadership education network of women's colleges (\$72,000)

Carnegie Corporation of New York (1975) for study of women's campaigns (\$38,000)

Carnegie Corporation of New York (1972) for a conference and study of women state legislators (\$86,000)

American Express Foundation (1983-1993) for program for women state legislators (\$139,408)

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (1991) for program for women state legislators (\$19,800)

NJ Historical Commission (1994) Equality Deferred: Women Candidates for the New Jersey Assembly, 1920-1993 (\$3,000)

New Jersey Division on Women (1994) Equality Deferred: Women Candidates for the New Jersey Assembly, 1920-1993 (\$3,000)

Rockefeller Foundation (1989) for research about the abortion issue's impact on elections (\$35,000)

Robert Sterling Clark Foundation (1989, 1992) for research about the abortion issue's impact on elections (\$75,000)

The Huber Foundation (1989, 1990, 1992) for research about the abortion issue's impact on elections (\$70,000)

John Merck Fund (1989-92) for research about the abortion issue's impact on elections (\$125,990)

South Branch Foundation (1989) for research about the abortion issue's impact on elections (\$20,000)

777 Women Fund/Tides Foundation (1992) for research about the abortion issue's impact on elections (\$20,000)

Helena Rubinstein Foundation (1981-84) for data bank on women in public office

Mobil Foundation, Inc. (1971, 1975, 1976, 1978) for general support

Prudential Foundation (1972-1993) for general support and research

Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, Inc. (1973) for research grants program

US Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research (1978-81) for research on women in public service (\$440,000)

US Office of Personnel Management (1979) for evaluation research (\$15,000)

National Institute of Education (1977) for research about school boards (\$44,948)

Chase Manhattan Bank (1973) for developing a model education program

### Research

**2001-2004:** a national study of young elected officials (age 35 and under) serving at federal, state, county and municipal levels, which includes developing a national data base, conducting an on-line and mail survey of officeholders, and convening a conference to extend and deepen survey findings. The study has resulted in a report and analysis summarizing demographic characteristics, backgrounds, attitudes, ideology and ambitions of the population of young elected leaders holding office at the beginning of the new century.

**Since 2000:** a multi-year study of U.S. women's leadership in collaboration with Professor Mary Hartman. The project currently involves a series of videotaped interviews with women who contributed in significant ways, primarily on the national level, during the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the social change movement that reshaped women's roles, status, aspirations and opportunities in the United States.

**1996-97:** study comparing the impact of women serving in the 104th Congress with that of women in the 103rd Congress

**1993-95:** study of the impact of women serving in the 103rd Congress

**1993-95:** assessment of the findings of two decades of research about women in public office, and development of an agenda to guide future research on women and politics

**1989, 90, 92:** studies of the politics of the abortion issue in campaigns for state and national offices

**1987-91:** first national study of the impact of women in public office based on nationally representative samples of women and men elected to state legislatures

**1987-91:** designed grants program and awarded stipends for eleven small-scale studies examining the impact of women serving in different types and levels of public office

**1981-83:** national survey comparing women and men in elected office, focusing on the factors which facilitate and impede women's entry into public office

**1981-83:** first study of women appointed to high-level positions in a presidential administration

**1981-83:** first nationwide study of women appointed to high-level positions in state cabinets

1978-80: study of women in municipal management

1978-80: study of the development of organizations of women public officials

1977-79: study of women on school boards

1977-78: second national survey of women officeholders, collecting and analyzing data about women's social backgrounds, political experiences, organizational ties, perceptions and policy attitudes

1976: study of proportions of women serving on state boards and commissions in 39 states

1976: study of the campaign experiences of female candidates for elective office

1976: designed grants program and awarded stipends to six scholars for studies of women and local government

1975-76: first ever national survey of women serving in elective office at local, county, state and federal levels

1974: developed grants program and awarded stipends to six scholars for study of the nature and political impact of women's voluntary activities

#### **Data Bank on Candidates and Officeholders**

Since 1975 CAWP has developed a computerized database on women in elective office at municipal, county, state legislative, statewide and federal levels. The Center also regularly collects pre- and post-election data on female candidates in congressional, statewide and state legislative races. The data bank serves a variety of constituencies (from students and scholars to activists and journalists) as a national resource for current and historical information about women in politics.

#### **Program for Women State Legislators**

1995, 1991, 1987, 1983: Planned and organized the *National Forum for Women State Legislators*, the largest meetings of elected women ever convened. Held in San Diego, California, each Forum has attracted close to 1000 participants, including hundreds of legislators, as well as scholars, issues experts, organization leaders, political party officials, and journalists. The agenda has focused on several themes emerging from CAWP's studies of women legislators and from various related research and education programs: (1) the impact of elected women on public policy, and the ways in which female officials may respond differently from men to policy issues; (2) the barriers and opportunities for increasing the numbers and influence of women in public office, particularly in state legislatures; (3) the movement of women into positions of legislative leadership.

1990: Co-convened a midwest regional seminar for women state legislators with the Institute for Policy Leadership at the University of Missouri — St. Louis.

1989: Convened a national educational forum for newly elected women state legislators, with veteran women lawmakers serving as core faculty.

1985: Convened a national Conference for Women in Legislative Leadership to explore ways in which women in leadership affect the legislative institution and the public policy agenda.

1982: Convened the Conference for Women State Legislators to examine and assess the prospects for women as elected lawmakers and the progress which had been made since CAWP's first Conference for Women State Legislators held ten years earlier (Pocono conference, May 1972).

#### **National Education for Women's Leadership (NEW Leadership)**

Conceived and developed a national program of summer institutes to teach college women leadership theory and skills as well as women's political history. Initially funded by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the program became a model for subsequent regional CAWP programs in New Jersey, the South, the Midwest, and later throughout the country at colleges and universities that became part of CAWP's NEW Leadership Development Network.

#### **Public Leadership Education Network (PLEN)**

A founder of the Public Leadership Education Network (1978). PLEN is a consortium of eighteen women's colleges working to educate their students about women in policymaking and

public leadership. PLEN maintains a national office in Washington, DC. CAWP has been a consulting organization to PLEN.

### **Documentary Film**

Executive Producer of a one-hour documentary film examining the progress made by women and the obstacles they encountered during more than a decade of increasing involvement in political life. Entitled *Not One of the Boys*, the film aired nationally on *Frontline* (PBS), October 1984.

### **Editing**

Oversaw the publication of books, monographs, and reports resulting from studies and related projects conducted by the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) and issued by commercial publishers or through the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. These include publications about: the backgrounds, issue orientations, political experience, ambitions and impact of women and men in public office; the networks and organizations of political women which have developed across the country since the mid-1970s; women in public management positions in urban government; women in state legislatures; studies of the barriers facing male and female office seekers and the routes they have taken to elected and appointed positions; studies of the impact of women in public office.

Editorial Board, *Women and Politics Series*, Rutgers University Press, 1996-2003.

Editorial Board, *Women & Politics: Journal of Research and Policy Studies*, 1986-2003.

Advisory Council, *The Douglass Series on Women's Lives and the Meaning of Gender*, Rutgers University Press, 1983-1990.

General Editor (with Professor Rita Mae Kelly), Praeger series of scholarly books by political scientists in the field of women and politics (1982-1987).

Editorial Board, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1975-1980.

Manuscript Reviewer/Advisor for *Have You Considered Government and Politics?* (Career Options Series for Undergraduate Women) and *Government and Politics* (Career Opportunities Series for Post-College Women). New York: Catalyst, 1976.

### **Media**

Interviewed and quoted regularly in major newspapers, wire service stories, popular magazines and news magazines. Press conferences and scores of interview and call-in programs for national and local television and radio. Selected television appearances include: *Washington Journal*, C-Span; *Lehrer News Hour*, PBS; *Nightline*, ABC-TV; *Charlie Rose*, PBS; *CBS Evening News*; *Nightly Business Report*, PBS; *Sonya Live*, CNN; *Good Morning America*, ABC-TV; *Today*, NBC-TV; *Not for Women Only*, WNBC-TV; *In Your Corner*, New Jersey Network; *Take Two*, Cable News Network; *Straight Talk*, WOR-TV; *Caucus New Jersey*, WNET, New York public television; *Word Is Out*, Philadelphia TV; *Today in New York*, WNBC-TV; *New Jersey Nightly News*; Bloomberg Television; Rutgers Forum; *News 12 New Jersey*. National radio interviews and commentary include: NPR's *Talk of the Nation*, *All Things Considered*, *Morning Edition*, and *Radio Times*.

### **SERVICE**

#### **Rutgers University (selected)**

Presidential Search Committee, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2002

Member, Alexander Library, D1 Subcommittee on Collections, Women's and Gender Archival Collections, 2002-present

Speaker, Faculty Service Recognition Program, May 2002

Interviewer, "Shirley Chisholm," for Circle of Excellence, Rutgers University Honorary Degree Recipients series for Rutgers Television, May 2002.

Judge, "What's your Point?" Rutgers Academic Challenge, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, May 2001

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Search Committees, Social Studies Education, Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University, 2000-01, 2001-02

Advisory Committee, 2001 Forum for Women State Legislators, CAWP, Eagleton Institute of Politics, 2000-2001

Planning Committee, The Margery Somers Foster Center at Douglass Library: A Research Network and Digital Archives for Gender and Women's Studies, 1999-Present

Advisory Committee, Holocaust Resource Center, Allen and Joan Bildner Center for the Study of Jewish Life, since 1999

Rutgers Council on Government Relations, 1995-1997

Advisory Committee, Center for Government Services, Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy, since 1996

Board of Directors, Institute for Women's Leadership, since 1995

Strategic Plan Implementation Committee for Public Policy and Law, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000

Advisory Selection Committee, "Women in the Public Sphere: Power, Practice, Agency," a faculty/graduate student seminar for 1997-1998, Institute for Research on Women, 1996-97, 1997-98

Strategic Plan Implementation Committee for Gender Studies, 1995-96

Provost's Advisory Committee on Academic Development, 1994-96

Search Committee for the Provost/Dean of the Graduate School, 1993

Presidential Search Committee, Rutgers University, 1990

Faculty Committee on Honorary Degrees, 1992-95

Provost's Faculty Council Budget and Planning Committee, 1990-96

Advisory Board, Hispanic Women Leadership Institute, 1989-93

Policy and Planning Committee, Center for Women's Global Leadership, Douglass College, since 1986

Advisory Board, Laurie New Jersey Chair in Women's Studies, Douglass College, 1986-96

Advisory Committee, Women's Archives, Douglass College, 1985-95

Advisory Committee, Institute for Research on Women, 1982-present; Executive Committee, 1983-87

Advisory and Planning Group, Douglass College Program for the Public Leadership Education Network, since 1980

Eagleton Fellowship Program Selection Committee, Eagleton Institute, since 1972

Faculty Supplemental Salary Adjustment Committee, Eagleton Institute of Politics, 1983-84; chairperson 1984-86, 1992-93

Provost's Committee on Administrative Restructuring, 1990-91

Douglass Fellows Policy Committee, 1987-91

Provost's Faculty Budget and Planning Committee, 1988-90

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Committee on Appointments and Promotions, Department of Journalism and Mass Media, School of Communication, Information and Library Studies, 1989

Search Committee, Dean of the Faculty of Planning, 1988-89

Douglass Fellows Opportunity Committee, 1986-88

Search Committees, Eagleton Institute of Politics, 1987-88, 1988-89

Co-Convener, with Douglass Dean Mary Hartman, planning Conference on Women in International Leadership, April 1987

Search Committee, Department of Political Science, 1986-87

Search Committees, Laurie New Jersey Chair in Women's Studies, Douglass College, 1983-84, 1986-87

Search Committees, Eagleton Institute of Politics and Department of Political Science: 1976-77, 1978-79 (co-chairperson), 1980-81, 1986-87

Search Committee, Eagleton Institute of Politics and Graduate School of Education, 1986-87

Co-Chair, Search Committee for Director of the Women's Studies Program at Rutgers University, 1986

Rutgers University Commencement Colloquium Committee, 1985-86

Provost's Committee on Social and Public Policy, 1985

Provost's Committee on Political Oppression, 1985

Research Council Advisory Panels on the Social Sciences, Rutgers University, 1982-85

Eagleton Institute Standing Committees on Personnel, Education, Services, 1975-85

President's Advisory Commission on the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences in an Era of High Technology, 1983-84

Chairperson, Seminar Series on American Politics and Public Policy, Eagleton Institute, 1983

Rutgers University Senate, 1976-77, Academic Personnel Committee, 1976-77

Chairperson, By-Laws Committee, Eagleton Institute, 1975-76

Manuscript Reviewer, Rutgers University Press

**National, State, and Misc. Service (selected)**

Ranking Official, Delegation of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Republic of Poland Dedication Ceremonies for *The Belzec Memorial Place*, Warsaw and Belzec, June 3-4, 2004.

Member, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, since 1991; Vice Chairperson, since 1993

Member, Board of Directors, Charles H. Revson Foundation, since 1998; member, Board Nominating Committee, since 1998

Advisory Board, Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland, since 2001

Judge, National Panel of Judges for the National Women's Hall of Fame Awards, since 2000

"Spirit of Trenton" Council, appointed by Governor James McGreevey, April 2002

Advisory Board, United Leaders, a new organization for identifying and training young men and women for careers in political service; housed at the JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, since 2001

Co-Chair, Selection Committees, National Ballot for Women Presidential Candidates (1999) and Women Vice Presidential Candidates (2000), The White House Project

019267

National Advisory Committee and National Consultation Participant, Forum 98: Setting a Course for Women into the New Century, co-sponsored by Hobart and William Smith Colleges and University of Rochester, 1998

Diversity in Action Advisory Committee, New Jersey Network, since 1997

Review Board, *New Jersey Medicine*, 1995-1999

National Advisory Council, Center for Women Policy Studies, 1989-2000

Honorary Committee, Preserving Paulsdale, Alice Paul Centennial Foundation, 1989-95

Selection Panel, "Breaking the Glass Ceiling," awards program of Women Executives in State Government, 1993

National Commission for the Renewal of American Democracy (appointed by the National Association of Secretaries of State for *Project Democracy*) 1992-93

Board of Directors, National Council for Research on Women, 1985-92; Vice-Chair, 1989-91; Chair, Board Committee on the Future, 1988-89

Organizer, National Hispana Leadership Initiative, New Brunswick, NJ, April 1988

Fifteenth Anniversary Honorary Committee, "9 to 5," National Association of Working Women, 1988

Program Committee, "Women and the Constitution: A Bicentennial Perspective," a national symposium sponsored by The Carter Center of Emory University and convened by former First Ladies Carter, Ford, Nixon and Johnson, 1988

National Advisory Committee to the California Joint Select Task Force on the Changing Family, 1988

NJ State Planning Committee, American Council on Education, National Identification Program for Women in Higher Education Administration, 1979-1987

Nominating Committee, Women's Caucus for Political Science, 1985-86

Planning Committee, The Women's Dialogue — US/USSR, The Rockefeller Foundation, 1984-85. Member of US delegation of eleven women invited to the USSR (December 1984) for a seminar with Soviet women leaders on the theme of "Women and Community Leadership"

Mercer County Commission on the Status of Women, 1977-1984

Appointed by the Governor of New Jersey to the Commission to Study the Need and Necessary Fiscal Commitments for Creating a Chair of Women's Studies at Douglass College (Chairperson, Committee on Academic Needs), 1982

Advisory Committee, Women's Leadership Conference, the Committee for National Security, 1982

Final Selection Judge, Coro Foundation Fellowship Program, 1977; Public Affairs Training Program for Women, 1981

Member, Search Committee for Executive Director, National Women's Education Fund, Washington, DC, 1979

Board of Judges, Catherine L. O'Brien Award, Competition for Achievement in Women's Interest Newspaper Reporting, 1978-79

Member, Planning Committee, Conference on Technical Assistance Needs of Women Officeholders, Aspen Institute, 1977

Appointed by President's National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year to State Coordinating Committee for New Jersey's IWY Conference, 1976; Co-chairperson, Nominating Committee, New Jersey IWY State Conference, 1977; Elected Delegate from New Jersey to US National Women's Conference; Houston, TX, 1977

Consultant, Women in Power Committee, National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975 (testified for Committee hearing on women's participation in the political process, 1976)

Convener, Task Force on Fair Representation and Participation in the Political Process, US National Women's Agenda, a program of the Women's Action Alliance, 1975-76

Program Coordinator and Conference Moderator, Evaluation Conference, "Women in the Political Process — Multi-National Views," US Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, New Brunswick, NJ, October 1976

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Educational Program Consultant, Finch College, "Preparation of Women for Political Leadership: A Transnational Approach," New York, 1974

## PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS

Many lectures, speeches, panels and workshops each year. Below is a sample of presentations between 1987 and 2004.

### Selected Guest Lectures and Conference Participation—Colleges and Universities

Faculty Commencement Speaker, 83<sup>rd</sup> Commencement convocation at Douglass College, Rutgers University, May 2004.

Speaker, Inaugural Mandel Fellows Conference, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in collaboration with the Allen and Joan Bildner Center for the Study of Jewish Life, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, February 2004.

Discussion Leader, Series of "Conversations With New Leaders," Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, Spring 2004.

Moderator, "Networking Nationally With Fellow Legislators," Forum for Newly Elected Women State Legislators, Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University, Washington, D.C., November 2003.

Moderator, "Seminar on the Future of Democratic Politics," Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, May 2002.

Panelist, Women's Leadership: Collective Endeavor or Individual Mission? National Dialogue on Educating Women for Leadership, Institute for Women's Leadership, Rutgers University, NJ, May 2002.

Discussant and Advisor, "Instituting Gender," Yale University, New Haven, CT, March 2002.

Participant, Invitational Symposium on "Islam and America in a Global World," New York University, NY, January 2002.

Speaker, "Women Legislators and Women College Presidents of Maryland," Maryland Independent College and University Association, Annapolis, MD, January 2002.

Speaker, Program on "University-Community Relations in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania," Center for Russian, Central and East European Studies, Rutgers University, NJ, December 2001.

Moderator and Panelist, "Women's Future Political Prospects," for program on Women in Politics: Research and Debate, National Forum for Women State Legislators, convened by the Center for American Women and Politics, Dana Point, CA, November 2001.

Panelist, "The Future of Democratic Politics," Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, September 2001.

Participant, "Breakthrough Strategies for Women Leaders," Institute for Women's Leadership and Center for Women and Work, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, September 2001.

Moderator, "Balancing Public and Private Lives," CAWP NEW Leadership Summer Institute, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, June 2001.

Panelist, "What Difference Does Difference Make?," Women's Leadership Summit, American Bar Association and the Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, MA, April 2001.

Guest Lecturer, "Political Women in the U.S.," Leadership Scholars Seminar, Institute for Women's Leadership and Program in Women's Studies, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, March 2001.

Panelist, Faculty Roundtable on Election Campaign 2000, Eagleton Institute, New Brunswick, NJ, February 2001.

Interviewee, *By the Book*, Rutgers University Television Network, January 2001.

Participant, "Ready to Run," Center for American Women and Politics, New Brunswick, NJ, March 2000.

Speaker, "The Practice of Politics," Undergraduate Associates Program, Eagleton Institute, New Brunswick, NJ, April 2000.

Participant, "Term Limits and Women in State Legislatures," Center for American Women and Politics, New Brunswick, NJ, November 1999.

Speaker, "From Holocaust History to Memory: Germany, Jews and the Future," Princeton University, April 1999.

Moderator, "Private Life, Public Life, Professional Life," Ready to Run Conference, Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University, December 1998.

Speaker, "Remembering the Holocaust in the Twenty-First Century: Memoirs, Oral History and Video Archives," Allen and Joan Bildner Center for the Study of Jewish Life, Rutgers University, November 1998.

Moderator, "Making a Difference: Women in Politics," Center for Leadership and Public Interest Advocacy, Mount Holyoke College, October 1998.

Speaker, "From Suffrage to Liberation: Women in the Public Sphere in New Jersey, 1920-1970," Special Collections and University Archives, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, September 1998.

Speaker, "New Directions in Politics," ACE-NIP, Rutgers University, April 1998.

Speaker, "Moving Forward Together: A Women's Political Movement," Mary Louise Smith Chair in Women and Politics, Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics, Iowa State University, April 1998.

Speaker, "Incrementalism Versus the Ketchup Bottle: Women's Progression in Politics," Mary Louise Smith Chair in Women and Politics, Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics, Iowa State University, October 1997.

Speaker, Women in Public Life: Past Perspectives, Future Challenges, co-sponsored by the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum and the Center for Women in Politics and Public Policy of the McCormack Institute of Public Affairs, University of Massachusetts, October 1997.

Workshop Leader, First International Women's Leadership Conference, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, May 1997.

Participant, Conference on Genocide, Religion, and Modernity, sponsored by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Rutgers University Center for Historical Analysis and Center for the Study of Jewish Life, Washington, DC, May 1997.

Moderator, War and Gender Relations, sponsored by The Center for Study of Jewish Life and The Women's Studies Program, Rutgers University, April 1997.

Panelist, Women's Studies Program, University of Philadelphia, November 1996.

Speaker, Rutgers University 1996 Alumni College, Cape Cod, MA, October 1996.

Keynote Speaker, "Women and the Vote," 1996 Elizabeth Cady Stanton/Susan B. Anthony Conversations on Contemporary Issues, University of Rochester, October 1996.

Panelist, Democracy in America: Does It Still Work?, Brown University, February 1996.

Speaker, Politics '96, Knight Center for Specialized Journalism, University of Maryland, October 1995.

Speaker, "Can Democracy Survive?" Raritan Valley Community College, Somerville, NJ, October 1995.

Participant, "Women and Public Discourse," Radcliffe Public Policy Institute, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, MA, April 1995.

Participant, The Women Leaders' Roundtable, sponsored by Queen's College, Avon Products, Inc., and American Council on Education, New York, June 1994.

Panelist, "In the Company of Women: Agendas for Change," Simmons College Graduate School of Management Alumnae Association, May 1994.

Moderator, "Political Practitioners Discuss Research Needs," CAWP conference about Research on Women and American Politics: Agenda Setting for the 21st Century, Rutgers University, April 1994.

Speaker, "Candidates, Voters and Voting Patterns: Women in the Political Process," Institute of Politics, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, October 1993.

Moderator and Participant, Roundtable: Women Running for Political Office, Ninth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Vassar College, June 1993.

Lecturer, "Women in American Politics," CAWP NEW Leadership Summer Institute, Rutgers University, June 1993.

Moderator, "Balancing Public and Private Lives," CAWP NEW Leadership Summer Institute, Rutgers University, 1991-2000.

Keynote Speaker, Conference on Southern Women in Public Service, John C. Stennis Center for Public Service and Mississippi University for Women, Atlanta, GA, May 1993.

Moderator and Panelist, "Women Lawmakers," Conference on the Scholar and the Feminist, Barnard College, April 1993.

Panelist, "Women in Leadership: A Breakthrough in the 1990s?" The Institute for Women's Leadership at Douglass College, Rutgers University, December 1992.

Speaker, "More Women in Politics...Why Bother?" Newcomb College Center for Research on Women, Tulane University, October 1992.

Speaker, "The Politics of Gender," Women and Social Policy in Comparative Perspective, Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America, Columbia University and Italian Cultural Institute of New York, Kellogg Center, Columbia University, October 1992.

Speaker, Stanford University Institute for Research on Women and Gender, NY Area Associates Group, NYC, September 1992.

Lecturer, "Women in US Electoral Politics," CAWP NEW Leadership Summer Institute, Rutgers University, June 1992.

Speaker, Hispanic Women's Leadership Institute, Rutgers University, February 1992.

Moderator and Panelist, "Reshaping the Agenda: The Impact of Women in Public Office," CAWP Forum for Women State Legislators, San Diego, November 1991.

Moderator, Roundtable Discussion on Sexual Harassment and Policymaking, CAWP Forum for Women State Legislators, San Diego, November 1991.

Chair and panelist, "Women Candidates for Gubernatorial and Congressional Offices," annual meeting American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1991.

Lecturer, "Early Feminism and Women's Political History," CAWP NEW Leadership Summer Institute, Rutgers University, June 1991.

Lecturer, "Women in Contemporary American Politics," CAWP NEW Leadership Summer Institute, Rutgers University, June 1991.

Speaker, "Women in Leadership," Women Presidents' Summit, American Council on Education, Washington, DC, December 1990.

Speaker, "Women in State Legislatures," Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, November 1989.

Moderator, "Advice from Legislative Leaders," CAWP Forum for Newly Elected Women State Legislators, Princeton, November 1989.

Speaker, "Strategic Leadership '90," Women's Campaign Research Fund and Institute of Politics, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, October 1989.

Keynote Address, "Outside/Inside: The Tradition of American Women's Political Leadership," delivered at The Radcliffe Conferences — Meeting the Challenge: Women as Leaders, Radcliffe College, May 1989.

Speaker, "Women and Politics '88," Skidmore College, October 1988.

Speaker, "Women Public Leaders and the Electoral Process: Impacts and Implications," The Public Management Seminar Series, University of Southern California, School of Public Administration, Washington Public Affairs Center, Washington, DC, June 1988.

Speaker, "Through the Magnifying Glass: Women and the Presidential Election of 1988," Allegheny College, May 1988.

Moderator, "Women Political Leaders Reflect on the Constitution," Mini Plenary, Women and the Constitution: A Bicentennial Perspective, a symposium sponsored by The Carter Center of Emory University, Atlanta, February 1988.

#### **Selected Professional Meetings and Public Speeches**

Speaker, "The Power to Name, the Will to Act," prepared for *For Justice and Humanity*, the 2004 National Commemoration of the Days of Remembrance, U.S. Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C., April 22, 2004.

Lecturer, "Jewish Women in American Politics," JCC Middlesex County, Edison, NJ, May 2004.

Presenter and Participant, Launching the Second Decade: A Tribute to Donors, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., April 2004.

Panelist, "American Politics: Is the System Working?" The Peddie School, Hightstown, NJ, April 2004.

Workshop Leader and Speaker, "Why Won't Sally Run? The Frustrating Search for Young, Female, and Minority Leaders," The Peddie School, Hightstown, NJ, April 2004.

Presenter, *The Barbara Boggs Sigmund Award for Women's Political Leadership*, Women's Political Caucus of NJ, Princeton, NJ, March 2004.

Speaker, "America's Young Elected Leaders," Emerging Practitioners in Philanthropy, Boston, MA, November 2003.

Speaker, "Financing and Political Participation of Women in the Western Hemisphere: North America, Latin America and the Caribbean," Seminar on Political Party and Campaign Financing convened by the Organization of American States, Inter-American Forum on Political Parties of the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy, Washington, D.C., December 2003.

Speaker, "Comfort in Community," *Tribute to Holocaust Survivors: Reunion of a Special Family*, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., November 2003.

Moderator, "Genocide Prevention, Morality, and the National Interest," Symposium of the Committee on Conscience, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., May 2002.

Participant, "The National Women's Leadership Summit," sponsored by The White House Project and Brinsights, Washington, D.C., May 2002.

Speaker, "Memories of Courage," National Commemoration of the Days of Remembrance, U.S. Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C., April 2002.

Panelist, "Twenty Years of Charting the Future," The National Council for Research on Women, Fourth Annual Women Who Make A Difference Awards Program, NY, February 2002.

Speaker, "Women in Politics Thirty Years Later," Pennswood Village, Newtown, PA, January 2002.

Speaker, "The Participation of Jewish Women in American Politics—Then and Now," Monroe Hadassah, Monroe, NJ, May 2001.

Speaker, "Remembering the Past for the Sake of the Future," National Commemoration of the Days of Remembrance, U.S. Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C., April 2001.

Participant, "Women in Leadership Working Group," Winds of Change Foundation, San Francisco, California, April 2001.

Witness Testimony, Panel on "The Federal Election System: Historical Perspectives," National Commission on Federal Election Reform, the Carter Center, Atlanta, GA, March 2001.

Participant, The Campaign of 2000-Debriefing Seminar, The Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, February 2001.

Panelist, "Issues in *The American Woman 2001-2002: Getting to the Top*," National Press Club, Washington, D.C. February 2001.

Participant, "Workshop on Issues of Governance in the United States," program of the Ford Foundation, New York, NY, January 2001.

Keynote Speaker, "Making a Difference," Annual Awards Dinner and Program of the Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Raritan Community College, Somerville, NJ, November 2000.

Panelist, "Beyond Elections 2000," Annual Conference of the National Council for Research on Women, New York, NY, October 2000.

Speaker, "Where Have All the Women Gone?" Princeton Adult School, Princeton, NJ, October 2000.

Speaker, "Jewish Women and Politics," Jewish Historical Society of Central Jersey, New Brunswick, NJ, November 2000.

Keynote Speaker, "Telling Our Stories/Telling Political Women's Story," program on Bridging the Past, Present and Future, Women's Network, annual conference of the National Conference of State Legislatures, Chicago, June 2000.

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Keynote Speaker, "Leadership for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," annual conference of the Women's Transportation Seminar, New York, NY, May 2000.

Speaker, "An Evening of Tribute to the President's Commission on the Holocaust," program of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., May 2000.

Speaker, "The Holocaust and the New Century: The Imperative to Remember," National Commemoration of the Days of Remembrance, U.S. Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C., May 2000.

Moderator, "After Liberation," conference on "Life Reborn: Jewish Displaced Person 1945-51," U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and the Second Generation Advisory Group, Washington, D.C., January 2000.

Moderator, "Balancing the Personal and Political," Christine Todd Whitman Excellence in Public Service Series, New Brunswick, NJ, December 1999.

Panelist, "Choosing to Lead: Women's and Girl's Visions for the Next Century," annual conference of the National Council for Research on Women, New York, New York, December 1999.

Participant, "Civic Education After the NABP Civic Assessment: What Next?," conference of the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy, Brookings Institute, November 1999.

Panelist, "Legacies: Crafting Women's History, Writing Women's Lives," annual conference of the Head Mistresses Association of the East, Princeton, New Jersey, November 1999.

Moderator and Panelist, "Service and Responsible Citizenship," Citizens Serving Together: Idealism in Action in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, annual meeting Grantmaker Forum on Community and National Service, Berkeley, California, November 1999.

Keynote Speaker, "2000 Leadership University," conference of the UJA-Federation of New York, New York City, September 1999.

Speaker, "Women and Presidential Politics," annual meeting of the Journalism and Women Symposium, Sundance, UT, September 1999.

Panelist, "Ms. President? Electing a Woman to the White House," American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 1999.

Keynote Speaker, "The Voyage of the Saint Louis," National Commemoration of the Days of Remembrance, U.S. Capitol Rotunda, Washington, DC, April 1999.

Panelist, "From Seneca Falls to Beijing +5: U.S. Women and NGOs in Action," program of U.S. Women Connect at United Nations Headquarters, New York City, March 1999.

Moderator, "Balancing Public and Private Life," Christine Todd Whitman Excellence in Public Service Series, New Brunswick, NJ, January 1999.

Moderator, "Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity: Early Warning and Prevention," conference of the Committee on Conscience, United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Washington, DC, December 1998.

Panelist, "Women's Participation: A 1998 Post-Election Review," Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, MA, November 1998.

Panelist, "Women, Politics, and the White House," program of the Ms. Foundation for Women, New York City, October 1998.

Moderator, "What Difference Does It Make?: Why More Women Should Get Ready to Run-For Office," Governor's Conference on Women: Economic Pathways to Power, Atlantic City, NJ, October 1998.

Speaker, New Jersey Association for Elected Women Officials, Princeton, NJ, March 1998.

Speaker, "Women in Leadership," Riker, Danzig, Scherer, Hyland & Perretti, Florham Park, NJ, September 1997.

Rapporteur, Vital Voices: Women in Democracy, an international conference convened by the US Department of State, Vienna, Austria, July 1997.

Panelist, New Jersey Democratic State Committee 1997 Statewide Conference, Long Branch, NJ, May 1997.

Speaker, Women Administrators in Higher Education and Capital Area Women in Education, Washington, DC, May 1997.

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Speaker, "Varieties of Jewish Experiences: Readings and Discussions with Local Scholars," The American Jewish Committee, Princeton, NJ, February 1997.

Speaker, New Jersey Association of Women Business Owners, Piscataway, NJ, February 1997.

Participant, "Healing Wounded People--War Crimes Tribunals and Truth Commissions," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, January 27, 1997.

Moderator, "Visions of the 21st Century," Program of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum for the Presidential Inauguration, January 1997.

Speaker, Johnson & Johnson Executive Luncheon Series, New Brunswick, NJ, November 1996.

Speaker, "More Women for More Democracy, A Colloquium in Honor of Professor Barbara Schaeffer-Hegel," Technische Universitat Berlin, Berlin, Germany, November 1996.

Speaker, "Women Influencing Public Policy," Women Working in Philanthropy, Delaware Valley Grantmakers, Philadelphia, PA, October 1996.

Participant, The Governor's Leadership Summit on Diversity, Basking Ridge, NJ, October 1996.

Participant, The Image of Feminism in the Public Eye, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, New York, April 1996.

Speaker, Women Lawyers Section of the Middlesex County Bar Association, New Brunswick, NJ, March 1996.

Participant, Leadership Issues for Women and Girls, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC, February 1996.

Speaker, New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, February 1996.

Speaker, "Whose America Is It?" Annual Lecture Series of the Jewish Congregation of Rossmoor, Jamesburg, NJ, October 1995.

Speaker, Volunteer Appreciation Night, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, June 1995.

Participant, The Governor's Leadership Summit on Diversity, New Brunswick, NJ, May 1995.

Keynote Speaker, 75th Anniversary Gala, League of Women Voters of New Jersey, New Brunswick, NJ, May 1995.

Keynote Speaker, Women's Political Caucus of New Jersey, Annual Conference, Princeton, NJ, May 1995.

Participant, National Roundtable on Women in Public and Nonprofit Leadership, Corporation for National Service, White House Conference Center, Washington, DC, May 1995.

Participant, Post-Election Roundtable, The Ford Foundation, New York, January 1995.

Speaker, "Women in 20th Century American Politics," The Women's Campaign School, Yale University, June 1994.

Participant, "Women and Leadership," Sara Lee Corporation Women's Roundtable, Washington, DC, May 1994.

Speaker, "Women in Politics — Past, Present, and Future," by the Pennsylvania Women's Campaign Fund, Philadelphia, PA, April 1994.

Speaker, "The State of Women in Politics," Nassau Club, Princeton, NJ, February 1994.

Chair, "Multiple Voices: Ideology, Exclusion, and Coercion," panel at *The Holocaust: An International Scholars' Conference on the Known, the Unknown, the Disputed, and the Reexamined*, opening conference of the United States Holocaust Research Institute, Washington, DC, December 1993.

Moderator and Panelist, "American Women in Political Campaigns: Obstacles and Successes," Wellesley Club of NJ, William Patterson College, NJ, October 1993.

Moderator and Panelist, "Which Way Are the Political Winds Blowing? National Convention of the National Women's Political Caucus, Los Angeles, CA, July 1993.

Speaker, "Women as Leaders," Ninth Annual Seminar, The Washington Center, Washington, DC, May 1993.

Moderator and Speaker, "Transforming Government," opening plenary session, Annual Meeting, National Council for Research on Women, Washington, DC, May 1993.

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Speaker, "Women in Politics: Its Meaning For the Future," The Smithsonian Campus on the Mall, Washington, DC, April 1993.

Speaker, Women in Municipal Government Annual Meeting, National League of Cities, Washington, DC, March 1993.

Speaker, "Women as Candidates and Elected Officials," Women's Program Forum, The Ford Foundation, New York City, March 1993.

Speaker, "The Role of Women in Transforming Government," Symposium '93, American Society for Public Administration, NJ Chapter, Princeton, NJ, March 1993.

Speaker, Post-Election Debriefing and Analysis for Women State Legislators, conference sponsored by the National Women's Political Caucus, Washington, DC, November 1992.

Speaker, "In the Eye of the Storm: Feminist Research and Action in the '90s," annual meeting National Council for Research on Women, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, MA, June 1992.

Speaker, "If Women Ran America," Invitational Forum, sponsored by *LIFE* magazine, New York City, June 1992.

Speaker, Women's City Club of New York, Inc., New York City, March 1992.

Speaker, "Changing Times — Changing Challenges," program of the American Association of Retired Persons, Washington, DC, March 1992.

Speaker, National Order of Women Legislators, Annual Meeting, Mackinac Island, Michigan, August 1991.

Speaker, "It's Better to be Present: Women in Leadership," Conference on A New Decade of Leadership: Women State Legislators, CAWP and Institute for Policy Leadership, University of Missouri-St. Louis, November 1990.

Panelist, "Political Participation and Women's Leadership," National Council for Research on Women, Annual Meeting, New York City, June 1990.

Moderator and Panelist, "The Gender Gap: The 1988 Election and Beyond," program of the Charles H. Revson Foundation and the Women's Program Forum of the Ford Foundation, New York City, January 1989.

Moderator and Panelist, "Shaping Institutions in the Future: Women Making a Difference," Council on Foundations, Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, CA, April 1988.

Moderator and Panelist, "Women's Leadership in the Institutional Environment," Conference on Educating Women for Leadership, Wingspread Conference Center, Racine, WI, March 1988.

Keynote Speaker, Minnesota Women's Political Assembly, Minneapolis, MN, January 1987.

Keynote Speaker, "Women in Government," The New Jersey Department of Higher Education, Princeton, NJ, January 1987.

Speaker, Women in Municipal Government seminar at the Congressional-City Conference of the National League of Cities, Washington, DC, February 1987.

Participant, The First Eleanor Roosevelt International Caucus of Women Political Leaders, sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, San Francisco, CA, March 1987.

Moderator and Panelist, "Current Status of Women in Politics: Taking Stock," Conference on Women and Political Power in the United States convened by the John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, MA, May 1987.

Janet Stuart Lecturer, "She Knows Where She's Going — Today's Political Woman," Stuart Country Day School of the Sacred Heart, Princeton, NJ, October 1987.

07/04

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**Thomas M. O'Neill**

## **Experience**

2005

**Thomas O'Neill Consultant**  
Pennington, New Jersey

### **Consultant**

Founded new consulting practice in public policy, organizational and leadership development. Initial clients include Rutgers University and Volunteers of America/Delaware Valley

1984-2005

**The Partnership for New Jersey**  
New Brunswick, New Jersey

### **President**

- Founded and led association of corporate and non-profit CEOs dedicated to making New Jersey a better place to live and work. Responsible for raising annual budget of \$500,000 – \$750,000 and funds for restricted programs
- Developed and led leadership development programs (Leadership New Jersey, Leadership Newark, Leadership Trenton) that has created a statewide network of civic leaders of more than 1,000 outstanding men and women.
- Created and led educational improvement initiatives including the Invest in Children Coalition that expanded preschool programs, NetDay that wired 10,000 classrooms across the state for Internet connections, Institute for School Innovation that developed and advocated measures to improve the efficiency of public schools.
- Organized and led diversity initiatives that doubled the number of corporations with formal diversity programs. Managed The Governor's Leadership Summit on Diversity to demonstrate the value of the state's increasing diversity and recommend programs to increase that value. Designed and managed first statewide survey of public attitudes on race and inter-group relations.

1977 – 1984

**Center for Analysis of Public Issues**  
Princeton, New Jersey

### **President**

- Led major studies on campaign finance, lobbying disclosure, foster care, government integrity, and related topics. Wrote or edited reports on these studies.
- Founded and edited award-winning magazine analyzing public policy and politics, *New Jersey Reporter*. Created and published annual *New Jersey Political Almanac*.
- Commentator and election analyst for NJ Public Television and hosted weekly public affairs program on WNET-Channel 13.

01927E

1975-1977

Center for Environmental Studies  
Princeton University

**Research Staff and Lecturer**

- Member of research team on energy policy, environmental management and land use controls.
- Developed and taught upper level course, "Environmental Policy Making," Engineering 303.

1970 - 1975

Department of Environmental Protection  
Trenton, New Jersey

**Chief of Staff**

- Member of the Commissioner's staff responsible for the organization of this new department of state government, for legislative initiatives, program review and assessment, and direction of review of major proposed projects.
  - Director of the Division of Marine Resources, first administrator of new coastal land use controls and responsible for the NJ Marine Police, wetlands regulation, and control of ocean dumping.
  - Director, Governor's Task Force on Energy. Led emergency task force to respond to the 1973 oil embargo and craft a plan to improve the state's capacity to conserve energy and regulate supply.
  - Executive Director, Governor's Advisory Council on the Future of New Jersey. Formed and led panel to assess trends shaping New Jersey's economy and environment and develop a strategy for shaping land use controls to assure a high quality of life.
- 
- Wesleyan University, BA with Honors in Government, 1968
  - Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Masters program in Public Affairs, 1968 - 1970

**Education**

**Military Service**

U. S. Army Intelligence Corps, Berlin Station, 1962 -- 1965

**Civic Activities**

Director, Merrill Lynch Bank & Trust, 1993 - present

Trustee, Citizens for the Public Good 2001 - present  
Founding Trustee, New Jersey Future, 1984 - present  
American Littoral Society, Trustee, 2003 - present  
Trustee, Thomas Edison State College, 1996 - 2004  
Founding Chair, NJ Institute for School Innovation, 1999 - 2001  
Founding Chair, Early Childhood Facilities Fund, 1996 - 1999  
Trustee, Regional Planning Partnership, 1976 - 2001  
Trustee, The Nature Conservancy, 1998 - 2003  
Chair and trustee, Center for Analysis of Public Issues, 1984 - 2001  
Member, Pennington Borough Council, 1976 - 1979

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# JOHN WEINGART

Sergeantsville (Hunterdon County), New Jersey

(609) 397-

## CURRENT EMPLOYMENT:

**Associate Director**  
**EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS**  
**RUTGERS UNIVERSITY**  
New Brunswick, NJ (February 2000 to present)

## CURRENT ACTIVITIES:

**Chairman**  
**NEW JERSEY HIGHLANDS WATER PROTECTION AND PLANNING**  
**COUNCIL**  
Appointed by Governor and confirmed by State Senate to 5-year term

**Chairman**  
**DELAWARE AND RARITAN CANAL COMMISSION**  
Appointed by Governor and confirmed by State Senate to second 5-year term

**Producer and Host**  
**Music You Can't Hear On The Radio**  
Weekly radio program of folk music and bluegrass on WPRB-FM and WPRB.com, Princeton, NJ

## PAST EMPLOYMENT:

**Senior Fellow**  
**CENTER FOR ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC ISSUES**  
Princeton, NJ (September 1998 to February 2000)

Wrote a book analyzing New Jersey's attempt to encourage municipalities to volunteer to host a disposal facility for low-level radioactive waste, viewing this program as a lens through which to examine risk communication, community involvement in decision-making and state government. Secured funding from the U.S. Department of Energy. Published in 2001.

**Executive Director**  
**NJ LOW-LEVEL RADIOACTIVE WASTE DISPOSAL FACILITY SITING BOARD**  
Trenton, NJ (September 1994-July 1998)

Directed an innovative effort to encourage New Jersey municipalities to consider volunteering to host a disposal facility for low-level radioactive waste. Included communicating about risk and science, confronting public distrust of government, and fostering effective community processes for decision-making. Managed a staff of seven with an annual budget of \$1 million, and reported to an 11-member board.

John Weingart - page 2

PAST EMPLOYMENT (continued)

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**Assistant Commissioner for Environmental Regulation**  
*NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION*  
Trenton, NJ (1991-1994)

Directed most of the Department's planning and permitting programs for both land use and industrial facilities. Managed a staff of 650 with an annual budget of \$11 million in federal and state funds. Worked with the Legislature, local governments, permit applicants and citizen groups, with the goal of developing mechanisms to improve planning and regulatory programs and link them together for more comprehensive environmental protection and greater common sense and efficiency.

**Director, Division of Coastal Resources**  
*NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION*  
Trenton, NJ (1982-1991)

Administered a State agency with a staff of 300 and budget of \$5 million responsible for land use planning and regulation along New Jersey's ocean shore and urban waterfronts, and in flood plains and wetlands. Had lead responsibility for federal Coastal Zone Management grant. Also, responsible for capital projects for shore protection, dredging and flood control.

**Various staff positions**  
*NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION*  
Trenton, NJ (1975-1982)

Joined DEP in 1975 as Public Participation Coordinator for the Office of Coastal Zone Management; then served as Assistant Chief of the Office, Chief of the Bureau of Coastal Planning and Development, and Deputy Director, all within the Division of Coastal Resources.

Also, served as **Staff Director for the Governor's Hudson Waterfront Study, Planning and Development Commission** from 1979 to 1981. Initiated and fostered the planning and development of the Hudson River Walkway to increase public access and urban revitalization.

---

**Project Co-Director**

***UNDERGRADUATE CURRICULUM EVALUATION***  
Waltham, MA (1970-1973)

Co-designed and directed a study evaluating the implementation of curricular reforms at 26 colleges. Received funding from private foundations and the U.S. Office of Education. Study resulted in the two books listed below.

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OTHER ACTIVITIES:

Board Member, *Delaware River Mill Society*, 1996 to present.  
(Vice-President from 1999 to 2002).

Board Member, *Hudson Waterfront Conservancy*, 1999-present.

Trustee, *Delaware and Raritan Greenway*, November 1999-November 2002.

Visiting Associate, *Eagleton Institute*, Rutgers University, 1999-2000.

Board Member, *Regional Planning Partnership*, 1999-2004.

Member, *NJ Alzheimer's Association Public Policy Committee*, 1999-2000.

Elected Member, *Delaware Township School Board*, 1996-1999.

**EDUCATION:**

Graduate of Leadership New Jersey Program;  
Partnership for New Jersey (1989).

Masters in Public Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and  
International Affairs, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (1975).

Bachelor of Arts, Brandeis University; Waltham, MA (1970);  
major in sociology; President of the Student Body.

**PUBLICATIONS:  
BOOKS**

**ANOTHER GOVERNMENT SUCCESS STORY:  
CITIZEN VOLUNTEERS ON NEW JERSEY STATE BOARDS  
AND COMMISSIONS;** Eagleton Institute of Politics;  
New Brunswick, NJ 08901; 2004.

**WASTE IS A TERRIBLE THING TO MIND:  
RISK, RADIATION, AND DISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT;**  
Princeton, NJ; Center for Analysis of Public Issues; 2001.

**NEW JERSEY'S VOLUNTARY SITING PROCESS FOR A LOW-LEVEL  
RADIOACTIVE WASTE DISPOSAL FACILITY: A HISTORY AND  
PERSPECTIVE,** National Low-Level Waste Management Program,  
Idaho Falls, Idaho, July 2000.

**REFORM OF UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION,** co-author with  
Arthur E. Levine (San Francisco: Jossey Bass; 1973).

**UNDERGRADUATE CURRICULUM EVALUATION,** co-author with  
Arthur E. Levine (Washington, D.C.; Education Resources  
Information Center, 1972).

**ARTICLES:**

Government

- "Harmony for an Official State Song; A Proposal for Rotation, Marketing and Term Limits," *The New York Times*, New Jersey Section Op Ed page, [November 24, 2002].
- "Time Can Change Everything: Low-Level Radioactive Waste Amid Changing Realities," *Radwaste Solutions*, [May/June 2001].
- "A Prayer For The City," book review, *The New Jersey Reporter* (March 1998).
- "Bump In The Night," commentary on the New Jersey Civil Service system, *The New Jersey Reporter* (July 1996).
- "CAFRA Amendments: A Surprising Year For Progress," *New Jersey Conference of Mayors Quarterly Magazine*, (Autumn 1993).
- "What Voters Don't Know Can Hurt Them," *The New Jersey Reporter*, (June 1985).
- "Senate Appointment: A Dead End?", *The New York Times*, (September 27, 1981).

**Environment**

- "Low-Level Waste and You: Perfect Together," *The Star-Ledger*, (December 29, 1995).
- "It's Our Waste; Why Not Our Backyard?", *New Jersey Environment*, (Winter 1996).
- "Wanted: A Site For A \$100 Million Development," *New Jersey Conference of Mayors Quarterly Magazine*, (Winter 1995).
- "The Low-Level Radioactive Waste Facility Siting Process," *New Jersey Planners' Journal*, (Fall 1995).
- "The State's Reaction To Sea Level Rise," *The Bulletin of the New Jersey Academy of Science*, (Fall 1986).
- "Regional Planning for the Urban Waterfront," *Coastal Zone '80: Proceedings of the Second Symposium on Coastal and Ocean Management*, (November 1980).
- "The Unforeseen Path to Regional Management of the New Jersey Pinelands," *Proceedings of the Cooperative Management of Coastal Ecosystems Workshop*, Georgia Conservancy (November 1980).
- "Urban Coastal Management, The New Jersey Experience," *Resource Allocation Issues in the Coastal Environment*, The Coastal Society, (November 1979).
- "CAFRA and Coastal Zone Management," *New Jersey Outdoors*, (October 1975).

**Education**

- "The Need For Environmental Education," *Humanistic Judaism*, (Spring 1993).

**HONORS**

*Volunteer of the Year Award, Delaware River Mill Society (March, 2005)*

*Fifteen Years of Leadership Award, Leadership New Jersey  
(December 2001).*

*Frank Oliver Earth Day Award, New Jersey Environmental Lobby,  
“for outstanding service to the citizens of New Jersey as a  
responsible public servant protecting the state’s environment and  
health,” [April 2000]*

*The Citizen Award, New Jersey Society of Municipal Engineers  
(November 1994).*

*New Jersey Folk Festival Award for Distinguished Service to the Traditional Arts  
(May 1993).*

*Man of the Year Award, North Bergen Action Group, (November 1985).*

*Book of the Year Award (for Reform of Undergraduate Education),  
American Council On Education (October 1974).*

March 2005

**Donald Linky**  
*Director, Electronic Government Project*  
*Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey*

Don Linky is director of the Electronic Government Project at the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. He also coordinates the Rutgers Ethics Initiative, a joint project of the Eagleton Institute and the Prudential Business Ethics Center at the Rutgers Business School.

He also continues as president of Joshua Communications, Inc., a publishing and information services firm in Princeton, and edits reference books published by Joshua, including *The New Jersey Directory: The Insider Guide to New Jersey Leaders*; *The New Jersey Almanac*; and *New Jersey Fast Facts*. He is a former president of the Public Affairs Research Institute of New Jersey, a corporate-supported nonprofit founded in 1930 that monitored New Jersey economic, demographic and fiscal trends.

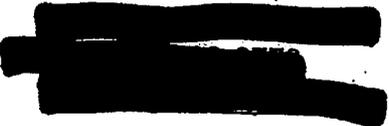
During the Administration of New Jersey Governor Brendan T. Byrne, Don served as chief counsel to the governor and director of the governor's office of policy and planning. He had key roles in the development of such programs as the Spill Compensation and Protection Act, which served as the model for the federal Superfund program, the Pinelands Protection Act, the Community Development Bond Act, the Urban Enterprise Zone program, the creation of New Jersey Transit and school finance reform.

He has been the editor of *The New Jersey Municipal Almanac*, and served on the editorial board of *The New Jersey Encyclopedia*. He also has been a monthly columnist for the magazines *New Jersey Reporter*, *New Jersey Business* and the *Business Journal of New Jersey*. He has served as a member of the governing boards of New Jersey Future, the Council of State Planning Agencies, Directory Publishers Forum North America and other organizations.

Don is a graduate of Harvard Law School and Dartmouth College, and attended the London School of Economics and Political Science. A native of Asbury Park, he now resides in Princeton.

**Contact:**

Eagleton Institute of Politics  
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey  
191 Ryders Lane  
New Brunswick, NJ 08901



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***Experience:***

2001-

Visiting Professor and Director, Electronic Government Project  
Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey  
New Brunswick, New Jersey

1994-2001

President, Public Affairs Research Institute of New Jersey  
Princeton, New Jersey

1989-

President, Joshua Communications, Inc.  
Princeton, New Jersey

1986-90

Counsel, Hill Wallack (law firm)  
Princeton, New Jersey

1982-86

Senior Vice President and General Counsel,  
New Jersey Business and Industry Association, Inc.  
Trenton, New Jersey

1981-82

Chief Counsel to the Governor of New Jersey  
Trenton, New Jersey

1978-82

Director, Governor's Office of Policy & Planning  
Trenton, New Jersey

1975-78

Deputy Counsel and Assistant Counsel to the Governor of New Jersey

1973-75

Attorney, Hannoch, Weisman, Stern & Besser  
Newark, New Jersey

1972-73

Law Clerk, Supreme Court of New Jersey

***Education:***

J.D., Harvard Law School 1972

B.A., Dartmouth College 1968

London School of Economics and Political Science 1966-67

***Publications:***

**Reference Books**

*The New Jersey Directory: The Insider Guide to New Jersey Leaders* (8 editions: Joshua Communications)

*The New Jersey Almanac* (3 editions: Joshua Communications 2005; Center for Analysis of Public Issues 1999, 2001)

*The New Jersey Municipal Almanac* (Center for Analysis of Public Issues 2000)

**Selected Articles and Reports**

*New Jersey Health & Wellness by the Numbers* (*New Jersey Monthly Magazine* October 2005; January 2004)

*An Evaluation of New Jersey State Government Web Sites: Design, Content and Usability*  
(New Jersey Office of Information Technology April 2004)

*Best Practices in Government Web Publishing* (Eagleton Institute of Politics, April 2004)

*Online Resources for Teaching Civics, Government and the Law* (Eagleton Institute of Politics, March 2002)

*New Jersey State Government Web Report Cards* (Eagleton Institute of Politics, September 2002)

*No Free Lunch: School Construction and Accountability* (*New Jersey Reporter Magazine*, April 2001)

*Digital Democracy: Are We There Yet?* (*New Jersey Reporter Magazine*, December 2000)

*New Jersey at the Millennium: Where Do We Go from Here?* (*New Jersey Reporter Magazine*, January 2000)

**INGRID W. REED**

**Office:**

**Eagleton Institute of Politics,  
Rutgers, The State University  
191 Ryders Lane  
New Brunswick, NJ 08901**

**Home:**

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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**Professional Experience**

- Eagleton Institute of Politics. Director, Eagleton New Jersey Project, January 1996-.
- The Rockefeller University. Vice President for Public Affairs and Corporate Secretary, May 1992-December 1995. Consultant, 1996-2001.
- Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, Director, Rockefeller Public Service Awards, 1975-81; Assistant Dean, September 1975-May 1992; Lecturer, 1989;
- New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection, Assistant for Special Projects to the Deputy Commissioner, 1975.
- Educational Testing Service. Assistant to the Controller, 1960-61.

**Current Public Service Activities**

- American Society for Public Administration, NJ Chapter Governing Council, 1996-.
- Capital City (Trenton) Redevelopment Corporation (a State agency), Chair of the Board, 1988-.
- Community Foundation of New Jersey, Board Member, 2000-
- Institute for Public Administration (NYC), Board Member, 1988-.
- National Public Service Awards Selection Committee, 1988- and executive committee member, 2001-.
- New Jersey Department of Human Services Work First N.J. Program, Task Force member, 1997-.
- New Jersey Future (coalition for state planning), Board Member, founder, former Board Chair, 1986-.
- Regional Plan Association, New Jersey Committee, 1997-. (Formerly New York Committee and Committee on the Third Plan, 1992-96.)
- Sandra Starr Foundation (Princeton, N.J.), Vice Chair of the Board, 1998-.

**Publications**

- "Crisis in Regional Planning," Regional Planning, G. Lim, editor, Allanheld Osmun, 1983.
- "The Life and Death of UDAG: An Assessment Based on Eight Projects in Five New Jersey Cities," PUBLIUS, Summer, 1989.
- "The New Information Technology: The Promise and the Challenge for U.S. Women in Politics," presented at an invitational conference of the Center for Korean Women and Politics, Seoul, Korea, November 18-20, 1996.
- "Navigating Welfare Reforms," with Carl E. Van Horn, State Government News, April 1997, p. 25-27.

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# DRAFT

- "Better Campaigns for Better Governance: A Challenge to Public Administration," Institute for Public Administration Report, Spring 1998.
- "N.J. Congressional Campaigns in 1998: Not Bad but Not Enough: A Report of the Research Project," with Professor Gerald M. Pomper. Featured in New Jersey Reporter, November 1999.
- Columnist on political matters, Op-ed Section, *Home News and Tribune*, New Brunswick, 1996-, *The Times*, Trenton, 1999-, *NJBiz*, 2005-. Also *New Jersey Law Journal*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Record*.
- "The New Jersey Initiative: Building Management Capacity in New Jersey Municipalities," associate director of a report of a pilot project conducted in partnership with Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Administration. August 2002.
- "The 2001 New Jersey Election," A Century Foundation Report, October 2002.
- "Issues in Voter Participation", a paper commissioned by the Center for Government Services, Rutgers, for its Making Democracy Work Roundtable, March 2004.

## Awards

- Elected fellow, National Academy of Public Administration, 1993.
- New Jersey Chapter, American Society for Public Administration Achievement Award, 1990.
- Kellogg National Leadership Fellowship, 1983-86.
- Phi Beta Kappa, 1958.

## Education

- University of Pennsylvania, A.B.(economics), College for Women, 1958.

DRAFT

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**U.S. ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION**  
**1225 New York Ave. NW - Suite 1100**  
**Washington, DC 20005**

November 27, 2006

Mr. Ralph Neas  
President  
People for the American Way  
2000 M Street, NW  
Suite 400  
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mr. Neas:

Thank you for your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request regarding the U.S. Election Assistance Commission's research on voter fraud and intimidation. The document you requested on voter fraud and intimidation is protected from release under FOIA. Specifically, the responsive information is protected by the Deliberative Process Privilege and exempted from release under 5 U.S.C. §552(b)(5). As you may know, the Deliberative Process Privilege protects intra-agency documents that are (1) predecisional in nature and (2) part of the deliberative process. In other words, the documents must be part of a process that recommends or presents opinions on a policy matter before that matter is adopted. Such documents are exempt from release (1) to encourage open and frank discussions on policy matters between agency subordinates and superiors; (2) to protect against premature disclosure of proposed policies; and (3) to protect against public confusion that might result from disclosure of rationales that were not in fact the ultimate basis for agency action.

The report you have requested is an intra-agency document that is not yet complete and has not been reviewed and approved by the Commissioners (the relevant policy makers). An initial draft of the document was created by two contract employees with the support of EAC staff. The contract employees were hired pursuant EAC's authority to hire consultants and experts under 5 U.S.C. §3109 (See 42 U.S.C. §15324(b)). Individuals hired under this authority enter into an employment relationship with the EAC. The contract employees at issue were closely supervised by an EAC program director who participated directly in the project. For example, the supervisor approved, facilitated, scheduled and participated in interviews conducted for the project. Further, the contract employees were provided research materials and other support from EAC law clerks and staff. Communications with contract employees are intra-agency communications for the purposes of FOIA.<sup>1</sup> Work continues to proceed on the draft.

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<sup>1</sup> Department of the Interior v. Klamath Water Users Protective Association, 532 U.S. 1, 9-11 (2001) and Hertzberg v. Veneman, 273 F. Supp. 2d 67, 76 n.2 (D.D.C. 2003).

Similarly, the document you have requested constitutes a recommendation on a policy matter. The purpose or subject of the draft report at issue is to make an EAC determination on how voter fraud should be studied by the Agency. This is to be done by (1) assessing the nature and quality of information that presently exists on the subject matter; (2) defining the terms and scope of EAC study as proposed under HAVA; (3) determining what is to be studied; and (4) determining how it is to be studied. Clearly, EAC's interpretation of HAVA and its determination of what it will study and how it will use its resources are matters of Agency policy. This policy can only be made by the EAC's duly appointed Commissioners. This has not yet been done. Thus, any draft created by staff is a proposal or recommendation on a policy matter and clearly both predecisional and deliberative.

For these reasons, the draft document you have requested is exempt from release. We expect the report to be made final and approved by the Commission in December. It will be made public at that time. Upon its release you may obtain a copy of it at [www.eac.gov](http://www.eac.gov).

The EAC has decided to waive the processing fees for your request. If you interpret any portion of this response as an adverse action, you may appeal it to the Commission. Your appeal must be in writing and sent to the address noted on the above letterhead. Any appeal submitted must be postmarked no later than 60 calendar days from the date of this letter. Please include your reasons for reconsideration and attach a copy of this letter.

Sincerely,

Jeannie Layson  
Director of Communications  
U.S. Election Assistance Commission

**FAX COVER SHEET**

**To: JEANNIE LAYSON, Director of Communications, U.S. Election  
Assistance Commission**

**From: JUDITH E. SCHAEFFER, Deputy Legal Director**

**Date: October 27, 2006**

**Fax: 202-566-3127**

**No. of pages including cover sheet: 4**

**Phone: 202-467-4999 Fax: 202-293-2672**

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**FOIA request attached**

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*This transmission is intended for the sole use of the individual and entity to whom it is addressed, and may contain information that is privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. You are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or duplication of this transmission by someone other than the intended addressee or its designated agent is strictly prohibited. If your receipt of this transmission is in error, please notify us immediately by collect call to (202) 467-4999, and send the original transmission to us by return mail at the below address.*

**2000 M Street NW ♦ Suite 400 ♦ Washington, DC 20036  
Phone 202.467.4999 ♦ Fax 202.293.2672 ♦ pfaw@pfaw.org ♦ www.pfaw.org**

019291



October 27, 2006

Via email and fax

Jeannie Layson  
Director of Communications  
United States Election Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Avenue N.W.  
Suite 1100  
Washington, DC 20005

Re: FOIA Request

Dear Ms. Layson:

In accordance with the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552, I am writing on behalf of People For the American Way to request a copy of a study concerning voter fraud conducted by Tova Wang and Job Serebrov and presented to the EAC in report form sometime subsequent to May 2006.

As you may know, I wrote to the EAC on October 18, 2006 on behalf of People For the American Way Foundation, asking for a copy of the report of this study. On October 19, I received a letter from Paul S. DeGregorio, Chair of the EAC, denying the request. (A copy of Mr. DeGregorio's letter is attached.) According to Mr. DeGregorio, the report was a "draft" and would not be released. However, as even Mr. DeGregorio's letter underscores, the report we are seeking is not a "draft" but rather the *authors'* report of their study of voter fraud. That the Commission may, in the words of Mr. DeGregorio, "release a final report from this study" does not make the study itself a draft. In any event, the Commission should not, and in our view cannot, withhold from public disclosure this important study, which was funded by federal taxpayers.

In accordance with FOIA, I would appreciate your furnishing the requested report to us at your earliest convenience, and no later than 20 working days from today. If you deny this request in whole or in part, please cite the specific exemption(s) that you maintain allows the Commission to withhold the release of this report in whole or in part, and, as also required by law, please release any segregable portion of the report that remains after the exempted material has been deleted. We are willing to pay the statutory fee for the copying of this report.

FOIA Request  
October 27, 2006  
Page 2

Please do not hesitate to call our Deputy Legal Director, Judith E. Schaeffer, if you have any questions about this request. Thank you in advance for your assistance and cooperation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Ralph G. Neas". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Ralph G. Neas  
President

Encl.

019293



**U.S. ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION**  
1225 NEW YORK AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 1100  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

October 19, 2006

Ralph G. Neas  
President, People for the American Way Foundation  
2000 M Street, NW  
Suite 400  
Washington, DC 20036

Via Facsimile Transmission ONLY  
202-293-2672

RE: October 18, 2006 Letter

Dear Mr. Neas:

Your letter of October 18, 2006 requests the release of EAC's Voter Fraud and Intimidation Report. I would like to take this opportunity to clarify the purpose and status of this study.

In late 2005, EAC hired two consultants for the purpose of assisting EAC with two things: 1) developing a uniform definition of the phrase voter fraud, and 2) making recommendations on how to further study the existence, prosecution, and means of deterring such voter fraud. In May 2006, a status report on this study was given to the EAC Standards Board and EAC Board of Advisors during their public meetings. During the same week, a working group convened to react to and provide comment on the progress and potential conclusions that could be reached from the work of the two consultants.

The conversation at the working group meeting was lively on the very points that we were trying to accomplish as a part of this study, namely what is voter fraud and how do we pursue studying it. Many of the proposed conclusions that were suggested by the consultants were challenged by the working group members. As such, the consultants were tasked with reviewing the concerns expressed at the working group meeting, conducting additional research as necessary, and providing a draft report to EAC that took into account the working group's concerns and issues.

That draft report is currently being vetted by EAC staff. EAC will release a final report from this study after it has conducted a review of the draft provided by the consultants. However, it is important to remember the purpose of this study -- finding a uniform definition of voter fraud and making recommendations on how to study the existence, prosecution and deterrence of voter fraud -- as it will serve as the basis of the EAC report on this study.

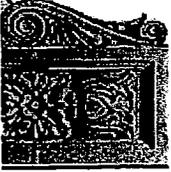
Thank you for your letter. You can be assured that as soon as a final report on the fraud and intimidation study is available, a copy will be made available to the public.

Sincerely,

Paul S. DeGregorio  
Chairman

Tel: (202) 566-3100 www.eac.gov Fax: (202) 566-3189  
Toll free: 1 (866) 747-1471

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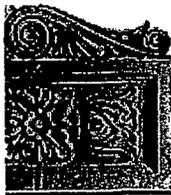


Bert A. Benavides/EAC/GOV  
12/08/2006 10:46 AM

To Jeannie Layson/EAC/GOV  
cc  
bcc  
Subject FOIA Request - Tova Wang

Bert A. Benavides  
Special Assistant to the Executive Director  
U. S. Elections Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Avenue, NW  
Suite 1100  
Washington, DC 20005  
202-566-3114

----- Forwarded by Bert A. Benavides/EAC/GOV on 12/08/2006 10:44 AM -----



Bert A. Benavides/EAC/GOV  
11/15/2006 02:19 PM

To "Tova Wang" [REDACTED]  
cc bbenavides@eac.gov  
Subject RE: Conference call

Tova, due to the change in time, both Julie and Tom will be calling into the conference call from their respective residences. Thanks. Take care.

Bert A. Benavides  
Special Assistant to the Executive Director  
U. S. Elections Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Avenue, NW  
Suite 1100  
Washington, DC 20005  
202-566-3114

"Tova Wang" <wang@tcf.org>



"Tova Wang"  
[REDACTED]  
11/09/2006 04:54 PM

To bbenavides@eac.gov, [REDACTED]  
cc twilkey@eac.gov, jhodgkins@eac.gov  
Subject RE: Conference call

Sounds good. I will come by the EAC since its literally a few feet from my office. I look forward to seeing you. Tova

Tova Andrea Wang, Democracy Fellow  
**The Century Foundation**  
1333 H Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005

Visit our Web site, [www.tcf.org](http://www.tcf.org), for the latest news, analysis, opinions, and events.

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Conference call in # is 866-222-9044, Passcode [REDACTED]

Bert A. Benavides  
Special Assistant to the Executive Director  
U. S. Elections Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Avenue, NW  
Suite 1100  
Washington, DC 20005  
202-566-3114

019296

> for Civil Rights. He will be representing Barbara  
> Arnwine, the Executive  
> Director of the Lawyers Committee.  
>  
> His contact and mailing info is:  
>  
> jgreenbaum@lawyerscommittee.org  
> [REDACTED]  
> 1401 New York Avenue, NW  
> Suite 400  
> Washington, DC 20005  
>  
>  
>  
> Tova Andrea Wang  
> Democracy Fellow  
> The Century Foundation  
> 41 East 70th Street - New York, NY 10021  
> phone: 212-452-7704 fax: 212-535-7534  
>  
> Visit our Web site, <<http://www.tcf.org/>>  
> [www.tcf.org](http://www.tcf.org/), for the latest news,  
> analysis, opinions, and events.  
>  
> \_\_\_\_\_  
>  
> <<mailto:join-tcfmain@mailhost.groundspring.org>>  
> Click here to receive our  
> weekly e-mail updates.  
>  
>  
>

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Job Serebroy"

[REDACTED]  
05/11/2006 03:49 PM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc

Subject Re: Literature Summary

I resent the review as you see at the bottom. When I  
opened it and sent it there was no corrupted text.

--- psims@eac.gov wrote:

> Do you have text to replace the corrupted text in  
> paragraph 4? --- Peggy  
>  
>  
>

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>  
> "Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]  
> 05/11/2006 03:17 PM [REDACTED]  
>  
> To  
> psims@eac.gov  
> cc  
>  
> Subject  
> Re: Literature Summary  
>  
>  
>  
>  
>  
>  
>  
>  
>  
> --- psims@eac.gov wrote:  
>  
> > Tova just sent me the summary you prepared of The  
> > Federal Crime of  
> > Election Fraud by Craig Donsanto. There is  
> > something wrong in the fourth  
> > paragraph (odd characters and missing text). Can  
> > you please send a  
> > replacement fourth paragraph? You can send it in  
> > an email and I will  
> > place it in the document. --- Peggy  
>

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV

05/05/2006 01:59 PM

To "J. R. Perez" [REDACTED]

cc

Subject Re: Bio for Perez [REDACTED]

Thanks, J.R. Great to have you on board! We will get back to you shortly regarding travel arrangements. The meeting materials will be sent by Federal Express next week.

Peggy Sims  
Election Research Specialist  
U.S. Election Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Ave, NW - Ste 1100  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: 866-747-1471 (toll free) or 202-566-3120 (direct)  
Fax: 202-566-3127  
email: psims@eac.gov

"J. R. Perez" [REDACTED]



"J. R. Perez"  
[REDACTED]

psims@eac.gov

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05/05/2006 01:23 PM

To  
cc  
Subject Bio for Perez

Hi Peggy, it was nice talking with you today and I would be glad to try and add to the discussion. I am attaching a brief bio and will await your instructions for the travel arrangements. I look forward to receiving the current information on panel issues.

J.R. Perez  
Elections Administrator  
Guadalupe County



bio 5\_5\_06.doc

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Weinberg and Utrecht "

[Redacted]  
05/05/2006 12:27 PM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

5201 Roosevelt St.  
Bethesda, MD 20814



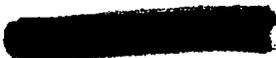
----- Original Message -----

From: psims@eac.gov  
To: [Redacted]  
Sent: Friday, May 05, 2006 10:56 AM  
Subject: Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Barry:

Would you please provide an address to which we can Federal Express materials before the meeting? ---  
Peg

"Weinberg and Utrecht "



05/04/2006 01:34 PM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

019299

that would be fine

----- Original Message -----

**From:** psims@eac.gov

**To:** [REDACTED]

**Sent:** Thursday, May 04, 2006 1:08 PM

**Subject:** Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Barry:

It appears that the afternoon of Thursday, May 18 is best for a meeting of the working group. I know you said you would not be available in the morning that day. If we started at 1 PM, would that be too soon for you?

Peggy Sims  
Election Research Specialist  
U.S. Election Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Ave, NW - Ste 1100  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: 866-747-1471 (toll free) or 202-566-3120 (direct)  
Fax: 202-566-3127  
email: psims@eac.gov

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Job Serebroy"

[REDACTED]  
05/12/2006 02:52 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject Re: Working Group List

List a vacancy---to be filled. If we don't hear from Ginsberg by late afternoon please call Braden.

Job

--- psims@eac.gov wrote:

> Job:

>

> What do you suggest I do with the list of Working  
> Group members. I need  
> to get the Fed Ex packages out by the end of the  
> day, and have not heard  
> back from Ginsberg. Do you want me to list a

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> vacancy, or list Norcross  
> with a note that he cannot attend? If we find a  
> substitute, we can always  
> provide an updated list next Thursday. --- Peggy

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



[REDACTED]  
05/13/2006 09:10 AM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc "Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]  
Subject research summary

In the middle of the night I got the feeling that you may be right, that I did do a summary of the existing literature review (that Job, you approved) . I'll have to look for it on Monday (unless I go into the office over the weekend, which is possible). I may be hallucinating, but if not, I'll just present it at the meeting rather than try to get it to them ahead of time. Tova

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

**Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV**

05/04/2006 05:47 PM

To wang@tcf.org@GSAEXTERNAL

cc

Subject Re: wg [REDACTED]

Tova:

Rokita is available --- so the afternoon of May 18 it is. I will not disinvite anyone. I am trying to get Job's next choice (Pat Rogers) as a replacement for Norcross.

Monday appears to be out for a teleconference because Job will be unavailable that afternoon and I am scheduled for something else that morning. I'll check my schedule tomorrow and send a message to you and Job regarding other possible days and times. --- Peggy



[REDACTED]  
05/04/2006 05:21 PM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject wg

Hi Peg,

Just wondering if you had any word from Rokita. Also, I wanted to let you know that I think disinviting members of the working group would be a very unwise and frankly embarrassing way of dealing with the

019301

problem of getting 100% attendance. I'm sure we'll talk before any decisions are made. As I said, I'm free on Monday. Thanks. Tova

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]

05/12/2006 03:22 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject Re: Fraud Definition

I would give him until Monday morning but I would also call Braden today and tell him there may be an opening for him on the WG and find out whether he is free.

--- psims@eac.gov wrote:

> I have placed another call to his office (after one  
> previous call to his  
> assistant and an email to him). I, too, am  
> concerned about our dwindling  
> chances. --- Peggy

>

>

>

>

> "Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]  
> 05/12/2006 03:06 PM

>

> To  
> psims@eac.gov  
> cc

>

> Subject  
> Re: Fraud Definition

>

>

>

>

>

> Given the short time period, you may want to give  
> Ginsberg a deadline. The longer we wait, the poorer  
> our chances are of getting Braden.

>

> --- psims@eac.gov wrote:

>

> > I am reluctant to invite Braden until after I have  
> > received a "No" from  
> > Ginsberg. --- Peg

> >

> >

> >

> >

> > "Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]  
> > 05/12/2006 02:33 PM

019302

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Donsanto, Craig"  
<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>  
v>  
05/11/2006 02:39 PM

To psims@eac.gov, "Mitchell, Cynthia"  
<Cynthia.Mitchell@usdoj.gov>  
cc "Simmons, Nancy" <Nancy.Simmons@usdoj.gov>  
Subject RE: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group

Cindy --

Can you please check the accuracy of these figures -- which you recall we gave to the EAC a month or so ago -- to ensure that they are up-to-date?

I believe we have had several public events that have taken place since we gave them the Public Fraud List a few weeks ago.

---

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 11, 2006 2:35 PM  
**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
**Subject:** Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group  
**Importance:** High

Craig:

I think we have resolved the issue of Barbara Arnwine's absence from the upcoming meeting by having one of her staff represent her (and her organization). Please review the attached rough summary of DOJ

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Cases ASAP and let me know if I need to delete reference to the open investigations. Hopefully, we won't have to remove this information as it does not specify the defendants or States involved. --- Peg

**Rough Summary of Department of Justice, Public Integrity Section Activities, October 2002-January 2006**

**Prosecutions and Convictions-- Individuals**

Noncitizen voting: 20  
Vote buying: 49  
Double voting: 12  
Registration fraud: 13  
Civil Rights: 4  
Voter Intimidation: 2  
Unclear: 1

**Open Investigations (note: a few cases overlap with prosecutions and convictions)**

Noncitizen voting: 3  
Vote buying: 25  
Double voting: 15  
Registration fraud: 29  
Absentee ballot fraud: 9  
Official: 8  
Ineligibles: 4  
Deceptive Practices: 1  
Civil Rights: 14  
Intimidation: 6  
Other: 2

**Cases and Investigations Closed for Lack of Evidence**

Civil Rights: 8  
Official: 12  
Registration Fraud: 12  
Absentee Ballot Fraud: 14  
Ineligible Voting: 3  
Intimidation: 8  
Double Voting: 5  
Ballot Box Stuffing: 1  
Vote Buying: 14  
Ballot/machine tampering: 2  
Other: 8  
Unclear: 3

---- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM ----



"Job Serebrov"

019304



05/09/2006 10:46 AM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject Fwd: RE: Working Group meeting

FYI

--- "Patrick J. Rogers" [redacted] > wrote:

> Subject: RE: Working Group meeting  
 > Date: Tue, 9 May 2006 07:42:44 -0600  
 > From: "Patrick J. Rogers" [redacted]  
 > To: "Job Serebrov" [redacted]  
 >  
 > Job---maybe. I will call you and/or Ms. Sims  
 > tomorrow. Depositions all  
 > day today. Thanks, Pat  
 >  
 > What's the best number to call you tomorrow?  
 >

> Patrick J. Rogers  
 > Modrall, Sperling, Roehl, Harris & Sisk, P.A.  
 > P.O. Box 2168  
 > Albuquerque, NM 87103-2168  
 > Tel: 505-848-1849  
 > Fax: 505-848-1891  
 >

> -----Original Message-----  
 > From: Job Serebrov [mailto:[redacted]]  
 > Sent: Monday, May 08, 2006 9:41 PM  
 > To: Patrick J. Rogers  
 > Subject: Working Group meeting

> Pat:  
 >  
 > The working group meeting for the voter fraud  
 > project is scheduled for  
 > May 18th in DC but David Norcross can't attend.  
 > Could you come? If so,  
 > we need to arrange travel and a hotel for you.

> Regards,  
 >  
 > Job  
 >

-----  
 > Modrall, Sperling, Roehl, Harris & Sisk, P.A.  
 >

-----  
 > THIS MESSAGE IS INTENDED ONLY FOR THE USE OF THE  
 > INDIVIDUAL OR ENTITY TO  
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019305

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> without copying it, and notify the sender by reply  
> e-mail or by calling  
> 505.848.1800, so that our address record can be  
> corrected. Thank you.  
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>  
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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV

05/09/2006 11:16 AM

To "Job Serebrov"

cc [REDACTED]

Subject Re: Fwd: RE: Working Group meeting

I had a voice mail message from him on Monday. I called him back but had to leave a voice mail message (telephone tag). If you hear from him and he is willing and able to come, I need to know this. We need to have him call our travel service to make travel arrangements ASAP. Thanks. --- Peggy

"Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]



"Job Serebrov"

05/09/2006 10:46 AM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject Fwd: RE: Working Group meeting

FYI

--- "Patrick J. Rogers" [REDACTED] wrote:

> Subject: RE: Working Group meeting  
> Date: Tue, 9 May 2006 07:42:44 -0600  
> From: "Patrick J. Rogers" [REDACTED]  
> To: "Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]  
>  
> Job---maybe. I will call you and/or Ms. Sims  
> tomorrow. Depositions all  
> day today. Thanks, Pat

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>  
> What's the best number to call you tomorrow?

>  
> Patrick J. Rogers  
> Modrall, Sperling, Roehl, Harris & Sisk, P.A.  
> P.O. Box 2168  
> Albuquerque, NM 87103-2168  
> Tel: 505-848-1849  
> Fax: 505-848-1891

>  
> -----Original Message-----  
> From: Job Serebrov [mailto: ]  
> Sent: Monday, May 08, 2006 9:41 PM  
> To: Patrick J. Rogers  
> Subject: Working Group meeting

> Pat:

>  
> The working group meeting for the voter fraud  
> project is scheduled for  
> May 18th in DC but David Norcross can't attend.  
> Could you come? If so,  
> we need to arrange travel and a hotel for you.

> Regards,

> Job

-----  
> Modrall, Sperling, Roehl, Harris & Sisk, P.A.  
-----

> THIS MESSAGE IS INTENDED ONLY FOR THE USE OF THE  
> INDIVIDUAL OR ENTITY TO  
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> are hereby notified that any dissemination or  
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> received this  
> electronic transmission in error, please delete it  
> from your system  
> without copying it, and notify the sender by reply  
> e-mail or by calling  
> 505.848.1800, so that our address record can be  
> corrected. Thank you.

019307

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 05/09/2006 11:38 AM -----



"Job Serebrov"

05/08/2006 09:30 AM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject Case Summaries

Peggy:

Please add this to the packet.

019308



Job Case Summaries.doc

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV

05/12/2006 03:22 PM

To Job Serebrov, Tova Andrea Wang

cc

Subject Good News

Ginsberg has accepted our invitation! --- Peggy

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Job Serebrov"

05/11/2006 10:16 AM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject Re: Today's Teleconference

The teleconference is on. However, I am still one person down for the meeting and I am not comfortable. This will have to be discussed since from the start it was agreed that the WG would be equal and if I lost a person Tova would have to loose one. Further and most importantly, I don't yet have a hotel so my attendance is still up in the air. Finally, the agenda is not what we discussed and gives far too much time for areas that can be covered in a short time. Not listed are all of the questions that Tova's proposed agenda had. All in all, it needs to be redone.

--- psims@eac.gov wrote:

- > I assume that we are still on for today's
- > teleconference at 11 AM EST. I
- > will call you. I have attached a draft agenda for
- > your review and
- > comment. --- Peggy
- >
- >

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Tova Wang"

05/08/2006 10:18 AM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject RE: Working Group

019309

I am more than happy to attend in person

-----Original Message-----

From: Job Serebrov [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
Sent: Monday, May 08, 2006 9:15 AM  
To: psims@eac.gov; [REDACTED]  
Subject: Re: Working Group

Peggy:

4:00 eastern on Tuesday is fine however, given the financial restrictions that you indicated would be in place for use of my car (I would actually loose money coming to DC) and given the cost of hotels at this time (I can't afford to front these costs and wait for months to be repaid), etc, it would take a miracle for this working group meeting to take place in person. It is looking like the only way it will get done is by teleconference. I also share Tova's concern about the unknown nature of Mr. Perez.

Job

--- psims@eac.gov wrote:

> Hi, Folks:  
>  
> Teleconference  
> Are both of you available for a teleconference next  
> Tuesday afternoon at  
> about 4 PM EST? If this does not work for you,  
> please suggest another  
> date and/or time. I would like to discuss our  
> preparations for the  
> Working Group meeting.  
>  
> Working Group Members  
> We have a very good person to fill the slot for the nonpartisan local  
> election official: J.R. Perez, Elections  
> Administrator for Guadalupe  
> County, TX. Attached is his bio. Hope you have no  
> objections to him. He  
> is available on May 18. I have place 2 calls to Pat  
> Rogers office, but  
> have not yet received a reply. Job, if you have any  
> pull with him, you  
> may want to contact him, too.  
>  
> Travel Arrangements  
> You should make your own travel arrangements,  
> including hotel. Travel  
> time cannot be billed to the contract, except for  
> hours actually worked on  
> the contract (i.e.; reviewing materials in  
> preparation for the meeting,  
> and the like). Current Federal rates follow:  
>

019310

> Maximum Lodging = \$180 per day- does not include  
> hotel taxes (if you  
> cannot get this rate, we have covered reasonable  
> rates that are a little  
> higher)  
> Meals & Incidentals = \$64 per day (except that it is  
> \$48 on the first and  
> last day of travel)  
> Mileage for Personally Owned Vehicle = \$ .445 per  
> mile  
>  
> Under the new contract, I do not have to fill out a  
> travel authorization  
> for you. I can approve your trip via email.  
> Afterwards, when you turn in  
> your next pay voucher, you can attach the airline  
> receipt (or mileage  
> documentation), hotel receipt(s), and ground  
> transportation receipts and a  
> copy of any printed itineraries. Calculate the  
> total travel expenses due  
> you, including applicable per diem. I do not need  
> meal receipts.  
>  
> Job, under Federal travel regulations, deviations  
> for personal reasons are  
> not normally accommodated. What you can do,  
> however, is to give me a  
> comparison of the cost of roundtrip mileage, hotel,  
> and per diem of doing  
> it your way against the cost of a roundtrip flight,  
> ground transportation,  
> hotel, and per diem. If your way costs less, it  
> should be no problem to  
> cover the full cost. If your way is more expensive,  
> we may only pay up to  
> the amount of traditional travel. (The same rules  
> apply to me when I  
> travel.) If you can tell me where, other than DC,  
> you will spend the  
> night, I can check on applicable per diem rates.  
>  
> Peggy  
>  
>

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Tova Wang"

05/09/2006 05:28 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject arnwine

019311

She definitely cannot do it. Would you please find out if Wade Henderson would be possible? Now its my turn to be upset!!! Thanks.

**Tova Andrea Wang**  
Democracy Fellow  
**The Century Foundation**  
41 East 70th Street - New York, NY 10021  
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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV

05/12/2006 02:46 PM

To Job Serebrov

cc

Subject Working Group List

Job:

What do you suggest I do with the list of Working Group members. I need to get the Fed Ex packages out by the end of the day, and have not heard back from Ginsberg. Do you want me to list a vacancy, or list Norcross with a note that he cannot attend? If we find a substitute, we can always provide an updated list next Thursday. --- Peggy

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Tova Wang"

05/11/2006 04:25 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject RE: Material I may not have included

news article review

-----Original Message-----

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]

**Sent:** Thursday, May 11, 2006 3:23 PM

**To:** [REDACTED]

**Subject:** Re: Material I may not have included

Would these go under literature review or news article review? --- Peggy

"Tova Wang" [REDACTED]

019312

"Tova Wang" [REDACTED]

05/11/2006 01:30 PM

To psims@eac.gov, dromig@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject research summaries

019313

I have the feeling we didn't include these in the original batch I sent you. Could you double check and if not, would you please include them in the existing research materials? Sorry and thanks. I'm kind of doing all of this on my own in case you couldn't tell. List is coming...

**Tova Andrea Wang**  
Democracy Fellow  
**The Century Foundation**  
41 East 70th Street - New York, NY 10021  
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— Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM —

**Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV**

05/11/2006 11:16 AM

To Job Serebrov, Tova Andrea Wang

cc

Subject Rev Agenda for Working Group Meeting



Agenda 5-18-06 Mtg.doc

— Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM —

**Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV**

05/09/2006 02:48 PM

To Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV

cc

Subject Fw: Working Group-Perez

> > > Click here to receive our  
> > > weekly e-mail updates.  
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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV

05/11/2006 03:54 PM

To "Job Serebrov"

cc [REDACTED]

Subject Re: Literature Summary [REDACTED]

When I opened the attachment, I still had problems with the 4th paragraph. Would you please just send me that paragraph within the text of your email so that I can paste it into the document? --- Peggy

"Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]



"Job Serebrov"

[REDACTED]  
05/11/2006 03:49 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject Re: Literature Summary

I resent the review as you see at the bottom. When I opened it and sent it there was no corrupted text.

--- psims@eac.gov wrote:

> Do you have text to replace the corrupted text in  
> paragraph 4? --- Peggy

>

>

>

>

> "Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]  
> 05/11/2006 03:17 PM

>

> To  
> psims@eac.gov  
> cc

019314

>  
> Subject  
> Re: Literature Summary  
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>  
> --- psims@eac.gov wrote:  
>  
> > Tova just sent me the summary you prepared of The  
> > Federal Crime of  
> > Election Fraud by Craig Donsanto. There is  
> > something wrong in the fourth  
> > paragraph (odd characters and missing text). Can  
> > you please send a  
> > replacement fourth paragraph? You can send it in  
> > an email and I will  
> > place it in the document. --- Peggy  
>

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV

05/05/2006 12:53 PM

To "Donsanto, Craig"

<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>@GSAEXTERNAL

cc

Subject RE: Please remind me of time and place for Voter  
Intimidation project meeting

The meeting is scheduled for Thursday, May 18, 1- 5:30 PM (though we may finish earlier). It will be held in EAC's large conference room (the one we use for public meetings, located off our lobby). --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>



"Donsanto, Craig"  
<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>  
>

05/05/2006 12:43 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject RE: Please remind me of time and place for Voter  
Intimidation project meeting

If you tell me now I will put it into my calendar here, which in turn will remind me!

---

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]

**Sent:** Friday, May 05, 2006 12:42 PM

019315

**To:** Donsanto, Craig

**Subject:** Re: Please remind me of time and place for Voter Intimidation project meeting

How many days in advance do you need the reminder? --- Peggy

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV

05/09/2006 02:51 PM

To "Tova Wang" [REDACTED]

cc Adam Ambrogi/EAC/GOV@EAC

Subject RE: Working Group-Perez [REDACTED]

We are still on for 4 PM. Ray is out of the office due to a family emergency, so I suggest you NOT contact him. You may contact his Special Assistant, Adam Ambrogi (aambrogi@eac.gov or 202-566-3105), who also hails from Texas. --- Peggy

"Tova Wang" [REDACTED]



"Tova Wang"

05/09/2006 12:08 PM

To psims@eac.gov, [REDACTED]

cc

Subject RE: Working Group-Perez

We are still doing the 4 pm call, right? We can discuss it more then. Would it be OK if I see if Ray knows this person? Thanks. Tova

019316

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV

05/12/2006 10:10 AM

To [REDACTED]

cc

Subject Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group

Dear Mr. Ginsberg:

This is to confirm my call to your office this morning inviting you to be a member of and attend the upcoming meeting of the U.S. Election Assistance Commission's (EAC) Working Group on Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation. The meeting is scheduled to take place from 1:00 PM to 5:30 PM on Thursday, May 18th, 2006 at the offices of the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC), 1225 New York Avenue, NW, 11th Floor, Washington, DC.

Section 241 of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA) requires EAC to conduct research on election administration issues. Among the tasks listed in the statute are the development of:

- nationwide statistics and methods of identifying, deterring, and investigating voting fraud in elections for Federal office [section 241(b)(6)]; and
- methods of identifying, deterring, and investigating methods of voter intimidation [section 241(b)(7)].

EAC's Board of Advisors recommended that the agency make research on these matters a high priority. Subsequently, the Commission contracted with two consultants (Job Serebrov and Tova Wang) to:

- develop a comprehensive description of what constitutes voting fraud and voter intimidation in the context of Federal elections;
- perform background research (including Federal and State administrative and case law review), identify current activities of key government agencies, civic and advocacy organizations regarding these topics, and deliver a summary of this research and all source documentation;
- establish a project working group, in consultation with EAC, composed of key individuals and representatives of organizations knowledgeable about the topics of voting fraud and voter intimidation;
- provide the description of what constitutes voting fraud and voter intimidation, and the results of the preliminary research to the working group, and convene the working group to discuss potential avenues for future EAC research on this topic; and
- produce a report to EAC summarizing the findings of the preliminary research effort and working group deliberations that includes recommendations for future research, if any;

We strive to include bipartisan representation on the Working Group associated with this project. You were recommended for this project by our Republican consultant, Job Serebrov. Your ideas for possible EAC activities related to this topic will help the agency as it plans future actions to meet its HAVA responsibilities.

If you can find the time in your busy schedule to participate, I will have an information packet delivered to your office by COB, Monday, May 15. Please let me know if you are available. Thank you.

Regards,

Peggy Sims  
Election Research Specialist  
U.S. Election Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Ave, NW - Ste 1100  
Washington, DC 20005

019317

Phone: 866-747-1471 (toll free) or 202-566-3120 (direct)

Fax: 202-566-3127

email: psims@eac.gov

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV

05/10/2006 09:25 AM

To "Tova Wang" [REDACTED]

cc

Subject Re: arwine [REDACTED]

I'm checking on this. Will get back to you as soon as I have more info. --- Peggy

"Tova Wang" [REDACTED]



"Tova Wang"

[REDACTED]  
05/09/2006 05:28 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject arwine

She definitely cannot do it. Would you please find out if Wade Henderson would be possible? Now its my turn to be upset!!! Thanks.

**Tova Andrea Wang**

Democracy Fellow

**The Century Foundation**

41 East 70th Street - New York, NY 10021

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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV

05/09/2006 11:44 AM

To "Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]

cc

Subject Re: Working Group-Perez [REDACTED]

OK, I get it. The text in the attachment follows:

019318

EXCERPTS FROM TEXAS ELECTION CODE

SUBCHAPTER B. COUNTY ELECTIONS ADMINISTRATOR

\*\*\*

§ 31.032. APPOINTMENT OF ADMINISTRATOR; COUNTY ELECTION COMMISSION.

(a) The position of county elections administrator is filled by appointment of the county election commission, which consists of:

- (1) the county judge, as chair;
- (2) the county clerk, as vice chair;
- (3) the county tax assessor-collector, as secretary; and
- (4) the county chair of each political party that made nominations

by primary election for the last general election for state and county officers preceding the date of the meeting at which the appointment is made.

(b) The affirmative vote of a majority of the commission's membership is necessary for the appointment of an administrator.

(c) Each appointment must be evidenced by a written resolution or order signed by the number of commission members necessary to make the appointment. Not later than the third day after the date an administrator is appointed, the officer who presided at the meeting shall file a signed copy of the resolution or order with the county clerk. Not later than the third day after the date the copy is filed, the county clerk shall deliver a certified copy of the resolution or order to the secretary of state.

(d) The initial appointment may be made at any time after the adoption of the order creating the position.

\*\*\*

§ 31.035. RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.

(a) A county elections administrator may not be a candidate for a public office or an office of a political party, hold a public office, or hold an office or position in a political party. At the time an administrator becomes a candidate or accepts an office or position in violation of this subsection, the administrator vacates the position of administrator.

(b) A county elections administrator commits an offense if the administrator makes a political contribution or political expenditure, as defined by the law regulating political funds and campaigns, or publicly supports or opposes a candidate for public office or a measure to be voted on at an election. An offense under this subsection is a Class A misdemeanor. On a final conviction, the administrator's employment is terminated, and the person convicted is ineligible for future appointment as county elections administrator.

019319

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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV  
05/11/2006 03:46 PM

To "Job Serebrov"  
cc [REDACTED]  
Subject Re: Literature Summary 

Do you have text to replace the corrupted text in paragraph 4? --- Peggy

"Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]



"Job Serebrov"  
[REDACTED]  
05/11/2006 03:17 PM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject Re: Literature Summary

--- psims@eac.gov wrote:

> Tova just sent me the summary you prepared of The  
> Federal Crime of  
> Election Fraud by Craig Donsanto. There is  
> something wrong in the fourth  
> paragraph (odd characters and missing text). Can  
> you please send a  
> replacement fourth paragraph? You can send it in  
> an email and I will



> place it in the document. --- Peggy Fed Crime Election Fraud.doc

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV  
05/05/2006 09:15 AM

To "Donsanto, Craig"  
<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>@GSAEXTERNAL  
cc

019320

Subject Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

The non-election officials on the Working Group currently include:

- Barry Weinberg, whom you know
- Barbara Arnwine, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (organization associated with the Voting Rights Project and Election Protection)
- Bob Bauer, Perkins Coie, DC (Democrat attorney)
- Mark "Thor" Hearne, Lathrop & Gage, St Louis, MO (Republican attorney)

I am trying to recruit one other Republican attorney, Patrick Rogers, Modrall, Sperling, Roehl, Harris and Sisk, NM, who was recommended by our Republican consultant. He would replace an original member who is no longer available.

I know that Barbara has associated at conferences and in legislative efforts with Wade Henderson, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Also, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights is listed as one of many members of the Executive Committee for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (see [http://www.civilrights.org/about/lccr/executive\\_commitee.html](http://www.civilrights.org/about/lccr/executive_commitee.html)).

Does this information help? --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>



"Donsanto, Craig"  
<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>  
v>

To psims@eac.gov

cc

05/04/2006 06:08 PM

Subject Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Peggy -- they don't have anything to do with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights do they?

I ask only because the Justice Department is currently engaged in a very acrimonious FOIA litigation with LCCR that focuses precisely on our efforts to combat voter "intimidation"

-----  
Sent from Dr. D's Fabulous BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

-----Original Message-----

From: psims@eac.gov <psims@eac.gov>  
To: Donsanto, Craig <Craig.Donsanto@crm.usdoj.gov>  
Sent: Thu May 04 17:20:39 2006  
Subject: RE: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

It is just the Working Group for the Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Project. I am asking you to attend as Technical Advisor for the project. --- Peggy

019321

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/04/2006 03:26 PM

To

psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject

RE: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Peg - - what is the name of the group?

---

From: psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
Sent: Thursday, May 04, 2006 3:13 PM  
To: Donsanto, Craig  
Subject: RE: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Craig:

This meeting is being held to obtain input from our eight-member Working Group for the project. The group is composed of election lawyers, election officials, and a representative of an advocacy group, all of whom have an interest and some expertise in the identification and/or prosecution of voting fraud and voter intimidation. The group was chosen so that we would have an equal number of folks on each side of the political spectrum, plus some nonpartisan members.

After our consultants review the results of their preliminary research (interviews, literature review, case law), we will ask the Working Group to brainstorm possible next steps for EAC. Our consultants will write a report summarizing the proposals that come out of this meeting. The report will go to the Commissioners, who will decide what they want to do, funds available, and what priority to assigned to the effort(s).

Your participation in this part of the process is extremely important, so I am very happy that you can find time for us that afternoon. I'll get an agenda and other information to you next week. --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/04/2006 02:32 PM

To

psims@eac.gov

cc

019322

Subject

RE: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Okay, Peg - - I will mark off the entire afternoon and try to be there. What is the agenda? I was not aware that this was anything beyond having your contractors spend another session with me. Also, if they will be needing stats and stuff like that I need to know as I will bring my state-people with me.

---

From: psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
Sent: Thursday, May 04, 2006 2:28 PM  
To: Donsanto, Craig  
Subject: Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Right now, we are planning to meet in EAC's large conference room between 1 PM and 5 PM. If you cannot be there for the whole afternoon, we will appreciate whatever time you can spare. I'll get back to you with more information (agenda, list of Working Group members, etc.). --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/03/2006 05:59 PM

To

psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject

Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

019323

Afternoon of May 18 -- 2:30 okay? How long will they need??

-----  
Sent from Dr. D's Fabulous BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

-----Original Message-----

From: psims@eac.gov <psims@eac.gov>  
To: Donsanto, Craig <Craig.Donsanto@crm.usdoj.gov>  
Sent: Wed May 03 16:59:09 2006  
Subject: Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

I am looking at the afternoon of 5/18 for the meeting, due to scheduling conflicts of Working Group members. There remain two members from whom we have not yet received confirmations of their schedule (with some, it is like pulling teeth), but right now 5/18 still looks like the best day. We may have to hold the meeting over here to make it easier for Commissioners to drop in.  
--- Peg

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/03/2006 12:53 PM

To

psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject

Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Okay -- you are on for May 18th! Can we do it over here at 10?

-----  
Sent from Dr. D's Fabulous BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

-----Original Message-----

From: psims@eac.gov <psims@eac.gov>  
To: Donsanto, Craig <Craig.Donsanto@crm.usdoj.gov>  
Sent: Wed May 03 12:40:19 2006  
Subject: Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

My problem is that agency staff is booked most of the week of 5/21. Monday through Wednesday are taken up with meetings of the Standards Board Executive Committee, the full Standards Board, and the Board of Advisors. Thursday, we have EAC's public meeting. Also, I will lose one of my two consultants in June, so I'm trying to wrap up this project (and get the final report from the consultants) by the end of May.

019324

Say "Hi" to Cameron for me.

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/03/2006 11:56 AM

To

psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject

Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Hi Peg. I am sitting here with Cameron Quinn putting together this year's ballt conference for AUSAs. She send her best!

I am available on 5/18. But I am also going to the Board of Advisors Meeting the following week. I would rather do this then.

-----  
Sent from Dr. D's Fabulous BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

-----Original Message-----

From: psims@eac.gov <psims@eac.gov>

To: Donsanto, Craig <Craig.Donsanto@crm.usdoj.gov>

Sent: Wed May 03 11:39:50 2006

Subject: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation

Craig:

We are continuing our efforts to hone in on a date for the Working Group meeting. Are you available the afternoon of Thursday, May 18?

Peggy Sims

Election Research Specialist

U.S. Election Assistance Commission

--- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM ---

Devon E. Romig/EAC/GOV

05/02/2006 09:45 AM

To

[REDACTED]

019325



cc Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV@EAC

Subject Voting Fraud/Voter Intimidation Project Working Group

Dear Tova,

I am working with Peggy Sims in order to set a date for the Voting Fraud/Voter Intimidation Project Working Group. I have been trying to reach Barbara Arnwine in order to find out which days in May she is potentially available to attend this meeting but all of my attempts have been unsuccessful.

I would appreciate any help that you could provide in this matter.

Sincerely,

Devon Romig  
U.S. Election Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Ave. NW - Suite #1100  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
(202)566-2377

019326

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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Donsanto, Craig"  
<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>  
v>  
05/16/2006 01:41 PM  
To psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject RE: Your Materials

Sure. But where is the resistance coming from? The notes were not accurate. As you know, I have to be very concerned about that.

---

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 16, 2006 12:34 PM  
**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
**Subject:** RE: Your Materials

Craig:

I am getting some resistance from my consultants to correcting the summary of the interview prior to the meeting. Would you mind noting the corrections at the meeting? --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/16/2006 12:06 PM

Topsims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject RE: Your Materials

019327

Thank you, Peg. This stuff is very interesting.

---

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 16, 2006 11:27 AM  
**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
**Subject:** Re: Your Materials

I have forwarded your message to our consultants and have requested a corrected version for distribution at the WG meeting. --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/16/2006 10:46 AM

Topsims@eac.gov  
cc  
SubjectYour Materials

Peg - -

I have read over the materials you sent to me and viewed the pieces on the CD.

I have only one correction:

I did not say that offenders who receive target letters routinely request - - or routinely receive - - audiences here at DOJHQ. That is very rare. Instead, what usually happens is that once a subject for an election fraud investigation is advised that he or she is going to be charged that person usually enters into plea negotiations and ultimately pleads guilty. Very few federal election fraud cases go to trial. When a subject does request a HQ interview or a HW hearing, it would be held in the first instance by myself. But again, Peg, that is rare.

Also, while the occurrences of prosecutions of isolated instances of felons and alien voters and double

019328

voters has increased, we still aggressively and I believe quite successfully pursue systematic schemes to corrupt the electoral process, as the cases we brought recently out of Knott and Pike Counties in Kentucky, those we brought out of Lincoln and Logan Counties in West Virginia, and those we brought in New Hampshire growing out of the jamming of get0-out-the-vote phone bank lines attest.

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Tova Wang"

[Redacted]  
05/24/2006 09:14 AM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject presentation

How did it go? Were you able to verbally correct that discrepancy we talked about the other day?  
Thanks. Tova

Tova Andrea Wang  
Democracy Fellow  
**The Century Foundation**  
41 East 70th Street - New York, NY 10021  
phone: 212-452-7704 fax: 212-535-7534

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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



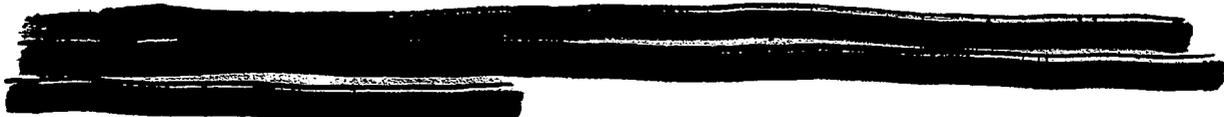
"Tova Wang"

[Redacted]  
05/22/2006 06:07 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject RE: PowerPoint Presentation to EAC Boards



-----Original Message-----

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]

**Sent:** Monday, May 22, 2006 3:56 PM

**To:** [Redacted]

**Subject:** PowerPoint Presentation to EAC Boards

FYI - Attached is a copy of the PowerPoint presentation on the voting fraud-voter intimidation research project for tomorrow's meetings of the EAC Standards Board (110 state and local election officials) and the EAC Advisory Board (37 representatives from national associations and government agencies who play a role in HAVA implementation and from science and technology-related professions appointed by Congressional members). I used your summaries as the primary source of information for the presentation. --- Peggy

019329

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



Devon E. Romig/EAC/GOV  
05/25/2006 02:37 PM

To Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV@EAC  
cc  
Subject Summary for VFVI working group meeting

Peggy,

Here is the summary that you requested. Let me know if this works.

Thanks!

Devon Romig  
United States Election Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Ave. NW, Suite 1100  
Washington, DC 20005  
202.566.2377 phone  
202.566.3128 fax  
www.eac.gov



VFVI Meeting Summary.doc

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV  
05/16/2006 02:47 PM

To "Donsanto, Craig"  
<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>@GSAEXTERNAL  
cc  
Subject RE: Your Materials 

I think they are panicking because they are preparing to travel tomorrow and may not have time to submit a revised version. They also are resisting changes to their interview summaries because the summaries represent what they think they heard. I was there at the interview and I heard what you said. I'm not sure that either of them heard everything (including the nuances) because so much of the information was new to them and it was one of their earlier interviews. I'm sorry I did not catch the defects before the summary went out.

My first concern is ensuring that the Working Group has the correct information. Then, we can deal with what version, *if any*, goes in the final report. Do you want me to excerpt the corrections from your email and submit them to the Working Group? --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>



"Donsanto, Craig"  
<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>  
v>  
05/16/2006 01:41 PM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc

019330



Subject RE: Your Materials

Sure. But where is the resistance coming from? The notes were not accurate. As you know, I have to be very concerned about that.

---

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 16, 2006 12:34 PM  
**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
**Subject:** RE: Your Materials

Craig:

I am getting some resistance from my consultants to correcting the summary of the interview prior to the meeting. Would you mind noting the corrections at the meeting? --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/16/2006 12:06 PM

Topsims@eac.gov  
cc  
SubjectRE: Your Materials

Thank you, Peg. This stuff is very interesting.

---

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 16, 2006 11:27 AM  
**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
**Subject:** Re: Your Materials

I have forwarded your message to our consultants and have requested a corrected version for distribution at the WG meeting. --- Peggy

019331

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/16/2006 10:46 AM

Topsims@eac.gov  
cc  
SubjectYour Materials

Peg --

I have read over the materials you sent to me and viewed the pieces on the CD.

I have only one correction:

I did not say that offenders who receive target letters routinely request -- or routinely receive -- audiences here at DOJHQ. That is very rare. Instead, what usually happens is that once a subject for an election fraud investigation is advised that he or she is going to be charged that person usually enters into plea negotiations and ultimately pleads guilty. Very few federal election fraud cases go to trial. When a subject does request a HQ interview or a HW hearing, it would be held in the first instance by myself. But again, Peg, that is rare.

Also, while the occurrences of prosecutions of isolated instances of felons and alien voters and double voters has increased, we still aggressively and I believe quite successfully pursue systematic schemes to corrupt the electoral process, as the cases we brought recently out of Knott and Pike Counties in Kentucky, those we brought out of Lincoln and Logan Counties in West Virginia, and those we brought in New Hampshire growing out of the jamming of get-out-the-vote phone bank lines attest.

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



  
05/12/2006 09:48 PM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject Re: Fraud Definition

019332



v>  
05/16/2006 02:55 PM

psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject RE: Your Materials

The first item is not as big a deal as the second one: the processes under which subjects of investigations come to Jesus is not as important as the overall assessment of our law enforcement achievements. But stressing the isolated test cases we brought - - and will continue to bring - - to deter things like felon voting, alien voting and double voting, which not mentioning such significant achievements as the five case PROJECTS mentioned in my last e-mail - - misrepresents what we are doing and the deterrent message we are trying to communicate.

I appreciate that these two young people may have found themselves in a Brave New World when they came over here. It showed in their questioning. But the fact that criminal law enforcement is not at all similar to preventative legal relief (as under the Voting Rights Act) or civil relief (as election contest litigation) is I guess more of a problem than I at first foresaw. My real concern is that the civil rights groups - - with whom we over here have an amazing amount of common grounds - - will take the singling out of the felon and alien voter cases as evincing a malevolent aggression on their constituencies. That is not the case. We are only enforcing the law.

---

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 16, 2006 2:47 PM  
**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
**Subject:** RE: Your Materials

I think they are panicking because they are preparing to travel tomorrow and may not have time to submit a revised version. They also are resisting changes to their interview summaries because the summaries represent what they think they heard. I was there at the interview and I heard what you said. I'm not sure that either of them heard everything (including the nuances) because so much of the information was new to them and it was one of their earlier interviews. I'm sorry I did not catch the defects before the summary went out.

My first concern is ensuring that the Working Group has the correct information. Then, we can deal with what version, *if any*, goes in the final report. Do you want me to excerpt the corrections from your email and submit them to the Working Group? --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/16/2006 01:41 PM

Topsims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject RE: Your Materials

019333

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**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 16, 2006 12:34 PM  
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019334

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**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
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05/16/2006 10:46 AM

Topsims@eac.gov  
cc  
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019335

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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV

05/16/2006 03:14 PM

To "Donsanto, Craig"

<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>@GSAEXTERNAL

cc

Subject RE: Your Materials 

I fully understand. Do you want me to prepare a correction sheet for the Working Group, placing your second and more important point first, or do you want to handle this verbally at the meeting? --- Peggy

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>



"Donsanto, Craig"

<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/16/2006 02:55 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject RE: Your Materials

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019336

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05/16/2006 12:06 PM

Topsims@eac.gov  
cc  
SubjectRE: Your Materials

019337

Thank you, Peg. This stuff is very interesting.

---

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 16, 2006 11:27 AM  
**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
**Subject:** Re: Your Materials

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"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/16/2006 10:46 AM

Topsims@eac.gov  
cc  
SubjectYour Materials

019338

Peg --

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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Donsanto, Craig"  
<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>  
v>  
05/23/2006 02:49 PM

To psims@eac.gov, "Voris, Natalie (USAEO)"  
<Natalie.Voris@usdoj.gov>, "Hillman, Noel"  
<Noel.Hillman@usdoj.gov>, "Simmons, Nancy"  
<Nancy.Simmons@usdoj.gov>

cc

Subject Request to interview AUSAs

Peg --

At the Advisory Board meeting we had last week, your two contractors asked to interview the over-100 AUSAs who are serving as District Election Officers in connection with the Fraud study.

This request needs to be addressed to Natalie Voris of EOUSA per the message from here that follows.

If the contractors require additional information in connection with the Fraud Study, and should EOUSA not be able to satisfy their needs n they can communicate with me on criminal issues and Cameron Quinn on Civil Rights issues.

I will be here when you arrive later today at the Board of Advisors meeting

019339

when you arrive to talk to us at 4:30.

Ms. Voris' message follows:

Per the USAM, all requests for interviews/surveys/research projects that involve USAOs must be approved by EOUSA. I am pasting the provision below - the contact name needs to be updated. Requests should come to me, as the Acting Counsel to the Director.

Thanks,  
Natalie

-----  
Sent from Dr. D's Fabulous BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Tova Wang"

05/24/2006 02:52 PM

To psims@eac.gov

cc

Subject press interview

Hi Peg,

Just wanted to give you the heads up that I did an interview with a reporter from The Hill today on fraud. As far as I know he is simply referring to me as a fellow at TCF and I did not discuss the project in any way

**Tova Andrea Wang**  
Democracy Fellow  
**The Century Foundation**  
41 East 70th Street - New York, NY 10021  
phone: 212-452-7704 fax: 212-535-7534

Visit our Web site, [www.tcf.org](http://www.tcf.org), for the latest news, analysis, opinions, and events.

[Click here](#) to receive our weekly e-mail updates.

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV

05/24/2006 03:17 PM

To "Tova Wang" [REDACTED]

cc Jeannie Layson/EAC/GOV@EAC, bwhitener@eac.gov

Subject Re: press interview [REDACTED]

Thanks for the "heads up". --- Peggy

"Tova Wang" [REDACTED]

019340



"Tova Wang"  
 [Redacted]  
 05/24/2006 02:52 PM

To psims@eac.gov  
 cc  
 Subject press interview

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**Tova Andrea Wang**  
 Democracy Fellow  
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Visit our Web site, [www.tcf.org](http://www.tcf.org), for the latest news, analysis, opinions, and events.

[Click here](#) to receive our weekly e-mail updates.

---

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Donsanto, Craig"  
 <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>  
 v>  
 05/16/2006 09:43 AM

To psims@eac.gov  
 cc "Hillman, Noel" <Noel.Hillman@usdoj.gov>, "Simmons, Nancy" <Nancy.Simmons@usdoj.gov>, "Campbell, Benton" <Benton.Campbell@usdoj.gov>  
 Subject RE: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group

Thank you for this, Peg.

The third bullet point is one I embrace fully. We lack the statutory tool to do the job. Hopefully, that can be remedied through legislation. But as things stand today large loopholes in the federal legal matrix addressing electoral abuse and fraud exist - - particularly when such abuses occur in elections where there were no federal candidates on the ballot.

---

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 16, 2006 8:44 AM  
**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
**Subject:** Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group

019341

Here is the content of the email attachment:

## **Existing Research Analysis**

There are many reports and books that describe anecdotes and draw broad conclusions from a large array of incidents. There is little research that is truly systematic or scientific. The most systematic look at fraud is the report written by Lori Minnite. The most systematic look at voter intimidation is the report by Laughlin McDonald. Books written about this subject seem to all have a political bias and a pre-existing agenda that makes them somewhat less valuable.

Researchers agree that measuring something like the incidence of fraud and intimidation in a scientifically legitimate way is extremely difficult from a methodological perspective and would require resources beyond the means of most social and political scientists. As a result, there is much more written on this topic by advocacy groups than social scientists. It is hoped that this gap will be filled in the "second phase" of this EAC project.

Moreover, reports and books make allegations but, perhaps by their nature, have little follow up. As a result, it is difficult to know when something has remained in the stage of being an allegation and gone no further, or progressed to the point of being investigated or prosecuted or in any other way proven to be valid by an independent, neutral entity. This is true, for example, with respect to allegations of voter intimidation by civil rights organizations, and, with respect to fraud, John Fund's frequently cited book. Again, this is something that it is hoped will be addressed in the "second phase" of this EAC project by doing follow up research on allegations made in reports, books and newspaper articles.

Other items of note:

- There is as much evidence, and as much concern, about structural forms of disenfranchisement as about intentional abuse of the system. These include felon disenfranchisement, poor maintenance of databases and identification requirements.
- There is tremendous disagreement about the extent to which polling place fraud, e.g. double voting, intentional felon voting, noncitizen voting, is a serious problem. On balance, more researchers find it to be less of a problem than is commonly described in the political debate, but some reports say it is a major problem, albeit hard to identify.
- There is substantial concern across the board about absentee balloting and the opportunity it presents for fraud.
- Federal law governing election fraud and intimidation is varied and complex and yet may nonetheless be insufficient or subject to too many limitations to be as effective as it might be.
- Deceptive practices, e.g. targeted flyers and phone calls providing misinformation, were a major problem in 2004.

019342

- Voter intimidation continues to be focused on minority communities, although the American Center for Voting Rights uniquely alleges it is focused on Republicans.

"Donsanto, Craig" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

05/15/2006 04:53 PM

Topsims@eac.gov

cc

SubjectRe: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group

Peggy --

I am currently on train in transit back from a day in Newark. I tried to recover your attachment on Blackberry but got a message telling me the "file is empty."

Can you paste it to an e-mail perhaps?

-----  
Sent from Dr. D's Fabulous BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

-----Original Message-----

From: psims@eac.gov <psims@eac.gov>  
To: barnwine@lawyerscommittee.org <barnwine@lawyerscommittee.org>;  
Rbauer@perkinscoie.com <Rbauer@perkinscoie.com>; bginsberg@pattonboggs.com  
<bginsberg@pattonboggs.com>; mhearne@lathropgage.com  
<mhearne@lathropgage.com>; jrperez50@sbcglobal.net <jrperez50@sbcglobal.net>;  
krogers@sos.state.ga.us <krogers@sos.state.ga.us>; assistant@sos.in.gov  
<assistant@sos.in.gov>; weinutr@verizon.net <weinutr@verizon.net>  
CC: jgreenbaum@lawyerscommittee.org <jgreenbaum@lawyerscommittee.org>;  
vjohanson@lawyerscommittee.org <vjohanson@lawyerscommittee.org>;  
dlovecchio@perkinscoie.com <dlovecchio@perkinscoie.com>;  
bschuler@lathropgage.com <bschuler@lathropgage.com>; Donsanto, Craig  
<Craig.Donsanto@crm.usdoj.gov>  
Sent: Mon May 15 16:37:48 2006  
Subject: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group

Dear Working Group Members and Participants:

You should receive a packet of information today, either by Federal Express or hand delivery, concerning Thursday's meeting of the project Working Group for EAC's Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation research project. Attached is an analysis of the consultants' research into relevant literature and reports.

019343

This summary was not available when we prepared the information packets last Friday, but may be of interest to you. Our consultants and I look forward to having a productive discussion with you.

Regards,

Peggy Sims  
Election Research Specialist  
U.S. Election Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Ave, NW - Ste 1100  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: 866-747-1471 (toll free) or 202-566-3120 (direct)  
Fax: 202-566-3127  
email: psims@eac.gov

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

**Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV**

05/17/2006 03:03 PM

To Craig Donsanto

cc

Subject Status Report on Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Project

Craig:

This is what I was working on for the upcoming meetings of the EAC Board of Advisors and EAC Standards Board. --- Peggy



EAC Boards VF-VI Status Report.doc

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



**"Job Serebrov"**

05/16/2006 09:25 AM

To psims@eac.gov, [REDACTED]

cc

Subject Re: Date Ranges for Research

Cases were from 2000 to the present.

--- psims@eac.gov wrote:

> Would you please refresh my memory about the date  
> ranges used for the  
> Nexis article research and the case law research?  
> I'm drawing a blank and  
> I don't see it in the summaries. I need it for this  
> mornings Commissioner  
> briefing. Thanks! --- Peggy

019344

----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Tova Wang"  
<wang@tcf.org>  
05/15/2006 11:36 AM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject thursday

Is it OK if I come around 12:30 or so to make sure I have all my materials arranged properly for presentation? Thanks.

Tova Andrea Wang  
Democracy Fellow  
**The Century Foundation**  
41 East 70th Street - New York, NY 10021  
phone: 212-452-7704 fax: 212-535-7534

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[Click here](#) to receive our weekly e-mail updates.

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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----



"Donsanto, Craig"  
<Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>  
v>  
05/17/2006 10:59 AM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject RE: Report on Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Research

Peg - -

This is a complicated issue largely because of two things: 1) there is a lot of ambiguity out there as to what constitutes "intimidation." To the civil rights community, "intimidation" means anything that makes voting uncomfortable or less than automatic. To us in the criminal law enforcement "intimidation" means threats of economic or physical nature made to force or prevent voting. Only the latter involve aggravating factors that warrant putting offenders in jail, and the statutes that address "intimidation" from a criminal perspective are thus limited. We have never had many "intimidation" criminal cases. For one thing, in this modern post voting rights era, there is not a lot of physical/economic duress out there in the voting context - - at least not that I have seen. For another, where it does occur it is very hard to investigate and detect as victims who have been physically or economically intimidated are not likely to come to the FBI.

The bottom line is that we take matters that do present predication for physical or economically based "intimidation" very seriously, AND that we are being extremely proactive in trying to find ways to prosecute matters involving voter suppression as in the Tobin cases in New Hampshire where the local GOP tried to jam telephone lines for a GOTV effort run by the Dems. But even there - - the usual "suppression" matter involves flyers that are passed around giving out misleading information about an election, and we have investigated every one of those that came to our attention last elect ion cycle. We were not able to identify the person(s) responsible for printing the misleading flyers in any of these. But we sure as heck tried.

---

019345

**From:** psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 17, 2006 9:57 AM  
**To:** Donsanto, Craig  
**Subject:** Report on Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Research

Craig:

I'm putting the finishing touches on a status report to the EAC Standards Board and EAC Board of Advisors on our Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation research project. For the most part, I am using our consultants summaries for the report, but one bullet under the interview summaries is giving me heartburn. It is the bullet that references the decrease in DOJ voter intimidation actions. It is one of the places in which our consultants had indicated that your office is focussing on prosecuting individuals. I have reworded it and would like your feedback on the revision:

Several people indicate - including representatives from DOJ -- that for various reasons, the Department of Justice is bringing fewer voter intimidation and suppression cases now, and has increased its focus on matters such as noncitizen voting, double voting, and felon voting. While the Voting Section of the Civil Rights Division focuses on systemic patterns of malfeasance, the Election Crimes Branch of the Public Integrity Section has increased prosecutions of individual instances of felon, alien, and double voting while also maintaining an aggressive pursuit of systematic schemes to corrupt the electoral process.

Please suggest any changes that you think would further clarify the current approach. --- Peggy  
----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims /EAC/GOV  
05/15/2006 04:37 PM

To Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group

cc

Subject Voting Fraud-voter intimidation Working Group

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Regards,

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U.S. Election Assistance Commission  
1225 New York Ave, NW - Ste 1100  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: 866-747-1471 (toll free) or 202-566-3120 (direct)  
Fax: 202-566-3127  
email: psims@eac.gov

019346

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV  
05/23/2006 11:11 AM

To "Job Serebrov"  
cc [REDACTED]  
Subject Re: Payment Vouchers

019347  
L7C610

I have to have a little time to focus on these issues and to check with our Finance Officer. Today and tomorrow, most of my time is scheduled for the EAC Standards Board and Board of Advisors meetings. ---  
Peggy

"Job Serebrov" [REDACTED]



"Job Serebrov"  
[REDACTED]  
05/23/2006 09:17 AM

To psims@eac.gov  
cc  
Subject Re: Payment Vouchers

How did you deal with the issue of mileage v. airline costs for my travel?

--- psims@eac.gov wrote:

> I signed and submitted your personal services  
> payment vouchers this  
> morning. --- Peggy

--- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM ---



"Tova Wang"  
[REDACTED]  
05/16/2006 09:14 AM

To psims@eac.gov, [REDACTED]  
cc  
Subject RE: Date Ranges for Research

January 1, 2001 - January 1, 2006

-----Original Message-----

From: psims@eac.gov [mailto:psims@eac.gov]

Sent: Tuesday, May 16, 2006 7:41 AM

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Date Ranges for Research

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----- Forwarded by Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV on 11/29/2006 01:48 PM -----

Margaret Sims/EAC/GOV

05/15/2006 06:41 PM

To "Craig Donsanto" <Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov>

cc

Subject Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group

It could be a Berry problem. (I occasionally have that problem with attachments I try to retrieve through my Blackberry.)

The attachment is a pdf file, but I have access to a Word version that I can use to insert text in an email tomorrow. I don,t have access to the attachment from my Berry.

Peggy

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Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

----- Original Message -----

From: "Donsanto, Craig" [Craig.Donsanto@usdoj.gov]

Sent: 05/15/2006 04:53 PM

To: psims@eac.gov

Subject: Re: Voting Fraud-Voter Intimidation Working Group

Peggy --

I am currently on train in trasit back from a day in Newark. I tried to recover your attachment on Blackberry but got a message telling me the "file is empty."

Can you paste it to an e-mail perhaps?

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Sent from Dr. D's Fabulous BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

-----Original Message-----

From: psims@eac.gov <psims@eac.gov>

To: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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