U.S. ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION PUBLIC MEETING Taken at the offices of the U.S. EAC 1225 New York Avenue, N.W., Suite 150 Washington, D.C. Taken on the date of: Tuesday, December 7, 2006 21 Start time: 10:02 o'clock, a.m.

22 Taken by: Catherine B. Crump, court reporter

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PAUL DeGREGORIO, Chairman

DONETTA DAVIDSON, Commissioner

GRACIA HILLMAN, Commissioner

JULIE THOMPSON-HODGKINS,

THOMAS WILKEY, Executive Director

Commission Counsel

DR. WILLIAM JEFFREY

THOMAS WILKEY

DEBORAH MARKOWITZ

**KEVIN J. KENNEDY** 

ELIZABETH ENSLER

--continued--

**R. DOUG LEWIS** 

JULIE THOMPSON-HODGKINS

BRIAN HANCOCK AND GAVIN GILMOUR

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## **1 PRESIDING:**

**5 STAFF PRESENT:** 

9 REPORTS PROVIDED BY:

**14 PANEL PARTICIPANTS:** 

PANEL ONE:

3

1 PANEL PARTICIPANTS: (cont)

- 2 PANEL TWO:
- 3 MARY G. WILSON
- 4 JOHAH GOLDMAN
- 5 MARK HEARNE II
- 6 DAN SELIGSON
- 7 PANEL THREE:
- 8 JOHN S. GROH
- 9 0 -
- 10 I-N-D-E-X
- 11 AGENDA ITEM:
- Page:

## 1 P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

I. CALL TO ORDER AND PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE
 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Good morning,
 4 everyone. My name is Paul DeGregorio, and I'm the
 5 Chairman of the U.S. Election Assistance Commission,
 6 and I'm calling this meeting to order.
 I'd like to welcome everyone who have

8 come today. I see many of our friends and9 stakeholders in the audience. I appreciate you10 coming.

11 I'd ask that you please turn off your
12 cell phones or put them on silence. We're recording
13 this meeting today and we'll be broadcasting it on
14 our web by next week.

15 I'd ask for all of you to stand for the

16 Pledge of Allegiance.

17 I pledge allegiance to the flag of the

18 United States of America and to the Republic for

19 which it stands, one Nation under God, individual

20 with liberty and justice for all.

21 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: I'd like to ask

22 for the roll call, Ms. Thompson-Hodgkins. 5

2	MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Thank you, Mr.	
3 Chairman.		
4	Members, please respond by saying here	
5 or present when I call your name.		
6	Paul DeGregorio, Chairman.	
7	CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Present.	
8	MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Donetta	
9 Davidson, Commissioner.		
10	COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Present.	
11	MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Gracia Hillman,	
12 Commissioner.		
13	COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Here.	
14	MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Mr. Chairman,	
15 there are three members present and a quorum.		
16	CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you.	
17	III. ADOPTION OF AGENDA	
18	CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: The first order of	
19 business is the adoption of the agenda that you see		
20 before you. It's quite a vicious agenda for today.		
21	There is going to be one change in the	
22 agenda, fellow commissioners, on old business. We 6		

recognize that there was some delay in us getting
 the minutes from the October 22nd meeting and,
 therefore, we're going to move that item towards the
 end of the meeting to be brought up after we've had
 some time, perhaps during the break or lunch time,
 to review, have a little more time to review the
 minutes.

8 So with that change, I'd like to move 9 the adoption of the agenda as stated.

10 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: So moved.

11 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Second.

12 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: It's been moved

13 and seconded. All those in favor, signify by saying

14 aye.

15 MEMBERS IN UNISON: Aye.

16 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Opposed, no.

17 [No response.]

18 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: The ayes have it.

19 The agenda is adopted.

20 IV. WELCOMING REMARKS

21 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Again, I want to

22 welcome everyone who has come today to this meeting,

7

1 our last meeting of the year and my last meeting as
 2 chairman of the EAC. I appreciate your coming
 3 today.

4 V. OLD BUSINESS
5 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Our first report
6 under Old Business is the report of our Executive
7 Director on the considerable work that the EAC has
8 accomplished.

9 Mr. Wilkey.

10 MR. WILKEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Certainly, we know that as we approached
the November 7th election that we had several
monumental tasks with the Election Administrators
across the country. You will hear quite a bit about
that today. We know that we had to meet two
deadlines. One-third of voters were using new
voting equipment and many were operating under new
State laws that were enacted last year.
Election officials, poll workers, and
voters successfully met these challenges, and
election day went smoothly in most cases. As
reported, of the 6700 jurisdictions, only, we were

1 able to determine about 102 reported problems, less

2 than two percent of election jurisdictions in the
3 country, and the election officials that we spoke to
4 prior to the election had many contingency plans in
5 place, extra paper ballots, battery backups,
6 extending poll hours, and extending training for
7 poll workers and poll coordinators at our polling
8 sites. And we were pleased that one of the national
9 polls that was taken on election day reflected that
10 88 percent of the voters who went to the polls were
11 confident that their votes would be counted
12 accurately.

Under HAVA funding, we continue our
efforts to identify how much of the HAVA Section 102
funds, those funds that were given for the buyout of
punch card and lever voting replacements, must be
returned by the 30 States that received these funds
but failed to replace all of the punch card and
lever machines. We have all of our reports in from
the States, I believe except for one. We have
requested information from these States regarding
the number of precincts, and we anticipate that we

will begin recouping these funds in February of
 2 2007. This will be based upon the responses that

3 the States gave us as well as other information we4 have available to us.

5 We hope that by the beginning of next 6 summer, we expect to make the returned funds 7 available to all of the 55 States and territories as 8 Title II requirements have authorized by HAVA. We 9 are still reviewing all of the reports thus far from 10 the States regarding HAVA Title I 101 and 102 funds 11 and Title II requirements payments, and within the 12 next two weeks, we will send letters to States 13 requesting corrections and clarifications where 14 needed, and these have to be individualized letters 15 because every State was different in terms the 16 problems that were discovered in reviewing these 17 reports.

18 We will ask the States to respond within 19 three weeks. We are hopeful that if timely 20 responses are received, we will be able to get all 21 of the information that we need. Then we will send 22 a report to Congress in March of 2007 that provides 10

1 a good picture of how States have used these funds

2 from 12-31-05 to 9-30-05, and we will then turn our

3 attention to the reports covering -- that will be

4 due on February 28, 2007, which covers the period of 5 January 1st of '06 through December 31st of '06. 6 We also continue to respond to numerous 7 inquiries from the States regarding the permissible 8 use and proper reporting of HAVA funds. Our Office 9 of Inspector General, who is responsible for 10 auditing the use of HAVA funds, is currently 11 conducting audits in Maryland, South Carolina, Ohio, 12 Indiana, and Virginia. 13 In terms of our research and 14 clearinghouse activities, our research contracts 15 that have been awarded are up and operational. 16 These include first-time voters who registered by 17 mail studies, a review of the HAVA electronic voting 18 study, pre-absentee ballot postage study, a study of 19 the use of Social Security numbers in the voter 20 registration process, an alternative voting method 21 study, a voter hotline study, ongoing implementation 22 of voter registration data base, and the election 11

1 day survey, which has gone out to the States and2 will be due in March of next year.

3 Many of these projects will involve the

4 administration of national surveys with the election

5 offices during the months of December and January.
6 Several of the projects will also produce drafts of
7 their best practice case studies in March 2007. We
8 are reaching near the end of a number of projects
9 that are due and will be presenting some of these in
10 future public meetings we will be conducting during
11 2007.

Our college poll worker recruitment and
13 training and retention manual project ends December
14 31st. Our general poll worker recruitment training
15 and retention manual will end in January of 2007.
16 The effective ballot and polling place designs
17 project ends March 31st. Our vote count-recounts
18 will end also January 31st. Our legal clearinghouse
19 website project also ends January 31st, and our
20 voter information website best practices project
21 ends February 28th of '07.

Today, we are hopeful that the 12

Commission will adopt the certification manual.
 This is the first time the Federal Government has
 ever certified voting equipment. The program will
 be rigorous, thorough, and transparent, as you will
 hear today. The program will begin operations in

6 January 2007. We will continue working to make sure
7 the voting system guidelines are updated and keep
8 pace in the developing world of election
9 administration and continuing to work with our
10 partners at the National Institute of Standards of
11 Technology and Technology and the Technical
12 Guidelines Development Committee. We will get
13 regularly updates on this certification program as
14 we move forward.

As always, we put out a monthly
newsletter every month on our website, and to sign
up, you can call us or send us an E-mail to
HAVAINFO@EAC.gov.
Mr. Chairman, that is my report for this

20 month.

21 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you, Mr.
22 Wilkey.
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1 Commissioners, do you have any

2 questions?

3 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: I do have one,

4 whether it's a question or a statement to make sure

5 I understand.

6 I gave a speech last week, and I

7 reported that we only had 39 problems that was 8 reported by the media and the information that we 9 had gathered on the election day problems. Is that 10 because we're continuing to receive in information 11 of issues and problems throughout the --12 MR. WILKEY: We have staff and, 13 Commissioner or Madam Chairman, Chairman 14 DeGregorio's special assistant with us to gather 15 information from a variety of sources, and we were 16 able to determine that. 17 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: So just as we 18 get it in, it changes? 19 MR. WILKEY: Yes. 20 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Thank you. 21 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Just a follow-up 22 question on that: When you refer to 102, are those

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1 local jurisdictions or is any State included in the

2 102 count?

3 MR. WILKEY: I would assume that -- this 4 was not broke out, but I would assume that all of 5 them were local jurisdictions because they report on 6 various activities, many that you will probably hear 7 about today.

9 have one question. With these reports, the 10 financial reports that the States provide us in the 11 coming months, will we then be able to give some 12 read to Congress on the expenditures of the \$3.1 13 billion that has been distributed thus far? 14 MR. WILKEY: Absolutely, Mr. Chairman, 15 that, I think, is why we are being so very careful 16 about the evaluation of these reports. We saw 17 numerous problems, both minor and major, in some of 18 the reporting on those forms. So what we're doing 19 is sending individualized letters to each of the 20 States pointing out the problems, but also making 21 sure that we give them examples of how to do it so 22 that we don't have to continually be calling back 15

and forth. We want to get this taken care of as
 soon as possible. We'd like to get this report up
 to Congress as soon as possible.

4 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you, Mr.5 Wilkey.

6 VI. NEW BUSINESS

7 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Now on to new

8 business of the Commission, and this is always an

9 item that we reserve for our December meeting, that10 is the election of officers for the next year.

It gives me great pleasure to open up
nominations for chairmanship of the EAC and use my
prerogative as chairman to place a nomination of
Commissioner Donetta Davidson as the next chair of
the Election Assistance Commission. Commissioner
Donetta Davidson was nominated by President Bush and
confirmed by unanimous consent by the United States
Senate on July 28, 2005 to serve on the EAC.
She has formally served as Colorado
Secretary of State. Commissioner Davidson came to
the agency with experience in almost every area of
election administration, everything from County

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Clerk to the Secretary of State. Commissioner
 Davidson began her career in election administration
 when she was elected in 1978 as the then County
 Clerk and Recorder in Colorado, a position she held
 until 1986. Later that year, she was appointed
 Director of Elections for the Colorado Department of
 State where she supervised County Clerks in all
 election matters and assisted with the recall issues
 for municipal special district and school district

10 elections in Colorado.

11 In 1994, she was elected Arapaho County 12 Clerk and Recorder and re-elected to a second term 13 in 1998. Let me just say there are very few people 14 in America that have been elected County Clerk in 15 two different counties. Commissioner Davidson is 16 one of those few people.

In 1999, Colorado Governor Bill Owens
appointed Commission Davidson as the Colorado
Secretary of State to fill a vacancy. She was
elected to the office in 2000 and re-elected in 2002
to a four-year term. She has served on the Federal
Election Commission Advisory Panel and the Board of 17

Directors of the Help America Vote Foundation. In
 2005, she was elected President of the National
 Association of Secretaries of State. She's the
 former President of the National Association of
 State Election Directors.
 Prior to her EAC appointment,
 Commissioner Davidson served on the EAC's Technical
 Guidelines Development Committee. Throughout her
 career, Donetta Davidson has shown an incredible

10 ability to lead. From her time as a County official

11 where she was elected to State-level administration
12 boards to her time as Secretary of State where she
13 was elected as President of NASS, Commission
14 Davidson has always been seen as a leader by her
15 peers. This has certainly held true from her time
16 on the EAC. From day one, Commissioner Davidson had
17 grasped the reins of leadership, stepping up as the
18 EAC leader for issues regarding the voting system
19 guidelines.
20 It is with this background that she will

21 take over the chair of the EAC and lead this great22 agency.

1 Is there a second for this nomination?

2 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Yes, there is a

3 second.

4 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: We have a second

5 for the nomination for Donetta Davidson to be the

6 Chairman of the EAC.

7 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: And unless

8 Ms. Davidson is opposed, I don't know that we need

9 to vote on it.

10 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: All of those in

11 favor of Donetta Davidson being the 2007 chair of

12 the Election Assistance Commission signify by saying

13 aye.

14	MEMBERS IN UNISON: Aye.
15	CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Opposed, nay.
16	[No response.]
17	CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: The ayes have it.
18	Congratulations.
19	COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Thank you.
20	COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Congratulations.
21	[Applause.]
22	COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Well, I look 19

forward to 2007. It definitely is an honor and a
 privilege to serve as chair in the future year for
 the Election Assistance Commission, and I think
 we'll accomplish a great deal. As you can see by
 Mr. Wilkey's report, we have a lot of reports coming
 out next year. So it look like we're going to have
 a very busy year, but I think it very beneficial
 year.
 So thank you very much. I appreciate

10 it.

11 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you.

12 Normally, we would elect the Vice Chair

13 at this meeting, but I think, as Madam Counselor has
14 informed us, that neither Commissioner Hillman or
15 myself are eligible to be Vice Chair because we've
16 already served and are serving still in a term. So
17 someone else will be Vice Chair. So we will not
18 have a Vice Chair until one is selected that's
19 eligible.

20 So thank you.
21 Our next order of business -22 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Mr. Chairman, it 20

1 might be useful to indicate when the new term
 2 begins. Sometimes when someone is elected, they
 3 take over right away, but our process has been that
 4 the chair begins the first of the year.

5 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Yes.

6 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: January 3rd.

7 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: The Chair-to-be

8 Davidson will be inaugurated on January 3rd, I

9 believe. I'll talk about that at the very end, but

10 January 3rd, I believe, is the date we're going to

11 swear her in as Chair.

12 We will now turn to a report on the

13 Technical Guidelines Development Committee by its

14 Chairman, Dr. William Jeffrey. Dr. Jeffrey is the
15 thirteenth director of the National Institutes of
16 Standards and Technology. He was nominated by
17 President Bush on May 25, 2005 and confirmed by the
18 Senate in July of 2005. As Director of NIST, Dr.
19 Jeffrey oversees an array of programs that promote
20 U.S. innovation and industrial competitiveness by
21 advancing measurement science standards and
22 technology in ways that enhance economic security

1 and improve the quality of life for all of us.

Before we get to Dr. Jeffrey's report, I
think it's important to note the close relationship
that NIST and the EAC have had since our beginning.
Since the inception of the EAC and the distribution
of funds, we've given out \$8 million now to NIST to
help the EAC with our work. For Fiscal Year 2007,
the EAC has requested nearly \$5 million for NIST,
which is about 30 percent of our requested budget.
The EAC appreciates all the hard work
that NIST has done and looks forward to working with
NIST more as the EAC's testing and certification
program gets underway. We know that the TGDC held a

15 appreciate any thoughts that Dr. Jeffrey has on the 16 meeting in our work with NIST and the TGDC.

17 Dr. Jeffrey.

18 DR. JEFFREY: Mr. Chairman,

19 Commissioners, thank you very much for the

20 opportunity to brief you this morning. As you said,

21 I'm Dr. William Jeffrey, Director of the National

22 Institute of Standards in Technology and under the 22

1 Help America Vote Act of 2002 also the Chairman of2 the Technical Guidelines Development Committee.

3 The TGDC advises the EAC. In July of 4 2007, the TGDC will deliver to EAC a new version of 5 the Voluntary Voting System Guidelines referred to 6 as the VVSG 2007, a cumbersome but very important 7 product.

8 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Excuse me, Dr.
9 Jeffrey. I think you might need to move the
10 microphone a little closer. Thank you.

11 DR. JEFFREY: Thank you. That's12 definitely better.

13 The TGDC, as you mentioned, just

14 completed a two-day meeting, and I'll be providing

15 you with a brief update on that work and on actions

16 being taken. First, however, some recent news
17 accounts regarding one of the reports discussed at
18 the TGDC raised the question of whether the report's
19 recommendations on the electronic voting system
20 represented the official position of NIST. This
21 draft report was prepared by staff at NIST, working
22 with the Security and Transparency Subcommittee of

the TGDC at their request. It was specifically to
 serve as a point of discussion in the meetings.
 The report was a discussion draft and
 did not represent a consensus view or a
 recommendation for either NIST or the TGDC, and I
 just wanted to make sure that that was clear.
 The VVSG 2005 contained new material in

8 usability, accessibility, and security, but much of
9 the remaining material was taken from the 2002
10 voting systems standards. VVSG 2007 will be a
11 complete rewrite of VVSG 2005. The new requirements
12 will be more precise, directly testable, and clearer
13 to voting system vendor and test laboratories, thus
14 we expect an overall improvement in voting system
15 quality and testing.

16 In the area of usability and

17 accessibility, usability performance benchmarks are
18 currently being researched. These benchmarks will
19 result in more accurate and realistic usability
20 performance metrics and thus voting systems that are
21 easier to use. Accessibility requirements also are
22 being updated. Finally, there are updates to

requirements for alternative languages,
 documentation, plain language, and voter and system
 response timing.

4 In the area of security, VVSG 2007 will 5 require new voting systems to be software 6 independent. This means that the accuracy of the 7 system's electronic records will be able to be 8 independently audited against a voter-verified 9 record. The only systems that do this currently are 10 paper based; however, the TGDC is including a 11 provision for researchers or developers to create 12 new and innovative, possibly paperless, voting 13 system approaches that would still be independently 14 auditable and conform to 2007 guidelines. This may 15 include graphic-based systems that potentially 16 promise greater usability and accessibility as well 17 as security. 18 There also will be requirements to
19 improve the accessibility of paper-based systems and
20 requirements to improve the reliability and
21 usability of voter-verified paper audit trail
22 systems. In the 2007 guidelines, radio frequency
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and wireless will no longer be permitted for use on
 voting systems. There will be requirements for test
 labs to conduct open-ended vulnerability testing on
 voting systems. Set-up validation requirements also
 are being updated to permit inspection of whether a
 voting system's installed software is the correct
 version.

8 Finally, other securities areas being
9 updated include access control, auditing,
10 cryptography, event logging, and physical security.
11 In the core requirements, voting system quality,
12 reliability, and accuracy requirements are being
13 written to improve voting system design and testing
14 techniques for ensuring that voting systems are
15 robust and work properly. To promote quality
16 systems, requirements for vendors to comply with ISO
17 9000 and 9001 are being examined.

18 With respect to commercial off-the-shelf

19 software or hardware, both requirements and testing
20 issues such as whether to exclude certain kinds of
21 products from in-depth source code reviews are being
22 examined. Finally, conventions for software coding
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also are being examined, including requirements for
 software languages that contain improved integrity
 and security constructs. Lastly, the VVSG itself
 will be written to be more readable and usable to
 all audiences.

Now, there have been seven TGDC meetings
7 over the past two years, the most recent being on
8 December 4th and 5th. The TGDC is divided into
9 three subcommittees. Since the last TGDC meeting in
10 April, there have been a total of 47 subcommittee
11 teleconferences. This staff supports the
12 subcommittees through research, developing draft
13 material, and then the subcommittee members
14 subsequently make recommendations to the TGDC as a
15 whole.
16 The recent meeting was perhaps the most

17 important to date and resulted in major

18 recommendations, including some of the ones that I

19 discussed, such as requiring the software

20 independence of future voting systems, creating a

21 process to include new and innovative voting systems

22 with greater usability, accessibility, and security, 27

prohibiting RF wireless in future voting systems,
 improving the methods for measuring reliability and
 accuracy, improving and updating usability and
 accessibility, and improving the requirements for
 the overall reliability of VVPAT voting systems.

6 The TGDC has seven months left to 7 complete the research that will be embodied in the 8 VVSG 2007. We are planning one or two additional 9 TGDC meetings and roughly 40 teleconferences before 10 we are complete. VVSG 2007 will be delivered to you 11 in July of 2007.

12 From a NIST perspective, let me say that 13 after delivery of that product to you, NIST is 14 prepared to assist the EAC in vetting the VVSG with 15 other organizations, including the EAC Standards 16 Board, the Access Board, other voting-related 17 organizations, such as the National Association of 18 State Election Directors and the National 19 Association of Secretaries of State. The EAC will 20 conduct a public review of the VVSG and NIST will be 21 happy to assist you in any way possible, if

22 requested, to perform research in response to any 28

1 comments you receive.

2 Thank you very much for the opportunity3 to testify, and I'd be happy to address any

4 questions you may have.

5 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you,

6 Dr. Jeffrey.

7 Questions?

8 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: I have one, and

9 I think it's also important to mention before I ask

10 the question that this is a draft that comes to us

11 from the TGDC and it is delivered in July, and from

12 that time, I think it's important to kind of tell

13 the audience we go into a period of preparing it and

14 getting it ready to put on the Register, Federal

15 Register, for 90 days, and then we take comments.

16 The last time, we received over 6,500 comments. We

17 have no idea -- because this is far more detailed

18 this time. It may be a lot more comments.

19 So I don't want the public to feel that

20 this is something that's going to be done

21 immediately. After that, we even find and complete

22 the new iteration of the standards or the 29

guidelines, then at that point, our manufacturers
 will have to develop and build and then certify. So
 this is not something that's going to be done
 immediately, and I do feel it's important that the
 public understand that.

6 But the question I have for you, 7 Dr. Jeffrey, is do you feel that you've got enough 8 and complete direction from the committee to move 9 forward in the development? As you say, there's 10 only seven months left, and they can't come back in 11 March and have you go in a different direction. Do 12 you feel that you've got the correct and enough 13 information from them?

DR. JEFFREY: Thank you very much,
Commissioner. Yes. I think that this last meeting
was incredibly important in terms of providing
guidance on some of the very large issues that would
have required different paths that we would pursue,
and I think the guidance from the TGDC members was
quite, quite clear on that.

21 There is a lot of work to be done, as I

22 mentioned, at least 40 teleconferences and probably 30

1 two more TGDC meetings to help clarify pieces, but I2 think in terms of the large direction, we've got a3 very good idea as to the direction to go.

4 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Thank you. 5 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Dr. Jeffrey, I do 6 have a question, and I want to go back to the 7 comment you made at the beginning of your remarks 8 regarding the article that hit the front page of 9 "The Washington Post", and if memory serves me 10 correctly, it was probably on the top half of the 11 fold, which is a very strategic and important place. 12 If 10 percent of the people who saw that article 13 know about your statement to clarify and correct, 14 I'm probably being generous so that most of people 15 who saw that article won't know the follow-up. I 16 didn't see the correction from "The Washington Post" 17 on either the top or the bottom half of the front 18 page or any other page.

19 Without anything to get in the way of
20 the work of the TGDC or impede the process, as we
21 move forward with this work and with the intense
22 interest in how voting systems are going to be 31

1 developed over the next several years, what can we
2 do to make certain that when these discussion papers
3 and other draft documents are made available, that
4 on the one hand, NIST can continue to honor its
5 commitment to transparency; on the other hand, not
6 have the public believing that this is NIST official
7 statement, particularly since we know at least one
8 member of the U.S. Senate? And perhaps one member
9 of the House of Representatives made statements that
10 they're ready to take action based on what they
11 believed was NIST's position on the issue.

DR. JEFFREY: Absolutely. First, in DR. JEFFREY: Absolutely. First, in The specific incident, we're working very hard to clarify to the relevant parties exactly what position was, what that paper was, and we have for contacted all of the major press outlets and have for contacted all of the major press outlets and have forward to the documents. In terms of moving forward to prevent that, we are being very, very for careful in the future. Clearly, the transparency and openness is a incredibly important component of all of the work that TGDC does and all of the technical support that we provide. However, until the TGDC votes on the
 product, it is not an official position of TGDC and
 NIST is not in a role to make any official
 recommendations. It's not our job. We provide some
 technical background. So none of the documents that
 you ever see going forward will have a NIST moniker
 on it or logo. It will always be very clear that it
 is either a working draft of the subcommittee of the
 TGDC or if it's an approved, voted-on resolution,
 then it is a product of the TGDC. We will be very,
 very careful to ensure that. This time, we were not
 so careful and it caused confusion.

13 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you. I14 appreciate that.

15 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Dr. Jeffrey, this
16 document that Commissioner Hill noted that became
17 public last Thursday, which was just a little over
18 three weeks from the election, contained some
19 language in there that suggested that your staff
20 bases its conclusions and its recommendations on the
21 fact that few problems were noted with the VVPAT
22 usage in the November 7, 2006 election, and I just

1 want to know how does your staff gather information
2 like that and how are they interacting with election
3 officials and with the visibility of the community
4 before they make conclusions like that. I'm aware
5 of some problems of paper jams, ink jams, poll
6 workers having problems putting paper in, some that
7 I saw myself and that I read in the newspaper. So I
8 just want to know what are you doing to gather
9 research in a way that at least when you come out
10 with this kind of research, that election officials
11 in the visibility of the community can have greater
12 faith.

13 DR. JEFFREY: Thank you very much. 14 Again, thank you for the opportunity to elaborate on 15 one of my clarifications, that the results of that 16 paper are obviously based upon deliberations from 17 the subcommittee, and what this did was assemble a 18 dialogue and some of the recommendations that added 19 research components to that. So a lot of the inputs 20 that were in there came from a variety of sources, 21 including TGDC members who are members of the 22 subcommittee. It included dialogue with members of 34

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1 actually some of the EAC Standards Boards, some 2 numerous election officials, as well as press 3 reports that were coming out after the election. 4 In terms of the underlying assumption as 5 to where a lot of the data comes from, let me take a 6 step back and say, first of all, that TGDC is very 7 aware of some of the problems that occur with paper 8 systems, paper jams, some readability and 9 accessibility issues, and what you'll see in the 10 VVSG 2007 are much tighter requirements on the 11 performance and usability and accessibility of the 12 systems. Clearly, there were issues that cropped 13 up, and there was a significant amount of discussion 14 at the recent TGDC meeting on some of the problems 15 that do pop up in the paper systems. 16 So I think that we will be addressing 17 pretty strongly in the VVSG 2007 a lot of the things 18 that make the future systems, including paper 19 systems, more useable and more reliable. 20 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you, 21 Dr. Jeffrey. Thank you for your report. I 22 appreciate your work and your leadership on the

35

## 1 TGDC.

2 DR. JEFFREY: Thank you very much and 3 thank you for your leadership, Mr. Chairman and 4 Commissioners.

5 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Our next item of 6 business on the agenda is the adoption of the fraud 7 and intimidation report. One of the more intense 8 and ongoing debates circles around the issues of 9 fraud and intimidation in elections. There seems to 10 be little consensus of the existence and even types 11 of voting fraud and intimidation that exists and are 12 present in elections.

We at the EAC understand that these are We at the EAC understand that these are we are the past year, as required by the Help America over the past year, as required by the Help America Vote Act, the EAC staff and consultants began rinitial research on these issues. The purpose of the study was to develop a working definition of yoting fraud and voter intimidation and to propose methods for conducting a more comprehensive analysis of these issues. Their work is accumulating today with the proposal on the Report accumulating today with the proposal on the Report

1 on Voter Fraud and Voter Intimidation.

2 I'll ask our General Counsel, Julie

3 Hodgkins, to explain the research and the project4 and the report before us.

5 MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Thank you, Mr. 6 Chairman, and I think you're correct. One can 7 scarcely generate a more heated debate than by 8 posing the question of whether fraud or to what 9 extent frauds impacts our elections. While this 10 topic has been studied and written about by many 11 different groups and individuals in the past, there 12 appears to be little consensus on what even 13 constitutes voting fraud and voter intimidation. 14 So in 2005, EAC along with its Board of 15 Advisors decided that voting fraud and voter 16 intimidation were important topics to be studied, 17 but just so you know, EAC did not enter this initial 18 review lightly. A great deal of thought was put 19 into how to study this issue given its obvious 20 hurdles.

21 First, what is voting fraud and voter
22 intimidation? Second, how do we measure the 37

1 presence of these problems in our elections? One

2 obvious problem is that we can only measure

3 accurately that which is reported, complaints that

4 are filed, and then accessing information to those5 complaints can oftentimes be difficult because of6 the fact that cases are very seldom reported at the7 District Court level.

8 So rather than embarking on a full and 9 complete study of what voting fraud and voter 10 intimidation impacts our elections, EAC decided to 11 take an initial look at what information was already 12 out there amount these topics with an eye towards 13 developing a working definition of the terms and 14 toward recommending methodology for future research 15 in this area. To conduct this review, EAC hired two 16 consultants: Jobe Sarvo and Toba Wang. These 17 consultants represented different parties and 18 different ideological positions and ensured that our 19 review would be conducted in a bipartisan manner. These two consultants did a tremendous 20 21 job of culling through the mountains of paperwork 22 out there on this particular topic, including 38

reviewing articles, books, reports, news clips, and
 cases. In addition, they compiled a list and
 interviewed experts in this area, including persons
 who are involved in the administration of elections,
5 persons who are on the front line actually6 prosecuting these types of elections, and others7 that have studied this topic in the past.

8 The consultants' findings were presented 9 to a working group of advocates, election officials, 10 prosecutors, and other experts on elections fraud. 11 The consultants and the EAC collaborated on a final 12 report, that which has been presented to you for 13 consideration today. That report summarizes the 14 work performed by the consultants. Their research 15 showed that while there have been many studies and 16 reports on this topic, there has never been a 17 comprehension nationwide study of voting fraud and 18 voter intimidation.

20 consensus on what types of fraud are out there or 21 how big of a problem that it may be. Similarly, 22 there is not consensus on what is meant by the 39

1 phrases voting fraud and voter intimidation.

Even though this report is a summary of
3 the consultants' work, the entire summaries created
4 by the consultants of all of their interviews and
5 the reviews of articles, books, reports, and cases

6 are made available as appendices to this report.
7 From this review, staff determined that EAC should
8 focus on the study of elections crimes. The
9 colloquial definition of voting fraud and voter
10 intimidation is much broader than just criminal
11 activity or just acts of fraud. Some feel that
12 civil wrongs or bad acts can be considered
13 intimidation. Similarly, there are some that feel
14 that the lawful application of procedures can result
15 in the impermissible voter suppression.
16 Criminal activity and civil wrongs are

17 handled in very different ways. Criminal acts are
18 prosecuted by government agencies while civil acts
19 are generally prosecuted by individual plaintiffs
20 and the government agencies only become involved
21 when things such as civil rights are violated.
22 Further, criminal activity is readily defined by the

various State and Federal statutes. What is an
 actionable civil wrong, though, can vary from case
 to case.

4 Last, we believe that EAC can study
5 election crimes to ensure that we are evaluating all
6 forms of criminal activity that is election related,

7 not just focusing on issues of fraud or just issues 8 of intimidation, but any types of crimes that are 9 election related. There are a few exceptions that 10 we've carved out and those exceptions are things 11 such as campaign finance violations, ethical 12 violations, and violation of the Hatch Act.

Staff has also made recommendations for
future EAC study of election crimes. The report
detailed the 16 recommendations that were made by
the consultant or members of the working group. The
staff accepted all or parts of many of these
recommendations, and the recommendations that we
have future study are as follows:
We believe that the EAC should conduct a
survey of chief election officers to review and

22 assess their administrative complaint, that is to 41

find out how many complaints have been filed with
 the chief election officers with regard to issues of
 voting fraud or voter intimidation. Perhaps we
 should change to using our new terminology, and that
 is election crimes. That review would be a little
 broader, actually, than their administrative
 complaint procedures because, as you will recall,

8 HAVA required States to adopt an administrative
9 complaint procedure in order to take in complaints
10 related to HAVA violations. Now, we believe that
11 many States have probably also received complaints
12 that are outside of those limits, some of which they
13 may have taken and adjudicated and others which they
14 may not have, but we would like to get some
15 information on both complaints that were filed as
16 part of that administrative complaint procedure as
17 well as outside of that procedure.
18 The second phase is that many State

19 election offices have started developing their own 20 election crimes investigation units. We'd like to 21 find out from those units what types of complaints 22 that they have received and of those complaints, 42

1 which ones referred to law enforcement for

2 prosecution.

3 The third element is to survey law 4 enforcement and prosecutorial agencies regarding 5 complaints and charges of voting crimes. So we 6 would go out to the District and County Attorneys, 7 certainly to the U.S. Attorneys and ask them to 8 provide us with information with regard to 9 complaints that were filed, charges that resulted,
10 prosecutions that followed, and any convictions that
11 they may have obtained. Once we have all this
12 information, the staff recommends that we analyze
13 the survey data in light of the State laws and
14 procedures that are out there. There's been a great
15 deal of debate as to whether or not laws such as
16 voter ID actually impact voter fraud. Well, with
17 this data, we could actually start taking a look at
18 whether or not voting fraud exists in places that
19 have a voter ID law, whether or not it's a greater
20 amount or a lesser amount.

We could also look at the existence of
voting fraud in various regions of the country to 43

see if it is centralized in one area or what the
 exact geographic dispersion of that is.

3 Mr. Chairman and Commissioners, this is 4 the final report which is before you today. The EAC 5 staff recommends that you adopt this report as 6 final, including the working definition of election 7 crimes and the recommendations for future EAC 8 studies of election crimes. I'll be happy to answer 9 any questions that you may have regarding this 10 report.

CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Okay. We have the
 recommendation by staff on this issue. We can have
 discussion once we have a motion to adopt the
 report. So is there a motion to adopt the election
 crimes report presented by General Counsel as EAC's
 final report on the initial review of voting fraud
 and voter intimidation?
 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: So moved.
 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Could you just
 read it? I'm sorry. Just read it again, because
 you said something about final report, and that

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1 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Okay.

2 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Can you read what

3 the motion is again, please?

4 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: It is moved that

5 the EAC adopt the election crimes report presented

6 by our General Counsel as EAC's final report on the

7 initial review of voting fraud and voter

8 intimidation.

9 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Okay.

10 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: So the final

11 report on the initial review.

12 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I'll second that 13 motion.

14 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: All right. Now we
15 can have discussion of the issue. Questions for Ms.
16 Hodgkins?
17 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I do have a
18 couple of questions. In your presentation, Julie,
19 you referred to one of the things we would not be
20 looking at would be ethical violations, and I think
21 I understand that, but ethical violation of what?
22 MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: State laws,

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Federal laws, or regulations with regard to ethical
 behavior in campaigns with regard to ethical
 behavior for election officials, those sorts of
 things, things that would no fall into the
 administration of elections, but strictly follow
 along their ethical duties.

COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Okay. Our
8 comprehensive study, do we know if the information
9 I'm about to ask already exists or are we going to
10 have to explore this in the comprehensive study; and
11 is in how States collective information about

12 complaints that have been lodged at the local level,
13 local jurisdiction, particularly if that complaint
14 is being investigated at the local level, how will
15 we know if those complaints have made their way up
16 to the State office and, therefore, would be
17 factored into our study?

18 MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: I think I 19 understand your question, and I'll try to answer it. 20 So if I don't answer it exactly what your question 21 is, ask me again; I'll try again. We are going to 22 be studying those complaints that the State office 46

has received. So we will be getting information
 with regard to, like I said, either complaints filed
 directly through the administrative complaint
 procedure or other complaints that are filed outside
 of that procedure. In addition, we can certainly
 compare those to complaints that are filed with the
 local law enforcement agency in that particular
 county to see whether or not we captured both pieces
 of that.

10 Does that answer your question?

11 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Well, it might.

12 Here we go. Let me just use an example. If

13 somebody files a complaint, lodges a complaint, with
14 the County Clerk and the County Clerk passes it on
15 to the County Sheriff and the County Sheriff is
16 looking into it, how we will know if that complaint
17 has been -- the information shared with the State
18 office so that when we look at the data at the State
19 office, how are we going to know whether we're
20 capturing complaints that have been lodged at the
21 local jurisdiction level, whether it's city or
22 county?

MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Okay. I think I
 understand, and because we would be capturing
 information about the complaints that have been
 provided to the State, regardless of their source,
 and because we will be capturing information with
 regard to those complaints that have been referred
 by the local official to the County Police
 Department or to the County Attorney, then we can
 compare those two pieces of information and assure
 that -- or determine whether or not that information
 that was referred to the County Attorney has, in
 fact, been also transferred to the State.

13 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Do you think

14 we'll also be able to capture complaints that may
15 have lodged at the local jurisdiction that were not
16 referred for further investigation?
17 MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: That's certainly
18 something that we can consider as to whether or not

19 we want to expand. I mean, initially the way the
20 staff has proposed this is that we would survey just
21 at the State level, but, you know, we could
22 certainly consider whether or not we should expand
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1 the survey of complaints filed with election
2 officials to a County level that would certainly
3 significantly expand the scope of the survey.
4 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: And one more
5 question. It may be more of a comment than a
6 question, but it's a rub that I expect is going to
7 occur a little bit and I think EAC will need to
8 address this as clearly as we can. A lot of
9 non-governmental agencies set up hotlines or
10 otherwise receive complaints from citizens alleging
11 some form of fraud or intimidation, and most of the
12 time, that sort of remains as anecdotal in the sense
13 that we don't know whether that person then also
14 filed the complaint with appropriate authority,

15 whether that's the election official or some other16 authority.

17 And so people are concerned about the 18 seemingly thousands of complaints that are lodged 19 which we refer to as anecdotal because they're not 20 captured in anybody's data. They're not officially 21 lodged, and the extent to which, because of our 22 limited time and resources, as I understand it, is 49

1 the reason why we are having to narrow our research 2 down to what we call hard data, what's been 3 officially lodged, what's been either followed 4 through or referred to, you know, the prosecuting 5 authority or otherwise. And I know that there has 6 been some discussion about this, but I would 7 appreciate it if you could just address a little bit 8 what EAC believes it can or cannot do with all those 9 other kinds of complaints that we know exist. 10 MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Well, I actually 11 think you covered it quite well, but I think you're 12 absolutely correct. Many of these complaints that 13 are made to hotlines do remain rather anecdotal in 14 that there's very little understanding of what sort 15 of follow-up is done on those to determine whether

16 or not the complaints were truly complaints of
17 fraud; they were complaints of mistake that were
18 made or other issues that may not be criminal in
19 nature, but that affected certainly that person's
20 experience in the voting process.
21 You are correct that the EAC does not

22 possess the resources to be able to follow up on

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each and every one of those complaints, and that is
 why we have recommended, the staff has recommended,
 to you that we limit our study to the information
 that we believe we can obtain a little bit more
 readily with regard to the complaints that have been
 officially lodged.

7 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I don't have any
8 questions at this time, but I do want move back
9 before we take a vote after you all have a chance to
10 ask questions.

11 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Commissioner12 Davidson.

13 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Just to follow
14 up on that theme when you say you're going to the
15 States initially for the information and talking

16 about the complaints that might be filed with the

17 county and making sure we get as much as we can,
18 will you ask the Secretaries of State and, you know,
19 make them aware, the Secretaries of State and the
20 Directors of Commissions in States that have boards
21 and commissions, will you be asking them to have
22 their counties report any problems to them? You

1 know, maybe they don't right now initially, but will2 we be asking that from the Secretaries of State and3 the boards?

4 MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Well, I think 5 the initial survey would be to gather the 6 information that is already out there that they 7 have. Certainly, that may be something that we want 8 to address in the future with those States and 9 counties, is trying to get a better collection of 10 that information so that we can continually take a 11 look at this issue and see whether or not progress 12 has been made and whether or not the number of 13 reports has increased or decreased and various types 14 of things.

15 So it's quite possible that that would16 be the case. I think it's very important in a study17 like this to develop relationships. Certainly we

18 have a relationship with the Secretaries of State
19 and State Elections Directors, and we want to
20 continue to foster that relationship so we make sure
21 we get the best information that is out there, but I
22 think we also need to foster some relationships with 52

1 those prosecutorial agencies that are out there too2 so that we can get them to help us understand this3 issue.

4 MS. DAVIDSON: Thank you.

5 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Ms. Hodgkins, a

6 lot work has gone into this. I realize it's an
7 initial report, but just looking through it, there's
8 three pages that list articles and reports on this
9 topic, and that will be made available, as you said,
10 as an attachment to this on our website, all these
11 articles.

12 MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Correct.

13 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: There are some
14 significant articles here that discuss this issue
15 and also the work and you and our staff and the
16 consultants have put in, particularly your work in
17 the definition of election crimes. There's three
18 pages here, and that covers a lot of detail on what

19 might constitute an election fraud. A lot of work
20 has gone into that, and I appreciate that kind of
21 work too, because I do think that it's going to be
22 helpful as the EAC moves forward for a future study 53

1 that this initial body of work has instructed EAC on2 what to do next.

3 So I commend you and our staff and the 4 consultants for the work that you've done in this 5 area.

MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Well, thank you,
7 Mr. Chairman. As you stated, there's just a
8 tremendous body of work that has already been done
9 in this area, and I really have to give the credit
10 where the credit is due. The consultants did a
11 tremendous job of trying to -- of getting a hold of
12 that information and synthesizing it and giving us a
13 lot of information to work with.
14 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Mr. Chairman, I
15 think at this time, there is a statement that I want
16 to read. I think it's probably appropriate that I
17 read the statement before we take the vote. The

18 statement is in support of the report, but it is

19 something that I feel important that I share with

20 you, my colleagues.

21 "Our vote today will mark our acceptance

22 of the core recommendation that voting fraud and 54

voter intimidation deserve more than just anecdotal
 assessment. We have encountered difficulties of
 getting past this first phase of our study, but I am
 very pleased that we are now moving toward the next
 steps.

6 EAC will soon undertake the first 7 nationwide comprehensive study of election crimes 8 based on hard data. It is a huge project, and we 9 have agreed that the findings will be released to 10 the public by the end of 2007, and I know that we 11 are all committed to keeping this timeframe. It is 12 my expectation that based on the findings of the 13 comprehensive study, EAC will have useful data that 14 can inform future discussions and debates about 15 voting fraud, voter intimidation, and other election 16 crimes. It is my hope that based on the data, EAC 17 will move forward early in 2008 to release suggested 18 standards and/or best practices that will be useful 19 to election officials and prosecuting authorities as 20 they collect and assess claims and acts of election

21 crimes and bring offenders to justice. I also hope

22 EAC will continue to collect and assess data on 55

1 election crimes from future Federal election cycles. 2 While I am pleased with the direction 3 that we are taking on this important topic, I am 4 also aware that some have voiced their concerns and 5 raised questions about the delay the EAC encountered 6 in releasing today's report. As we have previously 7 explained, EAC's process to review the consultants' 8 findings took far longer than anticipated. 9 Hindsight is always 20-20 vision, and we at the EAC 10 now understand that we should have handled the delay 11 differently. The resulting situation from the delay 12 was both personally and professionally embarrassing 13 for me, and I truly hope this is the one and only 14 time EAC will ever experience this type of difficult 15 circumstance."

16 Thank you.

17 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: We've had a motion
18 and a second to adopt the election crimes report
19 presented by our General Counsel as the EAC's final
20 report and initial review of voting fraud and voter
21 intimidation. All those in favor of adopting this

22 report, signify by saying aye. 56

1 MEMBERS IN UNISON: Aye.

## 2 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: All those opposed,

3 nay.

4 [No response.]

5 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: The ayes have it.

6 The report is adopted.

7 MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: Thank you, Mr.

8 Chairman.

9 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: The next order of

10 business is the adoption of the Administrative

11 Manual for Policy and Procedures.

12 Mr. Wilkey, this is your jurisdiction.

13 Would you please discuss this issue and present it

14 to us for adoption?

15 MR. WILKEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 One of the first briefings I had when I arrived at

17 the EAC was with the then Chair of the Commission,

18 Commissioner Hillman, and she was, as you know,

19 actively involved as the Commission was starting and

20 took on some of the responsibility for -- you know,

21 we had no office, not much staff and trying to

22 assemble everything that we needed to know to start

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1 a new agency, and she said to me at that time, You
2 know, you came from a big State and probably when
3 you started a new agency in the State Government,
4 you would go to a, you know, variety of sources and
5 pull a manual out and say here is how to start a new
6 agency. That wasn't always the case in the Federal
7 Government.

8 So we have spent quite a lot of time in 9 developing from a variety of sources an 10 administrative manual that covers a large number of 11 issues for our staff, standards of conduct, hours of 12 work, flex hours, absence and leave policy, 13 temporary duty and travel, our compensation policy, 14 our disciplinary and adverse action policies, our 15 administrative grievance system, our Federal Equal 16 Opportunity Recruitment Plan, and most importantly, 17 one of more comprehension pieces of this is our 18 performance management system which was recently 19 approved after much work with OPM by OPM and which 20 will go in place in January of next year. OPM is 21 working with us right now to identify a resource 22 that we can use to do the training not just on the 58

content of the manual, but also work with us in
 helping to develop the necessary performance plans
 that go into effect early next year.

We are also hopeful that if things are
good to us after we get out of our continuing
resolution along with other Federal Agencies, that
we will be able to hire a permanent human resources
person to work with us on this.

9 Other issues that will be covered are 10 awards programs in government and the use of 11 government office equipment, parking policy, 12 security and emergency management, all of the other 13 issues related to emergency and employee emergency 14 information, everything here that we need to 15 function as an agency. Let me also say as an aside 16 that we are privileged now to have a full-time 17 Office of Inspector General staff. Some people 18 would look at that as a nuisance. I come from a 19 different feeling on that. The Office of Inspector 20 General will be working with us as we move from 21 still an agency in infancy, so to speak, in 22 identifying other critical issues throughout next 59

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1 year that we have additional procedures put in place 2 for.

But I'm very pleased with this first
4 step. I want to recognize the hard work of our
5 Administrative Director, Diana Scott, our counsel,
6 Julie Hodgkins, and Lucy Anton from the Office of
7 Personnel Management who worked very carefully in
8 making lots of suggestions as we worked through a
9 number of drafts of this document, and I offer it to
10 you and ask for your approval.

CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: I would like to
 move that the EAC adopt the Administrative Manual
 Policies and Procedures presented by our Executive
 Director as the EAC's official administrative
 manual. Do I have a second?
 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Second.

17 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: We have a second.

18 Do we have discussion?

19 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I just want to

20 add to what Mr. Wilkey said. I mean, when we were

21 first appointed, Paul, on the one hand, little did I

22 think we would be involved in the details of all the 60

administrative and human resource activities that go
 into setting up a Federal Agency. On the other
 hand, I think it probably is a useful exercise for
 commissioners and others to really understand what
 the Federal Government requires of agencies no
 matter how small.

We have to go through the same
8 requirements with our little EAC as do the
9 Department of Human Services and the Department of
10 Labor, and so it gets to be very, very intense, and
11 the fact that, you know, we are operating on a
12 manual that's probably two or three inches to be
13 built on, more things to be added, it's been an
14 incredible labor, and I know, Mr. Chairman, that you
15 did say that one of the things you hoped would be
16 finished before your term as Chair ended was the
17 administrative manual, and I'm pleased that we were
18 able to get that done.

And I think that perhaps when Congress
set up the EAC, the thing they never factored in was
that we do have to comply with a myriad of rules and
regulations, particularly as it pertains to

administrative and financial procedures in human
 resources and all that it takes for the work to be
 done on this when you don't have either the people
 or the money or the resources and certainly the
 time, because we had to start operating. We didn't
 have the luxury of a year of startup. We had to
 start operating the day we were put together.

8 So I just want to thank the staff for 9 seeing this through. It would have been so easy to 10 ditch this and wait until OPM or somebody called us 11 on it, but we did follow it through to make sure 12 that we were ahead of the curve, and I appreciate 13 that.

14 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: I just want to 15 add to the Commissioner's statement that I think our 16 staff is thrilled too, because they have the 17 information that they need at hand, and any time we 18 have someone new join, it will be very helpful to be 19 able to give it to them. So it's a guidance for the 20 staff and I think they're very thrilled that it's 21 been accomplished and we can move forward.

22 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: I just want to 62

## 1 echo my colleague's comment on this manual, because

2 a lot of work has gone into it. I know that
3 Commissioner Hillman and I talked about it the very
4 first day, and there's been a lot that's gone into
5 it that I had no idea, none, of things that you have
6 to go through in the Federal Government to get
7 something like this adopted. It's finally here, and
8 it's an honor to have this done at my last meeting
9 as Chair.

So we have a motion. We have a second.
All those in favor of adopting the Administrative
Manual on Policies and Procedures for the EAC
signify by saying aye.

14 MEMBERS IN UNISON: Aye.

15 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Opposed, nay.

16 [No response.]

17 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: The ayes have it.

- 18 Mr. Wilkey, thank you.
- 19 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Super.
- 20 MR. WILKEY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- 21 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I'm about as

22 excited on this as I am on the certification and 63

1 testing of the VVSG. I mean, you know, election

2 officials may not appreciate it, but it's been a

3 long time coming.

4 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you. 5 Well, our next order of business is an 6 important order of business for the EAC and one of 7 those milestones that's going to be looked as the 8 history of the EAC is written. So this is an 9 important day for us, not just for everything else 10 we're discussing today, but this particular matter 11 regarding the testing and certification program that 12 we're going to adopt.

13 Today marks the completion of a very 14 important process for the EAC and the voters of 15 America. Today we are voting on the adoption of the 16 EAC's and the Federal Government's first voting 17 system certification program. Adoption of this 18 important HAVA mandate has been our top priority for 19 2006, and EAC staff and numerous experts around the 20 country have worked very hard this year to produce 21 the best program possible for the American people.

22 The adoption of this program presents a 64

1 landmark step in the Federal oversight of the

2 Administration of Elections. The EAC certification

3 program began to take shape at the adoption of the

4 Voluntary Voting System Guidelines in December of
5 '05. These guidelines provide a comprehensive set
6 of requirements against which voting systems can be
7 tested to determine if the systems provide all the
8 basic functionally, accessibility, and security
9 capabilities required of these systems.

10 Today we take the next step by adopting 11 the certification program. Though the program is 12 voluntary, we fully expect that the program will be 13 utilized by a vast majority of the States. This 14 certification program will ensure that the voting 15 systems used in our elections live up to the 16 standards of the voting system guidelines. If a 17 vendor misrepresents a product or violates our 18 certification policy, we have the options of 19 decertifying their product. Also, if a State calls 20 the EAC and says there's a problem with the 21 equipment that we certified, we'll go in and 22 investigate.

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It is this continued monitoring of the
 voting systems even after certification that creates
 such a high level of accountability. Voting system
 manufacturers have never been held to such a high

5 degree of accountability and transparency by the 6 Federal Government. In addition to holding the 7 manufacturers accountable, the EAC in conjunction 8 with NIST will be holding the testing labs 9 accountable through NIST's National Voluntary 10 Laboratory Accreditation Program. This program will 11 provide recommendations to the EAC regarding 12 laboratory accreditation. After the EAC receives 13 the recommendations for NVLAP, the agency's 14 Executive Director will make the final determination 15 regarding test lab accreditation. Therefore, the 16 EAC and NIST will work together to hold the 17 manufacturers of the equipment and the labs that 18 test the equipment accountable. 19 It's also important to note that this 20 whole process is transparent to the public with the 21 EAC making all information available consistent with 22 Federal law. After posting the draft manual of 66

1 testing and certification program in the Federal
 2 Register on October 2nd and conducting a hearing on
 3 the draft on October 26th, the EAC received over 400
 4 comments and suggestions on the draft manual. The
 5 EAC carefully reviewed each of those comments and

6 made changes it deemed necessary to further improve

7 the testing and certification program.

8 Before voting on the adoption of the 9 certification program, we will hear testimony from 10 Brian Hancock and Gavin Gilmour about the 11 certification program in its final form and the 12 public comments that we received about the draft 13 program. Before we have discussion, I need to make 14 the motion. So I'm going to move that the EAC adopt 15 the Voting System Testing and Certification Manual 16 as presented and cause it to be published in the 17 Federal Register.

18 Do I have a second?

19 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Second.

20 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: We have a second.

21 Now we'll have a discussion on the manual itself by

22 Brian Hancock. Brian Hancock is the EAC's Director 67

1 of the Voting System -- will be the Director of the
 2 EAC's Voting System Testing and Certification
 3 Program. He has over 20 years of experience in the
 4 field of election administration and voting system
 5 certification. This gentleman knows more about this
 6 stuff than anybody else in the country in my view.

7 Mr. Hancock will have the responsibility of managing 8 this program, and he has been assisted in helping to 9 develop this program with able assistance by our EAC 10 Deputy Counsel Gavin Gilmour who provides legal and 11 policy counsel for the full breadth of our programs 12 and legal issues. He's also the EAC's designated 13 ethics official. He's one of the authors of this 14 program, and we're pleased to have both gentlemen in 15 front of us to discuss with us how we came from the 16 draft to the final report.

17 So, gentlemen, it's yours.

18 MR. HANCOCK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 First of all, please let me personally

20 thank Gavin for his assistance on this document.

21 The document would certainly not be in its final

22 format without his detailed assistance. Thank you. 68

As you noted, Mr. Chairman, and by way
 of introduction to this, I'd like to say a few
 things about the results of the public comment
 process and some of the things that we have done
 since the EAC hearing on this topic at the end of
 October, as you noted. Again, you are correct.

7 During this process, we received over 400 comments

8 during the 30-day open public comment period. Once 9 the comment period ended on the 31st of October, EAC 10 staff reviewed each of the comments and incorporated 11 many of the comments into the final draft document. 12 These actually added six additional pages to the 13 draft that we had at our public hearing in October. 14 After final review by senior staff, this 15 draft was provided to each commissioner for your 16 review as well. Let me say that most of the 17 comments that we incorporated into the document 18 clarified the previous language in the draft 19 document. Comments that were not accepted were 20 generally either non-specific commentary on the 21 process or more appropriately addressed via future 22 changes that will be coming to the VVSG document, 69

which we heard from Dr. Jeffrey very recently, or
 were simply outside the scope of the document
 itself.

In addition to all of this work, the
manual and accompanying forms that we will be using
have received their initial approval from the Office
of Management and Budget under the Paperwork
Reduction Act of 1995. We will now briefly outline

9 the program manual with a very broad discussion of

10 the highlights of each chapter of the document.

11 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: These are not the

12 highlights, are they?

13 MR. HANCOCK: No. We're taking a second14 to warm up. There were go.

15 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: It's like a

16 voting machine.

17 MR. HANCOCK: We hope not.

18 MR. GILMOUR: We're just going to take a

19 quick moment to outline this document chapter by20 chapter.

21 Chapter One of the program serves as a

22 general overview for the entire manual itself. It 70

sets forth EAC's authority, scope, and goals under
 the program and provides administrative information
 and definitions.

4 The next chapter in the manual, Chapter

5 Two, Manufacturer Registration, requires the

6 manufacturers to register with the EAC before they

7 can submit a voting system for certification. This

8 registration process provides the EAC with needed

9 administrative information, but more importantly, it

10 serves as a tool to ensure two things: One, that
11 manufacturers have the necessary program in place to
12 participate in the program. For example, they need
13 to show that they have quality control and aversion
14 control programs in place; and secondly, that the
15 manufacturers are aware of and will follow all of
16 the procedure requirements of this manual at the
17 very outset of the program. This basically makes
18 sure they understand the program itself and that
19 they're committing to following this process.
20 Ultimately, in the end, a manufacturer
21 who does not meet the requirements of EAC's program
22 will have their registration subject to suspension

and ultimately a manufacturer who has a suspended
 registration will not be able to submit voting
 systems for certification and will not be able to
 maintain their voting systems and will not be able
 to submit modifications to their systems.
 MR. HANCOCK: Chapter Three of the
 document discusses when voting systems must actually
 be submitted for testing in order to obtain or
 maintain an EAC certification under our program.
 The chapter highlights when certification is

11 required. It describes the significance of the EAC
12 certification and the effect of the EAC
13 certification. Under this chapter, systems will
14 usually be submitted to the EAC when: One, they are
15 new to the marketplace; two, they've never been
16 before received an EAC certification; three, when
17 they're modified; or, four, when the manufacturer
18 wishes to test a previously certified system to a
19 newer set of standard or guidelines. This chapter
20 also sets the requirements and procedures for
21 receiving approval for making a de minimus change to
22 a voting system and sets out the detailed and very

1 narrow requirements for receiving provisional
 2 pre-election emergency modifications to a voting
 3 system.

4 Chapter Four of the document discusses
5 certification testing and technical review.
6 Manufacturers must submit a voting system for test
7 and review and they will need to do a number of
8 things. Through a form that we will have on our
9 website, an interactive form, they must submit an
10 application to have their system tested. They must
11 through the VSTL submit have accepted a test plan

12 for their submission, and they, of course, must test
13 the voting system by an EAC accredited test
14 laboratory. And, finally, the test report must be
15 submitted, reviewed, and approved by the EAC.
16 Additionally, this chapter also requires
17 test labs to notify the EAC directly and
18 independently of any test anomalies or failures
19 during testing and ensures that all anomalies or
20 failures are addressed and resolved before testing
21 is completed. All test failures, anomalies, and
22 actions taken to resolve such failures will be

1 documented by the test lab in an appendix test2 report submitted to the EAC.

3 Chapter Five of the manual sets forth 4 the steps a manufacturer must take prior to 5 receiving its final grant of certification for any 6 voting system. These steps will include the voting 7 system's test lab performance of a trusted build of 8 the software, the test lab's deposit of software in 9 an approved repository, and the creation and 10 documentation of system identification tools. It 11 also describes procedures the EAC will take to 12 document and publish certification information and 13 it requires that all certified voting systems post a14 mark of certification on their product.

MR. GILMOUR: Chapter Six of the program MR. GILMOUR: Chapter Six of the program deals with the denial of certification. Chapter Six routlines the process EAC will use to deny a set to deny a set to deny a set to a voting system. This chapter will apply to voting systems, one, after they have been to voting systems, one, after they have been they are been they are been and after they we the set of the set

meet Federal voting systems standards. The program
 provides the manufacturer certain rights in the
 process, and these include an opportunity to cure
 defects that serve as the basis for the denial and
 an opportunity to be heard, essentially an
 opportunity for reconsideration and ultimate appeal
 to the Commission.

8 Chapter Seven deals with

9 decertification. It sets our the procedure the EAC

10 will follow to decertify a voting system. This is

11 an important part of the process we've already

12 discussed because ultimately it brings

13 accountability to the process. This is our tool for

14 enforcing the program. Any certified voting systems
15 that is, one, shown not to meet Federal voting
16 systems standards or has been altered without
17 following the requirements of the program, meaning
18 it had some change that did not go through the
19 process, or whose manufacturers have not followed
20 the procedural requirements of the manual such that
21 their voting system's quality configuration or
22 compliance is questionable will be decertified.

This decertification action happens after there's
 been an investigation and an opportunity for the
 manufacturer to be heard. Once a system has been
 decertified, it may only be re-certified if
 resubmitted for full testing. In other words,
 there's no special process. That system must be
 retooled and ultimately resubmitted as a brand new
 system and tested from scratch.

9 MR. HANCOCK: Chapter Eight discusses 10 the EAC's quality monitoring program. This chapter 11 highlights the importance of quality in the design 12 and production of voting systems and, personally, to 13 my way of thinking, this is one of the most 14 important new additions that we will have on this
15 program. The purpose of the EAC quality monitoring
16 program is to provide an additional layer of quality
17 control by things such as the ability to do
18 manufacturing site reviews by doing additional
19 review and testing of fielded voting systems to make
20 sure that those systems are, in fact, the same
21 systems that the EAC certified. Finally, another
22 very important component of the program is the EAC

receiving reports of anomalies found in the fielded
 voting systems during actual elections.

3 MR. GILMOUR: Chapter Nine is entitled 4 "Requests for Interpretation". It sets out the 5 procedures that will allow manufacturers and EAC 6 accredited test laboratories an opportunity to 7 request official EAC interpretations of applicable 8 voting system standards. These will probably be 9 found, most likely, in the VVSG or potentially the 10 VSS. This is an important program in that it will 11 serve to ensure that voting systems standards are 12 properly applied in testing and that the testing 13 process is more efficient and effective. It does 14 this by allowing a mechanism and tool to address the 15 issues and concerns at the very beginning of a 16 process rather than at the end or in the midst of17 testing.

18 A library of EAC interpretations will be
19 made publicly available on our website. This
20 collection of opinions will be useful for
21 manufacturers and EAC labs in applying an
22 understanding of Federal Voting System Standards

1 and, of course, will also be available to the 2 public.

3 Chapter Ten, Release of Certification 4 Program Information, informs manufacturers of EAC 5 policies and procedures regarding the release of 6 certification program information. It also 7 discusses their responsibilities in the event the 8 information as proposed should be protected under 9 law. EAC's policy in general is to make as much 10 information available as practical and consistent 11 with Federal law. The chapter does a number of 12 things, but one of the things it does is provide a 13 number of examples of the types of information EAC 14 not only wants to make available, but actually wants 15 to affirmatively publish on its website. This 16 information includes information concerning 17 manufacturer registration, VSTL test plans, VSTL
18 test reports, agency decisions, denials of
19 certifications, issuance of certifications,
20 information on certified voting systems operation
21 components, features, and capabilities, information
22 on appeals, reports of investigation and notice of 78

1 non-compliance, decertification actions, 2 manufacturer facility review reports, and official 3 interpretations of the VVSG or the VSS. This is not 4 meant to be a full and complete listing of 5 everything we would affirmatively publish, but 6 rather is put forth to give the public an idea of 7 what we're trying to accomplish and how we're trying 8 to make this program as transparent as possible. 9 MR. HANCOCK: And finally, Mr. Chairman, 10 Commissioners, the EAC staff recommends that the 11 Commissioners vote to adopt the Voting Systems 12 Testing and Certification Program manual as 13 presented and to cause the manual to be published in 14 the Federal Register. Mr. Chairman, I should also 15 note that should this document be adopted today, we 16 are ready to put the manual up on our website 17 tomorrow.

- 18 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Okay. Thank you.
- 19 Commissioners, you've heard the

20 recommendation. Do we have a motion and a second

21 before we have a discussion of this issue?

22 Comments?

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1 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I have some 2 questions. 3 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Questions? 4 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Which chapters of 5 the manual received the most comment during the 6 comment period? Was there any one particular issue 7 that received more attention than another? 8 MR. GILMOUR: Interestingly enough, it 9 was actually Chapter One that received the most 10 comments. 11 MR. HANCOCK: Absolutely. Chapter One 12 is the overview of the document, and it does touch 13 on the highlights of the rest of the document. In 14 some instances, it actually appeared that people 15 maybe read Chapter One more closely than they 16 actually read some of the other chapters because 17 some questions actually were answered later in the 18 documents, to some of the comments, but I would say

19 Chapter One.

## 20 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Okay. It is my

21 understanding that right now, about 37 or so States

22 require systems that are used in that State be 80

nationally certified, and understanding that this is
 a voluntary program, my question is whether any
 State has given us feedback that says in order for
 us to participate in the program and require a
 system used in our State be nationally certified, we
 would need X, Y, or Z in your certification program.
 Is there anything about our certification program
 that we know today would prevent a State or
 discourage a State from participating?

10 MR. HANCOCK: No, Commissioner. To my 11 knowledge, we have not received any information like 12 that from any State, any Secretary of State or State 13 Election Director. You're correct. Those numbers 14 are approximately correct. We did receive comments 15 from State officials, but none of them said that 16 they would have any problems or that we needed to 17 include any additional information in the document 18 before they might be able to adopt the program.

19 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Do we have any

20 indication as to whether more States are planning to

21 participate?

22 MR. HANCOCK: We don't have that 81

indication. Certainly it's our hope that as many
 States as possible sign up. I think the program
 adds many additional new features that will assist
 State certification and make elections better. You
 know, where the rubber meets the road is the local
 election offices. That's certainly our hope.

7 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I would agree, 8 and, Mr. Chairman, I would hope that the EAC will be 9 able to formulate some kind of strategy to get the 10 other States to at least talk with us about why 11 they're not participating in the program and see if 12 there isn't some way that we can address exactly the 13 value that Mr. Hancock stated, which is that this is 14 an additional level of assessment security, testing, 15 and certification that would, of course, in no way 16 impede in which system they use or their own testing 17 and certification program; but this is a voluntary 18 program, but we would still hope that all States 19 would receive the benefit of participating in this, 20 and if they don't, I certainly would like to be 21 informed as to why; you know, is it a cost issue or

22 is it some other issue.

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And my last question is can you sort of
 walk me through how does EAC implement this program?
 Do you sit in your office and read lab reports? I'm
 being a bit facetious, but how do we implement this
 program at the EAC?

6 MR. HANCOCK: Commissioner, certainly it 7 will be a challenge to implement the program, but we 8 do have the resources set aside next year. The 9 Commission has asked for additional FTEs to assist 10 with the implementation of this program. We have 11 also gone out recently through the USA Jobs Website. 12 We have asked for additional help in our technical 13 review of the process. We have received a number of 14 applications for that process. I'm very confident 15 that we have a number of technical reviewers, very 16 qualified reviewers at that, that will be able to 17 assist us in the process.

18 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you.

19 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Commissioner20 Davidson.

21 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: I have just a

22 couple of questions, but how do you think that the 83

1 EAC implementing this and it ultimately being a2 first time the Federal Government has been involved3 in testing and certifying of voting systems, how4 will that benefit our voters?

5 MR. HANCOCK: Commissioner, it will 6 benefit our voters in a number of ways. As you 7 know, it's the first time that the Federal 8 Government has dedicated resources to do this work. 9 Certainly there will be more accountability through 10 documented procedures, registration requirements 11 that Gavin spoke of, and through decertification. 12 It's going to increase transparency, which we also 13 touched on, through Federal information law. Again, 14 I can't stress enough the importance of the quality 15 management program. Again, it's going to allow us 16 to go in and look at the manufacturer's production 17 facilities, look at the voting systems that may have 18 problems out there in the field, and not only, as I 19 mentioned, will we be receiving anomaly reports from 20 election officials, but the registration part of our 21 program requires the manufacturers to affirmatively 22 send information to us when they encounter a problem

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1 with a system out there, so in a number of ways.

2 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: So as kind of a
3 follow up to Commissioner Hillman's question about
4 the States, I'm curious as a former Secretary of
5 State, how many comments did you receive from State
6 officials?

7 MR. HANCOCK: We received a number, 8 probably a half dozen or so, comments from Chief 9 State Election Officials. I would say that 10 generally the comments were very positive. 11 Certainly they varied as the interest of the States 12 vary from time to time. The one area in which I 13 would say the comments all came together to form 14 sort of a cohesive comment among all the States were 15 that the EAC notify the States and election 16 officials when we're dealing with issues within 17 their State. You know, that would be any time we'd 18 want to go in to look possibly at voting systems on 19 the ground and that type of thing, but I think their 20 main concern was that we coordinate with them and 21 make them aware of what we are doing, and I think 22 that's a very valid concern. 85

1 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Thank you, Mr. 2 Chairman.

3 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Mr. Hancock, I
4 just have one question about a very important
5 component of this program, and that is the testing
6 labs. Where are we with the testing lab program,
7 the NVLAP program, and what's the prospects for the
8 next few months for future labs being certified in
9 this form?

10 MR. HANCOCK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 11 Actually, when I was out at NIST for a TGDC meeting 12 Monday, I spoke with some of the folks out there, 13 and they have told me that they're prepared to make 14 their first recommendation to the EAC this month of 15 a lab that has gone through their process fully and 16 they will recommend to us for EAC accreditation. 17 Over the next several months, in 2007, they're also 18 completing the review of two additional testing 19 laboratories which they will send to us as soon as 20 that process is complete.

21 So it looks like by the end of next

22 year, we would have probably three test labs that 86

1 were accredited through that process.

2 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Yes, Commissioner3 Hillman.

4 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: A follow-up 5 question: Is that for both hardware and software or 6 all three, do you know?

7 MR. HANCOCK: Yes, ma'am. The current 8 concept is that it's a lead lab concept whereby the 9 labs that are being accredited will be responsible 10 for all of the testing, both hardware and software. 11 While they may use other labs, we'll have one 12 responsible lab for all of the testing and the final 13 reports.

14 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you. 15 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: I just have a 16 comment that you can verify if I'm correct. My 17 understanding is that NVLAP has been in and done 18 their pre-assessment on the other labs and told them 19 what they need to do to be able to meet the 20 qualifications that they have put in place. Am I 21 correct on that and they're waiting for the labs to 22 finish their work before they go back for their next 87 1 assessment?

2 MR. HANCOCK: Yes, that's correct. The 3 two additional labs that I was speaking of, they 4 have been in and they're just waiting for some 5 additional information, clarifying information, from 6 those labs. There are some other labs, two or three 7 others, that applied later on to the NVLAP process, 8 and NVLAP will be taking those labs on later in 2007 9 as well.

10 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Okay.

CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Well, we have a
motion and we have a second to adopt the
recommendation of the staff that we adopt the Voting
System Testing Certification Manual as presented by
the staff and cause it to be published in the
Federal Register. All those in favor of this
motion, signify by saying aye.
MEMBERS IN UNISON: Aye.

- 19 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Opposed, nay.
- 20 [No response.]
- 21 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: The ayes have it.
- 22 Gentlemen and staff and consultants that 88

1 supported you, thank you for your hard work. Good2 luck in the next phase.

MR. HANCOCK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Members of the
audience, we are going to take a seven-minute break.
We want to keep on time today. We have three
distinguished panels that are going to talk about
the 2006 election and present us with some excellent
information about that election. So we ask that you
please take a seven-minute break and come back.
We'll start at that time.

12 Thank you.

13 [Recess.]

14 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Okay. Welcome 15 back. Thank you for coming back, and I also want to 16 give thanks to our transcribers and interpreters for 17 this meeting. They always do a great job for us, 18 and we appreciate the work that they do, and they 19 have asked me to remind myself and others to speak 20 into the microphone so they can make sure that 21 they're getting every word that we say, not just for 22 the transcriber, by for the interpretation that's 89

1 going on. So thank you.

3 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: We will now begin 4 the portion of our meeting, and that portion is a 5 hearing to assess the 2006 election which just took 6 place. Before we get to our panelists today, I 7 would like to take a brief moment to discuss the 8 2006 election from the EAC's vantage point. 9 HAVA and election reform efforts by the 10 State brought sweeping change to our election 11 infrastructure, making 2006 a year of change, 12 challenge, and progress, yet despite having to 13 introduce new equipment, comply with the new laws, 14 and educate voters about the changes, every one was 15 able to meet these challenges and made the 2006 16 election a success. Were there scattered glitches? 17 Yes, but elections are a human process involving the 18 dedication of millions of Americans. The bottom 19 line is that elections just don't have happen. 20 Holding an election in America is an enormous 21 undertaking.

There are 183,000 polling places and 90

1 6800 election jurisdictions. On election day, we2 need 1.2 million poll workers. On November 7th, we

3 had about 1.2 million poll workers who served 78 4 million voters who went to the polls on November 5 7th. To make a complicated process even more 6 complicated, in 2006, at least one-third of voters 7 used new voting equipment and dozens of States 8 implemented new statewide data bases for the time 9 first time not to mention the new State and local 10 mandates to election administration, such as new 11 voter I.D. laws.

12 Election officials and voters have seen 13 more change in the election administration process 14 in the past six years than they say in previous 200 15 years of American history. Given this enormous 16 challenge and change, there were relatively few 17 problems that cropped up, and only one Federal 18 contest out of 469 is in litigation.

While turnout was high, most Americans
20 had a pleasant experience on election day. As a
21 matter of fact, exit polls showed that 88 percent of
22 voters were confident that their votes were being
91

counted accurately. While that number is
 encouraging, we'd of course like to see that figure
 at 100 percent.

4 Thanks to the resources provided by HAVA 5 and the EAC and careful, articulate preparation by 6 election officials, we had a safe, accurate, and 7 reliable election, and nearly every State, New York 8 being a major exception, was in compliance with the 9 Help America Vote Act, but there is much more work 10 to do. We need to continue to work with local 11 election officials to shore up the details that are 12 so vital to running an election. One of the biggest 13 difficulties that remains is the challenge of 14 recruiting, training, and retaining poll workers. 15 Today, we're going to hear from a 16 variety of experts who are closely connected with 17 the administration and evaluation of elections. 18 First you will hear from the election officials from 19 both State and local governments who will give their 20 firsthand account of the administration of the 2006 21 election. Then we will hear from several panelists 22 from various organizations who closely monitor the 92

1 administration of elections across the country.

2 Finally, we will receive testimony from a member of

3 the election technology community who will evaluate

4 how the new voting systems used throughout the

5 country worked and what problems were encountered.

6 On our first panel of this session and 7 this morning, we are pleased to have with us the 8 Honorable Debra Markowitz. Secretary Markowitz is 9 the Vermont Secretary of State and has served in 10 that position since 1988 and most recently 11 re-elected to her fifth term. Secretary Markowitz 12 is the constitutional officer responsible for 13 Vermont's election and providing educational 14 assistance to Vermont's local election officials. 15 She's been a leader in election reform in her State 16 and in the Nation and was the first women elected 17 Secretary of State in Vermont and she serves as the 18 president of the National Association of Secretaries 19 of State and is an important stakeholder to the EAC. 20 Our second speaker today will be Kevin 21 Kennedy. Kevin Kennedy is the Executive Director of 22 the Wisconsin State Election Board and has served in 93

that position since 1983. He's seen a lot of
 election reform himself in his years. In that
 capacity, he serves as the Chief Election Officer
 for the State of Wisconsin and is president of the
 National Association of State Election Directors.

6 He also serves as the co-chair of the National Task7 Force on Election Reform established by the Election8 Center.

9 Speaking of the Election Center, our 10 third speaker this morning will be the Honorable 11 Doug Lewis, the Executive Director of the Election 12 Centers and has been such since 1994. The Election 13 Center is a national non-profit organization serving 14 the elections and voter registration profession. 15 Doug developed and authored the professional 16 education program for election registration 17 officials, the most extensive professional training 18 program in the world for election officials which 19 leads to the status of Certified Election 20 Registration Administrator, CERA. Going to many 21 election conferences across the Nation, I've seen 22 many proudly display the CERA pins. 94

Mr. Lewis is one of the fathers of HAVA
 and of the EAC and the first chair of the EAC's
 Board of Advisors.
 Last but not least is a friend of mind I
 met through IACREOT. IACREOT is the International

6 Association of Clerks, Recorders, Election Officials

7 and Treasurers. Elizabeth Ensler is the

8 Director-At-Large for the Election Officials
9 Division of IACREOT and she's the Election
10 Commissioner for Shawnee County, Kansas, the
11 jurisdiction for Topeka, Kansas. She was first
12 appointed to that job in 1992 and was appointed four
13 more times by two different Secretaries of State.
14 She's distinguished herself with IACREOT in the
15 election field.

16 Fellow Commissioners, we are pleased to
17 have four distinguished people give us their views
18 on the 2006 election. We'll start with Secretary
19 Markowitz.
20 SECRETARY MARKOWITZ: Well, thank you.

21 Mr. Chairman, Commissioners, thank you for your

22 invitation to speak here today on behalf of the 95

1 Secretaries of State.

2 As president of the National Association 3 of Secretaries of State, I'm honored to represent my 4 fellow chief state election officials. I'm happy to 5 report that this year's midterm elections went well 6 overall for many of my colleagues nationwide. Legal 7 challenges have not be filed in large numbers as 8 predicted. Election officials have been working
9 over the last few weeks to verify vote totals in
10 close races and determine the outcomes in a fair and
11 impartial manner. In fact, we're in the middle of
12 the statewide recount in Vermont in our auditor's
13 race where it rested on a 138-vote difference in
14 that State.

Unfortunately, not every jurisdiction
enjoyed the same level of success. We saw
differences across the country. In some
jurisdictions, there were votes that were lost.
Some of new electronic voting equipment
malfunctioned. Not every statewide voter
registration data base worked as expected, and a
handful of voting equipment vendors failed to

provide promised support. Where problems did occur,
 State election officials worked quickly to resolve
 them as best they could, and their focus is now on
 preventing those problems from happening again in
 the future.

6 It's important to recognize, though,

7 that in general, the predictions of election day

8 chaos and problems were overblown. Before election

9 day, many academics and pundits and election
10 specials predicted widespread voting problems that
11 did not materialize. There were sporadic voting
12 equipment malfunctions. The majority of voters
13 didn't have trouble understanding the new
14 identification requirements that cropped up around
15 the country. They by and large didn't have trouble
16 using the new voting equipment or finding their
17 polling places.

Poll workers for the most part managed
their polling places well on election day despite
the fact that, as has been mentioned here today,
that in many of these polling places there was new
technology in place. There were fewer calls than

expected to special interest groups's voter trouble
 hotlines which are toll free numbers intended to be
 used by voters to ask questions or to report
 problems, and twice as many people visited the NASS
 voter education website canIvote.org on election day
 as called all of the voter hotlines combined. In
 fact, most of the voter confusion predicted was
 avoided thanks to proactive voter education efforts
 conducted by the States and National Association of

10 Secretaries of State as well as other organizations.

11 The NASS voter education website helped 12 prepare voters to cast their ballot on election day 13 by answering their questions about voter I.D. 14 requirements and helping them to locate their 15 polling places and to find out whether or not they 16 were registered to vote.

17 Voters nationwide demonstrated their
18 confidence in the system by turning out in larger
19 numbers than during 2002, more than 40 percent,
20 according to the Center for Study of the American
21 Electorate, and according to the non-partisan group
22 Young Voter Strategies, turnout among 18- to
98

1 29-year-olds increased by 25 percent. After casting
 2 their ballot, voters expressed a high level of
 3 confidence in the way the election was administered.
 4 According to a CNN exit poll, 87 percent of voters
 5 reported that they were confident that their votes
 6 would be counted accurately.

For the most part, jurisdictions that
8 encountered setbacks dealt with them quickly and
9 effectively. Local election officials in Georgia,
10 Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina

11 kept polling places open late to compensate for
12 minor delays caused by new voting equipment. In
13 Denver, Colorado, voters encountered long lines
14 after a power outage and equipment malfunction, but
15 everyone who was in line to vote before the polling
16 places closed had the opportunity to cast a ballot.
17 In Washington, a State that experienced
18 a lengthy recount in 2004 in the gubernatorial
19 election, the elections were virtually problem free
20 despite the fact that State and local election
21 workers were responsible for implementing 351

22 election-related rule changes. Many of the voting 99

equipment glitches we saw this year were the result
 of election workers' inexperience with brand new
 high-tech equipment. The technology and training
 must be fine tuned with help from the vendors in
 order to avoid problems in future elections. Each
 State will work with their vendors to determine the
 best way to improve the machines and the processes,
 and the NASS Elections Committee will also address
 the issue at future NASS conferences.

10 Speaking of future challenges, an

11 overwhelming majority of the States fulfilled the

12 Help America Vote Act's mandate before this year's
13 midterm election despite the fact that Congress has
14 still not appropriated \$800 million of the money
15 promised to the States to pay for election reforms,
16 but the outstanding 800 million really didn't have
17 an impact. If HAVA is not fully funding, its soft
18 expenditures like voter education initiatives and
19 poll worker training programs are the areas that
20 likely suffer the most. This morning, you,
21 Commissioner DeGregorio, Chair DeGregorio, mentioned
22 that that really is a challenge, making sure our

1 poll workers get the training they need.

2 The States may be forced to rely on 3 outside groups like NASS and other nonprofit and 4 nonpartisan organizations to continue these efforts, 5 but really it should be institutionalized by the 6 States through adequate funding. In the absence of 7 federal funds, financing for the work has to come 8 from other philanthropic groups and other grant 9 programs.

10 So in conclusion, back in February of

11 2006, the Secretaries of State reaffirmed our

12 determination and commitment to ensure that all

13 eligible voters can register and vote and that all
14 votes are counted accurately and fairly in each and
15 every election. Reports of this year's election
16 administration successes confirm overall that we
17 have fulfilled our promise to administer free and
18 fair elections although there is still more work to
19 be done.

In the coming weeks and months, we'll
continue to direct election administration and
reform in our States in the manner in which we 101

resolved to do so with respect to ensuring the fair
 administration of elections. Practices will be
 examined at the State level and within the States,
 not the Federal Government, and there will be a
 determination of what solution makes sense for that
 particular State. The States will decide how to
 balance security and transparency requirements with
 their ability and the laws related to the conduct of
 recounts in those States.

10 Elections were arguably run more
11 effectively this year than they've been in some
12 time, but better elections aren't good enough. The
13 Secretaries of State will continue to improve

14 elections to make the system the best that it can be
15 and we look forward to working with our staff
16 members, local election officials, and the U.S.
17 Elections Assistance Commission to continue to
18 improve elections administration across the country.
19 Mr. Chairman, Commissioners, thank you
20 for giving me the opportunity to represent NASS here
21 today and thank you for your work to help us to
22 continue to improve the elections in the United

1 States.

CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you,
Secretary Markowitz. We appreciate the work that
you and NASS do and the support that you have given
the EAC, and certainly Leslie Reynolds, your
Executive Director, is always in constant
communication with our office. We appreciate the
support that she gives us to help us do our work.
Thank you.
Mr. Kennedy, and I know the others, some
of you, will be summarizing your testimony. Please
be assured that your complete testimony will be

13 published on our EAC website.

14 Mr. Kennedy.

15 MR. KENNEDY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman,

16 Commissioner Hillman, Commissioner Davidson.

17 In a twist on some of the words of
18 Shakespeare, I come prepared to praise the work of
19 the election officials, not to bury it as was
20 prematurely done prior to the conduct of the
21 election. I think that it can best be summed up in
22 the evaluation of this election by saying that in

1 2006, more properly registered voters were able to
2 participate privately and independently using better
3 voting equipment. With confidence, their votes were
4 accurately voted than ever before. That doesn't
5 mean that there isn't significant room for
6 improvement, but the focus for us today, as you
7 heard from Secretary Markowitz is really to
8 recognize the positive aspects of this program, and
9 in doing that, we have to look not just at November
10 2006, but starting with the primaries that were
11 conducted beginning in March of this year. We have
12 run-off elections that continue this week. I just
13 came from Louisiana where Saturday we had the final
14 run-off election.

15 So we're not done yet, but we can all

16 visit measures by what happened in November and we 17 saw tremendous improvement from the issues that 18 popped up in some of our elections in March. We saw 19 the tremendous learning from that. Those of us who 20 had September primaries had a little bit less time 21 from our initial rollout of that, but we have to 22 look at where were we in 2000 and where are we now 104

1 to say that there is a very positive means of 2 assessing this and still much further for us to go. 3 When we look at the success of the 2006 4 elections, we look at what I think was the most 5 challenging aspect of this, which was to develop a 6 single uniform statewide voter registration system, 7 and I use my State as an example, as I think was the 8 most challenging outcome where we had 1500 of our 9 1850 municipalities that had no voter registration, 10 no voter records. As I was telling them, we can no 11 longer run our elections out of shoe boxes. There's 12 much more accountability in terms of how we run 13 elections, and every State, I think was able to 14 demonstrate improvement on that, and there's a wide 15 variety of approaches. I think HAVA recognized 16 different approaches in the States, and when we look 17 at the type of statewide systems we had in place

18 2000, there were really only two or three,

19 effectively, in the country, and we've now built it 20 up where nearly every State has fully functioning 21 system.

We also see with those fully functioning 105

1 systems we're now paying attention to uniform
 2 procedures in those States. Groups are looking at
 3 how are we disenfranchising voters, how are we
 4 notifying them when they're no longer eligible, and
 5 so we moved to the next step only that once we got
 6 the infrastructure built. So there's so much more
 7 than can be done with this, that we've come so far
 8 in terms of ensuring that people are properly
 9 registered and there's one place to find out who's
 10 properly registered in the State.

We're continuing to look at the
performance of those things. That's a highly
technical infrastructure. Probably the most visible
aspect as opposed to what I consider the challenging
is the deployment of voting equipment. As a result
of the Help America Vote Act and the dispersement of
funds from the U.S. Election Assistance Commission,

18 we no longer have any significant amount of punch
19 card or lever voting machines in this country. That
20 has been replaced, so a tremendous infrastructure.
21 The news reports indicate 35 percent of voters are
22 voting on different equipment than was voted on in 106

1 2000.

So significant changes in the aspect of
removing equipment was inherently after the 2000
election suspect, but what needs to happen with that
equipment? I think the U.S. EAC is taking a
tremendous step today to build on that confidence.
We saw that while HAVA thought that employing one
DRE in every polling place was presumptively going
to provide more accessibility, some of the issues
that arose out of this cast a cloud on this, and I
think that the EAC is taking steps with the
institution of this program to ensure that we can
dissipate that cloud with future voting equipment
and with future discussion.

I do think that we need to find some way
of focusing on vendors with the delivery of so much
new voting equipment this time around. In the State
of Wisconsin, we saw equipment arriving in the month

19 of August for our September primary, that vendors
20 need to approve their product and there needs to be
21 some incentive for that. I think the new standards
22 are going to do that.

1 More importantly, the customer service 2 needs to be improved, the ability to provide ballot 3 printing, equipment programming, and maintenance 4 services in a timely manner. I think what we saw 5 this time around was that understaffed and 6 overcommitted vendors left many election officials 7 without the ability to provide voting options to the 8 electorate because of late or non-delivery of valid 9 support services. Fortunately, I think that the 10 local election officials and the State election 11 officials worked feverishly to ensure that, but I 12 know that there were lots of last minute discussions 13 in my States with vendors, including us drawing a 14 line in the sand and saying that the proposed 15 solutions were unacceptable.

16 This is going to require resources.

17 Secretary Markowitz referred to the unfunded money

18 that has not been distributed and pointed, I think

19 very remarkably, to what is really going to happen.

20 HAVA was an infrastructure investment. The States

21 are left with continuing maintenance of this, but

22 the key elements of success are training of our 108

election officials, not just our poll workers, but
 they need a very solid amount of training by our
 local elections officials, and they need support. I
 think all Counties in Wisconsin, municipalities, are
 struggling to find the funds to maintain the
 investment we put in with HAVA funds with the new
 voting equipment and new voter registration system,
 and that's going to be a continuing challenge.
 I think that looking back to where we
 were, where we are now, and where we want to be,
 it's been a long journey. The public and the media
 learned more about the administration of elections,

13 have come to expect more and now closely scrutinize

14 the process. We have learned there are not enough

15 financial and other resources devoted to this

16 fundamental element of the democratic process. We

17 have learned, certainly, there is one set of

18 solutions that can be applied to all States and

19 local jurisdictions to address the election-related

20 issues identified during this time. Again, I come

21 back to looking at where we are today and can still

22 safely say that more registered voters were able to 109

1 participate privately and independently, using

2 better voting equipment with confidence that votes

3 were accurately counted than ever before.

4 Thank you very much.

5 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you, Mr.

6 Kennedy. I believe you have, what, over 1800

7 election jurisdictions under your umbrella in

8 Wisconsin?

9 MR. KENNEDY: 1851 municipalities and 72 10 counties.

11 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: That alone

12 represents over 25 percent of the election

13 jurisdictions in the Nation. You've done this for

14 23 years and you've survived. So that says a lot

15 about who you are. So we appreciate your testimony.

16 Thank you.

17 And somebody who is also involved in

18 helping election officials throughout his career is

19 Doug Lewis.

20 Mr. Lewis.

21 MR. LEWIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman,

That huge sigh you heard right after the
 election was over with was the elections officials
 breathing easier because the election came out
 pretty well in America. This was probably the most
 stressful election for election administrators that
 any of them have ever had in their working lifetime.

7 So from their standpoint of trying to 8 make massive change all happen within two years and 9 come together this year, both from a Federal level 10 and then from about half of the States, a little 11 more than half of the States, actually adding on 12 additional requirements. So it was a challenging 13 year for anybody in this profession, and yet at the 14 same time, the profession demonstrated that it 15 handled it very, very well. Preparation, the Help 16 American Vote Act, the money that came from the Help 17 America Vote Act, the fact that people were looking 18 at and working on this process all the time, I think 19 paid off handsomely. Certainly if you look at the 20 voter confidence that returned as a result of it, 21 the voter confidence in any figure I have ever seen 22 in my 30-something years in this profession, I have

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1 never seen a number higher than 88. So 88 seems to
 2 me to be pretty much the top mark that can be
 3 achieved.

4 In terms of what we do for all of this 5 from the future seems to me is that we can't assume 6 that we're there yet. Obviously, elections is an 7 evolving process. Obviously, we end up doing a 8 whole lot more of this each and every time. We 9 learn as we do elections. We learn from mistakes. 10 We learn from our own mistakes. We learn from 11 others' mistakes, and we make the process better. 12 My point to all of this, though, is 13 we've got to quit beating up on the process. This 14 is important to America. It absolutely should 15 transcend partisan politics. It should be at the 16 point where regardless of how you lost the election, 17 whether you're a Republican or a Democrat, that you 18 don't continue to quibble that the process is part 19 of that. If we lose, if Americans lose, fundamental 20 faith in this process, then they loose faith in the 21 government that results, and in that case, democracy 22 gets lost. So I think we have to start assuming 112

that we're on the right track and to begin to at
 least ameliorate some of those criticisms that have
 become unfounded.

4 As we go through it, yes, there were 5 some real problems, and I think we need to admit 6 that there are going to occasionally be some 7 problems, and when we look at those, we need to 8 dissect those. Right now, I will say to you I have 9 asked all the States to give us a rundown of what 10 was reported versus what actually happened in their 11 State. We're going to try to at least build a 12 compendium before the Congress comes in because some 13 of these get played up as being reasons for doing 14 certain kinds of things, and so we're asking the 15 States at this point to give us real information on 16 what really happened, what the outcome was, what 17 they're doing to fix it, if it was a real problem or 18 if it was a misinterpreted problem. 19 One of the things we learned very much 20 from Election 2000 forward, if you rely only on news 21 stories, very often those are incorrect in the final

22 analysis. So it's one of those things we're asking. 113
1 Hopefully, for the future of the EAC, I 2 hope you all take on this responsibility. It is 3 something that I think is so vital to America that 4 it is necessary to have you and your staff pursuing 5 this information and getting officially from the 6 States and from the locals as to what happened so 7 that we can then take those and transform those into 8 the best kinds of teaching and procedures and 9 policies to make sure that we don't create those 10 problems additionally in the future. I would say 11 that we end up needing to understand that we are 12 expecting too much from poll workers. We've gotten 13 to the point that we expect them to know frontward 14 and backwards 80- to 200-page manuals on how to 15 conduct an election. We expect them to know how to 16 be election technicians to be able to repair or set 17 up or maintain equipment while it's in the polling 18 place. We're working them for 14 to 16 hours a day. 19 We expect them to be nice every minute of that day 20 even when some of the people who come into the 21 polling place both as voters or as partisans 22 observing the process are not always nice to the 114

1 poll workers.

2 And so we've gotten to the point that 3 somehow we belittle the fact that this folks are 65 4 and older and sometimes don't know the job very 5 well. For every one of those poll workers that 6 probably does have a weakness, we've got four who 7 are really pretty good people and have really done 8 remarkably. And, quite frankly, I don't know how 9 we'd run elections currently without them.

10 If you look at what we are expecting of 11 them, we also want them to know secondary languages 12 to be able to help voters in secondary languages. 13 This has gotten to the point that we're going to 14 have to redesign this process. We're going to have 15 to re-think how we do all of this. As a result of 16 that, the Election Center is going to form this year 17 a national task force on training. A part of that, 18 and only a part of it because we're also looking at 19 training of staff, training of technicians, training 20 of lawyers, training of everybody that's involved in 21 this possess, including voters, but part of that 22 will be poll worker training to see if we cannot 115 1 come up with some additional learning tools that
2 will help all the jurisdictions to do this. That
3 problem is really beyond us. We'll be able to do
4 this over the next year. I don't expect that we're
5 going to solve that problem in a year, and it's
6 probably going to be a longer term problem, but
7 we're also going to have to figure out how to do
8 with fewer poll workers. We need to look at the
9 process to see if we cannot come up with
10 methodologies into which do not have to have as a
11 growing society and a growing population these huge,
12 huge numbers in large jurisdictions of poll workers;
13 and, quite frankly, in large jurisdictions, we have
14 a very difficult time recruiting them and
15 maintaining them.

16 In terms of voting systems standards, I 17 think what you all have done already in this is 18 remarkable. I know that you have taken some 19 criticism for not moving fast enough, but you folks 20 have done a remarkable job of laying this in in a 21 methodical, cautioned, reasoned approach of how we 22 do this and make this work for all Americans and 116

1 make it work for the future. At the same time,

2 we've probably got a little problem of figuring out
3 what is that area that is regulation versus too much
4 regulation, how do we get to the point -- we can't
5 continuously update standards and expect the voting
6 system industry to survive. We cannot be changing
7 the design every two years and be able to end up
8 with a product that the jurisdictions can afford and
9 the vendors can afford and support. So we need to
10 look at that.

11 I'm also troubled, quite frankly, by the 12 notion that we've taken on the voting systems 13 industry as being part of an evil empire and evil 14 doers. I don't see that at all, and so I think we 15 need to have a little different attitude about that, 16 and that's not your fault. That's really a general 17 society problem that we've now begun to punch at 18 these folks, and, quite frankly, I think on the most 19 part, they've been our partners over these many, 20 many years of trying to make this process work for 21 America.

I think we need to recognize money in 117

1 the process, but there are some groups and

2 organizations nationally that have asked for the

3 Federal Government to continue to fund this process
4 throughout. I'm not one of those. I think
5 continuous Federal funding means eventually more
6 Federal regulation in this process. I trust the
7 genius of the States and the locales to do this.
8 They're a perfect laboratory for a creation and
9 environment of innovation, and the States do this
10 exceedingly well, and if we leave it to them, I
11 think they'll get even better. Yes, there were some
12 problems with statewide voter data bases. Yes, some
13 vendors didn't come up with the right answers that
14 actually worked on this, and if we give the States
15 long enough on this, they'll get it right. I trust
16 them in every way.

17 Finally, I'm really, really glad you
18 folks are here right now. I am. I thank you, Mr.
19 Chairman, for I think incorrectly attributing to me
20 being the father of the EAC, but I'll accept that
21 mantle at this point and say to you you folks have
22 such an incredible role to play in this, it is

remarkable. Washington in the last few years has
 been probably the most bitterly partisan place I
 have known in my working lifetime, and if that

4 continues, if the two sides cannot find a way to be
5 bipartisan rather than bitter partisan, they're
6 going to need your advice and guidance, the calm
7 rational, reasoned kind of guidance that you can
8 give that's based on real world experience, and I'm
9 appreciative that each you is here.

So it seems to me without you, this may
evolve into something that would have serious
unintended consequences for elections in America.
So I am proud that you're here. I'm glad to be
associated with you in any way, shape, or form, and
I thank you for inviting us to come and to
participate.

17 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you, Mr.
18 Lewis. I appreciate your comments and your support.
19 Libby.
20 MS. ENSLER: Thank you, Commissioners,
21 for allowing me to make this presentation. In the
22 interest of time, you do have my testimony in front

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1 of you. I'd like to touch on some of the

2 highlights, and I would like to say that I applaud

3 Mr. Lewis' comments.

4 Your local election officials are your

5 front line of the election administrators. We're 6 dealing directly with the voters, and I think we 7 have a little bit different point of view than what 8 has been stated so far and in addition to what has 9 been stated so far. I don't disagree with anything 10 that's been said.

11 I think one of the real successes -- I 12 need to take the word "I" out of there. We actually 13 queried members of IACREOT at the International 14 Association of Clerks, Recorders, and Election 15 Officials, and the response is the written testimony 16 I've given you is really a synopsis of 58 pages 17 worth of responses that came back from those 18 election officials. It is not just my experience, 19 but election officials' experiences, and the real 20 success of the election was private voting for those 21 people who are disabled, sometimes voting privately 22 for the first time in their entire life. 120

As one official said at a meeting of
 some people who were visually impaired, it was
 almost a life-changing experience for them, and this
 certainly should be applauded. Also, the
 opportunity for voters to vote a provisional ballot

6 and to find out if that ballot actually counted in 7 the election is the correct way to handle a problem 8 on election day, and many voters did make use of 9 this; however, I do need to mention that this is new 10 for many jurisdictions and they are still working 11 through training, staffing, the logistics of 12 handling one, two, and three percent of vote in a 13 very brief period of time prior to a statutory 14 certification deadline. It's also adding 15 significant costs to the running of the election. 16 Prior to the election, the distrust of 17 electronic equipment was a great concern with the 18 well-publicized fear of fraud and lack of faith in 19 the voting systems. Now, election officials should 20 always be held to the fire. They should always be 21 able to answer questions regarding legitimate 22 security of the systems, but I'm discussing 121

accusations that ranged really with a lot of
 ignorance of how the equipment is used and where it
 is used to some people who purposely seem to
 misrepresent the facts about the software and the
 hardware.

6 Your local election officials are the

7 front line, as I said, and although the electronic 8 voting systems are, in effect, mandated by the Help 9 America Vote Act, there really was no help for local 10 officials in answering some of the claims against 11 the system. Overall in the 58 pages of comments 12 that were sent to me, most of them began with the 13 fact that the election proceeded fairly smoothly for 14 them, and this is exceedingly impressive considering 15 that they were putting into effect new equipment as 16 well as new software in many cases. Most voters 17 found the equipment easy to use and all of this was 18 accomplished at great cost to local officials.

19 The expense of new equipment purchased
20 through the Help America Vote Act is only a fraction
21 of the ongoing cost to maintain the equipment
22 required. Additional expenses for warehousing, 122

training, employing additional board workers,
 programming, maintenance, transportation, audio
 files and supplies have in some cases doubled the
 cost of running the election. Budget-busting
 programming costs, a severe hardship on any
 jurisdiction, is a particularly hard on small or
 poor jurisdictions that do not have the money to

8 purchase programming software. They don't have the 9 I.T. staff to support the software, nor do they have 10 the election staff to run it. Therefore, they're 11 completely reliant on election support companies to 12 program memory cards and packs and create audio 13 files for electronic equipment. In many cases, this 14 added cost for the primary election alone took the 15 entire year's budget for the election.

16 Future costs for replacing electronic
17 equipment cannot be overlooked either, and I believe
18 we need to look into that now. It will be an
19 expensive endeavor. Local jurisdictions will not
20 have any more money in the future to replace,
21 repair, or acquire equipment than they did to
22 purchase it in the first place. Federal assistance

1 will be needed then too.

2 The implementation timeframe and the 3 production deadlines for HAVA were basically 4 unrealistic. I just hope this is borne in mind for 5 future legislation, that we need time to implement 6 laws and make sure that they are done correctly and 7 time for the creation of equipment and software. 8 Long lines at the voting place continue to plague 9 many locations across the country, and it would be
10 helpful to hear recommendations as to the number of
11 machines needed per registered voters to get a more
12 realistic estimate of how many machines are needed,
13 and the requirements for ballot requests that they
14 remain active through two November general elections
15 is irresponsible and creates a disservice to the
16 military personnel with unrealistic expectations
17 regarding the local officials' ability to track
18 their movement. In many cases, fully one-third of
19 these ballots were returned as undeliverable. More
20 seriously is a security issue. Even a larger number
21 of ballots are unaccounted for. They did not get to
22 the person that they were intended to. They are not

returned as undeliverable, and we do not believe
 they got to the person they were intended to.

3 The quick start management guides have 4 some very good ideas on them and will be very 5 helpful for future elections. They were a bit late 6 for this particular -- for this series of elections. 7 Election worker training as well as continuing to 8 research alternative forms of elections, such as 9 all-mail ballot and other forms of elections should 10 continue to be researched for benefits to the
11 voters, and the court-ordered changes to the
12 election procedures well after an election has
13 already begun causes confusion among voters and
14 election workers and difficulties for
15 administrators. This was directly reported in
16 several jurisdictions in regards to the voter
17 identification requirements, but is also a
18 consistent problem throughout the years.
19 And thank you very much for your time
20 and consideration.
21 CHAIRMAN DEGREGORIO: Thank you,

22 Ms. Ensler, and thank you for that very important 125

1 perspective.

2 Commissioners, now we have some time to
3 question our panel here, and I think we have about
4 five to seven minutes each for questions if you'd
5 like to.
6 Commissioner Davidson.
7 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: I can begin.
8 Thank you.

9 First of all, some of you stated, you

10 know, that the problems that you saw and actually,

11 especially the election officials, either the
12 Secretary of State or the Directors of Elections,
13 did you survey your people in getting your
14 information? Because some of the things that you
15 mentioned in your talk, I think is very important,
16 and if you have information in that area, if you
17 actually got good information, that would be very
18 helpful of what kind of problems you saw, you know,
19 where were the problems with, you know, maybe the
20 manufacturer or the vendor that didn't meet the
21 needs for the officials. That type of information
22 would be very helpful.

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## 1 Have you done a survey?

2 MS. MARKOWITZ: I don't believe the NASS 3 has done a formal survey, but at our February 4 meeting, there will be an opportunity for us to get 5 the concrete information. You know, when problems 6 arise, the NASS office knows about them because of 7 our constant interaction with the Secretaries of 8 State. So there may be unreported problems as well 9 with, for example, vendors and so forth; but we are 10 aware of a number of them across the country.

11 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Okay. So it was

12 really actually taken by the information from the

13 States and not from a news media or something like

14 that?

MS. MARKOWITZ: By and large, the
information in my testimony is from the States, but
I can refer back to Leslie to give you more
information if you'd like.
COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: She's shaking

20 her head yes if that helps you.

21 MS. MARKOWITZ: Yes. She's behind me.

22 That's why I need her here.

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1 MS. MARKOWITZ: Kevin.

2 MR. KENNEDY: What I would say is that 3 one of the challenges that we're seeing this time is 4 that everybody is asking, and it's not very focused, 5 for exactly what you're asking for. As Doug 6 mentioned, he's just asked the States. I've gotten 7 several requests. It's almost a veil threat, if you 8 don't respond, we'll have to rely on the media 9 reports on this.

10 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: That ought to

11 scare them. Huh? Is that what it's intended to do?

12 MR. KENNEDY: Well, that's the

13 unfortunate part, because the media, of course,
14 focuses on what didn't work as opposed to what did,
15 but we need to have a good way of a tracking that.
16 The HAVA administrative complaint procedure, I've
17 seen reports that have come in from the HAVA
18 attorneys that track this and they're getting very
19 few administrative complaints that are going through
20 that procedure. They're glad to have that process
21 there, and it works. They see it more as a vetting
22 process for the individuals, but what I've noticed

in the last -- in the period after the election was
 the constant demand for so many sources, some which
 you want to bend over backwards to honor, for
 exactly the kind of information you want, and I
 think that's one of the challenges. We're in midst
 of compiling the data for the EAC survey which is
 being refined, but we're trying to identify the
 hiccups in the process both before and after.
 As the commissioner pointed out, I look
 primarily to my State for comments, and I know that
 I'm not aware of every vendor-election official
 interaction. It was only when they said help us, or

13 sometimes they wanted to work it through themselves,

14 but it's that -- you know, that's one of the things

15 we have to change a little bit, is to get them

16 better documented and in a way that we can respond,

17 because so many people are asking for that

18 information.

COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: You know, one of
20 the reasons why I ask is that you understood when we
21 were talking about some of the programs that we
22 talked about prior to your speaking today, the
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certification program and the fraud program that we
 will be getting information from you, and how we go
 about trying to gather that is when you -- it's
 really quite important to work with both groups,
 obviously, in seeing how we best achieve the goals
 that we have; and as Doug mentioned, we need to do
 more in the future. So how we do this and do it
 right, I think is going to be very important.

9 The other question I have for you is do 10 you feel that some of the problems that occurred in 11 the State and in the counties or whatever, some of 12 those problems that occurred, is it because their 13 State law doesn't give them enough direction or 14 maybe it's not in tune with what HAVA is, that they 15 still haven't caught up with that? Is there any
16 issues there with their State law that maybe hasn't
17 quite caught up?
18 I know I was in a State and I did learn
19 that provisional ballots -- I was doing a study on
20 how many provisional ballots are done. It won't be
21 the same throughout States because they all view
22 provisional ballots differently. So I wondered if

any of you think some of maybe the lines that was
 formed could be improved because of some State laws
 being changed.

4 MR. LEWIS: Certainly, Commissioner, I 5 think Libby hit on it exceedingly well, is that when 6 you look at long lines, long lines, quite frankly, 7 are a product of money. Legislators within States 8 and county budget authorities will not fund the 9 numbers of units that are required in order to 10 adequately take care of voters during peak voting 11 periods. What we do is we average those numbers 12 out, and the budget authorities all look at it and 13 say, Well, okay, so many voters showed up, you know, 14 that means that you only need X, Y, Z number of 15 machines because you can handle so many people per 16 hour.

Without recognition, the people don't
18 show up in the same numbers all day long. They show
19 up in the two peak hours in the morning and the two
20 peak hours right around lunch and the two peak hours
21 at the end of the day, and we don't have enough
22 voting equipment. The truth of the matter is when

we say we need spares -- Libby will tell you when
 you need spares and you tell budget authorities you
 need spares, they don't give you spares. You know,
 and no matter what it is in the way of voting
 devices, if you're scattering enough of them out,
 some of them are not going to function like they
 ought to in terms of being able to use them
 immediately. They probably work, but it's being
 able to use them immediately.

10 So you need spares to be able to pull 11 these in and out and make this happen, but that 12 isn't the way budget authorities do this, and until 13 we solve that problem, I don't think we're going to 14 solve long lines.

15 Secondly, legislators have got to quit16 putting on 40 issues in long ballot years. I mean,

17 you just can't do this. It absolutely kills the
18 election process in terms of being able to have an
19 adequate throughput in terms of voters.
20 So, yes, we have maybe made some
21 mistakes in terms of the way we allocate machines,
22 but I will tell you if you get into it, more often
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1 than not it's not the misallocation. It is the fact2 that you don't have the machines to allocate.

3 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Well, and I 4 agree with you. I think that throughout the Nation, 5 the elections went very well. You know, I think the 6 election officials did a tremendous job. I mean, we 7 had reports right before the election, the week 8 before the election, that there were judges needed 9 so many places, and, you know, how many of the 10 precincts were short on election day with judges, we 11 don't know. You know, we know there was probably 12 before the election, but now we're not sure what 13 happened on election day, you know, if they were 14 actually, and that makes for long lines too if you 15 don't have the personnel there that you really need 16 to help move the voters through.

17 MR. LEWIS: Well, Commissioner, I will

18 tell you after the events in Montgomery County,
19 Maryland in terms of the primary, there were some
20 groups there suggesting that they criminalize not
21 showing up as a poll worker. Now, the way we
22 guarantee to make sure we don't have any poll
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1 workers is to do that kind of thing. So we've got
2 to recognize that we do end up with shortages, and
3 if they don't show up, no matter what we've done -4 we overrecruit. We try to do everything we can to
5 recruit more than we need, but if they don't show
6 up, you don't know that they don't show up until
7 they don't show up.

8 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Well, I think 9 your advice is don't overreact to issues. Is that 10 what I'm hearing?

11 MR. LEWIS: Yes, ma'am.

12 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Libby, do you

13 have anything to add to any of the questions I've

14 asked?

15 MS. ENSLER: Well, particularly about

16 the lines, it is going to vary over times of the

17 day, but also the questions that are on the ballot,

18 and the questions on the ballot is just part of the

19 election. You know, we have to be prepared for it.

20 They need to take it into consideration when they're

21 purchasing equipment as well.

A voting machine does add to long lines 134

because you cannot vote on that machine as long as
 somebody else is voting on it, and we are using more
 in the way of DREs, and so that is going to
 contribute to longer lines, and we need to face the
 fact we need to purchase adequate numbers of
 equipment, which is expensive, and they need
 assistance in being able to purchase them.

8 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Thank you very

9 much. I'll quit. I know you have questions.

10 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Ms. Hillman.

11 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you.

12 My first question, I think is for

13 Secretary Markowitz. It gets to the issue of what
14 we all recognize that, for the most part, generally
15 speaking, elections ran well in 2006. For those
16 communities where it didn't run well, it doesn't
17 matter how well it ran in the rest of the country;
18 it didn't work very well here. And there also is a

19 belief that the problems that did occur still

20 continue to be disproportionate to minority and low

21 income communities, and I'm wondering if NASS has

22 any observation on that and how we wrap our arms 135

1 figuring out is it true, are the kind of problems
2 that are happening today still disproportionate to
3 minority and low income communities and, if so, why.
4 MS. MARKOWITZ: Well, that's a great
5 question, Commissioner. I think that we don't know
6 yet. You know, I think that reports are coming in
7 and the analysis is being made, especially by the
8 organizations like the NAACP that have been focusing
9 on these kinds of challenges.

10 Once we see the hard evidence, then the 11 Secretaries of State will respond, and we do know 12 that in the past, the minority communities were 13 particularly challenged by having the old outdated 14 equipment that routinely lost votes and were 15 problematic. Well, that means that they have new 16 equipment today because of the Help America Vote 17 Act, but the question is how is the training, how is 18 the voter education, how is the performance of that 19 technology in those communities. We have to wait 20 until we see the data and then, first of all, know 21 if it's true that the problems -- and there's two

22 different kinds of -- a bunch of different problems 136

we can talk about. You know, there's problems of
 voter intimidation, voter fraud, problems of long
 lines, problems of equipment failures, and we can
 probably think of more problems, and I think it's an
 appropriate inquiry to say, Okay, are there
 communities that are suffering greater from these
 issues, and if so, what's the solution.

8 I do know that the Chief Elections 9 Officials and those, of course, Secretaries of State 10 that I deal with it particularly really focused on 11 those issues and tried to -- for example, in 12 Pennsylvania, Pedro Cortez, the Secretary there, 13 really took a look at where there were problems in 14 the past in his State to try to make sure they 15 didn't recur in those particularly low and minority 16 communities.

17 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you. I18 appreciate that.

Mr. Kennedy, we have probably less than20 15 months to go before the next Federal election21 cycle starts. So, you know, get your big sighs in

## 22 and stretch now because we've got to gear up and get 137

ready, and there really isn't a lot of time in the
 sense of the kind of planning and execution of
 assessing data and best practices and so on and so
 forth; but I'm wondering if there are specific
 things that you can think would be most useful that
 the EAC can do to help States be ready for 2008 from
 the HAVA perspective, knowing that, like I said, in
 15 months we'll probably see the first Federal
 primary happening in 2008.

10 MR. KENNEDY: That's right. We'll be 11 seeing those in February of 2008 as far as the 12 primaries go, but I think this is our time, 2007, to 13 take everything that we've learned, and we may have 14 breathed a sigh of relief, but I think people rolled 15 their sleeves up too right after that because they 16 know that 2007 is their time for preparation, and 17 some States have statewide elections to deal with. 18 My next election is February 2007 for our statewide 19 local and judicial races, but I think it's in 2007 20 where we need to lay the groundwork for planning in 21 terms of a lot of the guidance that you have. I 22 think we need to re-emphasize that information.

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1 One of the concerns that we had, and I 2 think it was noted by Libby, was that was great 3 information, but it came a little bit too late, and 4 many of us were able to say done that, done that, 5 good, Oh, I wish I would have thought about that, 6 and I think that's really the value of the EAC, and 7 you've done a lot of that work already. So the 8 point is can we build on that to remind people of 9 this, and I think it needs to be a message not just 10 to the election officials. It needs to be a message 11 that is conveyed to our legislators and to the 12 public, that this is the preparation time, this is 13 where you get more comfortable with that type of 14 voting equipment. Local election officials can go 15 back and know their voting patterns so that they can 16 plan, because 2008 will be a challenge. It will be 17 a much higher turnout than we saw with the midterm 18 elections, but we'll have a lot to build on, and I 19 think EAC's contribution is to continue with a lot 20 of the toolkits and the voting guides that you've 21 put out and look at that, because we're not going to 22 make significant changes in voting equipment between 139

now and 2008, particularly as your system gears up.
 All of your labs won't be ready in 2007, but there
 will be a need for some changes, but it's really
 that importance of let's get the information out to
 our local election officials so that they can really
 be prepared.

7 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you. I8 appreciate that.

9 Mr. Lewis, I appreciated the comments 10 that you made about the EAC. I know that we've 11 arrived because we now heed increasingly more 12 criticisms and negative comments than we do 13 statements of appreciation. So that's always the 14 indication that you have a arrived.

15 You made a statement, something to the 16 words of we can't assume we are there yet, and my 17 question for you is from your perspective where is 18 there?

MR. LEWIS: We're in pretty good shape.
We're not in absolutely perfect shape. Going back
to, for instance, your question in terms of are the
minority areas still having some difficulties in 140

1 some of this, you know, no matter what anybody says
2 and no matter what we all do, this process always
3 has to be fair to every segment of the voting
4 population, and even in some instances where it may
5 not yet be proven that there is lack of resources to
6 some of this, it seems to me the perception that
7 there is lack of resources is something we've also
8 got to work on, because we need to make sure that
9 people have a fundamental faith in this process.

In every poll that I've seen for the
11 last 10 years on this says, quite frankly, that
12 African Americans and Hispanic Americans are not
13 quite as sure as the rest of America that it works
14 for them, and that to me is not a healthy place for
15 us to be. So we're going to need to do some things
16 to look at this and begin to bring closer to reality
17 both perception and what is actually going on, and
18 that's an education process in instances.
19 In terms of what we do in elections and
20 election administration, we train a thousand

21 election officials a year at the Election Center

22 through conferences and workshops. We are \$141\$

constantly trying to get better and better and
 better at this, but the process involves so many
 people and so many factors that we don't have
 control over that it just -- you know, it is always
 a unique challenge of how to make this work.

6 We seek perfection. As a profession, we 7 seek perfection. I'm going to tell you that most of 8 the folks that are in election are overachiever 9 types, control freaks of the first order, and 10 perfectionists like you wouldn't believe, and they 11 are frustrated when something is not perfect.

12 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I think your13 colleagues take exception. They said, no, they're14 not.

15 MR. LEWIS: This is just one of those 16 places where it works, and so we've got a lot of 17 work yet to do. Just what you pointed out earlier, 18 that if it doesn't work in a community for most 19 folks, their perception is not quite as great as the 20 rest of the Nation, and when those instances occur, 21 we need to learn from them, but to learn from them 22 means we've got to be able to get the correct story, 142

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because let me tell you one of the analyses in
 Tennessee was that there was a voting system problem
 because there were power outages and the power
 outages used battery backups, and, gee, that was
 provided in voting systems guidelines, that all of
 these units have battery backups. So was it a
 problem with voting equipment or was it a problem
 that the power wasn't there to begin with and the
 voting equipment did exactly what it was supposed to
 do?

So we've got to separate out fact from
12 fiction so that we can work on real problems and
13 solve those.

14 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you very15 much.

16 Ms. Ensler, my last question: Election 17 administration is not a very sexy issue. I mean, 18 it's much more interesting for people to pile on, 19 you know, suspicions about the voting machines 20 aren't accurate or they're pre-programmed to do 21 something other than what the voter intended, but I 22 have observed during my three years on the 143

1 Commission that there still continues to be a

2 disconnect between what the local groups who work on
3 voting and election-related issues, the
4 non-governmental groups, know about the
5 administration of elections, how elections are put
6 together and run, everything from voter registration
7 to certifying the vote and what actually goes on.

8 I mean, I've come to appreciate how 9 complex the job is and the notion of the numerous 10 details and the amount of work that has to be done. 11 So I'm wondering what can be done to really get --12 and I'll just for generic sake call it advocacy 13 group, the activism in the community. What can we 14 do to get them to understand that they need to just 15 slow down for a minute and spend some time with the 16 election officials, invited or uninvited, to see how 17 the operation goes, meet the people there, see where 18 the equipment is stored, learn the security 19 protocols, see how the voter registration forms are 20 done, appreciate the process that an election 21 official goes through to design and develop a ballot 22 and all of the other details that, in fact, turn out 144

1 to be sources of discomfort and sometimes suspicion

2 from the outside community of was this ballot

3 designed this way on purpose to confuse voters, to4 suppress votes in certain areas.

5 MS. ENSLER: You're right on target on 6 your comments. A lot of it is a case of disconnect. 7 People just are not familiar with the administration 8 of elections. I don't know that I have an easy 9 answer on that. I think that's what election 10 officials are constantly trying to do. When I'm 11 speaking with groups or when people are upset and 12 they contact me, by the time I finish explaining all 13 of the various steps and safety procedures, the fact 14 that we have two people of an opposite political 15 party and things are done in the open, not hidden 16 away in a tunnel somewhere and that there are 17 backups and such and then invite them to the public 18 test of the equipment, I haven't had anybody show up 19 at a public test yet.

20 But it is getting there. It's trying to 21 get that information out to people, and I don't know 22 that there is an easy way just to do that, because 145

there are so many groups and they don't always think
 of asking, and I suppose it would probably be up to

3 us to try to seek them out, but we're also trying to

4 put on an election at that point. But I think do5 think that most of the time being able to invite6 people in and show them and explain to them what's7 going on is very helpful.

8 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I love to give 9 ideas to people, and maybe, Secretary Markowitz, 10 NASS could undertake designating a month in 2007 in 11 which local election officials will be asked to plan 12 to invite community leaders in. It will be not 13 voter education week in the sense of educating 14 individual voters, but educating people about this 15 is where the system works, what are your issues, and 16 this is how we address your issues, something that 17 calls national attention to this versus, you know, 18 7,000 individual efforts to reach out to the folks 19 in the community who could benefit. Their work 20 could benefit from knowing more about what happens 21 with election administration.

22 SECRETARY MARKOWITZ: Thank you. 146

## 1 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you.

2 You know, I had the opportunity this

3 year to visit about 10 States in the primaries in a

4 lot of jurisdictions and three States on election

5 day itself. So I got to see up close and personal
6 many of the things that you described and I know,
7 Kevin, you've described in more detail in your
8 testimony in the statewide data base, and I was
9 there in Wisconsin to see how you and your 180010 plus election officials dealt with that.

Secretary Markowitz, you talked about
 Washington State and what Sam Reed and his folks had
 to deal with, 351 election changes, code changes,
 since 2004. It's just incredible to even imagine
 something like that.

16 Libby, you have, you know, great 17 testimony here about the cost of elections and the 18 impact that really has had at the local level, the 19 cost of elections, and I heard that too from 20 election officials, that this never used to cost 21 anything near this and we blow our whole year budget 22 just on the primary election.

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Of course, Doug, you talked about these
 long ballots that people are having to manage in
 their elections. I was in Chicago when they had 95
 decisions for voters to make when they were in that
 voting booth, and the way that the folks in Chicago

6 had to manage that process was just mind boggling.

7 And we can talk about any one of those 8 individually, but I'm not. I think what I want to 9 focus on in this last question to you, this panel, 10 is about future. From what I can judge, there's 11 going to be about 20 percent of election officials 12 around this country in 2007 that are going to be 13 new. Certainly, Secretary Markowitz, we have a new 14 class of election officials that are coming in in 15 January, and you all you know you have State 16 Election Directors. You have certainly local 17 officials around the country. Many people quit or 18 retired. Some have been defeated and held 19 accountable for some of the problems that they have 20 brought about themselves. 21 So how are you going to handle that? 22 What is in place in 2007 to help new election

officials, some of whom, many of whom maybe, have
 never been involved in this business before, but
 then have to get in this business of management and
 managing elections and facing 2008, and how are you
 going to address that issue and should there be any
 State requirements that make election officials have

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7 to go through some kind of training that the State8 certifies to ensure that they have at least some of9 the important skills necessary to be election10 officials?

11 We'll start with you, Secretary

12 Markowitz.

SECRETARY MARKOWITZ: Well, you know,
14 one of the important roles that a professional like
15 the National Association of Secretaries of State
16 plays is -- it creates an environment where
17 mentoring becomes pretty easy and also it's a forum
18 for education. So, of course, in the February
19 meeting and as we do in our July meeting, we devote
20 at least one or two days simply to elections and
21 election administration.

22 You know, as a practical manner, in many 149

States, the elections division staff is not
 changing. So the leadership is changing, but not
 necessarily the people who are actually designing
 ballots and actually making decisions about
 machinery or about procedures. That tends to be
 stable State by State, although we do see, as I
 think we're seeing maybe in Colorado now, that as

8 people leave, other people -- you know, there's
9 retirements and people are going on to other jobs.
10 So you have a greater turnover, and that's of course
11 a particular concern.

But given the fact that at the Secretary But given the fact that at the Secretary State level we're very often dealing principally with leadership, the association does try to support the new secretaries in helping give them the historical perspective. You know, obviously anyone roming in as a chief election official right now is scoming in midstream in the middle of a very in portant evolution in how we run elections in the country, and in order to go forward, you really have to understand where we came from and how we got to to understand where we came from and how we got to the place we are in today.

One of the things that we do in the
 association is we do have a mentoring program where
 we try to pick secretaries who have similar
 functions in similar -- sort of similar kinds of
 States and match them up, and we actually try to do
 it -- this year, we're focusing on trying to make
 sure it's inter-partisan so that it bolsters the
 association as a non-partisan association of
9 election officials.

10 MR. KENNEDY: I'm glad you asked that 11 question, because in Wisconsin, like Washington, we 12 had about 48 pages of changes and several different 13 bills, including changes to our voting equipment, 14 but one of the changes that was put in and resulted 15 from a task force that I served on, which is what we 16 call a Legislative Council Study Committee, was that 17 in the beginning of 2007, we will have mandatory 18 State-approved training for our 1850 municipal 19 clerks, which given the anticipated 20 percent 20 turnover of those people -- many of them get elected 21 in April on a non-partisan ticket or there's a 22 change in their -- because the villages and towns 151

and cities elect their presiding officers, and so
 we're already gearing up for that, and that's
 actually where we see the need for sustained
 investment.

5 I think everyone I've talked to at the
6 local level recognizes the need for training. We
7 saw 72 County Clerks, which they have sort of a
8 facilitating role in the elections, they often will
9 help coordinate things, but it really requires you

10 to be responsible for County, State, and Federal 11 ballot printing and notices and programming, to do a 12 lot of the management. Because they are the elected 13 officials, they'll take the leadership role. We're 14 seeing with those 72 county clerks, there's going to 15 be at least 12 new individuals there. So we want to 16 make sure that they get trained.

We have with our statewide voter system,
because we have so many users, a thousand users on
that system, we have a lot of exchange, weekly
updates between them, and they have -- our local
election officials have a network which we are able
to monitor to a certain extent, and we can get a

sense of where some of their frustration points are,
 where the problems are. It's actually a very
 helpful process that in many cases that they have a
 chance to vent what they've gone through in this,
 and that helps; but as frustrating as it is,
 sometimes they complain about performance issues or
 what the State told them to do next, they're
 realizing, Well, here's where the message didn't get
 and how can we fine tune it. It also is our ability
 then to help focus that training, and I think with

11 the new State requirement that that is going to go a12 long way and something we recognized with the type13 of turnover we're getting.

14 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Okay. Mr. Lewis. 15 MR. LEWIS: This is one of the -- I'm 16 glad you really asked this question. Training is 17 the one area in this whole process that is the most 18 difficult to get local governments to support. They 19 won't even support it by in-state training within 20 the State. I can't tell you how often local 21 officials -- Tommy has been around for all these 22 years, Donetta too -- of where they want to go to 153

training. They would like to go to training, but
 their local jurisdictions won't fund the training,
 won't fund for them to go, whether it's at the State
 level or the national level, and that is a huge
 challenge.

In addition to developing the testimony
for this, I just had to write a piece for the
Council of State Governments on which I spent a good
deal of time on training. States have to mandate
this so that local jurisdictions cannot say they're
not going to fund it. They have to mandate it.

12 In some cases, we have States like

13 Washington State, and now Kevin has joined that
14 crew, but Washington State, North Carolina, Ohio,
15 who have their own certification programs. We have
16 other States where they're contracting with outfits
17 like us to come in and do that. We do Delaware,
18 Virginia, and California already, and we're looking
19 at doing a whole bunch more where we come in and
20 train to State law, State specific stuff, and the
21 State puts them through a program and then they're
22 certified within their State.

1 Those are the things that, it seems to 2 me, long term are going to pay off. This is a 3 career-long education kind of thing. The Election 4 Center, of course, has the national certification 5 program for elections officials, and we reach into 6 25 to 30 percent of the jurisdictions with that, but 7 again, you've got local jurisdictions. You know, in 8 some instances, I will tell you out of all the 9 people who have graduated in the program or have 10 participated in the program, and that's right at 11 1100 people who have participated in the program, 12 more than half of them have paid at least some or 13 all of their own training costs -- it's incredible

14 -- simply because the jurisdictions won't fund it.

So that's where we are, and it's one
that is necessary. When States mandate it, then
jurisdictions don't have any choice. They have to
fund it. So I'm glad to see Kevin saying that
they've done that in Wisconsin, because this will
pay off long term.

CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you. I've
 22 had some questions from a few charitable trusts and 155

what they can do because they're going to spend
 millions of dollars next year or so on election
 reform, and one of the areas I told them on the top
 of my list is to give grants to local election
 officials to get better management training. That
 would help the process, I think.

7 Ms. Ensler.

8 MS. ENSLER: I'm trying to think of a 9 better way to say what Mr. Lewis has just said. 10 People do need the training, and the International 11 Association of Clerks, Recorders, Elections 12 Officials, and Treasurers provide training as well 13 at our summer conferences. It is good to get 14 election officials together even from various
15 States, and they can always come up with the idea,
16 learning from other people, as to how they handled
17 other situations. Most of our speakers are actually
18 from our membership and areas that they have had a
19 particular experience where most of the other
20 officials have not yet had to deal with it, and so
21 it is very helpful, but trying to get the local
22 jurisdictions to be able to send people, it's

expensive; and, yes, I'm one of those officials who
 has paid for quite a bit of my own training, as a
 matter of fact, and that's just part of what's out
 there.

5 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: I appreciate your 6 answers to my question. It's really an important 7 issue that we need to -- the country needs to focus 8 on upon and certainly focus upon at the local level.

9 I'd like to ask Mr. Wilkey if you have
10 one quick question for our panelists. I'm going to
11 ask Ms. Hodgkins the same thing.

12 MR. WILKEY: One of the things that

13 happens when you go last in this questioning is

14 there is always the risk of one of them, one of the

15 questions that you wanted to ask, has been
16 previously asked. Usually it's Commissioner
17 Davidson. Before it was Commissioner Martinez.
18 Today it was Commissioner Hillman who zeroed in on
19 something that I wanted to pursue, and that was I've
20 spent half of my life in this business, you know,
21 more than half my life. I understand the hard work
22 you all go through, the hard work that every

1 election official in the country went through to get
 2 ready for this election, but I think Commissioner
 3 Hillman made a good point and something that I
 4 wanted to pursue also, was that there are certainly
 5 a lot of organizations out there, organizations that
 6 represent all the spectrum from far right to far
 7 left and in between, organizations that represent
 8 minority voters and language minority voters who are
 9 so dedicated to their issues, and I think that we
 10 need to have a greater dialogue.

11 We need to find a way to bridge that gap 12 so that they have a better understanding of how hard 13 you work, where you're coming from, and you need to 14 have a greater understanding of some of their issues 15 that affect their constituents. I don't know how 16 you go about that, but if you could give me a quick
17 comment of what you see as the leaders in your
18 particular organizations, because I think it's so
19 vital.
20 SECRETARY MARKOWITZ: From the

20 SECRETART MARKOWITZ: From the
21 perspective of the Secretaries of State, in our
22 States, the Help America Vote Act was the first time 158

1 that required as part of the planning process
2 bringing many stakeholders to the table, and that
3 was -- if that alone was all that HAVA did, that
4 would have made a big difference, you know, alone to
5 how we run our elections, and I know for many of
6 colleagues, it was the very first time they actually
7 sat around the table with some of these individuals
8 representing the important stakeholders to the
9 process.

So, you know, that was the beginning of
a conversation in many States, which I think
continues to be productive. On the national level,
you know, at our conferences, that's the opportunity
for secretaries to meet with and talk with people.
There are many different forums for that, and many
of the advocacy groups have actually made it a

17 commitment to come to those sessions, and there's
18 two benefits from that. One is for us to get to
19 really see what their perspective is so that as
20 we're making resource decisions or making policy
21 decisions, we're taking those realities into
22 account, but it also gives them an opportunity to
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get a sense of our big picture and how their
 interests might fit in to the overall challenge and,
 in fact, in some cases be a reality check about how
 the election systems work.

5 Now, I've been Secretary of State for 6 eight years. I would say it's only since the 7 adoption of the Help America Vote Act and all these 8 changes that we're putting in place that we really 9 have had such an active participation from the 10 advocacy groups, and there's also more formal ways 11 for them to do presentations and so forth, but I 12 think the real work gets done just by being present, 13 by being at the social events, hearing the same 14 information other secretaries are hearing, and 15 having an opportunity to have real conversations, 16 and I think that's already made some difference and 17 I think we'll see that continue -- we'll see that it 18 will continue to make a difference.

MR. KENNEDY: I would echo that in the
sense that through the State Election Directors
Association and through the U.S. EAC providing a
forum for that exchange of ideas, it has been

1 essential with HAVA sort of jump starting it by 2 requiring that balance in our HAVA planning 3 committees, but that's also made us have more public 4 exchanges, and that's very good, but I also think 5 that as Chief Election Officers, and I speak for 6 both Secretary Markowitz's organization as well as 7 mine, that we really need to work with the local --8 at the local level, because some of the points that 9 were made like having that one day for the process 10 for the advocacy groups, I think that applies 11 equally as well when you're dealing with groups that 12 are working primarily for minority individuals. I 13 think you can built on that, and I think most of the 14 issues that come in this area tend to be local, and 15 from our standpoint, I think we have to make sure 16 that we can facilitate that. In many cases, that's 17 where the issues surface, and we're at the stage you 18 have to have a sense of that and I think step in.

So I would say it goes beyond just the
national and the opportunities to mix with the
leaders. It also has to go the other direction,
down to the grassroots, and I see our role either
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through the Secretaries of State or the State
 Election Directors as having to be able to
 facilitate that and I think communicating that to
 our local election officials.

5 MR. LEWIS: Tom, one of the things we do 6 in terms of Election Center training, and I'm sure 7 Libby's group does also, is we remind folks that 8 advisory councils are really useful for selection of 9 polling places, for going over issues of concern, 10 for training opportunities, for introduction of new 11 equipment, right on down the line, and we remind 12 them constantly about this, because it is something 13 that the jurisdictions who have done it say pays off 14 handsomely for them.

15 The problem gets to be in some of the
16 jurisdictions. In the overwhelming number of
17 jurisdictions in America, it's a one- or a
18 two-person shop. They don't have enough people and
19 enough time to keep up with their own work flow. I

20 mean, my god, you know, they're working overtime all

21 the time for which they don't get paid in most

22 instances. They're supposed to take comp time, and 162

1 if they took the comp time, they'd be out of2 business.

3 So this is one of those deals of how do 4 you stretch the resources to get -- and so some of 5 our folks are -- in more than half of our 6 jurisdictions, they struggle just to get the job 7 done let alone add to it, and so that sounds like an 8 excuse, but it's not. It's reality. It's where we 9 are. The jurisdictions that don't do it, I think 10 lose out in terms of particularly the urban 11 jurisdictions, because there is a wealth of 12 resources here that as people become more educated 13 about why do we do what we do and how we do what we 14 do and they're able to participate in sharing ideas 15 with us about that, which helps to eliminate, in 16 many instances bury us, you know, it also tends to 17 educate and folks on both sides of the aisle learn 18 something from each other about why this works the 19 way it does.

20 So it's important that we do it, and yet

21 we don't do it enough, and so I'm glad you bring the

22 question up. It is one in which we really need to 163

1 be thinking about this. I love the Commissioner's 2 idea of not maybe a voters education week, but a 3 voting education week, and we would only be able to 4 do this, probably, in odd numbered years, not in 5 even numbered years, but certainly we can start 6 looking at how to do that a call attention to it and 7 welcome folks in and have these discussions; but 8 that's not enough. It's got to be that ongoing 9 involvement, that ongoing participation because 10 that's what makes this work together for all of us. 11 MS. ENSLER: He keeps stealing my 12 thunder. I want to sit on the other side of the 13 room next time. 14 Actually, I was thinking as we were 15 discussing bringing in the stakeholders, I was 16 thinking of IACREOT and its role, and I had 17 mentioned that we do use a lot of our own members as 18 leaders in some of our meetings, and at the same 19 time, we also do bring in many of the stakeholders

20 as speakers for discussing many issues, whether it's

21 disabilities and accessibility of the voting place

## 22 or foreign languages on ballots or other such 164

1 things. Now, we do make use of those, but, of
2 course, we, as we mentioned before, still need to
3 encourage people to be able to get that training for
4 local election officials. I was very pleased to
5 hear Kevin say that he thought the Secretary of
6 State's office probably needs to facilitate that,
7 and I agree with him. It probably needs to be the
8 State and local government working together. We
9 aren't always aware of who some of the leaders are
10 in some of these areas and to be able to get people
11 together, I think would do a lot to try to allay
12 suspicion of the equipment or the success of the

14 MR. WILKEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you.

16 Madam Counsel.

17 MS. THOMPSON-HODGKINS: I have no

18 questions.

19 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: She wants to go

20 to lunch.

21 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Well, I want to

22 thank all of you on behalf of the Commission for 165

your oral and your written testimony and your honest
 and forthright answers to our questions. We
 appreciate the work that you do to make democracy
 work in America, and we appreciate what you
 represent because you represent a lot of folks that
 are not here today.

So we appreciate all of this, and I want 8 to tell everyone we're going to take a break here 9 for 30 minutes because we want to stay on time this 10 afternoon. We have some of our panelists this 11 afternoon who have planes to catch. So we're going 12 to take a 30-minute lunch break, and we have two 13 more panels coming up, one that will follow this one 14 at 1:45. Organizations will talk about their 15 perspective of the 2006, and we'll have a 16 representative from the vendor community to talk to 17 us too.

So we're look forward to having you back
19 here at 1:45. Thank you. Thank you very much.
20 [Whereupon, at 1:13 p.m., a lunch recess
21 was taken, to reconvene at 1:45 p.m. this same day.]
22

## 1 AFTERNOON SESSION

2 [1:54 p.m.]

3 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you all. I
4 think, Commissioner Hillman, you had a question or a
5 statement.

6 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I do and, in
7 fact, Commissioner Davidson is going to join me.
8 Earlier in the agenda when we did the

9 election of the 2007 Chair, Commissioner Davidson10 and I wanted to make an appropriate presentation to11 thank you so much for your service as Chair during

12 the last past year. Unfortunately, the little

13 presentation we had wasn't here at that moment. So

14 we would just like to present you a little holiday

15 cheer as a token of our appreciation for the

16 wonderful stewardship you provided during 2006.

17 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you.

18 [Applause.]

19 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: And I'm used to

20 being among women with my four daughters, my wife,

21 and granddaughter. So it's very nice. Thank you.

22 Thank you for your kind comments and the gift. 167

1 Panel 2 this afternoon, we're going to 2 continue our discussion of assessing the 2006 3 election. Certainly, this morning we've heard from 4 election officials and those representing election 5 officials their perspective of the 2006 Election, 6 and this afternoon, this panel we have, we're going 7 to get another perspective of people who are 8 involved in the election process and not in 9 conducting elections, but representing organizations 10 that are actively involved and engaged in the 11 election process for the voters of America. 12 The first speaker this morning -- this 13 afternoon -- I'm sorry -- is going to be Mary 14 Wilson. Mary is the seventeenth president of the 15 League of Women Voters of the United States and 16 Chair of the League of Women Voters Education Fund. 17 During her 20 years of service with the League, 18 Ms. Wilson had held leadership positions at the 19 national, State, and local levels. In 2004, she was 20 elected to a two-year term on the League Board and 21 the Education Fund Board. A resident of New Mexico, 22 Ms. Wilson is an attorney with 30 years of 168

1 experience in diverse fields of practice.

2 Our second panelist will be Jonah 3 Goldman. Jonah is Director of the National Campaign 4 for Fair Elections and the Lawyers Committee for 5 Civil Rights on New Laws Voting Rights Project. I 6 believe that was started by President Kennedy in 7 1963, if I understand right. Jonah is responsible 8 for implementing the campaign's mission of 9 developing policy and strategy to reform the 10 administration of Federal elections at the Federal, 11 State, and local level. His responsibilities 12 include leadership in the Election Protection 13 Coalition, the National Network for State Election 14 Reform, and the Lawyers Committee for Election 15 Reform Advocacy and Litigation Docket. 16 Our third panelist is somebody I've 17 known for a long time, since he was a very, very 18 young man, in fact, because he's from St. Louis 19 where I'm from, and he's one of the Nation's most 20 experienced election attorneys. Thor Hearne served 21 as National Election Counsel to President Bush's 22 re-election campaign and in 2000 was Missouri 169

1 counsel to the Bush-Chaney Campaign. Thor was 2 appointed by the Missouri Secretary of State as an 3 advisor to the Missouri Help America Vote Act 4 implementation task force. He has testified before 5 the House Administration Committee hearings in March 6 2005 to the conduct of the 2004 Presidential 7 election and the implementation of HAVA. Mr. Hearne 8 served as an academic advisor to the bipartisan 9 Commission on Federal Election Reform, which is also 10 known as the Carter-Baker Commission. 11 Last, but certainly not least, is our 12 friends at Electionline. Dan Seligson is the editor 13 of electionline.org, and he's covered election 14 reform for stateline.org before joining the Election 15 Reform Information Project. He has covered Congress 16 and the Federal Agencies for planet.gov and Virginia 17 politics for the Journal Newspapers. He attended 18 Columbia University School of Journalism and 19 Connecticut College, and we certainly appreciate the 20 work that electionline has done and continues to do 21 in the election reform area.

22 So thank you all for coming, and we'll 170

## 1 start with Ms. Wilson.

2 MS. WILSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 3 It's a privilege to be here this afternoon, and I 4 appreciate the invitation. As you know, the League 5 of Women Voters has been an active supporter of the 6 Help America Vote Act and the implementation of that 7 Act, and we certainly would like to thank the 8 Election Assistance Commission for all of the work 9 that you have done in making that implementation 10 move along so successfully.

11 The question that we're here to talk 12 about today, of course, is how did it go, and, 13 unfortunately, we all wish the answer to that 14 question was as simple as the question itself. 15 After all the hard work leading up to the 2000 16 election, we'd like to be able to say that there was 17 significant improvement in the voting process and 18 the way that we vote. We feel from the League of 19 Women Voters' perspective that the answer really is 20 it depends.

The answer to the question of how did it
22 go really depends on a number of factors. There's 171

1 been quite a few comments this morning about the

2 fact that voter confidence was very high according

3 to the polling, exit polling, that was done. That's 4 good news. That's a wonderful way to measure our 5 system of voting. It's not the only measure, and we 6 need to look at that question and that answer, how 7 did it go, and it depends.

8 From the League's perspective, and I am 9 speaking this afternoon based on having talked a 10 week after the election to all 50 of my State League 11 presidents and asking that same question, how did it 12 go in your State. That's one of the ways that we 13 all get information about the specifics of it, and 14 that may be a tragedy in the system that we actually 15 have to collect our data that way. It would be 16 awfully nice if we had some real hard system to 17 track information like your Commission adopted this 18 morning with respect to taking a look at real 19 evidence with respect to fraud and other issues in 20 the election process.

21 Right now, we're all kind of left to
22 that anecdotal information to tell us how it went, 172

1 and the reason that we say it depends, we say first

2 it depends on where you were living. It depends on

3 who you are, and it depends on how you voted, and by

4 how you voted, I mean the means by which you voted.

5 First let's look at where you live. 6 Voters in most communities had a fairly easy time of 7 it in November thanks to a lot of effort on the part 8 of election officials and voter advocacy groups to 9 get out the vote, to get information to the voters 10 about the process of voting, but there were reports 11 of serious problems with long lines, ballot 12 shortages, equipment malfunctions, and other issues 13 in Sarasota, Denver, and elsewhere that really do 14 reflect a need for improvement. It should not 15 depend on where you live as to how you felt about 16 your election experience.

Second, the answer of how the election
went is who you are. That's already been touched on
a little bit this morning. Countless numbers of
voters across the country were asked for photo I.D.
when it was not really required by law. We don't
have any way of measuring whether they were asked

1 for that I.D. because of the color of their skin,

- 2 for example. There were verified stories in
- 3 Virginia of voter intimidation and elsewhere also
- 4 around the country, voter misinformation given out.

5 That shouldn't be in this country of ours. Everyone6 should have the same opportunity to cast their vote7 without being asked unnecessary questions, without8 feeling as if they are being intimidated from going9 to the polls and casting their ballot.

10 Third, lastly, the concept of how you 11 voted, the means by which you voted, was the ballot 12 design proper, what kind of machine did you vote on, 13 did you vote early, those are factors that really 14 seriously went into play as to how the election went 15 for you as a voter. The fact that voter experiences 16 depended on these factors suggests that we have a 17 great deal of work to do in order to achieve the 18 real promise of American democracy. Does this mean 19 that we need to consider another major revamping of 20 elections before 2008? I believe it's too early to 21 answer that question. What is clear, however, is 22 that the Election Assistance Commission must 174

continue to play a critical role in ensuring that
 uniform nondiscriminatory effective implementation
 of election reform measurers are implemented across
 the country.

5 As I said, I spoke with all of my State

6 League presidents, and during those conversations as
7 well as tours that I made in five States prior to
8 the election, I did hear a lot about the need for a
9 voter verifiable paper ballot that records the votes
10 cast. This is a topic that our league members are
11 greatly concerned about, they care greatly about,
12 and at our convention in June, the delegates adopted
13 a resolution calling for all election systems to
14 have a voter verifiable paper ballot or record that

16 The EAC, of course, will be hearing more 17 from the League on that subject, but today I really 18 and truly want to highlight another issue that 19 really has kind of dominated some of the discussion 20 this morning even, and that's the whole issue of how 21 well election officials, election workers, are doing 22 their job is the key, is really very critical to how 175

people feel about the elections. I'm very glad that
 this morning's panel was made up of election
 officials and they too were looking at that very
 issue, because from the League of Women Voters'
 perspective, when we say we feel there should be
 more election worker training, we don't want to be

7 seen as if we're casting a disrespect upon our poll8 workers, for example. I always quickly say that our9 members are poll workers. We have a lot of poll10 workers out there.

11 But the fact of the matter is that 12 elections have become more complex and there are 13 crucial issues in the polling place about how a 14 polling place should be organized, how it should be 15 administered, how the election workforce should be 16 recruited and trained and managed. Those are the 17 issues that the Commission can and should be looking 18 at over the next two years leading up to the '08 19 election.

20 Most of the problems that my State
21 presidents reported to me during this election
22 season really were those kinds of management issues, 176

the issues related to long lines, poor ballot
 design, paper ballot shortages. Those kinds of
 issues are management, election management, issues,
 and you as a Commission play a very powerful role in
 assessing why these problems happen, in sharing best
 practices across the country, and in offering
 guidance to election officials about making the

8 system work better. Through investments in 9 research, we can begin to understand that the 10 election process is a system and we can look at the 11 pieces in that system and make an impact on the 12 problems that we see in pieces of that system. 13 From the League's perspective, the one 14 issue that must be a priority for the EAC between 15 now and 2008 is poll worker management and election 16 official training. If we examine the overall issues 17 of election management, we can see that many of 18 those problems arise because of inadequate support 19 or inadequate preparation for the job, and that's 20 not poll worker's fault, not by any means. They 21 simply have not been provided with the tools or the 22 training, and the Election Assistance Commission is 177

1 to be strongly commended for the work that you have
2 done in this particular area, and we on the League
3 of Woman Voters are very proud to have been a part
4 of that team working together with you to create
5 that first of a kind guidebook, if you will, on poll
6 worker recruitment and training, and we certainly
7 look forward to continuing that collaboration.

8 Thank you very much for the opportunity

9 to address you this afternoon.

10 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you,

11 Ms. Wilson.

12 Mr. Goldman.

MR. GOLDMAN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman,
14 and members of the Commission. My name is Jonah H.
15 Goldman, again, and I'm the Director of the National
16 Campaign for Fair Elections Lawyers Committee, and
17 as Chairman DeGregorio pointed out, the Lawyers
18 Committee was started 43 years ago, actually, by
19 President John F. Kennedy with the purposes of
20 making sure that all Americans have an equal
21 opportunity to participate in the American
22 experience.

The Lawyers Committee is proud to serve
 as the lead legal organization in the Election
 Protection Coalition, which is the largest national
 coalition of organizations dedicated to voter
 protection in our Nation's history, and one thing
 that we've found, just to pick up on a theme that
 President Wilson was talking about that I just want
 to make sure we preface this discussion with and any
 discussion with is that we really are advocates for

10 the rights of voters or advocates for a meaningful
11 change in the election reform administration to make
12 it more responsibile to the will of eligible voters
13 recognize that right now, we're doing a pretty good
14 job, and the only reason why we're doing such a good
15 job is because of the commitment of election
16 officials and pole workers and, of course, of all of
17 you as Commissioners.
18 But I want to talk a little bit, as we
19 were called here today to do, to talk about the
20 experience of election protection and the experience
21 in the 2006 election cycle. Many commentators, some

22 not just media commentators, but political 179

commentators and pundits quickly proclaim that the
 election of November 7th moved forward without any
 structural problems or at least dismissed the
 obstacles that voters saw as insignificant because
 electoral catastrophe was really limited to a few
 races; however, if you expand the diagnostics of
 success from those that are purely partisan to those
 that form our fundamental democratic identity as
 Americans, I think that we demand a different
 conclusion about this year's election.

11 The Election Protection experience 12 paints the most comprehensive and independent 13 picture of the health of our electoral process. We 14 do that through our 866-OURVOTE hotline which took 15 in over 25,000 calls this year through over 2,000 16 legal volunteers out in the field where we were in 17 over 19 States and we covered about 37 or 40 18 counties across the country. So that is basically 19 where we're drawing most of our information from, 20 but the calls, the 25,000 calls, came in from 48 21 State and the District of Columbia. 22 Unfortunately, it's what became clear

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from that information that the American voter is
 underserved by the Nation's electoral structure.
 From coast to coast, problems at all points in the
 process led to eligible voters being denied the
 right the participate. The election protection
 experience uncovered that voters in nearly every
 district across the country are at risk of being
 unfairly and unnecessarily blocked from
 participating in the process.

10 As we immediately enter the 2008

11 Presidential Election cycle, we must undertake an

12 honest assessment of what happened in this election
13 so we can concentrate on ensuring real meaningful
14 reform. I'll focus my remarks today on five
15 problems that were especially pronounced this
16 November: Number one, problems with polling place
17 administration, including voting machines; number
18 two, problems caused by restrictive voter
19 identification procedures; number three, deceptive
20 practices and voter intimidation; number four,
21 problems caused by underperforming registration
22 systems; and finally, problems with absentee

1 ballots. They'll be brief comments on each. So2 it's not going to take all day.

3 First, problems with polling place 4 administration and voting technology, in multiple 5 States, Election Protection received reports of 6 people waiting in line for hours on end because of 7 machine failures, poll workers who didn't know how 8 to operate the machines, insufficient number of 9 voting machines, and general poor administration 10 election systems. In Tennessee, for example, too 11 few machines in one jurisdiction led to a waiting 12 time of five and a half hours. In Prince George's 13 County, Maryland, just down the street, voters stood
14 in line for hours as poll workers struggled with
15 voting technology and new voting registration
16 procedures. Voters in St. Louis called Election
17 Protection to report lines of up to four hours due
18 to broken election machines, poll workers providing
19 incorrect information about provisional balloting,
20 and problems with administering the voter
21 registration lists.

22 Across the country, voters noticed the 182

1 electronic machines flip their votes when the vote
 2 summary screen indicated that the machine registered
 3 a vote for the opponent of the candidate that the
 4 voter intended to vote for. Voters called the
 5 hotline from Florida, Ohio, and elsewhere to
 6 complain that despite going through the steps
 7 required in order to vote by the machines, that
 8 certain races were never registered. In all of
 9 these places, many voters left without casting a
 10 ballot.

Second, problems with restrictive
 identification policies, although signature matches
 and severe penalties for voter impersonation

14 effectively safeguard the integrity of the electoral
15 process, over the last two years, partisans have
16 successfully restricted the franchise by
17 implementing discriminatory voter identification
18 policies. On November 7th, these policies
19 disenfranchised eligible citizens in two ways:
20 First, in States like Arizona where restrictive
21 voter requirements were operable, eligible
22 Arizonians were prevented from casting a ballot

because they did not have the requisite
 documentation; but second, in over a dozen States
 across the country that Election Protection received
 complaints, the poll workers were asking for voter
 identification that was not required by law, that
 voters were wrongfully forced to cast provisional
 ballots because of identification-related issues,
 and, otherwise, voters misinterpreting the voting
 rules to prevent eligible voters from casting
 ballots.

For instances, Representative Steve
Chabot in Ohio was wrongly turned away from the
polls because his driver's license did not have a
current address. Representative Chabot, of course,

15 was able to come back to the polling place and cast
16 a ballot, but many ordinary Ohioans who were
17 suffering a similar type of treatment were unable to
18 afford that luxury. In Missouri, Secretary of State
19 Robin Carnahan reported that she too was asked for
20 identification falsely and that she received
21 numerous complaints at her office that reported
22 similar activity.

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1 Third, deceptive practices and voter 2 intimidation, voters complained to Election 3 Protection of cynical and fraudulent activity of 4 both campaigns and individuals. In Orange County, 5 California, a Congressional campaign sent 14,000 6 voters with Hispanic surnames a letter providing 7 erroneous and intimidating information suggesting 8 that immigrants who have become citizens will be 9 penalized for voting. In Colorado, it was reported 10 that Hispanics were getting phone calls telling them 11 they were not registered and that they may be 12 arrested if they voted. In Arizona, the 13 intimidation was even more overt with gunmen 14 standing at polling places threatening Latino voters 15 with severe ramifications for casting a ballot.

In Virginia and elsewhere, Election
Protection received reports of voter receiving
E-mails, and I think this was the first year we
actually got reports of E-mails, telling voters
falsely that their polling places were changed and
telling them to go to the wrong precinct. In
heavily Democratic Maryland, materials were 185

1 distributed statewide that suggested Republican
2 candidates actually represented the Democratic
3 Party, causing widespread confusion.
4 Voters were also disenfranchised by poor
5 performing registration systems. Over the past two
6 years, States have imposed unnecessarily high
7 hurdles to registration, making it more likely that
8 voters will be left off the rolls, including
9 impossibly strict matching criteria between voter
10 registration information and information in existing
11 data bases, onerous and unnecessary citizen
12 requirements and regulations making it exceedingly
13 difficult for civic organizations to register
14 voters.

15 Voters from Georgia to California who16 were eligible to vote and submitted a timely voter

17 registration form were turned away at the polls18 because their names did not show up on the19 registration lists. In some situations, these20 voters complained that they were not provided a21 provisional ballot.

Finally, voters across the country were 186

disenfranchised for problems with the absentee
 balloting process. From Maryland to Ohio to
 California and in dozens of States in between,
 voters who were eligible and applied for absentee
 ballots on time never received the ballots or
 received them too late to cast them.

7 Of course, Americans deserve better than 8 this. The infrastructure that supports the voting 9 system should be strong and responsive to the will 10 of the voters. We must treat the issue that prevent 11 eligible citizens from exercising their right to 12 vote as a national problem that demands serious and 13 apolitical policy solutions. Many of these problems 14 will be solved by ensuring that our election 15 administrators have the resources they need to 16 respond to the demands of the election.

17 HAVA's voting machine experiment is

18 clearly not working as intended. We must instead
19 demand that the priority of the companies in
20 producing these machines is the electorate, not the
21 bottom line. We need to make sure that there are
22 sufficient penalties for deliberately deceiving
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voters and preventing eligible citizens from
 exercising their rights through intimidation and we
 cannot succumb to partisan pressure to supplant
 reform with policies that rationalize restricting
 access of eligible voters to the polling place with
 scare tactics that rely on unproven and impossible
 premises.

8 Real reforms together with providing 9 necessary resources to our election administrators 10 will strengthen citizen confidence in the system and 11 expand access to all eligible Americans, making our 12 democracy the model for the world.

13 Thank you.

14 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you, Mr.15 Goldman.

16 Mr. Hearne.

17 MR. HEARNE: Mr. Chairman, let me add my

18 own words of commendation to your leadership here,
19 and I know that before we spoke, I think you have
20 dignified this Commission since you joined it, and
21 certainly many of us in election law feel
22 appreciative of your sacrifice and service on this
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1 Commission.

2 As I've indicated, I have been involved 3 in the election process and watched the election 4 process as an election attorney for a number of 5 years. What I have prepared is a bio as well as 6 some specific testimony, and I will not reiterate 7 that background, but what I will do is first note I 8 know this morning the Commission voted on to receive 9 the report and to accept further study of election 10 crimes. I had the privilege of serving on that 11 working group, and I know just as recently as this 12 October the U.S. Supreme Court noted how important 13 that project is that this Commission is going to do 14 when they wrote in the Gonzalez v. Arizona decision 15 that confidence in the integrity of our electoral 16 process is essential to the function of our 17 participatory democracy. Voter fraud drives honest 18 citizens out of the democratic process and breeds 19 distrust of our government. Voters who fear their

20 legitimate votes will be outweighed by fraudulent

21 ones will feel disenfranchised and the right of

22 suffrage can be debased or diluted by the way to a 189

citizens vote being cancelled out by an illegally
 cast vote.

3 Voter fraud is a very serious concern of 4 many people, Mr. Chairman, member of this 5 Commission, throughout the country. It is a concern 6 that Supreme Court itself has recognized as a very 7 serious concern and a compelling State interest. 8 Equally, voter intimidation, voter depression, as 9 this study also looks at are very important points 10 to eliminate to the greatest extent we possibly can 11 from our electoral system. In this country, no one 12 should ever fear having to go and exercise their 13 right to vote at a polling place no matter where 14 their polling place is, no matter who they vote for, 15 no matter what their ethic heritage might be. 16 Everybody should have the confidence too that when 17 their vote is cast, it is counted and it is counted 18 accurately, and that's why I commend again this 19 Commission the report and the work of the working 20 group members that were involved in that election

21 crimes report, particularly Mr. Don Santo and his

22 recommendations that those be incorporated at the 190

Department of Justice as well as so many others on
 that working group, the good ideas about how we
 address the very real problem of absentee ballot and
 fraud in this country.

5 Voter impersonation fraud, sometimes 6 voting by ineligible people who are not eligible to 7 cast a vote, votes cast in the name of dead 8 individuals, as well as a problem that affects many 9 voters, and that's voter registration fraud. That 10 brings me to my topic of what we have before us 11 today, which is the 2006 election, Mr. Chairman. 12 When we look back on that, we have seen certainly 13 immense progress, and a lot of those who have 14 testified, testified to that. A lot of us before 15 this election when we looked at this being the first 16 year in which the Help America Vote Act imposed a 17 number of requirements, such as a single statewide 18 voter roll and new voting technology, many of us had 19 grave concerns across the political spectrum, across 20 whatever background we had. Those of us who had 21 followed elections looked at what was going on, and

22 we said this could be the year that we have a 191

potential meltdown in the election process just
 because of so many new features of our election
 process.

4 It was fortunate that that largely did 5 not happen and that largely didn't happen because a 6 lot of individuals worked very hard and a lot of 7 election officials worked very hard, and I add to 8 voice to the chorus, Mr. Chairman, of those who 9 commend, as President Wilson did, the election 10 officials who work hard to inspire confidence in our 11 election process.

I had the privilege of serving as an
13 academic advisor to the Carter-Baker Commission.
14 That was a tremendous experience for me and for
15 those associated with that because it was truly a
16 bipartisan commission. Two of the key individuals
17 you're hearing a lot about right now, which would be
18 Secretary Baker and Lee Hamilton, are two men of
19 just unquestioned integrity as well as many of the
20 other members on that commission. That commission
21 came up and adopted a host of recommendations that I
22 thought represented a high water point in the

election process. For Republicans and Democrats to
 come together on such a broad series of
 recommendations is something that I think reflects
 very well not only on the commission members, but on
 the country as a whole, and we can find that even
 though we may have different partisan points of
 view, that we also have some interest in a fair and
 honest election that transcends an individual's
 partisan interest.

10 My own perspective on that, I provided 11 in my remarks. So I will not reiterate that other 12 than note three very basic points and particularly 13 looking at what's happened in the '06 election and 14 looking forward to the work of this commission on 15 where this commission can be most helpful in trying 16 to increase even further American confidence in our 17 electoral system. As it's been said not just in the 18 U.S. Supreme Court that I just quoted, but studies 19 by professors such as John Lott when you have an 20 increased level of confidence on the part of a voter 21 that they will be allowed to participate, that their 22 vote will be fairly and accurately counted, you also 193

1 have an increased level of participation, and that's 2 what we all want, is for more voters to participate 3 because they believe their vote counts. We live in 4 a period in our country where we experience more 5 close elections, as we just witnessed even with 6 several Senate elections and potentially the control 7 of the United States Senate was decided by thousands 8 or tens of thousands of votes in the aggregate. 9 When we are deciding such matters of consequential 10 importance in races as we did in the 2000 11 Presidential race by such narrow margins of 12 electoral votes being cast, we have a duty, and 13 every official does, the parties, the candidates, 14 all of us as citizens in this country to participate 15 and do so in a way that inspires the confidence. 16 Even when you have a close election, the voters 17 should believe that they are the ones that chose 18 that candidate.

19 It undermines the election and
20 undermines the confidence of the citizens of this
21 country if they believe that the election is decided
22 by lawyers and judges and activists gaming the 194

system, and so when we have such close elections,
 that's why it is such an important task that this
 commission has in setting standards and making
 recommendations and working with the election
 officials and the election officials themselves
 administering elections in that way.

7 I mentioned three particular points.
8 Point one, current and accurate voter rolls, the
9 most likely reason an eligible voter is denied the
10 right to vote is because when he appears at the
11 poll, he's not on the list, not on the voter roll.
12 That is the most fundamental requirement for a fair
13 and honest election, is a current and accurate voter
14 roll where every eligible person has an opportunity
15 to be on that roll at the right location, but only
16 eligible voters are allowed to be on that roll at
17 the proper location.

18 This year, as you know, was HAVA's first
19 year requiring and mandating a single statewide
20 voter roll. This commission has the opportunity to
21 conduct a study of how that was, in fact,
22 implemented in the '06 election and particularly not
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1 so much how it was implemented and if there was any 2 flaw in that, but let's look forward. How are we 3 going to do it better in '08? You have the 4 situation in which the Carter-Baker Commission 5 identified the man with two watches when you have 6 two voter rolls. When you have a voter roll by 7 which a provisional ballot's eligibility is 8 determined, by which an absentee ballot's 9 eligibility is determined, by which any 10 after-election disputes or recounts are measured, 11 you have that as a single statewide voter roll under 12 HAVA, but, in fact, many local election officials 13 are still using as a practical matter a separate 14 independent list. It may be very similar in some 15 cases, but it is not always the same. 16 So again, you have the situation with 17 the man with two watches. You have an election 18 being administered with the voter rolls that is 19 different from the official legal voter roll under 20 HAVA. That's not done by malice in most cases. 21 It's done by necessity because the technology wasn't 22 or the list wasn't properly developed. The

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statewide list wasn't functioning fast enough or
 didn't have the technical bandwidth to be able to
 allow these election officials to do what they
 needed to do.

5 All of that is just simply a way of 6 saying we need to assess that on a uniform basis 7 around the country and try to help these States to 8 develop the right kind of statewide voter roll that 9 is, in fact, accurate, that is, in fact, 10 interoperable. Our own Secretary of State, Robin 11 Carnahan, should be commended for entering into a 12 pact with some Missouri's surrounding States, Iowa, 13 Kansas, and others, so that somebody when they move, 14 we can track that voter registration so that we can 15 interact with those other State voter rolls. That's 16 similar to the Carter-Baker recommendation. We're 17 trying to have the statewide voter rolls 18 interoperable and developed from the top-down not 19 the bottom-up, because otherwise you're going to end 20 with up these duplicates. 21 But related to that is the experience we

22 had in Missouri. It was a very unfortunate one, Mr. 197

## 1 Chairman, and that was one where it led in just

2 weeks before the election to the U.S. Attorney in
3 the Western District of Missouri returning with a
4 Federal Grand jury four indictments issued against
5 operatives submitting fraudulent voter registration
6 forms. The Columbia Missourian Newspaper -- I'm
7 picking on Missouri because it's my home State -8 they did a survey of the Missouri voter roll, and
9 they found 10,000 deceased people still on the voter
10 roll. The shocking thing was that they indicated
11 that 250 or more of them had been voting even after
12 they were dead.

This is not inspiring confidence.
Missouri is subject to a Federal lawsuit by the
Justice Department for having one of the worst rolls
in the country in terms of the number of duplicates.
Some counties have 150 percent of their voting age
population on the voter roll. My point is simple.
I'm not trying to be concerned about what's happened
in the past. I want in the future, and this
commission has the unique role that it has because
of your stature, because of this commission's role

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1 nationwide, to assist States in getting the voter

2 rolls accurate and current. Every voter should have

3 the confidence when they register that their4 registration is processed or added to the roll5 accurately, and when they go to their polling place6 to vote, that they, in fact, do get to vote.

Similarly, you have, as I mentioned,
concerns about voter fraud. Those are legitimate
concerns. The study that this commission is taking
and taking further study on is a very important
study to quantify, to find out where those concerns
are in terms of vote fraud. One of the uniform
concerns that many of the people in the working
group had was the role of absentee ballot fraud. We
can't really assess that now in the 2006 election.
The data just isn't in, but that is something that's
been a consistent concern, absentee ballot fraud as
well as other types of voter fraud that I mentioned,
the illegal voting in different segments.

20 Finally, we want to make sure that
21 voters in this country deserve to have their votes
22 accurately counted. They need to have the 199

1 confidence that when they go in, if the machine

2 doesn't work, there's an opportunity to cast a paper

3 ballot. One of the things that I found as very

4 positive in my jurisdiction and where I vote in St.
5 Louis County is that we had the option of voting
6 when you went in not just on a touch screen, if you
7 so chose, but you also had the ability to use a
8 paper ballot or an optiscan. Having that option,
9 particularly for older voters who may not have been
10 as confident or comfortable using the technology was
11 something that, again, increased voter confidence.

I think the Supreme Court got it right
when they said when we look at our elections, what
we need to be about is to have the objective, which
is one also identified by the Carter-Baker
Commission, the objective of having an election
system that inspires voter confidence even and in
particular when we have these close elections.
So, Mr. Chairman, if I had to leave this
commission with one particular recommendation from
my perspective on the election, I would say that
helping to move every State to have a current, 200

accurate, correctly designed, correctly functioning
 single statewide voter roll as mandated by HAVA is
 probably one of the most important things that can
 be done. That will eliminate concerns about people

5 showing up who are not on the list and that will
6 also assist the State in making sure that
7 duplicates, eligible voters, those who should not be
8 on the list or who are on the list multiple times or
9 fraudulent registrations are not on that voter list
10 so voters have confidence in the election process.

11 Thank you very much.

12 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you, Mr.13 Hearne.

14 Mr. Seligson.

15 MR. SELIGSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman,

16 and Commissioners for the opportunity to speak from

17 Electionline.org's perspective on what happened

18 during the 2006 election.

19 Electionline, previously known as the

20 Election Reform Information Project, was established

21 after the 2000 election by a few charitable trusts

22 as a nonpartisan and, most importantly, non-advocacy 201

1 clearinghouse of news analysis data on election

2 reform information. We're solely funded by the few

3 charitable trusts and a grant administered by the

4 University of Richmond.

5 Electionline produced a post-election

6 report a few weeks ago, which we have --

7 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Can I ask you to 8 get a little closer to the mike?

9 MR. SELIGSON: Sure. We have a report 10 that is at the entrance here that we produced a few 11 weeks ago that offers some State-by-State summaries 12 from on and around the November vote. While it's 13 not intended to be a comprehensive analysis of what 14 happened that day, it is nonetheless a pretty good 15 compilation of news and anecdotal incident reports 16 from reputables. What I'm going to talk about today 17 is largely based on what was in that report. 18 In the weeks and months leading up to 19 the election, many people, including our 20 organization, predicted widespread problems in the 21 2006 vote. An estimated third of all voters living 22 in jurisdictions with new machines, new rules in 202

some States concerning voter I.D., new registration
 systems, and polling place check-in procedures
 combined with a divided electorate casting ballots
 in the high stakes vote for control of Congress, all
 the ingredients for chaos appeared to be in place.
 Would it be a meltdown or would it be a successful

7 vote showing the evolution of the American electoral8 system since the 2000 contest? We found elements of9 both.

We had clear winners in most areas, and
11 chaos was really not the order of the day, but
12 imagine how differently we might have perceived
13 November 7th if partisan control of the House of
14 Representatives hinged on the outcome Florida's 13th
15 Congressional District where 18,000 non-votes in the
16 races befuddled observers, experts, and auditors or
17 if control of the Senate hinged on the outcome of
18 the race in Ohio in where Cleveland's Cuyahoga
19 County had an estimated 12,000 people cast ballots
20 without ever having been signed in.
21 I'm going to focus on three areas. I

22 think other panelists have as well, but: First, 203

voting systems; second, voter identification; and
 third, voter registration and/or check-in procedures
 at polling places. First, on voting systems, like I
 said, November marked the first general election in
 which every polling place was required to have at
 least one voting machine accessible for people with
 disabilities. Many more DRE, or direct recording

8 electronic, systems were deployed as replacement for
9 older systems and election data services reported as
10 a result of all of this that -- I'm sorry -- that
11 before the election, 63 percent of the country's
12 voting jurisdictions had changed equipment since
13 2004, which represents the largest shift in the
14 Nation's history.

15 First, on the good, I think Maryland
16 recovered quite nicely from the September primary to
17 having what many consider to be an almost
18 trouble-free general election. Connecticut and New
19 York ran elections on lever machines, which whether
20 or not they can continue to be used going forward is
21 a question right now, but most jurisdictions in
22 those States ran elections without a hitch even with 204

the scrutiny of a recount in one Connecticut
 Congressional jurisdiction, but success is not
 universal.

4 Sarasota County's 18,000 non-votes in 5 the race to replace Catherine Harris once again has 6 placed that State, one county's ballot design, and 7 the opaque nature of paperless electronic voting in 8 the public eye. The high number of missing ballots 9 on one type of voting system and one type of ballot
10 could bolster the case for voter verified paper
11 audit trails or might be used to encourage the use
12 of paper ballots outright in Florida and elsewhere
13 in the country.

Sarasota was not the only locality with
machine problems. Poll workers had trouble
starting, operating, troubleshooting, and/or
tabulating totals on electronic machines in North
Carolina, New Mexico, Massachusetts, Texas, Indiana,
Arkansas, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and elsewhere,
and these were not statewide problems. These were
problems in jurisdictions within those States.
Vote flipping, which was mentioned

earlier, where machines did not accurately record
 the desired voter's choice was another issue
 reported in Georgia, Colorado, Florida, Texas,
 Illinois, New Jersey, and Ohio. Democrats and
 Republicans both reported this issue of machines not
 accurately recording votes showing different
 candidates on review screens than their choice and
 also a problem with miscalibrating DREs.

9 The performance of voting systems could

10 be looked at in a number of ways. Certainly the 11 spotlight was brighter on that day than perhaps on 12 any day than any vote in our Nation's history, and 13 certainly growing pains can be expected as poll 14 workers, voters, and election administrators learned 15 how to adapt to new technology and new challenges; 16 but every voter should be able to count on being on 17 a precinct roster if they registered on time. They 18 should be able to assume access in a reasonable 19 amount of time to a well-functioning, accurately 20 calibrated and secure voting system, and they should 21 be fairly certain that their vote will be counted 22 accurately, but that was not the case in a number of 206

1 areas in the country.

2 On voter I.D., new rules and 3 pre-election court challenges to new voter I.D. laws 4 in Indiana, Ohio, and Georgia did not cause 5 significant problems in the polls. Indiana's new 6 photo-only voter I.D. law did not hinder those 7 voters that showed up at the polls, at least 8 according to Indiana's Secretary of State, and an 9 independent organization that ran hotlines for 10 voters reported that only a small percentage, under 11 seven percent, of election day complaints focused on12 voter I.D. issues.

The most significant incident occurred
14 in St. Louis, as mentioned earlier, where according
15 to press reports, the local board chairman
16 instructed poll workers to ask voters for I.D. when
17 they checked in despite a decision by the State
18 Supreme Court blocking the photo I.D. law. Some
19 Georgia voters were asked --- I'm sorry. Some voters
20 and poll workers were apparently confused by a court
21 decision in that State that barred the State's photo
22 I.D. law. In Decatur County, poll workers were

unnecessarily requesting photo I.D. while in other
 parts of the State, some voters brought no
 verification of their identify because they thought
 the court decision meant that nothing would be
 required at all. Scattered issues aside and not
 straying into the debate about whether voter I.D.
 secures the vote or blocks access to it, voter I.D.
 requirements did not seem to pose a stumbling block
 on election day to those voters who came to polling
 places.

11 Finally, on registration data bases, the

12 debut of the statewide list went largely unnoticed 13 by the general public, and that would indicate the 14 transition at least from a consumer end was 15 relatively seamless. Once assembled and if 16 assembled correctly, good registration rolls are the 17 gatekeeper of a good election. There were pre- and 18 post-election reports that good list were not 19 universal with reports of dead voters on the rolls 20 in some States, concerns about matching procedures 21 in others, and well-documented problems with 22 electronic poll books, particularly in Denver, 208

Colorado, which through that election into chaos.
 When workers in Denver attempted to sign in voters
 at most centers, the poll books froze or slowed.
 That led to waits of at least a few hours, and for
 those who decided not to walk away, they cast
 provisional ballots. Some decided to wait it out.
 Similar problems were reported in some parts of New
 Mexico using a similar system similar system.
 At this early junction with the election
 just a month behind us, we can only focus on the
 published reports of troubles. We do not have

13 election successes, which there were likely to be
14 many around the country. Clearly, there were
15 significant problems on election day, particularly
16 in the area of voting systems, but also with
17 check-in procedures and other aspects of election
18 administration. I think as the Commission focuses
19 on successes in many parts of the country, it's
20 important not to overshadow some failures in others.
21 In other words, a lot of work remains to be done.
22 Thank you.

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CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you very
 much.
 I'll start off the line of questioning
 4 here, if you don't mind. I have a general question
 5 for all of you, but there's one specific
 6 clarification I need from Mr. Goldman, which you
 7 said in your testimony and it's written here about
 8 Representative Steve Chabot in Ohio in which you say
 9 here and you said was wrongly turned away at the
 10 polls because his Ohio driver's license did not have
 11 a current address. The question is this term
 12 "wrongly turned away". I just want to understand
 13 what you mean by that, because as I understand Ohio

14 law, it requires you to have identification with the
15 current address that have to show, and was he
16 wrongly turned away by the poll workers, is this a
17 wrong policy issue, because it suggests that he was
18 wrongly turned away by the poll workers. If they
19 were just doing their job, they were just doing
20 their job and he was not wrongly turned away by the
21 polls.

22 MR. GOLDMAN: Ohio law, this is actually 210

1 -- this created confusion across Ohio largely
2 because Ohio implemented in the intervening years
3 since 2004 a pretty large scale omnibus
4 election-related bill, and one of those pieces in
5 that bill was the identification provision.
6 What the bill requires is that if you
7 have a current driver's license, that that is
8 appropriate proof of identification regardless of
9 what the address is on the driver's license. If
10 you're not using a driver's license and you're using
11 a different type of identification, then depending
12 on what type of identification you use, then there
13 has to be a current address on it; but what
14 Representative Chabot -- what happened to

15 Representative Chabot is he came with a driver's

16 license that had a different address.

17 That was the point of contention. It 18 happened in a couple of counties, specifically in 19 Franklin County and also in Hamilton County where 20 there were a number of polling places, and that 21 actually led to post-election discussions about how 22 to treat what became largely provisional ballots 211

1 that shouldn't have been cast provisionally, and2 that was the issue specifically.

3 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Okay. That's4 helpful to met to understand what that means.

5 For all of you, because you've all 6 identified problems whether reported by the 7 hotlines, whether reported by newspaper, whether you 8 heard it yourself, your legal counsel told you, how 9 do you get to the core of these problems and to 10 identify which ones really were real? Does your 11 people in your organizations work with election 12 officials to try to separate sometimes reported 13 problems that really were not problems from reality 14 and some real problems that actually occurred, and 15 how do you work with election officials to see how 16 they're going to solve some of these issues for

17 future elections?

18 You've heard testimony from election
19 officials this morning, and I've heard it myself,
20 that a lot of these problems that are reported, when
21 you get to the details, they really weren't problems
22 at all. So I'm just trying for my own self to 212

understand how these problems are quantified and the
 details are researched to make sure that they really
 were some kind of problem, and how do you react when
 election officials bring it to your attention, not
 just us, but to locals?

6 We'll start with you, Ms. Wilson.

MS. WILSON: Yes. From the League of
8 Women Voters perspective, we do have 850 leagues,
9 local leagues, across the country, and each one of
10 them -- actually, I have a lot of members who are
11 election officials and county clerks and so forth.
12 So we have intimate knowledge, if you will, about
13 how elections work, but we certainly do encourage
14 all of our local League presidents and our voter
15 service Chairs in those local leagues to talk with
16 their election officials before elections so that we

17 can get out the proper word about what voters are18 going to be facing in that particular election from19 a process standpoint.

20 And we do send out a weekly message to 21 our local Leagues across the country. Prior to the 22 election, one of the things that we always emphasize 213

is that fact that they really and truly need to talk
 with their election officials after the election and
 see how it went from the election official's
 perspective, and the first thing I always tell our
 League leaders to say to the election officials is
 how can we help you make it better.

7 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you.

8 Mr. Goldman.

9 MR. GOLDMAN: And, similarly, our

10 organization, The Election Protection Coalition, and

11 I'll just speak to it specifically as opposed to the

12 Lawyers Committee, because we have relationships on

13 our own with election officials, but part of the

14 program with Election Protection which starts months

15 and months before the election day is organizing a

16 group from our perspective, a group of attorneys and

17 law students in the jurisdiction to specifically

18 reach out to election officials, work with election
19 officials to do a number of things, number one,
20 solve the problems that come up before election day.
21 As we know, so many of the problems are either
22 identified -- so many of the problems that do happen 214

are either identified or can be solved before
 election day. So we train them on how to do that.
 And then we also encourage them to get a
 direct line of communication with election officials
 so during election day when we start hearing about
 these problems, we can actually talk to election
 official to see if they've heard about it and to
 jointly investigate to make sure that the problems
 are, in fact, real problems and not -- as you say, a
 lot of reports turn out to be not problems. A lot

12 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: All right.

13 Mr. Hearne.

MR. HEARNE: I think that certainly a
15 lot of the stories we all hear about the election
16 turn out to be unfounded anecdotes, but there's
17 always going to be a significant component of that.
18 A lot of activity when you have a Nation of 300

19 million going to the polls largely on the same day
20 or the same early voting period, you're going to
21 have a lot of opportunity for someone who
22 particularly doesn't vote as frequently to believe 215

1 that the system didn't work as they understood it2 should and report that.

3 At the same time, you also have a lot of 4 legitimate concerns, and that is really where I 5 think the focus should be, to be the solution and 6 not the problem. All the participants, the parties, 7 the candidates, I don't believe anybody benefits if 8 at the end of the election, somebody is saying the 9 election was stolen, the election was in fact 10 conducted poorly in a way that disenfranchised 11 voters unless that is very legitimately documented 12 and presented in a way that you have a solution and 13 anybody responsible for that is prosecuted.

I think that we have a duty not to
perpetuate these anecdotes if they're unfounded.
That's why I think, again, studies looking at
specific hard evidence are where we need to focus
because that will not undermine inappropriately the
confidence of our voters and only focus on

20 legitimate issues that we can fix.

21 So, yeah, you have a lot of those

22 situations, but again, part of the problem, as just 216

mentioned, is these issues arise because of the
 litigation surrounding the election, which is
 unfortunately an increasing feature of American
 elections. Again, I'll quote the Supreme Court
 which said that court orders affect elections,
 especially conflicting orders, can themselves result
 in voter confusion and consequent incentive to
 remain away from the polls.

9 So what we're saying is, what the
10 Supreme Court is saying is, even the process of
11 litigating the election, particularly in the waning
12 days before the election and you're trying to change
13 the rules while people are being trained can
14 themselves cause more harm that good. We need to
15 keep that in mind as well. So I think both of those
16 things is something to focus on.

17 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you.
18 MR. SELIGSON: Well, it's an excellent
19 question, Mr. Chairman. I think one of the problems

20 in this field is the ability to get good data

21 quickly or at all. I think in the next couple of

22 months or year, we'll be working very hard at 217

1 getting as much data from localities, from State 2 election officials as we possibly can, which is what 3 we've been doing over the last couple of years. 4 I think for one of these early sort of 5 first blush reports, the issue is problem 6 identification, and these newspaper reports, you 7 know, as a journalist, I really do think that 8 journalism provides the first draft of history, and 9 I'm not sure that we need to get a secondary source 10 to say, Well, these are not real problems. I think 11 we're reporting real problems, but I think, again, 12 what we need to do is get a hold of as many sources 13 as we can and put together as much data as we 14 possibility can before we do a thorough analysis, 15 which, admittedly, we have not done yet. 16 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Yeah. We have 17 done that on our own. My assistant actually did 18 that. We've got your report and other reports that 19 were not in your report, and I think we've 20 identified so far about 109 of the 6800 21 jurisdictions in America that had some kind of

22 reporting problem. You know, they may not be real 218

1 problems, but at least that's the figure we've

2 looked at so far.

3 Okay. My fellow commissioners.4 Commissioner Hillman.

5 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I will keep my 6 questions short in essence of time so we can get to 7 our final presenter.

8 But, Mr. Hearne, a question for you, and 9 it gets to -- and I'm looking at your testimony. 10 You cited a couple of court cases, which means that 11 the complaint actually went to the courts. It looks 12 like organizations that were engaged in registering 13 people or submitting registrations in the names of 14 people who were not eligible to vote, either because 15 it was a duplicate or they're deceased or whatever, 16 but I just want to see if my understanding is 17 correct when you cited a couple of these that the 18 court case, the case, was again an organization or 19 one individual, or was it against all of the 2,000 20 people whose names showed up on the rolls? 21 MR. HEARNE: It was the organization. 22 Again, there are several places in my prepared

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testimony where I cite. Probably the best example,
 and I believe this is the one you may be referring
 to, the situation in Missouri where the U.S.
 Attorney in the Western District of Missouri
 returned or a Federal Grand Jury returned four
 indictments against some operatives that were
 working for an organization known as ACORN.

8 The statements and the press coverage of 9 that, and I'm merely repeating what is in there -- I 10 have no information other than what has been 11 publicly made available, is that they were looking 12 at the organization itself, not just the 13 individuals. Now, the individuals were the ones 14 indicted. In that case, the concern is when you 15 have not just three or four individuals, but what 16 the election officials reported was in the City of 17 St. Louis and Kansas City large numbers of voter 18 registrations forms that were fraudulence or 19 duplicate or submitted. Now, here's where that's a 20 problem, because that disenfranchises a legitimate 21 voter.

## 22 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: No. I understand 220

1 that, but there's a point I want to get to. You
2 also cited one in Pennsylvania, a case from
3 Pennsylvania where it appears that the complaint was
4 against an individual, but it was talking about
5 hundreds of names. When those items are reported,
6 generally what I hear is hundreds or thousands of
7 people are committing voter fraud because there are
8 hundreds or thousands of names that are identified
9 as duplicates or inappropriately showing up on the
10 roll versus it being one or a half dozen

12 So in the conversation about this, my 13 question to you is how do you separate that 14 language? How do we get away from the anecdotal 15 thousands of fraudulent voters when it may be one or 16 two entities generating these hundreds or thousands 17 of names?

MR. HEARNE: You're absolutely correct.
I think that the focus should be, and certainly no
one should misunderstand when somebody submits -one of the most infamous examples came out of 2004
when Chad Staten as submitting Dick Tracy, Mary 221

1 Poppins, and a hundred other fraudulent 2 registrations and was paid crack cocaine to do that. 3 Now, that's not a hundred cases of voter fraud, but 4 that's one individual trying to commit -- to submit 5 a hundred fraudulent registrations. Now, those were 6 caught and the process stopped those from finding 7 their way under the voter roll, but what we need to 8 focus, as you're indicating -- I think you're 9 absolutely right -- is to look at the individuals as 10 well as organizations, anybody who's sponsoring 11 those kind of efforts that seem to be trying to game 12 the system one way or another, and I don't care what 13 they're doing, but we need to focus on the 14 individuals as well as the organizations that are 15 engaged in this, not misrepresent it as some broad, 16 you know, hundred thousand individuals trying to 17 commit fraud. The person submitting those 18 fraudulent registrations is the person who should be 19 prosecuted. 20 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Are you aware of

21 any case where hundreds or thousands of people in22 any way one State or jurisdiction in one election222

1 cycle were found to be engaged in voter fraud and,2 therefore, you know, charged with it?

MR. HEARNE: I don't know of a case -- I
4 know voter fraud is normally, in my experience, all
5 the cases I'm familiar with, perpetuated by a small
6 group of people. Now, that's not to say a small
7 group of people submitting a lot of phony voter
8 registration forms or fraudulent absentee ballots
9 cannot, in fact, affect the outcome of an election.
10 It can disenfranchise hundreds of individual voters.
11 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Oh, no. I'm not

12 talking about that. I'm talking about the numbers13 of people who are actually charged with the voter14 fraud activity.

15 MR. HEARNE: My experience has been it's 16 normally a small group of people involved with small 17 a small organization effort that is involved, but it 18 can have a very significant impact. Again, some of 19 it impacts the fact that it undermines confidence 20 throughout our entire election system.

21 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you.

22 For the other panelists really quick, 223

1 thinking on what you summarized for us and what
2 you've heard and analyzed from the 2006 elections,
3 what would say thinking back to 2000 elections and
4 2006, what is the most significant improvement, good
5 change that has happened and is there anything that
6 you would cite as has gotten worse, some unintended
7 consequence of efforts at election reform that may
8 have actually resulted in something that's more of a
9 barrier or something?

10 Ms. Wilson.

11 MS. WILSON: Yes. From the League's 12 perspective, there are two part of HAVA that require 13 a good bit of work because they have not functioned 14 exactly as were intended, and so you might say that 15 the situation in some States got worse as a result 16 of it, and those were the provisional balloting. We 17 still have 700,000 provisional ballots that were not 18 counted this time around, and we have, basically, 19 across the country in different States, different 20 ways, and different reasons, and different ways that 21 the provisional ballots are counted or not counted, 22 and we really and truly need to work on that so we 224

1 have a consistent way a person in New Mexico can be

2 certain that their ballot, their provisional ballot
3 will count if it's cast in the right county. Other
4 States, it has to be in the right location. Well,
5 if the person knew to go to the right location, he
6 would have gone to the right location, and so we
7 really need to work on that particular situation.

8 The statewide data base, I think we all 9 applauded that when it was placed in HAVA. It needs 10 a great deal of work on the part of all of us, not 11 just to make sure that it is being used in the right 12 manner, to make sure that it's being used at the 13 polls and it's being used by the county election 14 officials and you don't have two different systems, 15 two different poll books that are being used, but we 16 also need to make sure there's this consistency that 17 computers within the State talk to each other and 18 talk to each other properly so that there's not 19 suspicion if names are not identical, but they're 20 the same person. We need to make sure that there's 21 a good system in place that the person who's 22 registering to vote isn't kicked off of registering 225

1 to vote just because they used a different initial,

2 which happens a lot of times with women who are
3 married and assume a different middle initial when4 they're married.

5 We need to work on that particular 6 system, and that's something that one might view it 7 as a real great thing that came out of HAVA, but in 8 the implementation, there are lots of folks that we 9 need to work on.

10 Now, looking at the positive side of 11 things, from the voter's perspective, our focus on 12 the overall process and recognizing that the process 13 and its pieces need to be looked at and that they 14 are as important -- it's as important to educate the 15 voter about the process as it is about the 16 candidates and issues. I think that that's 17 something in the six years has been very good. 18 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you. 19 MR. GOLDMAN: Thank you, Commissioner. 20 First of all, I want to follow up on what President 21 Wilson was saying. One of the greatest things 22 that's happened over the past six years is that I 226

1 really think that there's a new citizen awareness

2 about the mechanics of elections in a way that there

3 wasn't before the 2000 election debacle, and I think

4 that while I'm sure some election administrators
5 would prefer a little bit more organization to that
6 activism, I think that the fact that we have
7 citizens who are really engaged in this process is
8 terrifically hopeful, and I think that's what we're
9 seeing to sort of spar a positive change.

I think another positive since 2006 is
I this room that we're sitting in here. I think the
fact that Congress has recognized that it has a role
in at least providing to the States to do this
incredibly important job and, in fact, the jobs that
their jobs rely on is something that is hopeful.

I think, unfortunately, there are some
I things that -- there are some growing pains in that
process, and one of those, I think, is the
experimentation with the machines that I think we
have to re-think about and that we have to try to
figure out how to make sure that those machines are
more responsive to the voters or at least that they

1 still confidence from the voters.

- 2 I think that the voter registration data
- 3 base, again, is something that I think we all at
- 4 this point agreed on this piece, that if that

5 experiment goes as is planned and if that experiment 6 goes as it was envisioned, it will make enormous 7 strides to ensuring that eligible voters have access 8 to the polling place. I think that one of the 9 things that we've gone in the wrong direct about is 10 by sometimes when we're developing new policy ideas, 11 we sometimes mistake partisan-driven attempts such 12 as these restrictive voter identification laws and 13 unnecessary proof of citizenship laws for real 14 reform. While election fraud is incredibly, 15 incredibly important to prevent, we have the means 16 to do it and there are new things that we need to do 17 in order to make sure that we're more effective in 18 preventing voter fraud. This is not -- these sort 19 of putting the cart before the horse and in some 20 ways putting the cart where there's no horse 21 anywhere around is, I think, one of the ways we've 22 gone in the wrong direction. 228

## 1 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you.

2 And Mr. Seligson.

## 3 MR. SELIGSON: Well, being a

4 non-advocacy group, I tend to shy away from such

5 questions, but I think aside from me getting steady

6 employment, the best thing to happen since the 2000
7 election is the ability of voters with disabilities
8 to cast a ballot secretly and independently, and
9 this being the first election where that was almost
10 nationwide with the exception of the my home State
11 of Massachusetts and parts of New York, if you could
12 find a place where you could do it, I guess you
13 could. That is a major step forward.
14 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you.
15 CHAIRMAN DEGREGORIO: Commissioner

16 Davidson.

17 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: The first
18 question I would like to ask each one of you that
19 was collecting information about the election, I it
20 think that, Jonathan, you -- Jonah -- I'm sorry. I
21 apologize -- you mentioned that you got around
22 25,000 calls. Did you keep good information on
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these? Did you keep the name, the place that it
 happened, the location that it happened, you know,
 actual information, and how many of them were
 machine related? How many of them were that they
 were asking for information that was not necessary,
 like I.D., or, you know, what were -- or was it

7 intimidation? Because a great deal of your paper8 was in involved with intimidation and, you know,9 false information out to voters telling them wrong10 information prior to the election.

11 Do you keep detailed information on the12 reports, President Wilson?

MS. WILSON: With respect to this MS. WILSON: With respect to this 14 particular election, we had an online survey sheet 15 that we certainly promoted with our members to write 16 -- fill in the answers to questions about what their 17 election experience was about, and those survey 18 sheets are still coming in. We had that on line. 19 It's the first year we have done it, and we do need 20 to promote it lots more in the future so that we can 21 actually get that kind of hard data from our 22 members.

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In terms of the discussions that I had
 with my State League leaders, we have pretty good
 hard data about what their States experienced.
 MR. GOLDMAN: The Election Protection
 Coalition from those 25,000 calls has a data base
 that sort of gets behind the hotline called the

7 Election Incident Reporting System that I hope

8 eventually will be changed to just the Election 9 Reporting System because we report a lot more than 10 just incidents that come in from our callers. Every 11 year, we have a lower number of reports that we do 12 calls because our first priority is always helping 13 voters. So we provide a lot of information for 14 voters in a very chaotic environment. So people 15 aren't going to input every call that comes in. 16 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Well, is that 17 part of your numbers? Excuse me for interrupting, 18 but was that part of the number, the 25,000 of 19 people want to know information? 20 MR. GOLDMAN: Yeah. Of the 25,000, 21 there's usually about half to about 60 percent of 22 people who are calling in asking for information. 231

1 COMMISSION DAVIDSON: Okay.

2 MR. GOLDMAN: We have about -- probably 3 at the end of the day, we'll have about 10,000 4 reports that will be entered into the system, and 5 our preliminary analysis suggests that the number 6 one problem, taking out the inquiries where people 7 want to know where they go to the vote or want to 8 know whether they've been registered, those 9 inquiries which are, of course, very important
10 services that we provide, but with the problem, the
11 single largest problems that were reported to us
12 were problems with voting machine, but about 10
13 percent of our problems were problems, as you
14 suggested, about voter intimidation and deceptive
15 practices, which is -- when you take about 10
16 percent of those calls, it's significant -- it's a
17 little bit lower than 10 percent of those calls.
18 That's a significant number of callers who are
19 calling to report some sort of mischief in the
20 election process.

21 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: You know, I'd
 22 like to follow up on that, because it's a lot like
 232

Commissioner Hillman was talking about. You've got
 maybe two or three people that's causing this big
 problem. I mean, I don't know, but my main problem
 is -- by being a Secretary of State and an election
 official for many years, it's very difficult to get
 somebody to actually prosecute on these cases and
 track them down and find who has done it, number
 one, and to actually prosecute it.

9 What is your suggestion that we do to

10 make sure that we do stop this type of a process?
11 It just doesn't help to increase the amount of -12 you know, if they are caught and they are
13 prosecuted, to actually give them more time or, you
14 know, whatever it might be, because when you're
15 passing laws like that, your States come back and
16 say, Well, there's a fiscal note on this because now
17 we have to put them in prison and, you know, there's
18 a fiscal note. They even hate to increase the
19 amount of time and they go usually for fines or
20 something like that.
21 What's your suggestion? Because I do.

22 I see it a problem as well as everybody else. Those 233

1 types of issues are problems. So how do we solve it
2 when we can't get somebody above us to enforce it,
3 one, because they've got more urgent things,
4 obviously? We know they're very busy with murders
5 and other things that are very pertinent, but how we
6 stop these things and handle that?
7 MR. GOLDMAN: Well, I think that there
8 are two parts of the -- there are sort of two
9 pieces. The first is that there has to be the

10 proper infrastructure, legal infrastructure, to be

11 able to respond to those issues, and of course when
12 we see like we saw in 2004, which has now become an
13 infamous case of these types of deceptive practices
14 and, in fact, in some ways the example is in
15 Milwaukee and African American communities, there
16 was a flyer distributed from the so-called
17 Milwaukee's Black Voter League that suggested that
18 if you ever voted in an election that year, if you
19 didn't pay your parking tickets or fines, then you
20 couldn't vote. Those things, we see around the
21 country in places -- in jurisdictions around the
22 country.

The most important thing is, obviously,
 getting the right information to voters so they can
 use it and they can go through the process and cast
 a ballot, and we don't now have a structure for
 correcting that information in any way official. We
 try to do it from the advocacy community side where
 we work with our partners and work with local radio
 and work with local TV to get the information.

9 But, for instance, Senator Obama has a10 bill right now that would actually provide a

11 structure for -- it first would make those practices

12 specifically illegal, which is important, but more 13 importantly in a lot of ways is it will create a 14 structure for getting the right information into the 15 community, and I think that's very important; but 16 the difference in a lot of ways between the fact 17 that -- you're right -- there are a couple of people 18 who are doing this, but they're getting this 19 information out to thousands and thousands of 20 voters, 14,000 in Orange County this years, 21 thousands of voters in Arizona this year, and now 22 with the advent of using this type of stuff through 235

robocalls and other kinds of mass communication,
 they're getting it out to the thousand of voters as
 opposed to what you see on the other hand, which is
 when you talk about the registration issues that,
 you know, Mr. Hearne was talking about which are
 incredibly important to make sure that those people
 are not able to submit fraudulent voter registration
 forms, but those aren't voters who are actually
 getting to the polls. Those are registration forms
 that are being submitted and providing a headache
 for election officials that shouldn't.

12 So there's only -- we have a few people

13 creating that, that sort of that problem stops
14 there, whereas in this case with deceptive
15 practices, you have a few people who are
16 perpetuating these practices that thousands and
17 thousands of voters potentially are affected.
18 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Well, I think
19 you're right in that case, but I also think you need
20 to think about the other issue when it's fraudulent
21 registrations when they take names out of the phone
22 book, and I saw this in Colorado, and they are

changing your addresses. Then that put a person
 location and that then make's a problem for the
 voter themselves and then possibly, it could
 disenfranchise if they moved to another county.
 So there are issues with voter
 registration that is just not, you know, playing and
 giving false names like Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck
 and things like this, because they go into more
 in-depth-type issues.
 MR. GOLDMAN: And, Commissioner

11 Davidson, we get those calls into Election

12 Protection. They're devastated to hear voters

13 saying I registered 30 years ago, and I just went to

14 the voter registration to the Board of Elections,15 and they told me I lived five blocks away from where16 I live and registered 30 years ago and have been17 voting here forever.

Absolutely, that is a huge problem.
That is a problem and that problem needs to be
solved and can be solved, because that currently is
illegal, and what we need to do is provide the
resources to be able to support the investigations 237

1 to make sure that we have the laws that are
2 currently on the books, which could do a good job,
3 are actually enforced; and the way that we do that,
4 I think, is by making this, like I said, an
5 apolitical policy issue. We can talk about this
6 like those things are offensive to a policy that we
7 care about as Americans and take this discussion
8 outside of the bluster of the two or three weeks
9 surrounding the election, and we need to make this
10 really as -- again, you know, this commission is a
11 result of a rare moment in American history where we
12 did that, and I feel like we're losing that and we
13 need to get closer to making sure that we provide
14 the resources to the people who are going to protect

15 our elections.

16 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Okay. I

17 appreciate that.

18 Does anybody have anything else to add?

19 MR. HEARNE: I would add very briefly,

20 Commissioner Davidson, you're absolutely right in

21 terms of the need to take very seriously and

22 prosecute these election crimes, whatever they are. 238

1 In Milwaukee, a group went in at night in 2 camouflage, slashed the tires that were there to 3 take individuals to the polling places. That is the 4 kind of voter intimidation that needs to be 5 researched and prosecuted, and it was in Milwaukee. 6 We need to hear more stories like that, 7 because then people will -- that few, and there are 8 few people who perpetrate a large affect, a large 9 negative affect on the election process, fraudulent 10 registration, intimidation, harassment, or 11 suppression. Any of that needs to be very seriously 12 prosecuted, and my own view is that for too long in 13 this country, we have not taken those election 14 crimes as seriously as we need to. An encouraging 15 thing was the Carter-Baker Commission made some

16 recommendations about increased felonies for voter17 intimidation and voter suppression, and those were18 adopted in Missouri and in Pennsylvania and some19 other States as part of their Voter Protection Act,20 and that will send a signal.

If you're going to engage in this, this
is not some prank that go on, because you're 239

disenfranchising somebody's most fundamental liberty
 when you interfere with their right to vote, and
 that's why it's so important to prosecute these
 cases vigorously and seriously, and that's what this
 commission can also offer.

6 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Thank you.

7 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Well, thank you
8 all for your written comments, your oral comments,
9 and for your insight in answering our questions
10 today. We appreciate the work that you do with your
11 organizations and urge you to continue that great
12 work.
13 Thank you.

14 Our final panel consists of one person,

15 though he represents many others, and his name is

16 John Groh, and John Groh is the Chairman of the

17 Information Technology Association of America, also
18 known as the ITAA, the Election Technology Council.
19 Additionally, in his role as Senior Vice President
20 of Government Relations for Election Systems and
21 Software, he is the company's liaison with the U.S.
22 Election Association Commission and has participated

in NIST's TGDC process of creating the new voluntary
 voting system guidelines. Further still, he
 represents ES&S at NASS at NASS events and serves as
 spokesperson for ES&S on policy issues, and
 certainly Mr. Groh has, I know, attended quite a few
 of our EAC meetings, and we certainly appreciate
 your attendance here because we know that you
 represent the manufacturers of election equipment
 throughout America, and election equipment was
 certainly tested on November 7th and in earlier
 primaries held this year.
 Mr. Groh, the floor is yours. I know

13 you have a plane to catch, and I promise you'll get14 out of here on time to catch that plane.

MR. GROH: This is important. So we'll16 take the amount of time it takes to get this done.

17 You know, thank you very much for

18 extending the invitation to my group or the group19 that I'm involved in. Again, it's very much20 appreciated.

21 You've already introduced me, but I want
22 to recognize the same sentiment that most everyone 241

1 else has. You know, your leadership on this 2 Election Assistance Commission has not gone 3 unnoticed, and you're to be commended for the time 4 you put into it, the perseverance, the constitution 5 you had to put up with a lot of it; and also for 6 Commissioner Hillman and Commissioner Davidson, the 7 same sentiment goes. We know this is a tough job. 8 We're on the probably other end of it, and we see 9 it's just as difficult, but you are in the public 10 eye. So there is at lot you have to contend with. 11 So, again, I applaud you for your 12 ability to stick with this, offer your leadership, 13 and have a vision to get something done as opposed 14 to what can't happen. So that's to be very much 15 applauded.

16 Let me go on. I have some submitted17 testimony, and I will not cover all of it, although

18 I do want to cover the issues that I think are

19 important to this; but the ETC is a group that falls
20 under the umbrella of ITAA, and there are currently
21 seven member companies, and these consist of the
22 companies which offer voting system technology and 242

1 hardware products, software, and services to support2 the election process at the county and State levels.

3 In 2004, these companies organized an 4 association, which again, like the Election 5 Assistance Commission, was unprecedented. We had 6 never formed anything like this before, and I think 7 it was a matter of necessity. Much like your role 8 of finding your way, we too, although it was not as 9 near a big of a challenge, but we had no manner to 10 understand how we should act and how we should go 11 forward, and I think we have found a little stride. 12 I do know that all of the member have been very 13 strong in participating.

Just as you had mentioned, I attended
most of the NIST and the Technical Guideline
Development Committee meetings. Others have too,
and today I know there are other members in the
audience. Ian Piper is here from Debolt. I have
Steve Pearson from ES&S, and if I've missed seeing

20 some of the others, you know, excuse me; but we are

21 part of this and have a major stakeholder in this.

22 I think it's also important to 243

1 understand within the ETC, you know, we represent 2 over 2,000 different employees, and when I take our 3 company alone, about 400, and I expand it out to the 4 people also service us, our number gets up to, very 5 quickly up to about 3,000 people who work and are in 6 involved in what ES&S does downstream from us by 7 building the product and, you know, helping design 8 firms. We use a public relations firm, and these 9 are all citizens and voters too that I think have 10 the same empathy as everyone else. They want this 11 to be done right.

We're pleased to offer you, you know,
our perspective and comment, and this is coming from
the election technology vendors community, and I do
want to make one typographical error [sic]. It
looks as if I'm going to comment into the future on
2007. Believe me, I haven't even started thinking
of that yet. So it is on November of 2006.
At a high level, the conduct of the

20 elections proved to be successful in the face of

21 unprecedented circumstances and challenges presented

22 to the election jurisdictions and their vendor 244

partners. I want to point out a few of those that I
 think were at kind of unprecedented levels of
 scrutiny we all were faced with, the election
 infrastructure that has changed more in the past six
 years than in the century proceeding that period
 with nearly one in three voters nationwide using new
 voting equipment for the very first time.

8 The second challenging was managing the 9 upgrades in the voter tabulation and the voter 10 registration infrastructure simultaneously. It is 11 like taking on two projects at the same time. 12 That's also in the face of new Federal oversight, 13 spending, outdated State and local laws and 14 procedures that haven't caught up with it, and not 15 to reflect on post-HAVA realities, the evolving 16 voting system guidelines that we're trying to catch 17 up with everything that was going on. So we have 18 all been working at the speed of light, been 19 drinking out of fire hoses, so to speak, as an 20 analogy.

21 Another issue was the very high voter

## 22 turnout for the midterm election, which we want. 245

That is the whole purpose of election
 administrators, Secretaries of State, your role,
 vendors. We want high voter turnout because that is
 including all voters, but the high turnout in this
 midterm election and a first-time user also
 exacerbates the issue.

Another was the intense level of
8 scrutiny by the media and other interested
9 observers, particularly since races were more
10 competitive than most in recent history; and then
11 lastly is the incredible short timeframe that all of
12 this had to take place in. I've spoken in front of
13 group maybe five times now over the last two years,
14 and I think that's been a recurring theme, that time
15 was always the one element that was against us and
16 time was the blanket that many people used to cover
17 themselves in their procrastination, and so that
18 made it very, very difficult.

But particularly given the scope and
compressed timeline of change in the U.S. election
environment, we as the vendor community believe
there's a lot to be proud of following the November 246

election, and when we say we, we don't just mean the
 vendor community. We mean the Secretaries of State,
 the election administrators, the NGOs, and the
 interested parties and stakeholder in it as well as
 the voter and as well as you as the Election
 Assistance Commission.

7 Firstly, through a strong partnership 8 that you've been inclusive of the vendor community, 9 the election administrators, and many others, the 10 Congress, State legislators, the county and city 11 officials, nearly all jurisdictions across the 12 country met the critical HAVA deadlines, and, I 13 mean, we focused mostly on those who didn't meet it, 14 but we're forgetting that, I would say, as a 15 percentage we had 90 percent that were meeting it or 16 had in place the things to meet it. As a result, 17 this was the most accessible election in history, 18 and the panels preceding me have all mentioned that. 19 That is a major, major event that has been a battle 20 that has been fought by over years, and you 21 succeeded in bringing that about. 22 Far more voters could cast ballots

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privately and independently. Far more emphasis was
 placed on ensuring that no one was disenfranchised.
 That's a significant accomplishment.

4 Second, with the newer voting technology 5 in place that offered substantially enhanced 6 opportunity to capture voter intent, we feel there's 7 a higher degree of confidence the more votes cast 8 were counted and counted accurately. Third, the 9 vast majority those voted had a positive experience 10 at the polling place and came away confident that 11 their votes were cast and counted correctly. In 12 fact, exit polls conducted by the Christian Science 13 Monitor indicated 88 percent of the respondents felt 14 confident in the voting device they used that day, 15 that it did work.

Indeed, there is much to point to the
Indeed, there is much to point to the
election that should build confidence that the Help
America Vote Act is fulfilling its promise, and I
know that Doug Lewis mentioned this also this
morning, that that may be the highest watermark
we're ever able to obtain, and that may equate to a
hundred percent.

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1 Also, if you think about the facts of 2 the past two and a half years, they represent a 3 great transformation in the way that elections run 4 in the country since the Voting Rights Act of the 5 sixties. I believe that it's difficult to argue 6 good things -- I believe it is difficult to argue 7 that good things did, indeed, happen. No doubt, 8 there is more that we all can do and we have 9 important lessons learned under our belt, but to 10 those who laid out the vision of HAVA and motivated 11 a nationwide election reform effort, I or we as the 12 Election Technology Commission or Council say we are 13 on the right track. That leadership, that passion, 14 that strong constitution that you've been able to 15 put forth as well as leaders at the Secretary of 16 State level or NASS and NACED is to be commended 17 because you are the ones who made it happen. 18 But, nonetheless, if consider nothing 19 other than the media coverage surrounding the 20 election, you'd be left with a very different 21 perspective. Sitting over here today, the first 22 panels were very, very uplifting for me, and I can 249

1 tell you the last panel became very, very negative
2 or in a non-positive way event for me, and it left
3 me lower than I was starting in the morning, and I
4 think it's the way that we can look, is the glass
5 half full or the glass half empty, and I believe
6 that the spirit of people where it is half full are
7 the ones that move it forward, and I think want to
8 again commend those that look and approach this in
9 that fashion.

10 To give you some insight into it, if you 11 glance over a summary of the news articles regularly 12 posted on electionline.org, and I'll pick on Dan's 13 group a little bit, just between November 6th and 14 December 1st, there were 729 election-related 15 articles that made mention of events that composed 16 419 States. I know I'm a studier of geography. I 17 know we don't have 419 States, but I think you all 18 understand there were 419 States uniquely pointed 19 out in those 729 articles; but it wasn't just the 20 amount of coverage. It was the extent of the 21 factual air that is striking to me, and I have, you 22 know, pieces on that, but I hope in the Q and A 250

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1 maybe I'll get an opportunity to bring some of those2 up.

But in my ways, the days leading up to 4 and following the election reminded me of the Y2K 5 phenomenon. So many people predicted such a dire 6 outcome and it became everyone's reality. Whether 7 or it was borne out by the facts was indeed not in 8 everybody's mind. Now, I do want to be very, very 9 clear. I'm not up here saying that there weren't 10 any issues anywhere in the country and there weren't 11 issues that were caused by my company specifically 12 or that the other vendors would also mention that, 13 but with very rare exception, those issues were 14 managed efficiently and effectively and the election 15 process did go forward.

16 The results were reported when and as 17 expected. In those rare situations where the 18 outcome of the election was delayed, it pre-disposed 19 perspective and in some cases a rush to judgment 20 inevitably left the public with the sense that the 21 voting technology must be to blame. Most of the 22 time, that simply was not so.

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## Allow me to put on my company hat here a

1

2 little bit and speak from my perspective at Election 3 Systems & Software, because it's the only one I can 4 speak to with pure confidence, because I know the 5 pieces; but let me reflect on a situation that 6 exemplifies what I'm referring to, and that's the 7 contested 13th Congressional District race in 8 Sarasota County, Florida. There have been over the 9 days succeeding the election audits and tests that 10 have shown time and time and time again that the 11 county's voting system functioned just as it should. 12 Votes were cast and captured. The results were 13 reported accurately. Data was retained for the 14 post-election analysis, and analysis and videotaping 15 that was conducted by the State of Florida 16 demonstrates that voters can and should have 17 confidence in the system because it was working, but 18 today a court is considering a challenge brought by 19 a group of interested parties, once again calling 20 into question the reliability of Sarasota County's 21 voting equipment. So many people are so convinced 22 that technical issues could occur that they're just 252

1 not allowing the facts to get in the way.

2 Perhaps there are important takeaways

3 from the Sarasota experience; however, the voting
4 system worked, period. Mischaracterized facts about
5 isolated incidents are not only impacting voter
6 perception and the overall election process, but are
7 now being used to draw broad conclusions about
8 voting equipment and set the stage for a wholesale
9 change to U.S. voting infrastructure and election
10 practices. Listening to the panel this morning and
11 to also belay my sentiment, that is something we
12 want to be very, very careful to, to leap to those
13 conclusions. We will be into more unintended
14 consequences.

15 These calls are unfortunate and
16 misplaced and they take away from the areas where
17 constructive dialogue between the election
18 officials, administrators, vendors, poll workers,
19 and even voters could improve the process for future
20 elections and could begin to help build a catalogue
21 for best practices to emulate and miscues to avoid.
22 For instance, there isn't any question that we all 253

could benefit from heightened focus on the human
 element in carrying out an election, and as vendors,
 we have important roles to play in this area. The

4 truth is that a great many of the issues that
5 occurred on election day were directly related to
6 human error inside my company, inside other vendor
7 companies, but also at all levels from poll worker
8 to voter to election official, and they were not
9 malicious and they were not predetermined and
10 pre-ordained that that's what they wanted to have
11 happen.

But they were directly related to human But they were directly related to human ror and utilizing the equipment or the failure to follow through on important processes and procedures that you have pointed out in guides to people in advance of the election, but that's to be expected because there were so many firsts in this election and very little time to prepare those who were responsible for making it happen. Even the EAC experienced these pressure. Evidence is the timing around helpful and important how-to materials that you were able to get out in September. I know your 254

desire would have been to have those out months in
 advance. You didn't do that because you didn't
 understand they were important; it's that they had
 to follow a timing mechanism of when they could be

5 accomplished, but they are there and you have the 6 continued effort to built on those.

7 Additional training and new ways of 8 delivering it are important. Stiffer quality 9 assurance and quality control is no doubt something 10 that will be important for elections. Building 11 efficiencies into the election process and pursuing 12 more aggressive recruitment of the next generation 13 poll workers to match up with the dedicated poll 14 workers that exist today will be a way to continue 15 to innovate new and improved voting solutions. 16 All these are examples of areas that 17 merit your and my attention. As the vendor 18 community, we stand ready to engage in this 19 dialogue. In fact, we see it as a critical for 20 achieving the real vision of HAVA, which is behind 21 why we are doing all of this.

22 We respectfully suggest that the EAC 255

work to identify, perhaps through a survey of States
 and counties and separately the vendor community,
 operational issues that need to be addressed, and I
 won't say more about that because I'm repeating what
 others have mentioned.

7 Commissioner Hillman, you have asked the prior panel
8 do they have records of that data, because it's only
9 with that that we can get factual information; but
10 this would help all of us, you, the EAC, hone in on
11 enhancements to the overall election process and
12 elections administrators target limited resources to
13 areas of the greatest need. In addition, the EAC
14 may wish to sponsor research that evaluates critical
15 success factors in the election management and
16 performance.

17 This kind of leadership and input from
18 the EAC would be tremendously helpful in assuring
19 that we all gain from the HAVA experience and
20 continue to improve. At ES&S during the primary
21 season, we went through a wholesale similar exercise
22 of change and have already implemented significant 256

operational changes that were beneficial leading up
 to the November election. Though I cannot speak
 specifically for my other vendor companies, I am
 very confident and sure that everyone in that vendor
 community has taken similar steps.

6 In conclusion, I would like to emphasize

7 that we are strongly committed as an organization of 8 vendors to responding to the needs of our customers 9 and to providing secure, accurate, and reliable and 10 accessible voting systems. We are also committed to 11 and focused on meeting the new voluntary voting 12 system guidelines, the product challenges that will 13 come via the EAC, Secretaries of State, and others. 14 Over the course of the four years since 15 the passage of HAVA and the launch of the Election 16 Assistance Commission and the board and committees 17 that run in cooperation with NIST, tremendous 18 progress has been made. I don't think we should 19 forget that and take our eye off of that. 20 The ETC is a stakeholder and as that 21 stakeholder has made a visible effort to be part of 22 the going forward solution. On behalf of all of our 257

1 member organizations, we are proud to be part of2 this and we thank you for including us as part of3 the stakeholder community.

4 With that, I'll take any questions.

5 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you, Mr.

6 Groh.

7 Commissioner Davidson.

9 question, because I know we need to keep this short.
10 In talking about collecting information and how
11 valuable it will be to us in the future, one of the
12 things with ours certification of our voting
13 equipment, we are going to have to really assess
14 what the issues are in any election and we're going
15 to ask the States and counties to work with us,
16 partner with us to give us information so we can go
17 out and send, if we have to, teams out to see what's
18 wrong, you know, an individual out to see exactly
19 what took place to evaluate whether it is an
20 equipment problem.

Like you said, was it an equipment
22 problem or was it an judge problem or was it laid 258

1 out improperly, you know, where did the mistake take

2 place, in other words.

3 Is the vendor community that you 4 represent, are they willing to also work with us and 5 notify us of any issues that has taken place? We've 6 asked for that. It's in our plan, and I feel that 7 they will be willing to do that, but I just want to 8 get it on record one more time.

9 MR. GROH: I cannot speak yet for the 10 ETC in a blanket, but I can speak for my company, 11 and I think I will probably be very reflective of 12 the other members, but yes. We see very high levels 13 of merit in being able to get those facts to you. 14 The comment, though, I'd also make in 15 making that commitment to you as one of the leading 16 vendors is that it takes time to get that 17 information pulled together, and much as we stopped 18 hundreds of years ago when there was an incidence 19 that today results in a trial and facts being 20 brought out, the lynching that went on of people 21 that were accused immediately of some crime, we need 22 to allow that time and for the facts to evolve in 259

1 these types of matters also.

2 The items that, you know, I talked about 3 with electionline.org and their article where they 4 had these articles they reflect and so forth, many 5 of those I can thumb through and they're counties or 6 jurisdictions that we serve and we know the rest of 7 the story. To give you one example, in Marion 8 County, Indiana, which I was there on the election 9 day. I was involved in it for the three days 10 afterwards in the recounting process they went to.
11 Reading the press, it makes it sound like the
12 technology was coded incorrectly not to close the
13 polls at eight o'clock. That is true halfway. The
14 accessible voting equipment, which there was one at
15 every polling place, was coded to close at eight
16 o'clock and would not until eight o'clock, but it
17 only held less than two percent of the vote. The
18 primary voting system, the Optical Mark Read System,
19 was programmed correctly.
20 Should that have been happened?
21 Absolutely not. Will it happen in Marion County
22 every again? I doubt it. What was the cause and 260

1 effect that? Was it human error at my company on
 2 coding the DRE accessible voting systems
 3 incorrectly? And how that happens is I took an
 4 individual which we were late on getting Marion's
 5 data, and I took an individual that had been working
 6 in Pennsylvania. He had been coding in eight
 7 o'clock, eight o'clock, eight o'clock, eight
 8 o'clock, eight o'clock, all of a sudden switched
 9 over to one county and one set of systems and had to
 10 code it at six o'clock and made a mistake.

11 But if our quality assurance and the 12 logic in accuracy and the testing procedures with 13 you have which run a mock election before that, we 14 could have caught that before the election and been 15 able to take care of it.

16 Another dilemma in that was the lack of 17 any intercommunication. The 600 or so precincts 18 that are polling sites in Marion County had no way 19 to communicate. We could have very quickly given 20 the poll workers instruction on how to close and 21 override this because that's a tool or a piece 22 that's in there, but we didn't have a communication 261

1 structure.

2 And, lastly, it was also a direct result 3 of the lack of adequate training on the front end, 4 and it wasn't from desire. It was from lack of 5 time. They were trying to implement this at the 6 very last minute to have a successful voting system 7 work, it did not get accomplished in the primary and 8 didn't want to miss this one, but in turn, their 9 poll workers at the opening and the closing of the 10 polls were not ready and did not have the needed 11 skill to close the polls. So it's only when you know all of that
information can you really now put yourself in the
position of understanding what went on in Marion
County, and I can go on and talk about others in
here too and I'm sure that the other vendor
community could, but it would take a matter of three
to four days to get that information kind of
accumulated.
COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Well, I think we
understand that. We understand that we're going to

22 have to be part of that process, but even knowing 262

1 there is an issue, I think that that's our first
2 flag. We don't want to read it in the newspaper.
3 You know, if know that there is an issue, that's
4 some of the things that we're looking for that needs
5 to be reported to us right away, because as you say,
6 I was in Tennessee and some of the testimony that
7 went on today about Tennessee was not quite
8 accurate, because I was there. I saw what took
9 place.

10 So, you know, I mean, the information is

11 very important and obviously correct information and

12 being there firsthand is where you get it.
13 MR. GROH: Well, and just like trying to 14 get the facts on everything so that you're dealing 15 with the facts. They cannot come from any single 16 source. They need to be collaborated. There is an 17 obligation on the parts of the Secretaries of State 18 and local election officials, the vendor community, 19 the voters themselves, but we shouldn't take any one 20 of them in its own silo and its own staff and use it 21 to be making conclusive decisions on it, and the 22 biggest fear I have is that is what we are doing in 263

the popular press, taking things that don't have the
 rest of the information around it, and it's of no
 benefit, really, in the long term. It doesn't help
 improve the system. It only creates flat tires of
 the vehicle for a period of time.

6 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: Thank you.

7 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: A question for8 you, Mr. Groh: How long have you been in the9 industry?

10 MR. GROH: I don't know. It seems like

11 60 years or so. I've been in this 11 years, and I

12 started when the company election systems and

13 software that exists today was about 40 people. I

14 can tell you I entered it thinking it was going to
15 be one or two years. I came in, you know, as
16 helping acquire the company as an owner coming from
17 another industry, and I think, like you and I can
18 also speak for Paul DeGregorio, because I think he's
19 got it and it flows in his blood, his DNA, I'm kind
20 of caught up in it. I don't know that I will do
21 anything else.

22 It's amazing the red letter dates that 264

1 go around the election environment as you sit in it.

2 You all have these experiences. Here we are

3 December 7th, 65 years ago, Pearl Harbor. I can
4 remember my 50 birthday was November 8, 1998 and I
5 was in Venezuela for an historic election that took
6 place there that elected in an individual today that
7 we all read about in the news, President Hugo
8 Chavez, and so I can repeat over and over again.
9 So I know it's a long answer, but 11
10 years.
11 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I asked that
12 because my question is a little bit of a short-term
13 historical perspective. It's apparent to me that
14 what the election industry is going through right

15 now is a transformation process, and it's pretty
16 radical because of it has happened within the past
17 two to four years, certainly since 2000, and there
18 are bumps and grinds when any industry goes through
19 any kind of a radical transformation process. I
20 mean, we're going from punch card and levers to
21 systems that are driven by, you know, technology and
22 computers and the like.

1 And so to talk about that, sometimes I 2 know the feedback I get says, Gee, it sounds like 3 you're an apologist for the vendor community or 4 that's awfully self-serving for the vendor 5 community, and the perspective I talk about from 6 isn't from the vendor community. It's from a book I 7 read by an economist who just said, you know, this 8 is the way it goes. There are cycles and you go 9 into the cycle and you come out of the cycle, and 10 when you come out of it, it's a good product or it's 11 a good transformation, and the only time it's not 12 good is if you don't make the fixes along the way 13 and if you didn't pay attention to the errors. 14 If that's the case, what would you

15 share, your perspective, would be sort of a time

16 line going forward when the United States can expect
17 to see electronic voting systems that are working
18 well today enough that people will say, And what was
19 the problem and what was that; I'm reading old news
20 clips from 2004 and 2006, and what was it that they
21 were concerned about these electronic voting
22 machines?

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1 MR. GROH: With my typographical error 2 that said I was going to talk about November 2007, 3 you're asking me to look a little bit forward, and I 4 don't know if I'm fully capable of doing that, but 5 let me look backwards and then get to the leading 6 part of it. Since 1995 when I became involved in 7 this, there were the same kind of issues in that 8 period of time in counties and jurisdictions. We 9 just didn't see them on a national level. It was 10 the 2000 election that raised this up, and so the 11 panel that preceded me is representative of people 12 that have a very bright light and a very bright spot 13 light on that.

14 This morning when Doug Lewis talked15 about the bitterness of the partisan culture that we16 also exist in that you don't lose an election,

17 you're cheated out of an election, and you don't
18 looks for the facts to relate that, you can drive
19 whatever you want if you're not willing to use the
20 facts that are there.
21 So to answer a little bit of that, I

22 don't know that we can achieve it where you have an 267

1 election where there is absolutely not a problem 2 anywhere in the country because it involves too many 3 human beings and thousands -- as Brett Williams said 4 in a prior testimony, there's a thousand moving 5 parts in this election thing, and so many of them 6 are human, and I can quote time and time again 7 things that we know in this last election that did 8 not make the paper and were not major catastrophes, 9 but it was a Montana election official who zeroed 10 out his totals before he printed them out and 11 admitted that he did. He did it in the fact that he 12 had probably been up 17 hours already, fives with 13 maybe four hours sleep a night. He made a mistake. 14 I know of instances in Dodge County, 15 Nebraska where Fred Middy, the Election Clerk there, 16 zeroed out their entire group of absentee ballots on 17 election night, and they had to come back the next

18 morning to start counting over because everybody was

19 shocked. We make some mistakes in the vendor

20 community.

21 So as long as that exists, I'm sure

22 there will be mistakes and errors. Our election 268

process has become much more complex. The addition
 of the voter registration and centralized data bases
 - COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: I don't mean to
 cut you off, but I'm talking about the technology.

6 I'm talking about the evolution and the development7 of the technology.

8 MR. GROH: Clearly, Commissioner 9 Hillman, it will get much, much better. We have 10 been through the first what I would say is major use 11 of it, a lot of lessons learned, what we applied. 12 In the next go around, you will see less and less of 13 these issues. The lessons learned will be applied. 14 I would say if we would stay on this 15 election technology for two more cycles, you would 16 see very little that would happen from a popular 17 press standpoint. You ill not hear the kind of 18 things that you're hearing today. I'd also 19 characterize the things that you've heard today are
20 not all accurate, and so if that's only where you
21 get your information from, it's not honing in on
22 what was the real issue. So it may have been 269

something they're saying the technology didn't work,
 but the technology did work and something else
 caused it not to work.

4 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Okay. And so 5 speaking of the something else, I have a specific 6 question, and it gets to the issue of -- I don't 7 know. I've heard different terminology, screen flip 8 or, you know, calibration and I punched Groh and it 9 came up Hillman or whatever it is. You know, from 10 my layman perspective, I'd like to see the day when 11 you can attach the voting system hanging upside down 12 from the ceiling and vote on it and it would be 13 accurate and there's not sensitivity in calibration 14 and it has to be balanced and so on and so forth. 15 Can you explain to me, putting on your 16 company hat a little bit, what are the sensitivity 17 issues on that? There are repetitive reports about 18 this. Whether it's once instance that 250 people 19 around the country keep repeating, like the forward

20 E-mail, I don't know, but I know that I've seen that

21 this has been reported in more than one

22 jurisdiction.

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1 MR. GROH: Well, again, the answer on 2 this is very broad and very varied because it has a 3 lot of issues that are with it. One is all of us 4 that are in the vendor community that are providing 5 touch screen technology, we are -- you know, we are 6 using the technology that is available and out 7 there. It's not something we created in the touch 8 screens themselves. So we also have to live within 9 the inherent limitations, the technology limitations 10 of touch screens, which are getting better and 11 better and better.

12 In that, we do know that there's some 13 things, some issues, that are inherent to the 14 technology. Putting the voting areas too close 15 together where a long fingernail and the pad of your 16 finger can be touching two spots and we know that it 17 will take the average between those two spots, and 18 that's where it will try and place a vote. So if 19 you'll place those farther apart, of you'll get 20 bigger target areas or a fatter or a larger target 21 spot for fingers where somebody may try to use their

22 thumb as opposed to an index finger as opposed to a 271

1 middle digit on that, those are all things that can2 help remove that.

3 The interesting things that we've heard 4 about this vote flipping and I heard about it in 5 this election and I read some in electionline.org. 6 I had no personal experience with it from our 7 company, meaning where we got a call in and they 8 said we have units that are flipping votes. 9 Additionally, on the review screens that we look at, 10 that's a great place to catch it, but I'll go back 11 to two that are not anecdotal examples. When 12 California did their test on voting technology and 13 videotaping, they were able to find where there will 14 be instances of what people said, Well, there was a 15 vote flip that went on. The videotape was able to 16 show that there was somebody resting their wrist or 17 had jewelry that was touching the touch screen 18 itself as well as their fingertip and the technology 19 is reacting to what it's seeing as two touches. 20 The Florida audit that went on this last

21 week or Sarasota found examples of the same thing,

very, very accurately to see what would happen, and
 they still were making mistakes of either making the
 wrong entry or entering it by not touching the
 location that they needed to and touching the one
 below.

6 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Thank you. 7 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Mr. Groh, I want 8 to follow up just on a question that Commissioner 9 Hillman had, just a technical question about this 10 so-called vote flipping, and you mentioned the 11 technology involved with that. Do you think that 12 our voting system guidelines should have some kind 13 of specification to require some kind of spacing 14 between these boxes as opposed to them being right 15 next to each other where you can press your thumb 16 like that and it might go down and then go up? Are 17 these technical guidelines that this commission 18 should put forth that requires some kind of spacing? 19 MR. GROH: I think it probably would be 20 part of the solution and would be legitimate to have 21 it in there. I believe that, you know, your ballot 22 layout and your human ergonomic folks that are going 273

1 to look at it when I listened to them in Santa Fe at2 your public hearing down there, they're mentioning3 it and understanding it and getting this.

Additionally, people who are on the
technical development -- guidelines development
committee are looking at what are the limitations of
the touch screens, because I as a company am not
going to be able to change that. I don't use enough
of those. It's nationwide how touch screens are
used which is going to drive that piece of it. So
we know inherently they're going to get better, but
as opposed to waiting for that, it will also help
the system out by creating a better ballot layout
that allows you to eliminate that.

15 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: We've heard
16 testimony this morning. We've heard some this
17 afternoon, and collectively people, you know, are
18 certainly suggesting to us that it was a successful
19 election. Certainly I have made statements to that
20 too, but we've also heard that all was not perfect.
21 There were some problems. You identified your own
22 in Marion County, Indiana. To the north of you, 274

1 another vendor had a problem with the smart cards 2 not being programmed correctly that required the 3 polls to stay open an hour and a half by court order 4 because of an error that at least was identified by 5 the vendor according to the Secretary of the State. 6 You've been around our meetings enough 7 to know the testimony we have received from election 8 officials and Secretaries of State over the past 9 year and half, certainly, when there were concerns 10 about vendors and delivery of their services. You 11 identified in your testimony how your company took a 12 look at itself after the primary season, problems 13 from the primary season, to retool itself to support 14 election officials, and we recognize that many 15 election officials out there really rely on the 16 vendors for a lot of things. The bigger 17 jurisdictions don't, but the smaller ones do. So 18 one little mistake by a vendor really gets blown up 19 very big because it affects the whole county like it 20 did in Indiana.

How do you -- taking a look at this from
22 time forward, which you learned, your company and 275

companies collectively learned from this election,
 how are you going to address these issues and ensure
 that election officials take on the responsibility
 independent of you, independent of your companies,
 to ensure that everything is working right before
 the election? I read some of these stories, and
 I've read every one of them. I really tried to read
 every one of them. Why didn't the logic and
 accuracy test catch that?

And so, you know, what are you do doing
11 from this time forward to help, you know, election
12 officials get it right without the problems on
13 election day that you've seen in some jurisdictions?
MR. GROH: Well, clearly it's a much
15 longer answer than I'm probably willing to take the
16 time here today, but let me give you a few things
17 that I think are important here. One is just like
18 you introduced changes and you've identified changes
19 in your quick start management guides and your books
20 that ar going to come out now that are going to be
21 like a desktop reference for election
22 administrators, that's one thing that means it's

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moving, folks. The way that you manage and run
 elections, like Kevin Kennedy said, you can't run it
 out of a shoe box anymore. Well, it's moving ahead
 and we all now that. We're provided those pieces.

5 Vendors also have to do that same 6 element to it. I know that ES&S shared a lot of 7 things that we felt we were proud of that were the 8 result of what I would say are mistakes on our part 9 in getting ready for the primaries. We weren't on 10 time. We were late. And those are the result of 11 not starting soon enough, recognizing that State law 12 has not caught up with Federal law yet as far as 13 candidate closing, which compresses the time that 14 you have to do this work down into an unrealistic 15 and unreasonable amount of time.

16 The intent or HAVA is really to have 17 accessible voting on the very first day that people 18 can vote. That means that voting day is no longer 19 the important day. It's that early voting. So we 20 need to recognize that we need to do the L and As 21 before that. You're right. If we're talking in 22 Indiana, why wouldn't have that been caught in the L 277 1 and A? Why in Marion County didn't we catch in the
2 L and A if it was run and you opened and closed the
3 poll and simulated and mocked up an election should
4 you not have caught it, which is all part of the
5 quality assurance process. It isn't that somebody
6 is making mistakes. The mistakes are going to
7 happen. What we're doing is building fail safes
8 that are redundant checks in there.

9 So we will continue to make

10 improvements. Many will be, we can say mandated by11 you, but I look at it that they're recommended by12 you and they're embraced by us. They need to be13 embraced by the election officials.

14 Then one other final comment I'd like to 15 make is there is a lot of conversation around should 16 the election administrators be totally independent 17 or should they be dependent on the vendor. I don't 18 think you're going find it an either/or, because you 19 have this dichotomy of large counties that have 20 infrastructure and IT staff and people that are 21 there and small counties that never will, and 22 they're going to need the help. But in contrasting 278

1 a real example, Sarasota County, ES&S has nothing

2 really to do with the election. We provided the
3 technology in 2001. We don't do anything. They're
4 totally self-independent. They have an excellent
5 election director in Cathy Dent. She runs as good a
6 house, as good an election shop as anybody in the
7 United States, but again, one thing that was
8 unintended caused what you can say is a major, major
9 tipping point.

We also noticed, though, in the press We also noticed, though, in the press Help of vendors, and of course that was also chastised, that the vendors are helping, and it was chastised, that the vendors are helping, and it was a county just south of her or contiguous to her swhere the vendor was helping with it and they said, how can that be? So you're going -- we won't win whichever way we go, but I do think it's a matter of whichever way we go, but I do think it's a matter of numerstanding that all of us have some presponsibility in the election. The election official at the county level is on the front line. The vendors are there to help, but if we don't collow good processes and procedures, anything we do

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1 in our life will not come out correct.

2 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Thank you.

3 Mr. Wilkey and Mr. Gilmour, I'm sorry.

4 We're running late and I know Mr. Groh has a plane5 to catch, but let me ask my fellow commissioners for

6 any closing remarks they might have.

7 Let me remind all of you that the8 swearing-in for --

9 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: We have the 10 minutes to do.

11 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Oh, we do have the12 minutes. I'm glad you reminded me.

13 MR. GROH: If I may, I'll step away from14 the table.

15 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Yes. Please.

16 Yes, we do have the minutes. Thank you,

17 Commissioner Hillman, for reminding me of the

18 minutes. I assume that you've had the opportunity

19 to look at them over, and I know that I have over

20 the past 24 hours several times and made several

21 corrections to the version that you see, but you may

22 have other corrections to them. So we'll take the 280

1 minutes up at this moment.

## 2 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Okay. I do have

3 some corrections, and I think they're simple enough

4 that I marked up where the corrections were.

5 There's only one place where the correction would 6 have an implication on the statement, and that is we 7 were talking about draft and predecisional documents 8 are not considered final or releasable under the 9 Freedom of Information Act, and then the paragraph 10 went on to say a document is final only when EAC has 11 made a decision to adopt the report, and that's on 12 page 3, not adopt the report as policy. So the 13 words "as policy" would be stricken because not 14 every report we adopt as policy. 15 The others are just typographical for 16 the most part. So I could just submit those for the 17 record. 18 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Would you like to

19 make a motion to adopt these?

20 COMMISSIONER HILLMAN: Yeah. I move

21 adoption of the minutes with corrections.

22 COMMISSIONER DAVIDSON: I second it. 281

## 1 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: Okay. We have a

2 move and second to adopt the minutes of our October

3 26th meeting as corrected. All those in favor,

4 signify by saying aye.

5 MEMBERS IN UNISON: Ay	ve.
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6 VIII. CLOSING REMARKS 7 CHAIRMAN DeGREGORIO: The ayes have it. 8 Before we go and close this meeting, 9 first of all, let me remind you that Chairman, the 10 new Chair, Donetta Davidson will be sworn in on 11 Wednesday, January 3rd at 2:00 here at the EAC, most 12 likely in this room, I assume. 13 The next public meeting of the EAC will 14 be on Thursday, February 8th at 10 a.m. here at the 15 EAC. This meeting is being taped and will be on the 16 web at our website, WWW.EAC.gov next week. Please 17 keep track of that site for that and other things 18 that we're going to do, and everything that was done 19 at this meeting, certainly the testimony, the 20 decisions we made, the reports that we addressed, 21 the certification program will all be posted on the 22 web.

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Finally, before I gavel the meeting to a
 close, I have just a final statement for me to make
 because this is the final meeting that I'll have as
 Chairman of the EAC and probably the last public
 meeting I will sit at as a member of the Election

6 Assistance Commission. So I would like to take a
7 brief minute to reflect year as Chairman and just a
8 moment to talk about what the past three years have
9 meant to me as it was just three years ago on
10 December 9th, coming up in a couple of days that
11 Buster Sorez, Ray Martinez, Gracia Hillman, and
12 myself were confirmed by the United States Senate.
13 I remember, Gracia, that day.

As we've heard today, after seeing some 15 of the problems elections officials experienced in 16 the early primaries this year, the EAC in 2006 17 provided guidance to election officials across the 18 country in the form of the quick start management 19 guides. These guides were an important step in 20 providing election officials with real tools to do 21 their job better. I know the full set of management 22 guidelines the EAC will issue in 2007 will go a long 283

1 way to help election officials cope with the myriad
 2 of details that are involved in conducting
 3 elections.
 4 As the national clearinghouse for

5 election information, in 2006 the EAC undertook many

6 research projects on election administration issues.

7 The topics covered by these projects were numerous
8 and included effective designs for ballots and
9 polling places, best practices for college poll
10 worker training, recruitment, and retention, voter
11 fraud and intimidation, vote count-recount
12 procedures, and public access portals, and others
13 that I don't have time to mention.

14 The EAC has still many more topics to 15 research and much more information to gather, but we 16 are very proud of the work we have already done and 17 will continue to work very hard to gain and share as 18 much knowledge as possible about election 19 administration. In 2006, the EAC also conducted 20 nine public meetings throughout the country in order 21 to better inform the public about the number of 22 important election administration topics and to hear 284

about their concerns. These meetings covered
 everything from the National Voter Registration Act
 to military and overseas voting.
 2006 was a year of great challenges and

5 changes for elections in America. As you have

6 learned today, the 2006 election was, by most

7 accounts, a success. Voters turned out in large

8 numbers and with the exception of a few anomalies9 were able to cast their ballots with confidence, yet10 there are still challenges ahead.

As a former election official, I can
tell you that there's no substitute for training and
experience when it comes to conducting elections.
Today, there's little training for new election
officials, and that's why we need to focus on
professional development for these dedicated public
officials. State and local officials should make an
investment in training and improving the management
capacity of election officials. Too often, election
officials do not receive the adequate funding and
support they need from their local governments to
conduct their elections.

One of the biggest challenges we face is
 a shortage of poll workers. Many of our poll
 workers who served selfishly for years are not
 comfortable with the new voting technology. We need
 to continue to bring more and more young people in
 as poll workers so that they can bring their
 technology know-how and electronic savvy to the
 polling place.

9 We must continue to work to improve
10 voter confidence in the process. We took a big step
11 with our voting system guidelines and now today with
12 the EAC adopting its Voting Systems Testing and
13 Certification Program. Beginning in January, voting
14 manufacturers that choose to participate must submit
15 their entire system for testing in order to receive
16 EAC certification. These manufactures will finally
17 be held to a Federal standard and involved in a
18 process that is transparent, fair, and thorough,
19 creating more public confidence in these systems and
20 the companies that produce them.
21 In my time as Chairman, I've had the

22 pleasure to travel the country and the world 286

representing the EAC. I've been fortunate enough to
 speak about the EAC and its many accomplishments and
 to listen to concerns about our voting process at
 many venues. I've also had the opportunity to
 educate the media and others about the details that
 go into our election process and to dispel many of
 the myths and misinformation that we often read and
 hear about regarding the process.

9 As I prepare to close off my time as

10 Chairman, I would like to thank my fellow
11 Commissioners for selecting me to serve as the
12 Chairman of this Commission. It has been an honor
13 to do so, and I hope that I have done you and the
14 citizens of America proud in my time in this office.
15 Finally, the last three years have been
16 some of the most challenging and yet rewarding of my
17 professional career. The past 21 years of my life
18 have been devoted to giving people from all over
19 this world the opportunity to participate in free
20 and fair elections. During my time on the EAC, I
21 have been truly blessed to use my skills and
22 experience to work in a non-partisan spirit with 287

great Commission and a great staff to implement the
 Help America Vote Act of 2002. I thank them for
 everything they have done to make the EAC
 successful. I've done my best to listen, to learn,
 and to lead this new great agency that touches the
 lives of every single American. I've often said
 that details matter in the election business, and as
 you have come to know, these details matter a great
 deal to me.

10 During the 10 years preceding my

11 appointment to the EAC, I worked as hard as I could 12 to improve the election process in many emerging 13 democracies throughout the globe. Whether it was in 14 Congo or Cambodia, Russia or Romania, Slovakia or 15 Sierra Leone, those 10 years were truly a wonderful 16 opportunity that allowed me to touch the hearts and 17 minds of many people and experience firsthand the 18 many similarities and few differences we actually 19 have among each other in this world. I will be 20 forever grateful to President George W. Bush for 21 giving me the opportunity to do and experience the 22 exact same thing for the United States of America 288

1 while on the EAC.

2 Thank you very much and God bless all of 3 you. With that, I'll bring this meeting to a close. 4 We're adjourned. 5 (Whereupon, at approximately 4:03 o'clock, 6 p.m., the above meeting was adjourned.) 7 \* \* \* \* \* 8 9

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1	CERTIFICATE OF COURT REPORTER
2	
3	I, CATHERINE B. CRUMP, the officer before whom
4	the foregoing meeting was taken, do hereby
5	testify that the foregoing meeting taken by me
6	stenographically and thereafter reduced to typewriting
7	under my direction; that said transcript is a true
8	record of the meeting given; that I am neither counsel
9	for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties
10	to the event in which this meeting was taken; and
11	further, that I am not a relative or employee of any
12	of the parties hereto nor financially or otherwise
13	interested in the outcome of this meeting.

14	
15	CATHERINE B. CRUMP
16	Court Reporter in and for the
17	District of Columbia
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Close <javascript:close()>

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