In Raleigh, North Carolina
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(Transcriptionist's note: the excerpted portion of the proceedings began at 07:45:18 PM)

SPEAKER TILLIS: House Bill 589, the Clerk will read.

CLERK: Senate Committee Substitute for House Bill 589, a bill to be entitled An Act to Restore Confidence in the Government by Establishing the Voter Information and Verification Act, to Promote the Electoral Process Through Education, Increased Registration of Voters, and by Requiring Voters to Provide Photo Identification Before Voting to Protect the Right of Each Registered Voter to Cast a Secure Vote with Reasonable Security Measures that Confirm Voter Identity as Accurately as Possible Without Restriction, and to Further Reform the Election Laws. The General Assembly of North Carolina enacts.

REP. MICHAUX: Mr. Speaker, inquiry of the chair.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman may state his inquiry.

REP. MICHAUX: Mr. Speaker, I'd like -- I rise to make a motion, and I'd like you to hear what my motion is, if you don't mind. My motion --
SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman may state his intent.

REP. MICHAUX (07:45:39): It's my intent to make a motion pursuant to Rule 30, found on page 129 of the rule book, that this House go into the Committee of the Whole for the discussion of this bill, and I'd like to explain to you why.

The bill we sent over was a simple bill on voter identification. This has come back as a 57-page bill including many, many, many other things that have not been vetted in conference. And in order to be fair, I'm just asking that you allow my motion to -- that this House go into the Committee of the Whole to vet the bill, and then bring it out of that committee.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Representative Moore, please state your purpose.

REP. T. MOORE (07:46:29): To respond to the gentleman's request for a motion under Rule 30. I don't know if the motion is actually properly before the House, but I would rise in opposition to the motion and simply point out the redundancy.

I can't think of the last time that a -- that the House has met as the Committee of the Whole. It would be pointless to do so, because the
Committee of the Whole would be the entire House sitting as a Committee and then later simply sitting as the House.

It's a complete waste of time, and so the -- it is standard under our rules for this bill to come back for a concurrence vote in the manner it is. It has gone through the proper committee hearings; it has gone through the proper hearings both in this House, both in the Senate committees, both in -- and the Senate, and is properly before us. It would be unnecessary and very simply a waste of time to do so, and I would encourage the body, should the gentleman actually proffer the motion, to reject the motion to go into the Committee of the Whole.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Representative Moore, in the opinion of the Chair, the gentleman's intent is in order. It requires a simple majority vote. We will take a vote on this to -- the gentleman's motion is to convene as the Committee of the Whole.

REP. MICHAUX: I make the motion, yes, sir. I move that we go into a Committee of the Whole in order to discuss the committee substitute for the House Bill 589.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Second? Representative
Moore, please state your purpose.

REP. T. MOORE: To -- to speak to -- to debate the motion.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman is recognized to debate the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: Mr. Speaker, again -- Mr. Speaker and members, I would urge the body to vote against the motion. It is -- it is -- with all due respect to the gentleman from Durham, I would submit it is simply a waste of time, that the Committee of the Whole is the same as the full House, in terms of the parties who are here to hear the bill.

The bill is properly before us, and we should simply act as the House to do this. In fact, I can't think of the last time the House has met as the Committee of the Whole. I don't even know if it's met since Madam Clerk has been -- since she's been our clerk. So, it's been many years since most of us were ever here. I would ask the members to vote no on the motion.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Further discussion, further debate on the motion?

REP. L. HALL: Mr Speaker, on the motion.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman is
recognized to debate the motion.

REP. L. HALL (07:48:29): Mr. Speaker, I know that this may be the first time in a long time that we have met as the Committee of the Whole, but certainly we spent a lot of time and put in a lot of effort on the rules at the start of session, and our rules provide for us to go into a Committee of the Whole. It also provides for further discussion on this bill that has had all of these provisions added. So I'd ask that you support the motion to go into the Committee of the Whole, so that all the members can have participation on all the things that got added to the bill that we sent to the Senate, that was about 14 pages, and is now well in excess of three times that size.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The -- all members will yield. It is the intent of the Chair to take the vote on this motion now. The question before the House is the motion to meet as the Committee of the Whole. All in favor vote aye; all opposed, vote no. The Clerk will open the vote.

(Electronic vote.)

SPEAKER TILLIS: The Clerk will lock the machine and record the vote. 41 having voted in affirmative and 69 in the negative, the motion
fails. Representative Lewis is recognized to --
for a motion -- we -- are both amendments read?
Both amendments need to be properly read. The
Clerk will read.

CLERK: Amendment by Senator Rucho moves
to amend the bill on page -- Rucho moves to amend
the bill on page 2, lines 38 through 43, by
rewriting those lines to read.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The Clerk will read the
second amendment.

CLERK: Senator Blue moves to amend the
bill on page 53, line 12, by deleting September 15
and substituting September 7 on that line.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman is
recognized for a motion and to debate the motion.

REP. LEWIS: Mr. Speaker, I move that the
House do concur with the Senate amendments as read
by the Clerk.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman is
recognized to debate the motion.

REP. LEWIS (07:50:33): Thank you, Mr.
Speaker. Mr. Speaker, the amendments that you have
before you, the first one sent forth by Senator
Rucho, is labeled H589AST-150 version 5. It moves
to amend the bill in several ways. I'll be as
brief as I can.

The first, it expands and better defines the type and number of identifications that may be presented at the polling site to vote. It then, on line 18, makes a technical correction. It does the same thing on line 21. On -- beginning on page 1 on lines 23 and continuing through the second page, it defines that the county boards of elections will maintain the same number of hours of early voting in the Presidential years that they maintained in 2012, at a minimum, and they will maintain, at a minimum, the same number of hours for a non-presidential year that they maintained during the 2010 election cycle. The intent of that, obviously, is to make sure that the important tool of early voting is maintained and that our citizens have the opportunity to access it.

Continuing on page 2 of the same amendment, you will find, beginning on line 11, this amendment would further contemplate that by a unanimous board -- excuse me, Mr. Speaker, by a vote unanimously of the Board of Elections in the county, which would include, of course, two members of the party of the Governor and one member who is not a party of the Governor, a unanimous vote, a
county board may submit a request to the State
Board to reduce the number of hours that I just
spoke of. You'll find at the bottom of that page,
the bottom of that page is also a technical change
to the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I now would speak on the
second amendment, which is H589AST-153 version 1,
was submitted by Senator Blue. This amendment
merely is a date change; it has to do with the
amount of time allowed for electioneering.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I would commend
to this House that the House does adopt both of
these amendments sent to us from the Senate.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Ladies and gentlemen of
the House, I am going to use the queue that is
available to me up here to call in turn. If the
Minority Leader or others wish to have me recognize
members out of turn, just please let me know. Does
the gentleman wish to be recognized first?

REP. W. BRAWLEY (07:56:20): Yes, Mr.
Speaker. I have a listing of the order for members
from our side after these two amendments have been
voted for the actual concurrence vote itself.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Members, just to be
clear on this vote, this vote is the passage of the
two Senate amendments that were read in by the Clerk. After we do that, we will be debating the bill as amended -- or the -- as amended. The question before the House is --

REP. MCMANUS: Mr. Speaker?

SPEAKER TILLIS: I'm sorry; you're behind two members.

REP. MCMANUS: Why can't we see the amendments? Why does it say bloc vote?

SPEAKER TILLIS: The amendment, Representative McManus, the amendments are there, but since they are being voted together, we can have staff back there to help you.

REP. W. BRAWLEY: Mr. Speaker?

SPEAKER TILLIS: Representative Brawley, please state your purpose.

REP. W. BRAWLEY: Just -- just for a question of the Chair.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman may state his inquiry.

REP. W. BRAWLEY: I have discovered if I go to calendar and then click on the amendments individually, I can read them. I didn't know if that was unique to me, or --

REP. MCMANUS: I see it now. Thank you.
SPEAKER TILLIS: No, that is correct. We were just allowing time for Representative McManus to get to the proper place on the dashboard.

REP. MCMANUS: I've got it; thank you.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The question before the House is concurrence in a Senate -- in Senate amendments 11 and 13. All in favor vote aye; all opposed vote no. The Clerk will open the vote.

(Electronic vote.)

The clerk will lock the machine and record the vote. 109 having voted in the affirmative, none in the negative, the House has concurred in Senate amendments 11 and 13.

Representative Hall, does the gentleman wish to send forth the order of the members?

REP. WRAY: Mr. Speaker?

SPEAKER TILLIS: Representative Wray, please state your purpose.

REP. WRAY: I was in the chamber; can I be voted as aye on the last --

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman will be recorded as having voted aye on the concurrence vote.

REP. WRAY: Thank you.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Representative Warren,
please state your purpose.

REP. WARREN: To speak to the bill.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman is recognized to debate the conference report.

REP. WARREN (07:59:10): Ladies and gentlemen, the conference report before us, the first portion of that is the Voter Information Verification Act that we voted out of here last April -- this past April with a bipartisan vote of 81 --

SPEAKER TILLIS: Representative Warren, just as a correction, the Speaker misspoke. You are -- you are speaking on the concurrence motion.

REP. WARREN: That's correct, sir: thank you.

We -- we voted it out of here in April on a bipartisan vote of 81 to 36, and it comes back to us with a few changes. You make -- just for recollection, this bill was crafted taking into consideration that every person has a right to vote and that right to vote has to be protected. The bill was crafted in such a manner as to provide for the integrity of the voting process.

And it took into consideration in the formation of this bill, the consideration of the
viewpoints of people who were opposed to the concept of voter ID. But it is essential, just as essential that every person who has the right to vote, gets to vote, that that vote be protected and not negated by fraud.

The Senate working on the bill made very few substantive changes to the VIVA Act, and I'd like to go over those with you. First of all, the VIVA board on the state level was deleted. The educational provisions were consolidated into just one section of the bill and modified just to eliminate those with -- that had significant expense associated primarily with the VIVA program.

There were several categories of acceptable ID's that we had listed in the House. We had a total of 13; they've cut that back to seven. Well, what we lost in that was not really substantial. One of those ID's was college ID's, and if you'll check out actually the -- some of the websites for state college system, you'll see that for UNC Chapel Hill and UNC Charlotte, in order to get a student ID, you have to have a photo ID, so we're not -- we're practicing redundancy if we -- having the student ID's on there, so it was not a loss in that respect.
They maintain that expired ID's could be used for folks who are 70 years of age, who had a valid ID when they turned 70, and they may continue to use that ID after it's expired.

A technical change was the provision on folks who have lost their ID's due to a disaster. That was clarified on how to get disaster declaration forms. That was a change that was actually requested by the local board of elections.

Another technical change was one that allowed criminal penalty language that the House had required on the envelope to be actually printed on a separate piece of paper. And again, that was at the request of the BOE.

One of the provisions I noticed had been changed was the recognition of Indian tribes. And as Representative Lewis pointed out on the first amendment offered by Senator Rucho, that was taken care of. They had actually maintained recognition of the seven state Indian tribes but failed to include the provisions to validate those to bring them in compliance, and they brought those in with that -- that member there.

Other than that, I don't believe there were anything else that -- that was possible to
point out. Everything else is fine.

Just for the sake of review, I'll go through the different parts of the VIVA bill itself, starting with voting in person, which is going to require a photo ID. And that list now consists of a North Carolina driver's license; North Carolina special identification card; a U.S. passport; a U.S. military ID card; a veteran's identification card containing a photo and produced by the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs; the tribal enrollment card issued by a federally recognized tribe, which in our case is the Cherokee tribe; and then the seven State-recognized tribes. And then a driver's license or special ID card issued by another state, District of Columbia or a territory or commonwealth of the United States, but only if that voter's registration was within 90 days of the election. And then, as I mentioned, the over 70 years of age expired cards would still be accepted too.

There were exceptions; they maintained our exceptions to the photo requirement, which included the religious objectors, that should be on page one, lines 26 to 29, section 2.3 of the conference report. Curbside voting was maintained,
the natural disaster affidavit was maintained, and
the reasonable resemblance determinations,
provisional balloting for those without photo ID,
all those provisions in the bill that we passed on
an 81 to 36 vote have been maintained in the bill.

The request for absentee ballot, that
process was maintained as well. The voting by mail
request, where if you are voting absentee ballot,
you simply can go online and request an absentee
ballot -- request for an absentee ballot form, or
you can stop by a BOE office to pick one up in
person. So all those provisions were kept in
place, they changed nothing there, in the remainder
of the bill.

The provisions for creating a VIVA team
in each county that we had in our bill, is simply
referred to in here as a multi-partisan team. It
would still be formed by the BOE in the county, and
that's designed to help folks who are shut-in or
have a physical need for assistance in getting an
ID, that provision and the two-year phase-in is
still in place, so the intent to educate and
increase voter registration and education is still
in the bill.

They have assistance for voters who are
patients and actually have incorporated a study in this bill for further research on how -- further study in how we can further help folks who need assistance in special conditions.

At that point, the bill goes into part 7 of the bill, which is outside of the VIVA realm and goes into an addition to the VIVA bill or expansion of the bill, which is a study on filling vacancies in the General Assembly. This requires that a joint legislative elections oversight committee would study and recommend a method of filling vacancies in the General Assembly.

Part 8 of the bill is in reference to filling vacancies in the United States Senate, and this would require that the Governor would appoint a person affiliated with the same political party that the U.S. Senator had been elected as the nominee of a political party. So, in other words, in our case right now, if Richard Burr, his position became available, the Governor would be appointing a Republican in that position. In Senator Kay Hagan's case, it would be a Democrat.

Part 9 of the bill is about filling vacancies in the U -- the U.S. House of Representatives and this requires again, that the
joint legislative elections oversight committee
study and recommend a method of filling vacancies
in the U.S. House by special election.

Part 10 of the bill incorporates a bill
that we voted out of here last session, I think the
vote then -- two years ago was 115 to zero, and we
voted it out of here this year on a vote of 117 to
zero, and that is the special elections bill. As
you may recall, that was a bill that simply
required that all special elections and referendums
had to be held during a county or municipal general
election or an even-year primary. And there were
no changes at all; that bill was just lifted and
stuck right into this.

Part 11 of the bill pertains to poll
observers. This would allow the Chair of each
political party in the county to designate up to 10
additional at-large observers to attend any voting
place in that county and allow that list to be
amended between the one-stop period and Election
Day. In addition to the two observers assigned to
the polling place, one of the at-large observers
may also be in the voting enclosure, would add that
the poll observers are authorized to be present and
to move about the polling -- voting place prior to,
during and following the closing of the polls until the chief judge and judges have completed all their duties.

Part 11 of the bill is the elimination of preregistration. This would eliminate preregistration and make the necessary conforming changes to the law. The part would become effective on September 1st, 2013. Voter preregistration completed and received prior to that date would be processed and registered as appropriate.

Part 13 of the bill is what they refer to as the wet ink on voter registration forms. And what that would do is modify the current requirement to provide that only those electronically-captured signatures that are on an electronic voter registration form offered by a State agency are considered valid. Other electronically-captured signatures, including those generated by computer programs of third party groups, are not valid, except those provided in the Uniform Military and Overseas Voter Act.

Part 14 of the bill is compensation -- covers compensation for voter registration limitations, and basically, in a nutshell, what
that says is that it provides that anyone who is
compensated based on the number of forms submitted
for assisting persons in registering to vote would
be guilty of a class 2 misdemeanor.

Part 16 of the bill eliminates same-day
voter registration. This part of the bill would
repeal General Statute 163-82.6A and make
conforming changes throughout the statutes to
remove that provision related to same-day voter
registration.

Now, at this point, ladies and gentlemen
and colleagues, I'd like to ask Representative
Lewis to continue covering the other provisions of
the bill.

REP. T. MOORE (presiding): For what
purpose does the gentleman from Harnett,
Representative Lewis arise?

REP. LEWIS: May I debate the bill, Mr.
Speaker?

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the
floor to debate the motion to concur.

REP. LEWIS (08:10:32): Thank you, Mr.
Speaker. Ladies and gentlemen of the House, I'd
like to continue with the explanation of the bill
and then offer some remarks, if I could, at the
Part 17 of the bill deals with empowering our military and overseas voters. It directs stronger language to the State Board of Elections to make sure that the ballots are mailed out to our military and voters residing abroad in a timely fashion.

Part 18 of the bill deals with the maintenance of the voter roll itself. It prescribes that the State Board of Elections shall update lists using their program not less than twice annually.

Part 19 of the bill eliminates an old provision dealing with a mandated voter registration drive. Part 20 of the bill expands access to voter records.

Part 21 of the bill deals with the timing of the withdrawal of a notice of candidacy. It says that if an individual has filed for an office, that individual may withdraw from that office up to three days -- three business days prior to the close of filing.

Part 22 of the bill lowers the threshold for candidates who wish to appear on the ballot but are not able to pay the fee. They may get on the
ballot by signatures on a petition.

Part 23 limits the withdrawal to appoint
of a party nominee -- pardon me, Mr. Speaker. It
limits the withdrawal of a candidate to a point
when the military and overseas ballots have been
sent out.

Part 24 creates another study to look at
the management of extremely large precincts. Part
25 deals with increasing consistency in access to
early voting. It was a part of the amendment we
discussed earlier today. It reinforces the intent
that early voting is an important provision for the
people of this state and that it will be maintained
at levels comparable to prior election date.

Part 26, another effort to make sure that
people have the opportunity to utilize early
voting. It would standardize satellite voting
sites, which means that there would be more uniform
hours in the way the sites are operated.

Part 27 is purely technical; it deletes a
reference to the 2000 Census.

Part 28 reduces the need for a second
primary. It lowers the current threshold from 40
percent to 30 percent. This is a matter which has
deceived -- that has received considerable
discussion in the House, and this bill would propose to address -- to have a full-fledged legislative study to adjust the lowering of the second primary triggering mechanism.

Part 29 is a technical change. Part 30 deals with simplifying ballot records. Part 31, this would specify that the major party candidates are listed first on the ballot, and the party of the Governor would be the party that would be listed first. I would note to the members of the House, as will probably be explained later, that this is a return to prior law.

Part 32 is a provision encouraging voters to vote the person and not the party. It would eliminate the straight ticket voting. Part 33 would regulate the extension of poll hours requiring the State Board to authorize the extended hours of the polls.

Part 34 is a study to increase protections for persons needing assistance when they cast their vote. Part 35 is the scheduling of the Presidential preference primary. This would say that North Carolina would hold its Presidential Primary on the Tuesday immediately following the Saturday in which the state of South Carolina holds
Part 36 allows the State Board of Elections by majority vote to add additional candidates to a primary ballot for president. As the members know, current law, the state chair of each respective political party is the only one who can add names to the ballot. This would also allow the State Board to do that.

Part 38 of the bill repeals the Political Parties Financing Fund. It repeals the Judicial Elections Fund, the Voter-Owned Elections Fund and repeals the $50 surcharge on attorneys.

Part 39 deals with voter list updates reflecting the removal of -- from the rolls of deceased persons. This language is taken largely from a House bill that passed 111 to zero.

Part 41, we deal with studying electronic filing of campaign finance reports. Part 42 would raise the individual campaign contribution limits from $4,000 per election cycle to $5,000 per election cycle with an inflationary adjustment to begin January 1, 2015.

Part 43 has to do with expanding the use of the headquarters building fund. As members know, it is already possible to have a headquarters
building fund that is funded and maintained in its own entity, but the only use of that money now could be for the payment of a mortgage. What this would do is allow the building fund money to also be used to rent a headquarters. It would allow for utilities inside the building and would allow for compensation of up to three employees not engaged in political advocacy.

Part 44 is the -- would repeal the provision that requires spoken word disclaimers. Part 45 would place term limits on those serving on the State Board of Elections. Part 47 would specify that a lobbyist may not collect, take possession or transfer campaign contributions.

Part 48 would repeal a provision requiring disclosure of candidate-specific communications within a prescribed window. Part 49 would require voters to vote in their proper precinct. Part 50 would specify a date certain for electioneering communications to be disclosed by a person. This was part of what was amended by Senator Blue and passed by this House moments ago.

Part 51 would eliminate the instant runoff for late-term judicial vacancies and specify that a plurality wins. Part 52 would direct
election officials to annotate provisional ballots for retrievability. Part 53, largely technical, but important, would clarify and define the reporting periods that are required from campaigns.

Part 54 is another study. Part 55 is a study. Part 56 would delete the requirement that ballot measure ads specify for or against. Part 57 would study the elimination of the 48-hour reporting requirements.

Part 59 would specify that it is not a violation of criminal law for a candidate or a candidate's committee or a political committee to conduct a raffle if it is reported. Part 60 deals with the effective dates.

Ladies and gentlemen of the House, the bill that you have before you is a bill that seeks to ensure and promote participation, confidence and integrity of our election system. It is a bill that will propel North Carolina forward. It will improve the confidence of the voters that their vote, when they go to the polls and cast their vote, that it is their votes cumulative that will decide who wins the elections for which they are participating. It is a bill that protects the important, sacred constitutional rights of
participation in our election process.

I respectfully ask the members of this House vote to concur with House Bill 5— -- with the Senate committee substitute for House Bill 589.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

REP. HASTINGS: Mr. Speaker?

REP. T. MOORE: To what purpose does the gentleman from Gaston, Representative Hastings arise?

REP. HASTINGS (08:22:24): Since this has to do with the dignity of the House, I think it is a question of privilege. Did you suspend rule 12H?

REP. T. MOORE: We did.

REP. HASTINGS: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Durham, Representative Michaux rise?

REP. MICHAUX: To speak on the conference point.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion to concur.

REP. MICHAUX (08:22:36): Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, probably one of the most important and one of the most pressing issues that has faced this body and faced the country is the matter of voting. Nationwide and
statewide, you have seen passions flame on the matter of voting. I think the only thing next to that would be the abortion matter.

But you deserve an opportunity to know why passions are so inflamed as a result of what is happening with our voting system, particularly in this State. And one of the reasons I made the motion to call for a Committee of the Whole was so that these matters that have been added to a bill, a simple bill that you passed out for voter identification, could be explained in much more detail than the two or three hours that we've got to do it in tonight.

They call this the VIVA bill. Well, some of us have now labeled VIVA as voter intimidation and vilification act. And that's exactly what it is. And in order to be fair with you, and in order for you to understand why this situation is where it is, why it is such a pressing problem in our state and in our nation, I think you deserve to know a little bit of history behind it. And for those of you who think I'm not talking on the bill, this involves the bill that you have before you and what the problems are, and what it is going to create.
I want to take you back -- I want to take you back to just after the Civil War when Republicans were in charge and the North won the Civil War and proceeded to free the slaves and put the federal troops in the South to make sure that the franchise was enjoyed by all who were freed by that war. As a result of that, there were many African Americans in legislatures, in the Senate of the United States, and in the Congress of the United States. In fact, the only time in history when a legislature had a majority of African American members was in South Carolina, immediately after that, and that legislature led to the first free public schools in the country and to the cleanup of the hospitals and jails in South Carolina.

In 1876, a Democrat, Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York, was elected as President of the United States. He won the popular vote, but there came a problem with the electoral vote. And there were three states where that problem reigned, and believe it or not, one of those states was Florida. And deals were cut and deals were made, but nothing availed. Inauguration was set for March 4th of 1877.
And finally, members of the Republican Party came to the anti-black Democratic Party and said, "Listen, if you put our man in the White House, we will pull the troops out of the South."

That man was Rutherford B. Hayes. That deal was accepted, and as soon as he got into office, he removed all the federal troops from the South, which resulted in Jim Crow. That franchise that had been won at that time was again lost. And it remained lost.

Now that's -- that part of the history, that was the -- that was the 19th Century. Let me fast forward to 1956, when a lot of folks got sick and tired of being sick and tired of the way folks were treated. So, the modern Civil Rights Movement began about that time, and public accommodations was the first thing that came up, but lurking in the background were voting rights.

We had gone through an era when terror had been committed on -- on a population in this state by our neighbors. If you want to know what terrorism is, we have faced as a community, we have faced terrorism, the likes of which you have not been seen. When you tried to vote -- and we're in the 20th Century now, when you tried to vote, you
were vilified and you were lynched. When you tried
to get people to register to vote, you were
vilified, you were lynched, you were run out of
town. We tried, and those African-Americans who
served, they were completely wiped off the map
until about 1928, when Oscar De Priest, in
Illinois, won a seat in Congress.

Be that as it may, once we started the
campaign, we began to push for voting rights. I
was one of the ones that got out there and ran in
the back roads of North Carolina with John Lewis, a
fellow named John Edwards, Ben Ruffin, and we were
going around in the eastern part of the state, in
the middle of the night, trying to talk black folks
into going out and registering to vote. And every
time we did, we were rebuffed, because they were
scared, they were frightened, because they knew if
they did, they would lose whatever sustenance that
they had, what little sustenance they had coming
in, or that white folks would run them out of town
and go about their business.

So, we were run out of several places in
North Carolina because we were trying to get folks
to register to vote. The reason I keep telling
you, I'm saying this to you is because I want you
to understand why this is such -- why it means so much to so many people.

We have come a long way. In 1965, when the Voting Rights Act was passed, that gave us a great deal of hope. We began to come into the halls of the legislatures, city councils, mayor's races, all of these things happened. Had it not been for the '65 Voting Rights Act, you would not see some of us sitting here today.

And what we had done up to that time, we had just run from disgrace to amazing grace.

That's what happened. You can't avoid -- you would not have us here.

And you know, you sit there on that side looking at us wondering how we got here, I can understand what you feel, because you don't feel what we have felt in this situation. It's sort of like the guy who -- who cried because he didn't have any shoes until he saw the man who didn't have any feet. So, what you are doing with this bill, we have made progress, we have made great strides, racial tensions have lessened as a result of that Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Now, three weeks ago, the United States Supreme Court came out and said that section 4 of
the Voting Rights Act was unconstitutional. Guess what happened? The 14 pages that we had in voter ID turned into 57 pages of things that we had fought for and had died for and had struggled for, and because section 4 was found to be unconstitutional, which means that you didn't have to go to get the Justice Department to approve your voting rights changes.

Now, folks, early voting -- the other thing is this -- let me say this to you. You are sitting there, I don't know any of you who voted who had to show an ID. I don't know any of the folks who voted for you to show an ID. You took advantage of early voting. You won your race fair and square, and now you want to change the rules of the playing field because you won it under the rules that were put out for us. So, you see, what rules that were put out for us benefitted you more than it did us, 'cause you got a supermajority and you could afford to abdicate these things that those of us fought for and died for.

If you had had an opportunity to actually put this bill in committee and study it, there are sections in this bill that you wouldn't even vote for. You wouldn't. I mean, sure, you're going to
vote for increased contributions, but because of
early voting, they say, you know, early voting
benefitted those in Democratic Party. It looks
like it didn't, 'cause you got the supermajority.
They say that straight-ticket voting is out of the
question, and that you choose a person, and not the
party. They say it did more benefit for Democrats,
but look at you, it didn't hurt you.

So, the passions are inflamed because we
thought we were on a road to having an open, free
type of election. Now, you're putting back those
things that many of us fought so hard for and many
of us gave our lives. I knew these people who gave
their lives for that. Martin Luther King, Jr., was
a close friend of mine. There were others.
Malcolm X was a good friend. I can call any number
of names, I have talked to those folks, I have sat
in those folks' company. And the one thing, Martin
and I used to sit and talk, and he would say to me,
he said, "Mickey, you know, we need -- we need --
economic power more than any other group in
American society, but the only way that we can gain
that power is to sit in the seats of the halls of
power, and that is by elections."

Now, my friends, you can take us back. I
have said over and over again, we have morphed from
the 19th Century to the 21st Century. Forget all
the gains that were made during the 20th Century.
That's what you are doing with this bill that you
are trying to pass here tonight. I would ask you,
my friends, very simply to take this 57-page
abomination, define it and confine it to the
streets of Hell for the rest of eternity.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
gentleman from Person, Representative Wilkins,
rise?

REP. WILKINS: To speak to the motion,
Mr. Speaker.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the
floor to debate the motion.

REP. WILKINS (08:35:30): Thank you, Mr.
Speaker. And I will restrict my comments to early
voting. Senator Rucho's amendment, as I read it,
has the effect of possibly adding early voting
sites, but it does not change the fact that early
voting time, in this 56-page bill, is cut by a
third.

You know as well as I know, that your
colleagues and my colleagues in all of these districts are
quite infatuated with early voting, and let me
just -- as an example, use the primary in District 2, which I serve. In the 2012 primary, there were just slightly more than 10,000 votes cast. 3,400 were cast in early voting. That's 34 percent of the total vote cast in early voting. I ask you to think long and hard before you undermine this new tradition that your folks and my folks obviously make such great use of. I'll be voting against the concurrence.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Scotland, Representative Pierce, rise?

REP. PIERCE: Speak on the report.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. PIERCE (08:37:05): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Ladies and gentlemen, I just want to thank you for this opportunity to speak. Representative Michaux did a great job, and I think many of us -- all of us would have to recognize that. But I thought about this the last couple of days. Having the power to oppress does not give one the permission to oppress. And as Chairman and President of the Legislative Black Caucus, I realize my role more than ever this session. Not
only does the Legislative Black Caucus speak on behalf of minorities, but we speak on behalf of poor Republicans, poor Democrats and poor independents, regardless of their color. We've got to be the conscience, and I hope that we did just that this year.

We think about elections, and I hear a lot of talk about voter ID, but the more I look at it, it's voter suppression. Anytime that you stop people from exercising their right to vote, that is a shame. But I was surprised, and I know the Speaker is an honorable man, and I know that he would speak truth, and I remember in an article that he wrote, that he was interviewed, and he was saying that really it's not about voter fraud, and that made me think about it. That -- well, what is the real fraud, you know? What's really going on?

And when I think about it, the real fraud is that the party in power has hijacked -- making an attempt to hijack the ballot box. You need to take your hands out of the ballot box, because the folks that I represent and many of us -- I submit the people vote -- I was in a press conference the other day, and I was saying if you -- if you have a product or you have a -- and you're telling the
people what you're going to do when you get here, and they believe in you, they're going to vote for you regardless. And I think we've -- Representative Lewis talked about getting away from straight party voting, and if that comes to pass, then people will have choice. But I think if we do the right thing when we get here, and continue to do that, people will vote for us.

But, you know, I had to ask myself, if it's about voter ID, what does prohibiting some types of paid voting registration have to do with voter ID? Taking Souls to the Polls, I think many of you are familiar with that, usually that's the time particularly in the minority community, we associate voting -- our churches have been a part of that over the years. I tried to figure, what does that have to do with voter ID, but you know when you look at this thing, Democrats, Republicans and independents, if we take this privilege away from the people that we represent, it's going to come home to bite you one day. You might as well realize that, because what goes around, comes around.

So, I want to say to us tonight that we're dealing with a time in history, and I hear
Chairman Hall talk about it, we talked about a two-hour debate. The issue that we're talking about tonight, it should be more than two hours, because this is a serious -- this, this will change this state as we know it. And it amazes me that people from other states are laughing at North Carolina because of all of this stuff that we're doing now.

My daughter called me today, she's an educator, and this is the sad thing. I've got two grandchildren and my daughter, and she said, "Daddy, I think I'm going to have to leave this state because of all that is going on." That's sad to hear.

Let me get back to the bill. But if you're going to do this tonight, we need to really think about what we are doing. This is not about voter ID; this about voter suppression. And I would ask my colleagues, Democrats, Republicans and independents, we need to be very careful what we are doing tonight, because I believe that it will come back to haunt our state. This sounds like foreign countries that many of our men and women have died overseas fighting in countries where people are not allowed to vote.

Is North Carolina getting ready to come
to the place where eventually we will have armed
guards and policemen at voting polls to turn people
around? I think it's a possibility if we are not
careful. We could be going there.

So, I want to encourage you tonight to
vote no, and let the people vote. Thank you, Mr.
Speaker.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
lady from Guilford, Representative Adams, rise?

REP. ADAMS: To speak on the conference
report.

REP. T. MOORE: The lady has the floor to
debate the motion.

REP. ADAMS (08:41:40): Thank you, Mr.
Speaker. Members of the House, this is a sad day
for North Carolina. It's a sad day for our
citizens and has been said, the nation is looking
at North Carolina, and I know they're frowning.

For 237 years in this state, citizens
have voted without problem. And now, without
verified documentation to support that there are
problems, we take a 14-page bill, now 57 pages,
that's full of problems for voters, full of
problems, and we say that the Senate made only a
few changes. Really, a few changes?
We're trying to convince citizens who have voted for more than two centuries without problems, without barriers, without cause, that now we need to verify who you are with a photo ID. That now, you can't register to -- register and vote on the same day, and now you can't vote for the same period of time for early vote. And you can't even vote on Sunday, and when you get to the polls, you can't vote a straight ticket if you want to. And we've even worked it out in this bill so that you'll have to stay all day, because we've guaranteed with what we've done here, that the lines are going to be longer.

We've gone to the extreme, the unnecessary extreme to create barriers. We've targeted young people, high school students; they can't pre-register before their 18th birthday, even if they'll be 18 right before the election. That's not right. We should be teaching them civic responsibility.

We're targeting college students; they can't use their ID. And we're targeting church folk, elderly people, minorities, and women too. VIVA takes our state back hundreds of years where we don't need to be going in 2013. I'll be voting
no for the sake of our democracy.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the lady from Hertford, Representative Mobley, rise?

REP. MOBLEY: To speak on the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: The lady has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. MOBLEY (08:44:23): Thank you, sir.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is difficult for not just me, but a number of us, with regards to this vote. My mother, who is about 86 or 87 years old, has always prided herself in going to the polls to work. And even now, I think if we would allow her, she'd still be going to the polls to work, because she enjoyed it. She enjoyed meeting people coming in and her talking to people.

And in committee, when we were discussing this bill, I remember them saying, "You're going to have to have an ID to vote." There may be nothing wrong with having an ID, but I assure you that a person who is in their eighties or nineties, mind of sound mind, and able to walk or even be rolled into the polls to vote, and is known in that precinct by everybody who is there, and as soon as they walk in the door, they are swamped by people wanting to speak to them and talk to them, and then
you ask them for an ID.

    Not only do senior citizens forget, 'cause I forget, you forget, and to say that because I don't have an ID, I can't vote, or I have to go back home and get it? And then some of these people who are telling -- who we're telling you've gotta have an ID, they have to pay somebody to take them to the polls, so that takes away from that little check that they get.

    Talk about voting on Sundays, I see tractors rolling in the fields on Sunday on my way to church, and you're going to say that you're going to take away the ability to vote on Sunday? Something is wrong with that picture.

    Our teenagers, our 16- and 17-year-olds, and I'm going to read you a letter before I sit down, teaching them the reason for voting. Then they get old enough to be able to vote, and now you're telling them that even at 16 and 17, they can't even vote? What are we supposed to be teaching our children in high school, if we don't teach them responsibility? If we don't teach them their civic duty, something is wrong with this picture for me.

    The letter that I want to share with you
comes from a constituent in my district, and it reads, "Dear Mrs. Mobley, I am a registered independent voter in your district. I would like to thank you for your service to me, my family and my neighbors. I am opposed to the proposed voting restrictions in Senate omnibus voting bill H589, VIVA/election reform. I am especially opposed to the new restrictions for people under guardianship. "My son will likely be under guardianship when he is old enough to vote. He is 14 now. Although I foresee a need for additional decision-making support for some kind of responsibility, he would likely be more than ready to vote as he chooses. I would like him to be free to vote on Election Day, and with the person of his choice to help him. He will probably not have a driver's license yet when he is ready to vote, and I do want him to have to deal -- I don't want him -- I do not want him to have to deal with the harass of getting a special ID. "I would like him to register early, if he chooses to do that, or register the same day he votes, if that is his choice. I am glad our elected representatives are so interested in helping disabled people so that others do not take
advantage of them. I would suggest a better use of our legislative energy might be to obtain some complete funding for education, special education, and more complete funding for home and community support through Medicaid, and more access to early voting.

"And just so you know, my son is looking forward to voting against anyone who makes it harder for him to vote; me, too. Thank you for your attention." And this is a constituent out of Elizabeth City.

In the name of this family, my mother and other mothers who are 80, 90-plus years old, let's defeat this motion as I will be voting against. Thank you.

REP. T. MOORE: Representative Whitmire, I understand the gentleman wishes to be recorded as having voted aye on House Bill 122; is that correct?

REP. WHITMIRE: Affirmative, thank you, sir.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman will be so noted as voting aye. For what purpose does the gentleman from Northampton, Representative Wray, rise?
REP. WRAY: To speak on the bill.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. WRAY (08:51:58): Thank you Mr. Speaker and members of the House. You know, I -- this is a bill that will affect all across North Carolina. But this whole session, and this is one of the main bills here that will affect rural North Carolina.

Taking away and cutting days from when people can go vote is not about Republicans, it's not about Democrats, it's about independents -- it's about individuals. In rural North Carolina, we have a lot of seniors that have to get people to carry them to the doctor, to vote or whatever, but I'm not going to sit here and do a 20-minute speech. But again, people have a right to vote. People fought for the freedom to vote.

A lot of people have spoke before. Mickey, I was outside the Chamber, but I was listening to what you were saying. But again, it's a freedom and right that we have, and what we're trying to do is just trying to kill people from wanting to go vote. Mr. Speaker, point of personal privilege.
REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman is recognized for up to three minutes for a point of personal privilege.

REP. WRAY: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Monday, my son had open heart surgery at Duke University, the hospital. And yesterday, I came because I wanted to represent the people that I represent; I wanted to vote against the budget. And I pushed the button to be recognized, and I was not recognized, but that's the privilege of the Speaker.

I came today just to do what I needed to do to serve the people of North Carolina, but I'm not going to be able to vote and stay here on the time frame that you have to vote on this bill, but I wanted to speak on it.

But from the bottom of my heart, I'd like to thank everybody for your prayers and thoughts for my family. Whether you're a freshman or been here a long time, you know, God is very important to all of us, but your family is one of the most important things in life. And my son, he had open heart, he had a donor valve installed, he had his chest tubes pulled out today. I didn't want to leave until all that happened.
But, Mr. Speaker, again, thank you for giving me this point of privilege. Again, Ruth, thank you for reaching out. Thank you, all my colleagues, because we're one big family. But never forget this, everything's important, but nothing's more important than your family. And so, I want to vote on this bill, but I'm not going to be able to be here to vote on it, but again, never forget this, whether you're Republican, Democrat, we all have feelings, we all love each other, we can all agree and disagree. But I wanted to come here to represent my constituents, but the most important thing to me is my family, and so that's the reason I'm going to leave and not be able to vote on this bill, so God bless each and every one of you, and I wish you all a great rest of the summer, because I will not be here tomorrow, so thank you.

(Applause.)

REP. T. MOORE: Representative Wray, Representative Wray, I think I speak for all members of the House when we want you to know your son is in our prayers and your family is, and we wish you all the best, and we wish your son a speedy recovery.
REP. WRAY: Thank you.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Cumberland, Representative Lucas, rise?

REP. LUCAS: To speak on the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. LUCAS (08:56:04): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I arise on this motion with heavy heart. You know, I live in a military district. I have seen many of my neighbors and members of my own family leave to go to foreign countries to protect the right to vote. Some of them have even died, did not come back, trying to establish democracy, not here in America, but over there. And then, I look at my home state, right here in North Carolina, where we are suppressing individuals' right to vote.

Now, I have no problem with ID. I think we ought to identify everybody who votes. But please, don't complicate their process to vote. That is a basic American right. We ought to be easing that process.

And then when you say that you're not going to allow them to vote on Sunday. I don't
know what the rationale is, maybe it's religious, I don't know, but that's an American fundamental right to vote.

But if you're going to say that, why not banish all the folk out on the golf courses on Sunday, what about all those folk out on the lake, boating on Sunday? That's not the American way; that has nothing to do with voting. What about those folk out there in race cars on Sunday? That has nothing to do with voting, but yet you're not going to let church-going American citizens, denying them that right to cast their ballot to determine the future of their county, their city, their state and their nation. But you'll let them play, you'll let them ride boats, you'll let them go see NASCAR events.

I have a problem. You ought to have a problem. This is not right. We should not do this. Protect every citizen's right to vote. And if you can say in your heart that you're doing that, God bless you. God bless you. The God that I serve tells me that inasmuch as you've done this to the least of these, my brother, you've done it unto me.

Don't deny, suppress folks' right to vote.
and make it inconvenient. I know you're saying, 'Well, we've opened early voting sites and other -- we're going to expand those in a comprehensive fashion, all at one time.' Well, if it's not convenient on Saturday at 5:00, no matter where you are at that time, it's still not convenient, Saturday at 5:00. That's the time. The number of sites is not the issue; it's the convenience of voting.

Voting ought to be made available for everybody who wishes to vote, and I will not say any more, because I know it is not doing much good, but I appreciate you listening. Thank you.

REP. T. MOORE: To what purpose does the gentleman from Cumberland, Representative Glazier, rise?

REP. GLAZIER: To debate the motion, Mr. Speaker.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. GLAZIER (09:00:29): Thank you. Today, the majority puts forward a smorgasbord of voter restrictions and potentially intimidating obstacles to the right to vote. What do I see in the bill? It authorizes vigilante poll observers,
lots of them, with expanded range of interference. It expands the scope of who may examine registration records and challenge voters. It repeals out of precinct voting. It repeals mandates for high school registration drives.

It exam -- eliminates flexibility in opening early vote sites. It makes it more difficult to add satellite voting for the elderly and disabled. It repeals free public financing programs, and in doing so, ends a unique North Carolina experiment in democracy where people counted more than money.

It repeals disclosure requirements under candidate-specific communications. It weakens disclosure requirements for electioneering communications. It ends pre-registration of 16- and 17-year-olds. It eliminates same-day voter registration. It slices seven days off of early voting. It eliminates straight-party voting, and a voter now can be challenged by anyone in the county who doesn't like them.

Just hours after the United States Supreme Court decided Shelby County, gutting the 1965 Voting Rights Act requirement for certain states and local governments to get pre-clearance,
the majority made clear they would pursue a far broader set of voting changes in the state, changes that include this laundry list of restrictions, the likes of which we have not seen in decades.

The proposed policy solutions of this bill are directed towards problems that either haven't been substantiated by a modicum of evidence, or have been manufactured to scare the public into accepting egregious limits on the most sacred construct of democracy, the vote. And what problems do we as a legislature solve when we turn away the poor and the elderly and the disabled and the college student from polling places because they do not have an approved photo ID, despite the fact that everyone at the polling place knows who they are and can vouch for them?

And what problems do we solve when we effectively issue a poll tax on individuals who have to pay $24 to obtain a copy of their birth certificate to get their photo ID. And what problem do we solve for the single working mother who can only find time to vote at her polling place after she gets off work on a Saturday afternoon?

And what problem do we solve for the new resident of our state who shows up for same-day
registration, only to be told, "Not here, not in North Carolina. Maybe you can vote the next time."
And what service are we attempting to render to young constituents of our state when we not only bar their use of valid student ID's for verification at the polls, but we eliminate pre-registration and mandatory voting registration drives in high school?

Well, if these provisions don't solve problems, they will surely create them. For you are telling the next generation, in very clear terms, their voices don't matter, their participation doesn't count.

The majority could have chosen a very different path, one that Republicans and Democrats have for several decades, as Representative Michaux said, chosen: increasing polling sites, increasing access to voter registration, reducing absentee ballot restrictions, extending times to vote. But the majority will have none of that tonight.

So, down one road we could have gone:
more access, more opportunity, more people voting.
Down the other, less access, less opportunity, less people voting. If you didn't know who was going to vote in your mind, or thought who was going to vote
Republican or Democrat, which road would you have
preferred? The better yet, which road do you think
the public prefers?

There is more to the right to vote than
the right to make a ballot proper or drop it in the
ballot box or poll and check on a box in a booth.
It is a right fought with blood and bravery,
courage and conviction, and persistence and
passion. And if the majority can strip the
minority of rights simply by resorting to fear, the
foundations of democracy are undermined. No label,
no ten-second sound bite, no voter fraud bogeyman,
can obscure the import of what the majority does
here tonight.

The New York Times, a number of months
ago wrote, quote, "Discrimination at the ballot box
continues, and it grows. It just comes in more
forms then it did half a century ago, but it is no
less pernicious. Instead of literacy tests, we
have rigid ID requirements. Instead of poll taxes,
we have bans or limits on early vote. And instead
of open opportunity, we have groups descending on
minorities who vote at polls, checking registration
rolls for spelling errors."

And so now, although we don't have what
happened 50 years ago, we have second generation barriers, and this bill is chock full of them. Whatever the political gains or losses, the dangers to democracy arising from voter suppression and intimidation are always greater than the dangers resulting from increased access and opportunity and freedom.

For decades in North Carolina, we have been about expanding democracy. Today, the Republican majority narrows it. Lyndon Johnson, when he was President and the Voting Rights Act was coming up, said the following: "The vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different than other men."

But nights like this reinforce the fight for equality of man still persists. We all have a stake in democracy and promises being kept. Tonight, my colleagues, you break promise with the past and present and future generations of North Carolinians. If the United States awarded medals for voter suppression, this bill would be a candidate for the gold. For regardless of its aim, the result tonight may well be to cripple the
ability of minority and young voters to participate.

You present the bill as a hygienic electoral reform measure, but the pathogens you seek to remove are people: African-Americans, Latinos, young voters and low income folks who simply resist voting Republican.

Make no mistake tonight. For those of us who have worked very hard this session with the majority to try to cast a middle ground on so many issues, our anger tonight is palpable. Passage of this bill is a political call to arms, and I believe the majority has seriously miscalculated tonight, and will rue the day this bill was ever conceived.

Abraham Lincoln said it best: "You may deceive all of the people some of the time and some of the people all of the time, but you can not deceive all the people all of the time." Earlier this afternoon, the Attorney General of the United States issued a notice that the United States government will use every other provision of the Voting Rights Act to sue North Carolina if this bill is passed. It appears he will soon have his opportunity.
Tonight, the majority ambushes the people of North Carolina, and instead of writing a bill protecting their interests, it simply writes one protecting its own.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Wake, Representative Hall, rise?

REP. D. HALL: To speak on the conference report.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman is recognized to speak on the motion.

REP. D. HALL (09:08:42): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Members, I've had a lot of my close friends, a lot of family members, a lot of members from your side of the aisle, ask me why there have been thousands and thousands of people voting -- protesting every week outside this chamber. What we're about to do in this chamber tonight is one of the main reasons that more than 800 people have been willing to get arrested, to get a permanent record.

This conference report eliminates the use of all law enforcement ID's, fireman ID's, EMS ID's, hospital employee ID's, municipality ID's issued by cities, by county governments. But the big one for me is the elimination of the student
ID. We're in so many ways telling students that we
don't want them to participate. We're also
eliminating pre-registration for 16- and 17-year-
olds.

    And if I felt this bill was genuinely
about voter fraud, I wouldn't be so upset. But
every member in this chamber knows that young
voters are much more likely to vote Democratic.
But Representative Warren pointed out that we've
preserved absentee voting. Registered Republicans
make up 31 percent of the electorate, but more than
half of the absentee ballots, absentee votes. This
is the most pointedly, obviously politically
partisan bill I've ever seen. Voter fraud is 17
times more great -- 17 times greater in absentee
ballots.

    This bill drastically reduces early
voting, eliminates same day voting, and it says to
people whose driver's license -- their valid,
State-issued North Carolina driver's license is
expired by even one day, you can't vote.

    But one other thing it does, at the same
time, is it increases the size of the contribution
that people can make to our campaigns. And what
sense does that make? We're telling voters we
don't want you to participate as much, but we want you to be able to give more money to our political campaigns. After all these changes, all the changes that were made, one final one in the conference report is that it eliminates all the money to educate the public about all these changes.

One state that a lot of the proponents pointed to as an example is Florida. Florida spent over $23 million to let the public know about all the changes. North Carolina's bill spends nothing to do it. This is the most radical voter suppression bill in the nation; I urge you to vote no.

REP. T. MOORE: Members, the Chair is happy to extend the courtesies of the floor to former Representative Mike Harrington, who is seated in the back of the chamber. Representative Harrington, glad to have you back in the House.

(Applause.)

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Mecklenburg, Representative Moore, rise?

REP. R. MOORE: To speak on the conference report, Mr. Speaker.
REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. R. MOORE (09:12:19): You know, I think it's well-documented in this chamber how I feel about this particular action here tonight. I believe that any act of voter suppression or voter intimidation is an affront to all of us. And for all of my colleagues, it's not the way that we do business here in North Carolina, and it's downright un-American.

You know, when I think of this bill, and I look at the details of it, and you've heard how -- you've heard Representative Michaux so eloquently explain the history of it. You've heard Representative Glazier explain the details of this bill. But if you will indulge me for a few minutes, I want to tell you what this bill takes me back to.

And as you know, I am a student of history, and this bill takes me back to a time where we had marching, as we do now on Moral Monday, to protest oppressive policies and racist schemes to deny people civil rights, human rights and access to the ballot.

This bill is shameful to me. I'm a
native North Carolinian; I'm a proud native North Carolinian. And I stand on the shoulders of gentlemen like Representative Michaux. He is a living legend to me. When I got to this chamber in 2010, it was a privilege and an honor to be in the presence of someone who I've revered for such a while. Others that I've revered for such a while, who have fought, bled and died for the cause of the dignity of all Americans, not just African-Americans.

But when I see this bill, I have an image of former Alabama Governor George Wallace standing up, using the famous words, "Segregation now, segregation then and segregation forever." This is what -- this is what I see in the spirit of this bill. And the spirit of this bill does not match up with the people that I know across this chamber. So, it has to be some outside motivation for you to even present this bill.

I don't know what your motives are, but I've talked to you. I'm friends with most of you. This is not -- this document is not what I've perceived as what's in your hearts, but we have it nonetheless.

When I see this document, I'm reminded of
the sacrifices of a Medgar Evers, who was gunned
down, shot in the back, for what? Simply because
he wanted to register. Citizens of this great
country to have and exercise the fundamental right
to vote, whether they were African-American or
White or not. We are citizens; we have a
fundamental right to exercise our most precious
right to vote in this country, without impediment,
without obstacles.

I'm reminded of the sacrifice of three
young men in Philadelphia, Mississippi, in 1964:
James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman.
These men were killed by a conspiracy of people who
were elected officials and were sworn to uphold the
laws of the United States Constitution. And for
what? For wanting to give all people the
opportunity to live and to thrive in this country.

So -- so, members, whether you're a
Republican or Democrat, I'm -- I am -- I'm not only
appalled, I'm flabbergasted that we would come to
this point in 2013, and roll out a bill that thumbs
its nose at the progression that we've made as a
people and as a state.

The nation, I dare say the world, is
looking at this chamber at this moment. This bill
has been touted as the most oppressive -- the most
oppressive -- excuse me for a minute. The most
oppressive voting -- voter ID or voter election
reform or whatever you want to call it.

But, you know, living down in Wilmington,
North Carolina, as a young boy, I was taught to
call things what they were. I'm a very
straightforward person. This, my good friends, is
nothing more than voter suppression, voter
intimidation at its most egregious and its most
sadistic, at its most deplorable, deplorable state.

You know, in the Bible, it talks about
how a man can become so filled with himself that
even though he does wrong, it seems right to him.
And I'm looking at the faces of some of my
colleagues, and what you're doing seems right, but
it's not. It's wrong.

I ask you to turn away, turn away from
this voter -- this suppressive bill, and I ask you
to vote no. Let's defeat this, and let's come up
with a real way to talk about voter integrity,
because our integrity in this chamber and in this
state has been lost because of this bill. I ask
you to vote no.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for your time.
And, Mr. Speaker, if I could have a point of personal privilege.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman is recognized for up to three minutes to a point of personal privilege.

REP. R. MOORE: Very briefly, when I came into this chamber, I came in with a young lady that represented my hometown, New Hanover County and Wilmington and today is her birthday. So, I just want not to let this debate get to the point where I could not acknowledge Susi Hamilton on her birthday, so I would ask that we all give her a round of applause for her birthday.

(Appause.)

REP. T. MOORE: Happy birthday, Representative Hamilton. For what purpose does the gentleman from Wake, Representative Martin rise?

REP. G. MARTIN: To debate the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. G. MARTIN (09:21:11): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Members, I fear we Americans have grown fat, lazy and complacent in our republic. I think we have some sense that our Democratic system is like a fire and forget missile, where you pull
the trigger, our forefathers have a revolution, and
till the end of history, we've got democracy. I
think we forget the constant sacrifice and tending
that is needed to keep our democratic system on
target.

I'm grateful, though, that there are many
here on this floor that know the truth. There are
those, both Republican and Democrat, that have
served our country at war and are well aware of the
sacrifice of which I speak. And there are those
that have sacrificed and bled and died domestically
in our nation's civil rights struggle that also
know the truth.

In a republic, where power derives from
the people, I believe it's inherently good to
enable the people to exercise that power. It's
that premise that led me, over two separate terms,
one in the majority and one in the minority, to
work to make it easier for our deployed warriors to
cast a ballot.

Now, I have some sense that the ballots
that came in from that probably benefitted the
Republican Party. I don't know; I didn't ask; it
wasn't relevant. It enabled North Carolinians to
vote. It helped bring power to the people. I
reached across the aisle to work on that bill, and
found a ready hand to join with me to get that
passed. It was one of the happiest moments of my
time here in the House of Representatives.

What a joy it would have been for me to
return here in 2013 in the minority, and again to
reach across the aisle to join my brothers and
sisters in the majority party and work again to
bring further power to the people. Instead of
moving forward, we have done an about-face to 1898,
with the bill that left here, a voter ID bill, that
has returned a massive voter suppression bill that
cynically and selfishly cuts away at the very
foundations of rule by the people.

Members, I was here for Jim Black, I was
here for Stephen LaRoque, and I was here for Thomas
Wright. I have never been ashamed to be a member
of this body like I am tonight.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
gentleman from Dare, Representative Tine, rise?

REP. TINE: To debate the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the
floor to debate the motion.

REP. TINE: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Many
in this room will probably remember that I voted
for the first voter ID bill that came from the House. I can tell you that my side certainly does remember that I voted for that bill.

I felt like I was doing the right thing, I still do. I felt like we were attacking a perception issue that people had in my district and across the state with the integrity of the process. I felt we were trying to deal with it in a balanced way with a lot of different ID's and a lot of access, and that we were trying to balance destroying the perception problem so that we can move on and stop pointing fingers at each other, with trying to keep obstacles at a minimum.

One of the major obstacles that we dealt with, and I was very proud of this work, I worked with Representative Warren, worked with Representative Lewis, and we ran a floor amendment that said that if you were in a county that has less than five days a week access to DMV, that the county itself could offer ID's, and you would be reimbursed. I have two of those counties, Washington County and Hyde County; they have one or two days a month access to DMV.

It's actually lower right now, because the vans are broken down. I received an email just
a couple of weeks ago where they said that they
can't get out there, and so folks can't get to get
ID's right now. So we are severely limiting the
access to folks to be able to get ID's, so that
they can go vote in those two counties, and in some
of the other counties, particularly in the
northeast.

This is another bill that has been
infected by the Senate. And I am disappointed
because you worked hard to create balance in the
first bill, and it was lost when it went to the
Senate. I cannot in good conscience vote for this
bill now, and I would hope that you'd send this
thing back to the Senate and tell them to try again
and try to bring some balance to their policy.
Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
gentleman from Edgecombe, Representative Tolson
rise?

REP. TOLSON: To speak on the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the
floor to debate the motion.

REP. TOLSON (09:26:53): Thank you, Mr.
Speaker, members of the House. This is a sad day,
I think, for North Carolina. We have young men and
women in various parts of the world fighting for
the rights, privileges and freedoms that we enjoy,
and tonight, with the push of a green button,
you're going to drastically take away some of those
rights, privileges and freedoms. I hope you will
vote red.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
lady from Guilford, Representative Harrison, rise?

REP. HARRISON: I'm sorry; can you move
me to the back of the queue? Excuse me.

REP. T. MOORE: I'm sorry.

REP. HARRISON: Would you move me to the
back of the queue, please?

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
gentleman from Vance, Representative Baskerville,
rise?

REP. BASKERVILLE: To debate the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the
floor to debate the motion.

REP. BASKERVILLE (09:27:27): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Part 42 of this motion, labeled
"campaign contributions." After reading the bill,
I think that section of the bill that reminded me of
an article that was in the New Yorker, not too long
ago, entitled, "State for Sale." Because this
particular portion of the bill increases the maximum amount of campaign contributions to $5,000, and it allows that amount to increase every year after that, linked to the Consumer Price Index. Wow. I just wonder how many middle and working class folks are saying, "Gosh, $4,000 is not enough for me to be able to give to these politicians; I must be able to donate $5,000 to them."

This bill has nothing to do with voter integrity. It does not promote confidence at all in the voting election process. If this right-wing Republican Party were truly interested in preserving the integrity of our election system, they wouldn't be making it harder for folks to vote and easier for the very wealthy to buy influence. North Carolinians have had enough of the appearance of pay to play politics.

Part 56 labeled, "Disclosure requirements." That loosens the disclosure requirements on campaign print ads. Now, I think that North Carolinians deserve to know who is pumping big money into these campaigns. How in the world does it increase confidence in elections when special interest money can get dropped on a campaign in the dark, and the voters never even
know who's paying big money to these politicians? How does that prevent voter fraud? How does that make the system more efficient?

Well, it is nighttime, but like my mama told me, "What you do in the dark, will come to the light." And all of the special interest money and big PAC money in the world will never overcome the power of the people.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Sampson, Representative Bell rise?

REP. L. BELL: To speak on the bill.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. L. BELL (09:30:23): Thank you, Mr. Speaker, members of the House. I don't have an eloquent speech to make tonight. We have heard some of them already. But I guess when it leaves Representative Michaux, I'm probably the next oldest person in here, at least on this side, so all of the things that he talked about, that he'd been through it, he has seen during his lifetime, so have I.

So, I'm going to be very short and say that in honor of my mother and my father and all of my relatives who could not vote and who could not
be here tonight to vote against this bill, I'm
going to press that red button for them.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
lady from Mecklenburg, Representative Cotham, rise?

REP. COTHAM: To debate the bill.

REP. T. MOORE: The lady has the floor to
debate the motion.

REP. COTHAM (09:31:26): Thank you, Mr.
Speaker and members. As many of you know, I was a
high school social studies teacher, and I taught
civics education, but I became active in our
democracy at the age of ten when my fourth grade
teacher told the class that women didn't always
have the right to vote. And at the age of ten,
that's a powerful and amazing statement, and of
course I did not believe that it could be true.
But it was true, and I'm worried today it will
remain to be true.

As a teacher of high school students, I
worked hard to encourage them to participate in our
democracy. I tried very hard to talk about people
like Representative Michaux and their story and
their background and their struggle. I tried very
hard, so that my students would understand what
women like my great-grandmother went through who
desperately wanted to vote, or what like my grandmother, who recently died, never had an ID.

I tried to encourage them to register to vote and to vote every election, every time, no excuses. We never talked about partisanship or that they should be of a certain party. It was about democracy and respecting the right to vote and participating in our democracy.

When I came to this legislature at the age of 27, I was very excited to work on many issues, of course, education being one of them, but elections being the next one. I have worked very hard for years to have bills put forward to strengthen our democracy and to engage young people and women especially in our democracy.

Last year, with the help of the other youngest member, Representative Justin Burr, we put forward the pre-registration of high school voters in North Carolina. We were on the national spotlight, so much that FOX News, the national FOX News, wanted to interview me on the success of the pre-registration of voters. My first debut on national television was on FOX News, and they realized the importance of pre-registration of youth voters.
And today, in this chamber, at the age of 34, an educator, a mother and a pregnant woman standing before you, we're taking away pre-registration of young people for no good reason at all. We should encourage active participation in our democracy; we should not create obstacles for people to vote.

I was thinking about two quotes that I used to use with my students to try and engage them in discussion and to make them think. And here are two I will share with you. "Democracy is when the indigent and not the men of property are the rulers." And as President JFK said, "The ignorance of one voter in a democracy impairs the security of all."

We should protect the right to vote. We should encourage the right to vote. We should not go after students and young people, we should not go after Grandma and Aunt Betty, we should want them to vote and to give them the opportunity. I ask you to be on the right side of history tonight, to be a part of the right side of history and to send a strong message to students and to young people and to so many who did not have this right. Please vote no.
REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Robeson, Representative Graham, rise?

REP. C. GRAHAM: To speak on the motion, Mr. Speaker.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. C. GRAHAM (09:36:08): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Members, I'll be brief. I know it's getting late. I do want to say I was privileged to vote with my members on the -- across the aisle on this bill when it came out of the House. I'm just not going to be able to support this measure.

It reminds me of some of those treaties that was made with my American Indian brothers back in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Treaties made and treaties broken, still need to be resolved. That reminds -- this reminds me of something like that.

I'm disappointed. I see this as a bill with an attitude. You know what you're doing, and you made it clear this session, we got the votes, we got the power, we got the control, we got the mandate, we can do it, and there's nothing you can do about it. You read through those lines, you
understand what you've done, and now you're trying
to keep it that way. And for that reason, I think
it's unfair and I think it's a shameful bill, and I
can't support it. Thank you.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
gentleman from Columbus, Representative Waddell,
rise?

REP. WADDELL: To speak on the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the
floor to debate the motion.

REP. WADDELL (09:37:48): Ladies and
gentlemen of the House, I'm going to be brief, too,
because I know that we've been in here for an awful
long time. And as most of you know, along with my
seatmate Paul Tine and Representative Graham from
Robeson, we voted for the voter ID bill the first
time, and I was really proud of that vote, because
I examined the bill. Looked at the bill real hard
and I thought that Representative Lewis,
Representative Warren did a really good job on that
bill. I didn't see anything in there that was
really super-suppressive, and I talked with my
folks at home, and they agreed, for the most
part -- not everybody is gonna agree, but they did
agree.
But this bill has gone a little bit further than I expected. It's got some provisions in it that I really don't like. And I'll give you one example, and that's on straight party ticket voting, and I'm going to tell you why. On straight party ticket voting, a lot of people vote for philosophies, philosophies of parties, just like the Democrats have philosophies and the Republicans have philosophies. Well, where are we going to get our philosophies from now? Are we going to get them on TV?

Representative Baskerville was talking about the $4,000 that the middle class person was going to spend, now they felt like they weren't spending enough, they're going to spend $5,000 each election cycle. So, it's going to be about money.

They're going to get their information over the TV, the media and anywhere else that you can spend the most money to get the -- get the word out. They'll say, "Oh, I like him because he looks good; let me remember that name right there." They're not gonna know anything about their philosophy whatsoever.

And that's one of the reasons I can not support this. I really think that we've gone a
little bit too far. I really applaud the group
when they worked on this voter ID bill. I was
proud to support it in the House, and I won’t be
supporting this one. Thank you.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
gentleman from Forsyth, Representative Hanes, rise?
REP. HANES: Debate the motion, Mr.
Speaker.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman is
recognized to debate the motion.

REP. HANES (09:39:51): Thank you, Mr.
Speaker, ladies and gentlemen of the gallery,
friends in the chamber.

The Constitution of the state of North
Carolina: “We, the people of the State of North
Carolina, grateful to almighty God, the Sovereign
Ruler of Nations, for the preservation of the
American Union and the existence of our civil,
political and religious liberties, and
acknowledging our dependence upon Him for the
continuance of those blessings to us and our
posterity, do, for more certain security thereof
and for better government of this State, ordain and
establish this Constitution.”

Article I, Section 1, "The equality of
rights." "We hold it to be self-evident that all persons are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, the enjoyment of the fruits of their own labor, and the pursuit of happiness.

"Sovereignty of the people. All political power is vested in and derived from the people; all government of right originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole."

Section 5, "Allegiance to the United States. Every citizen of this State owes paramount allegiance to the Constitution and government of the United States, and no law or ordinance of the State in contravention or subversion thereof can have any binding force."

"Suspending laws," section 7, "All power of suspending laws or the execution of laws by any authority, without the consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights and shall not be exercised."

Section 9, "Frequent elections. For redress of grievances and for amending and strengthening the laws, elections shall be often
held."

"Free elections. All elections shall be free."

Section 11, "Property qualifications. As political rights and privileges are not dependent upon or modified by property, no property qualification shall affect the right to vote or hold office."

Section 12, "Right of assembly and petition. The people have a right to assemble together to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, and to apply to the General Assembly for redress of grievances; but secret political societies are dangerous to the liberties of a free people and shall not be tolerated."

Section 19, "Law of the land; equal protection." "No person shall be taken, imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, liberties, or privileges, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the law of the land."

Section 35, "Recurrence to fundamental principles. A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the
blessings of liberty."

"The enumeration of rights in this Article shall not be construed to impair or deny others retained by the people."

Article VI, Suffrage, "Who may vote.

Every person -- "every person born in the United States and every person who has been naturalized, 18 years of age, and possessing the qualifications set out in this Article, shall be entitled to vote at any election by the people of the State, except as herein otherwise provided."

Section 2, Qualifications of the voter.

"Any person" -- "any person who has resided in the State of North Carolina for one year and in the precinct, ward, or other election district for 30 days next preceding an election, and possesses the other qualifications set out in this Article, shall be entitled to vote at any election held in this State."

Section 3, "Registration. Every person" -- "every person offering to vote shall be at the time legally registered as a voter as herein prescribed."

And Section 7, our oath. "Before entering upon the duties of an office, a person
elected or appointed to the office shall take and subscribe the following oath:

"I do solemnly swear that I will support and maintain the Constitution and laws of the United States, and the Constitution and laws of North Carolina not inconsistent therewith, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of my office, so help me God."

What is a constitution? It is the form of government delineated by the mighty hand of the people in which certain first principles of fundamental laws are established. The Constitution is certain and fixed. It contains the paramount will of the people, and it's the Supreme law of the land. Colleagues, the Constitution of the great State of North Carolina. Thank you.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Lenoir, Representative Graham, rise?

REP. C. GRAHAM: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman is recognized to debate the motion.

REP. C. GRAHAM (09:46:10): Thank you very much, sir. First of all, I would like to give thanks to those who had the opportunity to come
before me, thus creating an opportunity for me to
have the pleasure of standing in this very
important assembly hall. People such as W.E.
DuBois, Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael,
Sojourner Truth and Mickey Michaux, Booker T.
Washington and Dan Blue, Medgar Evers, people who
taught and showed us the way.

I could tell you that I am the son of a
tenant farmer, sharecropper, and I can tell you
what life has been in rural America, and I can tell
you about the opportunities that have been created
for children all across North Carolina. And then I
can tell you about my marching down Main Street in
Kinston with others to go to the movie show.
Marching, demonstrating, singing "We Shall
Overcome," to go into a movie house.

I can tell you about our going into the
drugstore trying to buy a hot dog, but you know, we
had to go to the side door to carry out. We can
take you through all of those things, but we don't
need to go there.

As a freshman, I've had the opportunity
to observe this august body and how we put things
into law, and I tell you, I've seen us deal with
Durham and development. I've seen us deal with
Wake and schools. I've seen us deal with Charlotte and airports. I've seen us deal with Guilford and voting. I wonder why we need local elected officials if we fix everything here at this level.

I just want to say to you this evening, that voter education, voter registration and voter participation is a basic right. We will always strive to uphold these privileges. Vote no. Thank you.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Wake, Representative Jackson, rise?

REP. JACKSON: Speak on the conference report.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. JACKSON (09:49:03): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Ladies and gentlemen, I didn't know if we were going to get time, so I didn't really write down too much, but I won't use the words that I used yesterday to describe the process on this bill. A good friend that was sitting up in the gallery yesterday called me out on my language, and I apologize to the Chamber for that.

Last Monday and Tuesday, I wasn't here, and I want y'all to know where I was at. I was in
Philadelphia, so I'm going to take you back a little bit farther than the 1800s to the 1700s. And I had the joy and privilege to visit Independence Hall. And I got to sit in the same room where the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution were debated and adopted over a period of months, and I got to see the chair that George Washington sat in, and I got to see where the first House and the first Senate met. And I tell you today, ladies and gentlemen of this House, process does matter.

Now, you've heard from the Speaker up there a little earlier, we don't have to vote on this bill tonight. Not voting on this bill tonight will not kill this bill, 'cause we've got to be here tomorrow anyway, and this is a concurrence. My friend Representative Tine talked about how we need to stand up to the Senate, and that's what I'm going to ask you to do. I'm going to ask you to stand up for the House. I'm going to ask you to stand up for the people who came here before you.

I can't believe that we can't take one day to debate the 40 additional pages to this bill, a bill this important. I'm going to ask you, didn't you hear the emotion in Representative
Michaux and Representative Bell's voices? This isn't a stage act; we're not putting on a show for the cameras, did you not hear it for yourself? Did you not see the pain in Representative Moore's face? He almost went ballistic when he didn't think he was going to get a chance to speak, because it's so important to him.

I can't believe we can't give Representative Michaux, Representative Bell and the others who have came forth a day to have a committee meeting. He asked this body to have a committee meeting so we can discuss the 40 pages that they sent back over here.

A lot of you know I have a son who often gets bullied in school, and I've talked to you in the past, and those of you that know me know why he gets bullied. And what I always tell him is, until you stand up to the bully, they're going to keep bullying you.

All I'm asking you, I'm not asking you to go back on a campaign promise. You made a campaign promise for voter ID. You have the chance to still do voter ID. I'm not asking you to go back on your promise. I'm asking you to send this other 40 pages of BS back to the Senate. I'm asking you not
to concur.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Richmond, Representative Goodman, rise?

REP. GOODMAN: To debate the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. GOODMAN (09:52:06): Thank you, Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen of the House. I, along with Representative Tine and Representative Waddell and Representative Graham, voted for the first voter ID bill. We talked about it a lot, and we were all reluctant to do it, but I believed that the people that brought the bill forward in the House were people of goodwill who were really trying to craft a bill that would -- what, in their minds, would solve what in their minds was a problem, while at the same time would be the least restrictive bill they could have.

When I stood up in caucus and said I was going to vote for it, I thought people like Representative Michaux would get mad at me, but he just laughed at me. He said, "You think we got a good bill; you wait until you see it when it comes back from the Senate." Well, he is a wise man,
because that is exactly what's happened. And this bill from the Senate is just blatantly cynical in its intent. And I just can't vote for it. I feel like by voting no tonight, I'm rectifying my earlier vote, because it just turned out to be the way a wise man like Representative Michaux said it would be. So, I'm going to vote no, and I ask you to do the same. Thank you.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the lady from Franklin, Representative Richardson, rise?

REP. RICHARDSON: Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak on the bill.

REP. T. MOORE: The lady is recognized to debate the motion.

REP. RICHARDSON (09:53:32): When I listened to Representative Michaux bring us down to the 1965, I thought about it. I said, he shouldn't stop there.

I lived in Durham for 30 years prior to moving back to Franklin County in 1998, and I took it upon myself to run for the school board. And as I went around the State campaigning for that position, and I would approach individual voters, I was really shocked at how many African-Americans
who told me, "I can not vote for you because I'm afraid that my landlord will put me out," "I'm afraid that my employer will fire me," "I really think you are a great candidate, but I can not vote for you because I still live with the tenant farmer that I lived with in 1965."

So, although I left Durham, which was a very rich political environment, when I got to Franklin County, that was not the case. But since I have been in Franklin County over the last 13 -- over the last from '98 to now, 15 years, I am amazed at how many people have began to get pride in voting, registering, coming to political meetings, being involved, because they finally were convinced that they were not going to lose their job because they voted, they were not going to be put out of their home because they voted for an African-American person.

So, when I read the bill and I see that we have put in poll observers and we've put in people who can challenge any vote, I see the people in Franklin County again, going back into their fear mode, being afraid to participate in a democracy that their Constitution says that they have a right to do.
I plead with you not to put the fear into our fellow citizens. We stand in here and we pray every day that God will let us do what's right by our fellow man, and I pray tonight that we have not prayed those prayers in vain. Thank you.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Ladies and gentlemen of the House, in assessing the work that we think we need to do before the end of the evening, it's the judgment of the Chair that we will -- the time is two minutes from expiring for the minority caucus. The debate will be extended another 30 minutes; at that time, we will have to end the debate, but we're adding 30 minutes to it. Representative Harrison, please state your purpose.

REP. HARRISON: To debate the bill.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The lady is recognized to debate the bill.

REP. HARRISON (09:56:24): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I can not re- -- I can't really -- it's difficult to follow up Representative Michaux and Bell and others about what they've had to go through for protecting voting rights, and I'm not even going to try.

But we are getting ready to enact the most restrictive voter ID law in the country. We
said it was going to be modeled on Georgia and
Indiana, but at least they allow for college ID's,
and we've taken that out in this conference report.
We're going to be limiting access in early voting
and we have this record turnout of 2-1/2 million
voters, I think, in 2012, and that's just wrong.

We've got some really troubling campaign
finance provisions in here that haven't gotten much
attention tonight, that I think will allow a lot
more dark money to come into North Carolina
elections. We are killing the State's public
financing for the judicial elections, and that's
been a real problem, perception problem when you're
having to ask for money from the lawyers who are
appearing before you in court. I think that's
wrong.

We are raising contribution limits, as
Nathan Baskerville noted. We're raising them from
$4,000 to $5,000, also raising the limits on the --
$1,000 limit on judicial races, which is very
troubling. We are killing the State's pioneering
"stand by your ad" provision that turned into
national legislation. We're reducing disclosure.
We're allowing for the increase in outside
spending. I think this is a terrible trend, it's a
terrible bill, and I urge you to vote no. Thank you.

SPEAKER TILLIS: For what purpose does the lady from Chatham, Representative McManus, rise?

REP. MCMANUS: To debate the motion.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The lady has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. MCMANUS (09:58:20): Thank you. In 1926, Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act. My grandfather was 18. In 1928, they specifically granted citizenship to the Eastern Cherokee because the State continued to deny their citizenship. My grandfather was 20.

In 1930, Henry Owl was denied the right to register because North Carolina said he wasn't a citizen. My grandfather was 22. So Congress passed another act reaffirming Eastern Cherokee Citizenship, but the local newspapers protested Congressional interference, and county registrars continued to deny Cherokees the right to register to vote in North Carolina.

In 1946, as Eastern Cherokee war veterans returned home, they were still denied the right to register to vote. My grandfather was 38 and had
five children at that time.

From the distance of 70 years, we can look back and see how shameful this was. I don't think it will take that long for this, the most restrictive election law in the country, to be seen that way. Let's send it back to the Senate and get it fixed. Thank you. I'll be voting against it.

REP. T. MOORE (presiding): For what purpose does the lady from Wilson, Representative Farmer-Butterfield, rise?

REP. FARMER-BUTTERFIELD: To speak on the conference report.

REP. T. MOORE: The lady is recognized to debate the motion.

REP. FARMER-BUTTERFIELD (09:59:57):

Ladies and gentlemen, we as Americans have had to overcome the inability of African-American men to vote, 15th Amendment. The right of women to vote, women's suffrage, 19th Amendment. Literacy tests, poll taxes, 24th Amendment. And the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Tonight, I am reminded of my 91-year-old mother, who actually spent many hours at her dining room table teaching people to read the preamble to the Constitution of North Carolina, so they could
indeed vote. So tonight, I am hoping that she is
listening to this discussion, I was told that she
would, because I am going to take a brave stance
like she did many years ago, and I'm going to vote
no to concurrence of House Bill 589.

    I'm doing it because of senior citizens
across this state who are indeed watching what we
are doing, people with disabilities, citizens with
guardians, young people, students with and without
disabilities, women and minorities. So, I stand
proud to follow in my mother's footsteps and many
who came before me to make it possible to not
restrict and limit people's right to vote. Join me
in voting no. Thank you.

    REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the
gentleman from Haywood, Representative Queen, rise?

    REP. QUEEN: To speak on the concurrence
motion.

    REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman is
recognized to debate the motion.

    REP. QUEEN (10:01:57): Thank you. To my
colleagues who have spoken before me, I just want
to say, amen, amen and amen again. This bill is
all about re-regulating the constitutional right to
vote, for the partisan advantage of the majority

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party, but at the expense of every citizen in this state.

It simply makes it more inconvenient, especially for students, for young, first-time voters, for seniors and working citizens. The real result will be to suppress voter participation and consequently to disenfranchise voters.

This is not government in the service of citizens, this bill. It does not pass the smell test for regulatory reform. In the name of voter ID, the need of which was never justified by this General Assembly, by a shred of evidence, it's come up with a sweeping, 50 page -- 56 page rewrite of election laws. Reducing transparency and disclosure for candidate communications, partisan electioneering, independent expenditures, and at the same time, it's raising contribution limits to $5,000, as Brother Baskerville so eloquently explained the consequence of.

It eliminates the public financing in judicial races, which injects special interest money in the judicial process. Election with more money and less disclosure, how is that protecting voter's rights? It abandons this State's proud history, proud tradition of civic education.
In my first term in the Senate, I was the civic education legislator of the year. I really appreciated Representative Cotham's comments on civic education. We used to take pride in encouraging our young people to become voters and to become active, conscious citizens of this great state.

It eliminates high school registration drives, eliminates preregistration for our young people when they go get their driver's license, connecting their will to be free and drive with their will to vote and be citizens, young citizens, to look forward to that. No more paid registration drives in this State.

It eliminates same-day registration, which is so convenient, so appreciated in same-day voting all across my district. It empowers partisan vigilante groups to intimidate voters. This looks like third world elections we see on national, international news. All of this is clearly a strategy -- a misplaced strategy, I might say, for partisan advantage, not for the good of the whole. I encourage you to vote no on this conference report. We can do better. The great State of North Carolina deserves better. Thank
REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the lady from Buncombe, Representative Fisher rise?
REP. FISHER: To debate the motion, Mr. Speaker.
REP. T. MOORE: The lady has the floor to debate the motion.
REP. FISHER (10:06:08): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Ladies and gentlemen, you've heard a lot this evening, and I will not take long, but I did want to call to your attention a couple of numbers that we may have overlooked in the -- during the debate. There was a report that was issued in April by the North Carolina State Board of Elections that estimated that 176,091 registered Democrats are without the state-issued photo ID card that most will have to pay $20-$32 for before they can vote under this law. Plus, 73,787 unaffiliated and 1,126 Libertarian voters. Among registered Republican voters, 67,639 have no photo identity cards, and over two-thirds of these are women.

I came to the General Assembly directly from a job as the director of a nonprofit called Kids Voting North Carolina. And at that job, I
helped to use a curriculum that was approved by the North Carolina School Board to teach children about the importance of civic participation and about the importance of voting.

And before that, I tell people I have an undergraduate degree from the University of Maryland, but I got my master's degree from being President of the League of Women Voters for two years, because it's that kind of a job, and you learn so much from being around those women who struggled mightily for the right to vote.

And so, in honor of those women, in honor of minority persons, in honor of the elderly, the disabled, high school students, the college students at Warren Wilson College in my district and UNC Asheville, in my district. In honor of the Democrats, independents and yes, even the Republicans who will become disenfranchised with the passage of this legislation, I ask you to vote no. Make this a better bill. This is not the bill that left the House. Thank you.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the gentleman from Guilford, Representative Brandon, rise?

REP. BRANDON: To debate the motion.
REP. T. MOORE: The gentleman has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. BRANDON (10:09:12): I again don't know where to begin with this bill, and I really have a problem, not only just with the bill, but just what we do in here. Because when I grew up and when I looked at our elected officials and our government, I always wanted to be here, and I always wanted to come and make a difference and represent folks and represent people. And since I've gotten here, I see that sometimes in this body, we make it a very big effort not to represent people but just simply to divide people. And I just don't understand where that comes from, and why we always have to continue to go down that road.

Why we choose to have thousands of people standing outside this chamber on Mondays, yelling and screaming at us. Why do we choose to have people in the galleries protesting at us? It's all a choice, this is a choice.

The other thing that surprises me is that Tricia Cotham said that she was a civics teacher, and it was someone like her that told me the process about how government works. And it is
amazing to me how we can -- I don't know, maybe I was wrong, maybe Tricia Cotham told her children not -- different things than were in the book, but I was always told that you had a House, and you had a Senate and we all know how a bill moves. And we actually have to, according to the law and according to what I learned when I was a kid, we have to concur.

And if you don't feel like that you should concur, why would you ever, ever vote for it? What kind of history are you giving your children and our grandchildren? Well, it's what we do, well, it's just kind of how the game's played. But we didn't -- we don't have that in the history book; we don't have that in our civics book. There is a specific way that we do that, and it's called principle.

And if you can't stand up for principle, then why are you even here? Why would you let their principles overcome your principles and what you know is right and what you know is wrong? You're going to let that happen; you want to go home and tell your kids that? You want to write that into the civic book? Good luck with that.

But what I do want to say is that we all
know what this is about, and I really hate that this is where we are, but the very mere fact that you have an absentee voting provision in this bill, makes every single argument that you make on the other side, absolutely null and void, absolutely null and void. There is not an argument after that.

After you let free voting go on with absolutely no ID, no check, no nothing, open it up to every kind of fraud that you can have, and you make it more accessible? Every argument that you make is absolutely null and void at that point.

So now we have to figure out why, and I think we know why. If we had a session where we were able to disenfranchise nurses, doctors, lawyers, hospitals, nonprofits, African-Americans, Native Americans, the LGBT community, the poor community, the working class people, middle class people, rural folks, urban folks, we did all that and did not create a job, I understand the purpose of this bill. Thank you. I will be voting no.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the lady from Mecklenburg, Representative Carney, rise?

REP. CARNEY: To speak on the conference report.
REP. T. MOORE: The lady has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. CARNEY (10:12:59): Ladies and gentlemen of the House, there's not a whole lot more you can add. We've had members going in and out. Some I applaud; I've been looking, some have stayed through the whole thing, and I really applaud you, because you are willing to sit here and listen to what some have said.

But I hope you've heard from some of our members that this goes deep, deep in their heart and in their roots, and they're honored and proud to be serving here at this point and time in their life. People like Representative Michaux, Representative Bell, our senior members of the African-American community, deep. You can't begin to relate what this bill is doing to that population in this state, and I remind you when you look at the demographics from the Census, that population is growing. There are many people in this state that are listening tonight.

There are many people that are reading this bill page by page, how many of us in here? I have. How many of you have read it line for line since it came back changed?
For years, the leaders in this state have incrementally made the right to vote easier and more accessible, and within -- today, with the Senate giving it a full day of debate over there, their bill that they dressed up -- our bill they took and dressed up, I might correct myself. Sent over here, and we're going to have two, now to the Speaker, two and a half hours of a despicable bill where we are in the 21st Century.

You punch that green button, as you all will, 'cause I know our votes aren't changing a single one of you, although I hope our words have touched your heart. But with that one point in the 21st Century, we should be doing everything we can, with the Internet access, everything we can to make it easier and more accessible for our citizens to exercise their right to vote, not make it harder.

I don't understand why, why do you have to be against straight party ticket voting? I could go on and on, but others have touched that. But I will end with this, because I truly do believe this. I've watched these Monday nights grow outside of my window. I believe there is a spirit moving in this State that no money can be bought -- votes cannot be bought in the next
elections that are coming up across this state. It is the spirit of the people paying attention, rising up, saying, "We are the government, not you. We are the people of this State, not you 120 in the House, not those 50 in the Senate, and what the majority is doing to us, we are listening." Can't you see it? Don't you hear it?

I end with a text that was sent to me from a lady. I do not know her, but she has my phone number; it's printed. "Oh dear Lord, the reality of what the Republicans have done is inexpressible, worse than anyone ever thought."

How can you vote green and do this to the people of North Carolina? I ask you, rethink your green button.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the lady from Mecklenburg, Representative Cunningham, rise?

REP. CUNNINGHAM: To speak briefly on the motion, Mr. Speaker.

REP. T. MOORE: The lady has the floor to debate the motion.

REP. CUNNINGHAM (10:17:03): This is so hard. As I've listened to everybody in the chamber talk, especially Representative Michaux, it brought
back the memories of the last time I took Pete to vote. It was month right before he passed away, the last election, and when he walked in, of course, everybody knew who he was, even though he had aged quite a bit. And his picture, his photo on his license, had changed quite a bit by the time we had gotten there, but everybody in there knew who he was. They knew who he was, he was able to go in and vote with no problem, and we was well on our way to the next activity of the day.

He used to tell me something all the time, and now I can see it in this chamber. He said, a lesson will not be learned that God will allow you to repeat it. He will allow you to repeat the lesson until it's learned. So, it looks like we haven't learned our lesson. And we got to relearn again. In honor of my former spouse, Representative William P. Cunningham, that was in the trenches of the Civil Rights Movement in 1950s through the '60s, I will cast a no vote for the citizens of the State of North Carolina, against this bill.

REP. T. MOORE: For what purpose does the lady from New Hanover, Representative Hamilton, rise?
REP. HAMILTON: To briefly debate the bill.

REP. T. MOORE: The lady is recognized to debate the motion.

REP. HAMILTON (10:19:06): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. You know, it's really impossible for me to add anything more to what's been said this evening. I will say however, that just when you think you've reached the bottom, sometimes things just keep getting worse.

I'm truly shocked at the magnitude of this bill. It left the House as a 14-page bill; came back as 57 pages. This is not about voter ID; this is not about identification at the polls. This is about harassment at the polls, vigilante behavior at the polls. It's about voter suppression. It's about regression, regression in North Carolina.

I'm going to repeat what one of our esteemed members said earlier tonight, and then I'm going to sit down, because I think this pretty much sums it up. We've not really addressed at length, some of us have mentioned, that this bill increases the amount of money that we can receive in terms of campaign contributions from $4,000 from individuals...
or political action committees, to $5,000. It also
lessens disclosure laws.

So, in the words of my friend and fellow
Representative, Sam Queen, "More money, less
disclosure, how can that be construed as voter
protection?" I'm going to say it again; more
money, less disclosure, how can that be construed
as voter protection? Thank you very much.

REP. T. MOORE: To what purpose does the
lady from Wake, Representative Holley, rise?

REP. HOLLEY: Thank you, Mr. Speaker; to
speak to the motion.

REP. T. MOORE: The lady has the floor to
debate the motion.

REP. HOLLEY (10:20:59): First of all, I
want to thank you, Mr. Speaker, for allowing
extended time. I was getting a little restless
because one of the things that we have not really
had an opportunity individually, is to be heard.
And sometimes just to be heard means so much to
people.

Mickey, God bless you. Mickey gave us a
history that he's lived. And for Mickey's
generation and prior to his generations, things
have passed on and it's passed down. As an African
American who has struggled and fought for the right to vote, for the right to go to school, for the right to come in here and be a member of this legislature, it's on the backs of so many more that came before me, that I am honored to serve them.

I have a neighbor, Aunt Pauline. Aunt Pauline is 102 years old, and for the longest time, you know, old people didn't tell us what their little stories were. And then recently, we sat down and we said, "Aunt Pauline, you know, you were so excited about voting for Obama, tell us about first time you voted," and she talked about fear. As Representative Richardson was talking about, the fear that they had to go and vote, and she said, "But I won't scared."

She said, "We went in there and they sent us in another room in the back, and I don't even believe they counted our votes, but I voted." And she talked about the pride that she took to be able to, at her age, go and vote for an African-American President and what that meant to her. Now, she's 102 years old, and her driver's license, I assure you, has expired. I don't think she can even find it, but I will do everything in my power to make sure if this bill passes, that she has what she
needs to be able to go vote.

Now, I wanted to talk a little bit about what this really is all about. And it's about fear. It's not about my fear, because as African-Americans, having dogs at you and hoses at you, and going into a school not knowing what kind of environment you were going to go into when you walked in, you learned not to be afraid. We learned, and we've taught our kids so much how not to be afraid, Trayvon Martin went and went to the man who was following him and said, "What's up with this?"

You get afraid when our black kids say and look like they have no fear; well, this is about a bigger fear. This is about a fear to lose power. That's what this is about. The Senate is afraid. Oh, I understand a little voter ID, but what we got back here is something that the Senate is afraid of. They're afraid to lose power. I ask you to join me, to join us, and not be afraid, and let's vote no on this bill.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Representative Luebke, please state your purpose.

REP. LUEBKE: To speak on the motion.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman is
recognized to debate the motion.

REP. LUEBKE: Thank you.

SPEAKER TILLIS: And, Representative Luebke, just as a point of information, the gentleman has about four minutes, by commitment with the Minority Leader. We're allocating four minutes for him as well.

REP. LUEBKE (10:24:30): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I don't think I'll need four minutes. I wanted to say first that it's been said many times here by speakers on this side of the aisle that this is a voter suppression act, and it certainly is. But I think one of the unintended consequences of the bill that the majority is going to support is that it's actually going to support -- suppress some voters who otherwise would be voting Republican. It's going to have that effect, that many parts of this bill, indeed, are voter suppression.

There's another part of the bill that is odd to me in terms of the way it's been put together, and that is the complete abolition of the public-funded elections. That we're getting money out of politics, at the same time that we're getting money out of elections, we're allowing the
contribution level to go up, and not just go up, but make sure that it's attached to the consumer price index, so we can be sure to have more private money in elections. And it just says to me that there's something wrong with the priorities where we want money, where the bills who just said money should play a larger role in our elections, not a smaller role.

And I think I want to say also, that the bill in some ways could be called the longer lines -- longer lines on Election Day bill. I think everybody in this room remembers what things were like before early voting. You waited two hours to vote, typically. They talk about the mess that was in Florida last year because people were exactly waiting two hours to vote, and many people were discouraged from voting at all, because Florida had passed a law similar to ours, similar to what's before us tonight.

So, when you cut early voting from 17 days to 10, when you say on that last Saturday when people are trying to get to the polls, that the county boards of election can't keep the polls open till 5 but must close them at 1, what you're doing is saying, number one, there will be longer lines
that will hurt both political parties, and you're saying that a lot of people will not be voting, will not be exercising their right, who would have otherwise done so had we not been so determined to cut back on early voting. A program that is most popular, it is extremely popular among independents, Republicans, and Democrats.

It's a sad day that we've got this before us. I'm going to vote no and wish all of you could as well. Thank you.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Representative Hall, please state your purpose.

REP. L. HALL: To speak on the motion.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The gentleman is recognized to debate the motion.

REP. L. HALL (10:27:55): Thank you, Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, and maybe more importantly, to the citizens of North Carolina.

It has come to this, this is what everyone has waited for, to see what we as one-time leaders of the nation, will do. Once a great state, taking on this grand experiment over the last six months of this session, and yes, you have won control, but also the responsibility that comes
with it, for the future of the State of North Carolina.

Now, we've shifted the tax burden from the rich to the poor, but voting allows you the power to do that. And we've decided to defund education that would provide a future for our children and our State, but voting allowed you to have the power to do that.

And although we, in this bill, spared Sunday voting, we've taken away the right of early voting, cut it back, which will mean longer lines and deny the popular will of the 2.9 million North Carolinians who voted early in 2010 and helped you get the power that you now use to deny them that right. It won't save money; we know that. It's an unfunded mandate; we know that. But voting gives you that right.

And now the question is, do you believe in what you've done? Because the ultimate test, as you passed last time, when voting gave you the power to do this, would be submitting yourself under the same rules to the citizens of the State of North Carolina and asking that question. Have we really made a difference? Have we really made North Carolina better?
And what you have decided to do by this bill is to say, we won't take the test, we won't submit ourself to a referendum of the people. We will deny them the right to evaluate what we would have really done. We don't really believe in this idea that the market will dictate and the market will function to make the decision. You've decided to cook the books and deny people their rights.

Voter information vilification act. What you've done in this bill, that again, is not your bill, and we already heard about whether you would stand up for your principles or bow and submit to the Senate's principles. Voter intimidation vilification act. And what this has done has said, we're going to intimidate you and expand the right of people from anywhere in the county that don't even know you, have no clue who you might be, to come to your polling place and challenge your right to vote. Voter intimidation and vilification act.

Making it harder for you to vote and almost making you ashamed and intimidated to even try. Voter intimidation and vilification act.

I know that we can do better for North Carolina. I know for my grandchildren that we can do better for North Carolina. I know for my 89-
year-old mother, we could do better for North Carolina. Voting allowed you to have the power to do what you're doing, and so I challenge you to do the best you can for future generations of North Carolinians and vote against this motion to concur, and do what's in your mind, not what's in the Senate's mind.

SPEAKER TILLIS: Representative Lewis, the gentleman is recognized to debate the motion for a period not to exceed seven minutes.

REP. LEWIS (10:32:04): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen of the House. It has been a very trying night, it's been a very interesting and emotional night, and I want to thank the members who have stood up and who've shared the personal stories of the struggles that they've gone through to win their right, their God-given right, their constitutional right, to vote.

And I want to comment on what my friend from Durham said, maybe just speak to the people of North Carolina for a while, because I do believe, that there probably are some that are scared. Because -- they're scared because they've been told things that simply aren't true. They've been told several times on this floor that this bill limits
or forbids Sunday voting. It does not. They've been told that this bill cuts back the hours that people can vote early, that over half the people of this State use, and it does not.

They've been told that there's a provision in this bill dealing with guardianship that somehow will restrict the disabled from being able to vote, and it does not do that. They've been told that this bill somehow will deny them the right to vote because they don't have an ID and they don't have $24 to buy it, when plainly it is said the ID will be provided at no charge. They've been told it's a poll tax, when even the Supreme Court has told us it is not.

So, yeah, I'd say they are, they are perhaps scared, they are perhaps scared because of some of the misinformation that has been spread about this bill, even said about this bill on the floor tonight.

I want you all to know that I take my commitment and my oath very seriously. I have told you from day one that I want every person in this State entitled and eligible to vote to have the opportunity to go to the polls and vote, and that those votes cumulatively combined will decide who
wins the election, not votes that are diluted by folks that vote when they shouldn't, and, by God, not folks that are turned away from the polls for not having the right ID to vote. That's why this bill goes to such great lengths to make sure the people are educated on what is required of a responsible citizen to continue to promulgate this republic.

We hear about absentee. We heard when this bill first went through, "Oh, you're going to -- "don't have ID, vote absentee." Well, now we've got a cute new word that we're trying to spread over here. But the fact is, we listened, and we heard that there was concern with how absentee is used, so this bill does strengthen the requirements that it takes to vote absentee.

Ladies and gentlemen, I respect each and every one of you, and I know that you're doing what you believe in your heart to be the right thing. And I respect that we have differing opinions on what the right thing is from time to time. But I want you to know, I've never questioned their motives, and I've never doubted your sincerity.

I'm going to close by telling you that this bill that you have before you is a step
towards improving the integrity of the process of
this state. And, you know, I don't have the time
to go point by point. You want to talk about doing
away with straight party voting? North Carolina is
one of only 15 states that has it anyway, and we're
the only state that divides the vote for President
from the rest of the ticket.

You want to talk about these changes
being based on some kind of partisan ploy? Let's
talk about that. Let's talk about the fact that of
this bill's 60 parts, nine parts deal with voter
ID; eight parts contain studies to learn more about
how to help people vote and give them the resources
they do; five parts are blank; and 26 parts are
election law changes that have been adopted by a
Democratic legislature since 2001.

So, if these attempts, as you're accusing
tonight, if this bill, is to roll back in a
partisan fashion rules, then the rules that passed,
the 26 of them since 2001, must have been passed
with a partisan motive, too. That's a logical
assumption, right?

It's time to move on; it's time to stand
proudly and say we did what we needed to do to
ensure the integrity, to make sure that every
person's vote is counted. Everybody has the right to participate, is empowered to do so, and we're going to continue to stand on the principles and the belief that the people of this State are smart enough to know who they want to vote for. They're smart enough to get whatever it is they need, the ID or whatever it is, and they care enough to get to the polls and vote.

The difference, my friends, is that the proponents of this bill believe in the people, believe that the people are smart enough to continue to elect their representatives and govern their state. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER TILLIS: The question before the House is the motion to concur in the Senate Committee substitute for House Bill 589. All in favor vote aye, all opposed vote no. The Clerk will open the vote.

(Electronic vote.)

SPEAKER TILLIS: The Clerk will lock the machine and record the vote. 73 having voted in affirmative, 41 in the negative, the House has concurred in the Senate Committee substitute for House Bill 589. The bill will be enrolled and sent to the Governor.
(EXCERPTED PORTION OF PROCEEDINGS CONCLUDED AT 10:45:02 PM)
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

COUNTY OF WAKE

CERTIFICATE

I, Brad Worley, transcriptionist for Worley Reporting, do hereby affirm that the foregoing pages are a verbatim transcription of an audio recording of the above-captioned matter and that it has been transcribed to the best of my ability and understanding; I further affirm that I am not related to any of the parties to this action; that I am not interested in the outcome of this case; that I am not of counsel nor in the employ of any of the parties to this action.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand, this the 2nd day of October, 2013.

Brad Worley