Melnick, Helaine  (Self), Austin, TX
Michol, Tracey  (SILC), Fort Worth, TX
Mills, Karla  (ACORN), Hou, TX
Miragliotta, Sharlene  (Self), Frisco, TX
Mohlman, Dean  (Self), Austin, TX
Money, Joseph  (Senate District 22), Waco, TX
Mora, Sergio  (Self), Laredo, TX
Morris-Parker, J. Laverne  (Self), Austin, TX
Morrow, Christine C.  (ARCIL), Austin, TX
Murph, Leonard C.  (Self), N. Richland Hills, TX
Murphy, Theresa  (Self), Smithville, TX
Nathan, Catherine S.  (Self), Spring Branch, TX
Nathan, Richard D.  (Self), Spring Branch, TX
Norton, LMSW, John,  (Self), Austin, TX
Overstreet, Morris L.  (Self), Prairie View, TX
Padma-Munyon, Leashya  (Self), Austin, TX
Page, Dan  (Self), Austin, TX
Painchaud, Kathy  (UMW), Bellville, TX
Paul, Gilbert  (Self), West Columbia, TX
Pena, Roman  (LULAC), SA, TX
Perez, Mirella  (The ARC of Texas), Austin, TX
Pina, Johanna  (The ARC of Texas), Austin, TX
Poplawsky, Amanda  (La Fe Policy Research and Education Center), Boerne, TX
Powell, Milton E.  (Killeen GOTV), Killeen, TX
Ray, Ryan  (Tarrant County Democratic Party), Fort Worth, TX

Rendon, Manuel  (LULAC), Austin, TX
Renick, Karen  (Vote Rescue), Austin, TX
Revely, Porshe  (Huston Tilliston University), Austin, TX
Rhea, Paul  (Self), Austin, TX
Richie, Boyd  (Texas Democratic Party), Austin, TX
Riegel, Daniel  (Self), Austin, TX
Riker, Jennifer  (Self), Austin, TX
Rizzo, Melissa  (ARC of TX), Georgetown, TX
Roberts, Patricia  (Bell County Democratic Women), Harker Heights, TX
Roberts, Susan K. (Self, Women for Good Government), Austin, TX
Rochester, Liz (Self), Dallas, TX
Rodriguez, Chris (Self), Austin, TX
Rovezzi, Cynthia M. (People with Disabilities), Plano, TX
Rovezzi, Kristen (Disabled constituents), Plano, TX
Rowland, Brian (Texas NAACP), Prairie View, TX
Ruiz, Lilia (Camino Real Mexican American Democrats El Paso), El Paso, TX
Ruiz, Philip A. (Texas Democratic County Chairs Assn. (TDCCA)), Lockhart, TX
Saenz, Danny (Self), Austin, TX
Salvatore, Robert (S.A. Building Trades Cafi-CIO), San Antonio, TX
Sanchez, Claudia (LULAC), San Antonio, TX
Scott, Roseanne (Self), Austin, TX
Sells, Greg (Self), Austin, TX
Shelton, Susan (Self), Austin, TX
Sibbet, Byron (Self), North Richland Hills, TX
Sikes, Vanessa M. (Self), Austin, TX
Silva, Omar (Self), San Antonio, TX
Silver, Paul (Common Cause of TX), Austin, TX
Simpson, Dee (AFSCME, AFL-CIO), Austin, TX
Sirianni, Susi (Self), Austin, TX
Smith, Briana (Blind), New Caney, TX
Smith, Russell N. (TX Freedom), Austin, TX
Smith, Wanda (Parent), Austin, TX
Sneed, L. Randy (ARCIL, Inc.), Pflugerville, TX
Snider, Stewart (Self), Austin, TX
Speight, Dennis (Self), Austin, TX
Stafford, Mildred (ACORN), Houston, TX
Statman, Rona (Self), Austin, TX
Steele, Borrell (ADAPT), Austin, TX
Steele, Mary (ADAPT), Austin, TX
Stephenson, R. Robert (Self), Austin, TX
Stevens, D. Shawn (Self), Dallas, TX
Stine, Daniel (Self), Austin, TX
Tafoye, Marcelo (LULAC, District 12), Austin, TX
Tapia, Michael  (Self), San Antonio, TX
Telge, Judy  (Self; C.B D. Ctr. for Independent Living), Corpus Christi, TX

Terrazas, Erica  (Self), Austin, TX
Terrell, Randall  (Equality Texas), Austin, TX
Thelen, Michael  (Self), McQueeney, TX
Thomas, David R.  (Self), Austin, TX
Thomas, Delisha  (Self), Austin, TX
Thomas, Stephanie  (National ADAPT), Austin, TX
Thompson, Mary E.  (Self), Austin, TX
Tilley, Tracy  (TX SILC), Belton, TX
Torres, Margaret  (ACORN), Houston, TX
Torres, Richard  (Self), Round Rock, TX
Toussaint, Aerin-Renee  (Self), Austin, TX
Traynham, Warner  (Self), SA, TX
True-Courage, Zada  (Self), San Antonio, TX
Tucker, M.D., Byron  (Self), San Antonio, TX
Urby, M.D., Rodolfo M.  (La Fe Policy and Education Research Center), San Antonio, TX
Vackimes, Alexandra  (Self), Manor, TX
Van Praag, Jane Leatherman  (Self), Bartlett, TX
Varela, Ralph  (Self), Austin, TX
Vasquez, Peggy  (LULAC), Austin, TX
Vaughn, Mercedes  (Self), Austin, TX
Viagran, Crystal  (Travis County PCT 426), Austin, TX
Villarreal, Jesse  (Self; Senate District 22), Waco, TX
Vo, Ramey  (Self), Austin, TX
Vodnick, Lynn  (Self), Austin, TX
Vogel, Vickie  (SD 18), La Grange, TX
Wagoner, Jordan  (Self), Austin, TX
Walters, Barbara Boyden  (TX Democratic Women of Collin County), Plano, TX
Whalen, Suzanne  (Self), Dallas, TX
Wheeler, Dianne H.  (TX Freedom Network), Austin, TX
Williams, B.J.  (NAACP Garland Branch), Garland, TX
Williams, Doris  (Self), Austin, TX
Williams, Janice  (Self), Austin, TX
Williams, Robert Wayne  (Self), Austin, TX
Wilson, Andy  (Public Citizen, Common Cause), Austin, TX
Windberg, Thomas J.  (Self), Spicewood, TX
Wisdom, Barbara R.  (Self), Austin, TX
Wittie, David  (ADAPT of Texas), Austin, TX
Woods, Traci  (Tarrant County Democratic Party), Fort Worth, TX
Wygal, Shondra E.  (Texas Young Democrats), Houston, TX
Yarbrough, Christianna  (South Denton County Democrats and TX Precinct 307), Flower Mound, TX
Yeaman, John F.  (Self), Austin, TX
Young, Deana  (Private Citizen), Houston, TX

On:

Banks, Annie M.  (Texas Alliance for Retired Americans), Houston
Curry, Susan  (Self), Alpine, TX

Harris, R.D.  (Cover Texas NOW/Dallas ACORN), Dallas, TX
Higgins, Carlos  (Texas Silver-Haired Legislature), Austin, TX
Mays Sr., Kenneth W.  (Self), Dallas, TX
Sepehri, John  (Secretary of State), Austin, TX

Providing written testimony:

For:

Alvarez, Rosario  (Granada Homes, Laborer, LU1095), San Antonio, TX
Gebolys, Paul J.  (PCT 4, Montgomery County), The Woodlands, TX
Harding, James C.  Presiding Judge (Harris County - Rep.), Kingwood, TX
Lannon, Robert "Grant"  (Texas Borders Volunteers), Austin, TX
Lindsey, Shirley  (Self), League City, TX
McDonald, Tony  (Young Conservatives of Texas), Austin, TX
Mikus, Jr., Jerry J.  (Self), Pflugerville, TX
Opiela, Eric  (Republican Party of Texas), Austin, TX
Wallace, Skipper  (Texas Republican County Chairs Association), Lampasas, TX

Against:

Bell, Doug  (Travis County Democrats), Austin, TX
Burke, Terri  (ACLU of Texas), Austin, TX
Dickinson, Glenda (Self), Sealy, TX
Dodd, Daniel (Democratic Party of Collin County), McKinney, TX
Flores, Jr., Enrique (UAW and Labor Council for Latin American Advancement), Arlington, TX
Ford, Rachel Baker (Self), Garland, TX
Gauthier, Lloyd (Self), Houston, TX
Glasscock, Nancy (Self), Temple, TX
Henderson, Elaine (Self), Lago Vista, TX
Hinojosa, Gilberto (Cameron County Democratic Party - Committee Member, Democratic National Committee), Brownsville, TX
Korbel, George (Self; LULAC), San Antonio, TX
Leeder, Jennie Lou (Llano County), Llano, TX
Mainard, Marcia (TDW), Greenville, TX
Resa, Arthur (Bell County Democratic Party), Belton, TX
Sanders-Castro, Judith (LULAC and Rosa Rosales, Nat'l Pres.), San Antonio, TX
Spoon, Harley (Self), Austin, TX
Vera, Jr., Luis (League of United Latin American Citizens), Washington, DC
Whichard, Steve (Self), Austin, TX

On:
Dean, Sheila (Self), Austin, TX
TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS BEFORE
THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF TEXAS
EIGHTY-FIRST LEGISLATURE
(COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE SENATE)
AUSTIN, TEXAS

IN RE: $ $ $ $ $ 
CONSIDERATION OF $ $ $ $ $ 
SENATE BILL 362 $ $ $ $ $ 

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE SENATE

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 2009

BE IT REMEMBERED THAT AT 12:38 p.m., on
Tuesday, the 10th day of March 2009, the above-
entitled matter was heard at the Texas State Capitol
Senate Chamber, Austin, Texas, before the Committee of
the Whole Senate; and the following proceedings were
reported by Aloma J. Kennedy, a Certified Shorthand
Reporter of:
VOLUME 1A PAGES 1 - 208

KENNEDY
REPORTING
SERVICE
a record of excellence
1801 Lavaca • Suite 115 • Austin, Texas 78701 • 512-474-2233

ORIGINAL

TX 0003857
JA 003280
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## VOLUME 1A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proceeding</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROCEEDINGS, TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 2009</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLL CALL NO. 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPENING INSTRUCTIONS BY SEN. DUNCAN</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTION TO FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF SB 362</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SEN. WEST)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLL CALL NO. 2</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAYING OUT OF SENATE BILL 362</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SEN FRASER)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## VOLUME 1B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Testimony</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INVITED TESTIMONY</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY HANS VON SPAKOVSKY</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY TOVA ANDREA WANG</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY CAMERON QUINN</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY TOBY MOORE</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY FRANK B. STRICKLAND</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY ADAM SKAGGS</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY OF ROBERT A. SIMMS</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBMITTED BY WES TAILOR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY J. GERALD HEBERT</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### VOLUME 2

PROCEEDINGS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 2009  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR (CONTINUED)</th>
<th>482</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY THOMAS WHEELER</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY CHANDLER DAVIDSON</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY ED JOHNSON</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY DANIEL B. KOhRMAN</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY COBY SHORTER</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY DENNIS BOREL</td>
<td>706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY GARY GLEDSOE</td>
<td>724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESTIMONY BY ERIC NICHOLS</td>
<td>742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PUBLIC TESTIMONY

| CLAIRE OXLEY GLUCK                     | 771 |
| HAZEL COTTON                           | 773 |
| QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR            | 775 |
| KATHY HICKS                            | 776 |
| JAMES E. CARTER                        | 779 |
| RUSTY HICKS                            | 781 |

KENNEDY REPORTING SERVICE, INC.  
512.474.2233  

TX_00003859  
JA_003282
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## PUBLIC TESTIMONY (CONTINUED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TINA BENKISER</td>
<td>784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.R. SKIPPER WALLACE</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANITA PRIVETT</td>
<td>789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARY ANN COLLINS</td>
<td>792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROSA ROSALES</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUSTIN RYNDERS</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARSHA CORREIRA</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RENE LARA</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEE MEDLEY</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHN WATKINS</td>
<td>811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KENNETH FLIPPEN</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNIE BANKS</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACHEL HERNANDEZ</td>
<td>817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RENATO DE LOS SANTOS</td>
<td>819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUDY HOLLOWAY</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LYDIA CAMARILLO</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDWARD B. WILLIAMS</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MADELEINE DEWAR</td>
<td>830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HELEN VILLARREAL</td>
<td>833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARK WILLIAMSON</td>
<td>835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VANESSA FOSTER</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUIS FIGUERO</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR</td>
<td>844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATTI EDELMAN</td>
<td>844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYLVIA MENDOZA</td>
<td>846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KENNETH KOYM</td>
<td>848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAREN RENICK</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JONI ASHBRCK</td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUANE RAWSON</td>
<td>856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROD FLUKER</td>
<td>858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLL CALL NO. 3</td>
<td>864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROCEEDINGS CONCLUDED</td>
<td>869</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KENNEDY REPORTING SERVICE, INC.
512.474.2233

TX_00003860
JA_003283
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXHIBIT INDEX</th>
<th>MARKED</th>
<th>ADMITTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A Sen. Van de Putte 3/3/09 Memo to Sen. Duncan re ground rules for Committee of the Whole Pubic hearing</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1B Sen. Duncan 3/5/09 Memo to Sen. Van de Putte re response to concerns about ground rules for the Committee of the Whole Senate</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Letter to Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott re: Hearing on SB 362, signed by 11 Senators</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Senate Notice of Public Hearing on SB 362 for 3/10/09</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Texas Senate Agenda, 3/10/09</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5A 3/10/09 Tag Form signed by Sen. Royce West, et al</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5B 3/10/09 Tag Form signed by Sen. Mario Gallegos</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Roll Call No. 2 - Sen. Gallegos' Appeal of Ruling of Chair on Sen. West's Point of Order</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Institute of Public Policy Publication entitled &quot;The Effects of Photographic Identification on Voter Turnout in Indiana: A County-Level Analysis&quot; by Jeffrey Milyo, Report 10-2007, Revised December 2007</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>AU News publication entitled &quot;Much-hyped Turnout Record Fails to Materialize - Convenience Voting Fails to Boost Balloting&quot;</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>9/10/07 Report of the Heritage Center for Data Analysis entitled &quot;New Analysis Shows Voter Identification Laws Do Not Reduce Turnout&quot; by David B. Muhlhausen and Keri Weber Sikich</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>2/3/08 article entitled &quot;A Clearer Picture on Voter ID&quot; by Jimmy Carter and James A. Baker III</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MARKED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15A</td>
<td>6/11/07 Letter to Senate Committee on Rules and Administration re Hans A. von Spakovsky nomination</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15B</td>
<td>6/12/07 Article entitled &quot;Obama Raises Concerns Over FEC Nominee's Record of Partisanship&quot;</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15C</td>
<td>10/3/07 Letter to the U.S. Senate from Public Citizen</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Testimony of Tova Andrea Wang, Vice President, Research Common Cause, March 10, 2009, re SB 362</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXHIBIT INDEX (continued)

MARKED ADMITTED

19. Fifteen letters to the Hon. Dianne Feinstein, Chair, and the Hon. Robert F. Bennett, ranking minority member, U.S. Senate Committee on Rules and Administration:

1. 6/29/07 letter from Hans A. von Spakovsky
2. 3/22/07 letter from various members of Congress
3. 3/13/07 letter from William H. Jordan
4. 2/08/07 letter from Gary J. Smith
5. 2/26/07 letter from P. K. Brunelli
6. 3/01/07 letter from J. A. Borras
7. 2/21/07 letter from Trey Grayson
8. 2/20/07 letter from Beverly B. Kaufman
9. 2/19/07 letter from Todd Rokita
10. 2/16/07 letter from Frank B. Strickland
11. 2/14/07 letter from Tom Lowe
12. 2/13/07 letter from T. Rogers Wade
13. 2/14/06 letter from Johnny Isakson
14. 2/09/07 letter from Wesley R. Kliner, Jr.
15. 3/13/07 letter from Ray Martinez III
16. Brennan Center For Justice letter dated October 3, 2007, by Executive Director Michael Waldman, with attachments

KENNEDY REPORTING SERVICE, INC.
512.474.2233
EXHIBIT INDEX (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARKED</th>
<th>ADMITTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. Harris County Map submitted by Sen. Gallegos</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Testimony of Frank B. Strickland re SB 362 March 10, 2009</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Testimony of Adam Skaggs, Counsel, Democracy Program, Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, regarding The Myth of Voter Impersonation Fraud at the Polls March 10, 2009</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Written Testimony of Robert A. Simms, Georgia Deputy Secretary of State, presented to the United States Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, submitted by Wes Tailor</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Testimony of J. Gerald Hebert re SB 362, March 10, 2009</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Letter from Rene Guerra (March 6, 2009) Criminal District Attorney of Hidalgo County, Submitted by Sen. Lucio</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. 3/4/09 Letter from Todd Rokita, Indiana Secretary of State, to Sen. Fraser re SB 362</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXHIBIT INDEX (continued)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Testimony of Chandler Davidson, Tsanoff Professor of Public Affairs Emeritus, Rice University, regarding &quot;The Historical Context of Senate Bill 362,&quot; March 10, 2009</td>
<td>521 521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Dashwood case documents submitted by Ed Johnson, Harris County Tax Assessor-Collector and Voter Registrar's Office</td>
<td>559 559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Records from specific Harris County voting documents, submitted by Ed Johnson</td>
<td>559 559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Harris County Deceased Voting History, miscellaneous registration applications, submitted by Ed Johnson</td>
<td>559 559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Texas Voter Registration Application form submitted by Sen. Huffman</td>
<td>570 570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Testimony of Daniel B. Kohrman, Senior Attorney, AARP Foundation, re SB 362 March 10, 2009</td>
<td>621 621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Photographs of Voter Education, Anderson County Workshop, 2008</td>
<td>724 724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Testimony of Gary L. Bledsoe, President, Texas NAACP, re SB 362, March 10, 2009</td>
<td>724 724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EXHIBIT INDEX (continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Number of voters who have registered since 2006 without a driver's license number, submitted by Sen. Watson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>The Special Investigations Unit Role and Investigative Efforts and Funding, submitted by Sen. Huffman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Slip Opinion, U.S. Supreme Court, Crawford vs. Marion County Election Board, October Term, 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>U.S. Supreme Court, Crawford vs. Marion County Election Board, on Writ of Certiorari to U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, Brief of Texas, Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Hawaii, Michigan, Nebraska, Puerto Rico and South Dakota, as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Written Testimony of Claire Oxley Gluck from Boerne, in Kendall County, re SB 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Written Testimony of Hazel Cotton of Texarkana, Texas re SB 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Written Testimony of Kathy Hicks of Texarkana, Texas re SB 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Written Testimony of Donald Giles of Texarkana, Texas re SB 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Written Testimony of Anita Privett, League of Women Voters of Texas, re SB 362</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXHIBIT INDEX (continued)

47. Written Testimony of Rosa Rosales, League of United Latin American Citizens, National President re SB 362 794 794

48. Written Testimony of Dustin Rynders, Advocacy Inc., re SB 362 800 800

49. Written Testimony of Marsha Correira re SB 362 804 804

50. Written Testimony of Rachel A. Hernandez re SB 362 817 817

51. 10/17/08 Article by Nelda Wells Spears, Voter Registrar, Travis County, entitled "40,000 Voter Registration Applications Processed in Time For Early Voting" 825 825

52. Written Testimony of Lydia Camarillo, SVREP Vice President, re SB 362 826 826

53. Written Testimony of Luis Figueroa, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), re SB 362 841 841

54. Written Testimony of Sylvia Mendoza re SB 362 848 848

55. Written Testimony of Dr. Rod Fluker, Sr., Executive Director for Texas Association of Black Personnel in Higher Education, re SB 362 861 861
P R O C E E D I N G S

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 2009

(12:38 p.m.)

PRESIDENT DEWHURST: Members, the Senate will come to order. Pursuant to a resolution previously adopted, the Senate resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole for the consideration of Senate Bill 362. The senator from Lubbock, Sen. Duncan, will please take the chair for the duration of the proceedings in the Committee of the Whole.

(Off the record: 12:38 p.m. to 12:42 p.m.)

SEN. DUNCAN: The Committee of the Whole Senate will come to order. The secretary will call the roll.

ROLL CALL NO. 1

SECRETARY SPAW: Averitt?
SEN. AVERITT: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Carona?
SEN. CARONA: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Davis?
SEN. DAVIS: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Deuell?
SEN. DEUELL: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Duncan?
SEN. DUNCAN: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Ellis?
SEN. ELLIS: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Eltife?
SEN. ELTIFE: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Estes?
SEN. ESTES: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Fraser?
SEN. FRASER: Here.
SECRETARY SPAW: Gallegos?
SEN. GALLEGOS: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Harris?
SEN. HARRIS: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Hegar?
SEN. HEGAR: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Hinojosa?
SEN. HINOJOSA: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Huffman?
SEN. HUFFMAN: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Jackson?
SEN. JACKSON: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Lucio?
SEN. LUCIO: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Nelson?
SEN. NELSON: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Nichols?
SEN. NICHOLS: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Ogden?
SEN. OGDEN: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Patrick?
SEN. PATRICK: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Seliger?
SEN. SELIGER: Here.
SECRETARY SPAW: Shapiro?
SEN. SHAPIRO: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Shapleigh?
SEN. SHAPLEIGH: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Uresti?
SEN. URESTI: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Van de Putte?
SEN. VAN de PUTTE: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Watson?
SEN. WATSON: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Wentworth?
SEN. WENTWORTH: Here.
SECRETARY SPAW: West?
SEN. WEST: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Whitmire?
SEN. WHITMIRE: (Indicated presence)
SECRETARY SPAW: Williams?

SEN. WILLIAMS: (Indicated presence)

SECRETARY SPAW: Zaffirini?

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: (Indicated presence)

SEN. DUNCAN: The Chair present.

SECRETARY SPAW: Mr. President?

PRESIDENT DEWHURST: (Indicated presence)

SEN. DUNCAN: A quorum is present.

OPENING INSTRUCTIONS BY SEN. DUNCAN

SEN. DUNCAN: Members, before we get started, I wanted to kind of briefly discuss how we will proceed here. And I think you all know the resolution gives the Chair the power to allow time limits. Many of you have wanted to bring and begin with invited testimony, and those would be persons with expertise that can help the body understand the issues involved in the legislation that we are about to consider, and that will be honored. Each side has submitted a list of witnesses, and I assume the order of those witnesses is available to us at this time.

After the author of the bill is recognized to lay out the bill, then I will recognize the proponents' first witness, their expert in support of their bill. And then after that, we will go in
alternating order so that then those who are in opposition to the bill, if they want to bring witness expert or invited witness in, then we would go in that order.

So, in other words, we'll have one for and one against, one for and one against as we go through. There are several of those witnesses. I believe there are eight witnesses that have been identified by those in opposition to the bill, and there are about seven that have been identified for those in favor of the bill. So we will move that on.

The Chair will impose on each one of those witnesses a 10-minute time limit. However, Sen. Van de Putte indicates that they have one witness that may take longer than that. And if you'll approach the bench before, or the dais before that person comes on, Sen. Van de Putte, we will adjust that time limit to accommodate the concerns that you raised.

Members, I'm going to refrain from recognizing any member to interrupt a witness during their initial time limit. In other words, we will allow the witnesses to complete their testimony, and then you can ask questions after that. You will be recognized in order of your pressing your call button on your desk.
And I will remind each and every one of you, we have a number of guests who are here today, or members of the public who wish to testify as well, and they have been here since about 8 o'clock in the morning and they would like to testify on this bill. And so what we are trying to do is accommodate their interest as well.

I know that you all have important questions to ask of the invited witnesses, but I would ask you to keep in mind that we have members of the public who have also traveled here from other cities and other areas of the state that would like to have their voices heard today as well. So if we could respect that as well.

Once we conclude with the invited testimony, then we will start the process for public testimony. The Chair intends to impose a three-minute time limit on public testimony. As with invited witnesses, the Chair will not entertain any questions of the witness until they have completed their three-minute testimony or concluded prior to the three minutes.

As the persons have enrolled to testify, the resolution requires -- and I think our rules have always required -- that before a witness can testify,
they sign an affirmation that is more or less an oath, or is an oath before they testify. Persons who have been filling out their cards have been doing that all day long, and we have a procedure in there for them to sign up to testify.

It's my understanding that the Secretary of the Senate has done a nice job of preparing instructions for them on how the process will work. And they have been given written instructions on how they will be called. It is the Chair's intention to call the witnesses in the order in which they arrived and registered to be witnesses today. Each one of those cards was given a number, and those witnesses will be called in order.

And there is always a problem with witnesses who are not available at the time they're called. We will have witnesses hopefully in the gallery. The gallery is not full. So if you know you're going to testify and your number is fairly close, you should be in the gallery. We also have an overflow room in the auditorium. Everybody has been instructed as to that. It's the Chair's intention to call witnesses in advance of their being on the floor, and they are to report in the back hallway. And then there is a process for security and a process for
admitting them to the floor.

We will have them come through here and

give us testimony in an orderly fashion. And if

someone does not arrive at the time their name is
called or within 30 minutes of their name -- let me
repeat that and be clear. If a witness does not
arrive within 30 minutes of the time their name will
be called, then they will lose their opportunity to
testify. So we're going to try to be very flexible in
trying to allow people time to get here. But we need
to be able to stay on schedule and move -- and respect
every other witness' right to be heard.

Time limits are -- I think all of our
committees observe time limits. At least the ones
that I serve on do. And time limits are not designed
to limit the testimony that witnesses have to say;
it's designed to allow everyone who has presented to
testify, if possible. And so what I'm concerned
about, in putting a time limit in, is that people
understand that your time limit is based on the fact
that there are many people that want to testify, and
so we need to allow them to have their opportunity as
well.

Finally, we had a little discussion
about this in the discussion on the resolution when we
were in session. The rules of decorum of the Senate will be enforced. And that means for those in the gallery, that we -- the rules of the Texas Senate do not permit clapping or applause, when we're in a deliberative session like this, do not permit clapping, applause or demonstrations. There may be times when you wish to be excited about something you agree with or disagree with, but it is inappropriate in the Senate chamber to express that. There will be no placards or billboards or things dropped over the rail. Any of that will subject the person doing it to being expelled from the Senate gallery.

And I'm sure it won't come do this, but if it comes to this, it comes to a point in time to where, after warning, the gallery generally is not observing the rules of the Senate with regard to decorum, well, then, the Chair would entertain a motion at that time or may, on sua sponte, request that the gallery be cleared. The only reason I say that is, is that the decorum and the ability to hear witnesses and to deliberate in a professional way on this is very important. And those rules were designed to allow us to do that, and they will be enforced.

So those in the gallery and those watching on TV, please understand that. I would hate
to have to make a ruling or to have anyone removed from the gallery, but we will need to do that if it gets out of hand.

I need to clarify that the witnesses should report to the front of the chambers. And I always am confused about east, west, south, north or front or back. But the front of the Senate chambers, that would be the west doors next to the witness registration desk, and that would be the door that's closest to the rotunda in our Texas Senate.

Members, I want to introduce to you today our court reporter, Aloma J. Kennedy of Kennedy Reporting Service. She is an independent certified shorthand court reporter, and she will be taking down the testimony today. So it will be necessary for either me or you to identify yourself in the record whenever you speak or rise to testify or rise to ask a question.

I'll probably just recognize you by name, and the court reporter will get that. Because the court reporter is a human being, we will need to take a rest every now and then for her to rest her fingers and arms, because she has a hard job. Normally with a court reporter, every hour and a half to two hours, and I'll let her kind of give me a
signal whenever she is ready to take a five-minute break.

Members, that's more or less the -- those are the issues and those are kind of the way we're going to run things. So having explained that, the Chair lays out Senate Bill 362 and recognizes Sen. Fraser to explain the bill.

**OBJECTION TO FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF SB 362**

**SEN. WEST:** Mr. Chairman?

**SEN. DUNCAN:** Sen. West, for what purpose?

**SEN. WEST:** Objection on further consideration -- any consideration of Senate Bill 362 in that it violates Rule 11.18 and also would raise Rule 11.10. Rule 11.18 is, "No bill may be reported to the Senate before it has been the subject of an open public hearing before a committee or subcommittee."

My specific objection deals with the notice. "Notice of the hearing on the bill must be posted in a public place at least 24 hours before the hearing is to begin." The posting of notice on this particular bill was at 6:22 p.m. on March the 9th; therefore, any consideration before that would be in violation of that rule.
SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. West, bring your point of order forward.

(Off the record: 12:55 p.m. to 12:58 p.m.)

SEN. WEST: Mr. Chairman?

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. West, for what purpose?

SEN. WEST: Mr. Chairman, for further clarification on my point of order for further consideration of this bill at this time, I would raise Rule 13.04. 13.04 governs the procedure in a committee of the whole: "The rules of the Senate, as far as applicable, shall be observed in Committee of the Whole Senate."

And then I would raise our Rule No. 11.18 as relates to the posting of the bill being at least 24 hours before the hearing is to begin. And specifically the notice of the hearing must be posted in a public place.

And then also I would raise Rule 11.10 in terms of the, "No committee or subcommittee, except a conference committee, shall meet at least without 24 hours public notice."

(Off the record: 12:58 p.m. to 1:14 p.m.)
SEN. DUNCAN: Members, a point of order has been raised. Rules 11.10 and 11.18 do not control meetings of the Committee of the Whole and are inapplicable. 13.01 reflects the Senate's manifest right to resolve itself into committee of the whole at any time after the morning call. The Senate has resolved into the Committee of the Whole by Senate resolution. The Chair may neither call a meeting of the Committee of the Whole or schedule a bill for hearing.

Article XI, standing and special committees operate without direct day-to-day supervision of the Senate. Standing and special committees have the ability to meet, subject to the call of the chair so long as the Senate is not meeting.

Committee of the Whole presents the obverse situation to standing and special committees. The tag rule is intended to give each member 48-hour written notice of the time and place of a public hearing of standing and special committees. The rules directly conflict with Rule 13.01 and the Senate's right to resolve into the committee of the Whole at a moment's notice if the Senate so desires. Every member of the Senate is a member of the Committee of
the Whole, having equal rights of notice and participation.

Your point of order is respectfully overruled.

SEN. WEST: Mr. Chairman?

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. West, for what --

SEN. WEST: Parliamentary inquiry. So that I can understand this, under Rule 13.04, it says that, "The rules of the Senate, as far as applicable, shall be observed in the Committee of the Whole . . ."

So by your very ruling, you're saying that the posting notice to the public is a rule that the Committee of the Whole does not have to abide by?

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, that would conflict with the ability in the rules of the Senate to resolve into a committee of the whole at any time it desires. So in its conflict, it would be inapplicable.

SEN. WEST: So public notice does not apply to the Committee of the Whole, even though we are taking substantive testimony on this issue?

SEN. DUNCAN: Public notice laid out by the rules that you have cited does not.

SEN. WEST: Okay. So for future generations of legislators, specifically the Senate,
posting notice does not apply to the Committee of the Whole? That's essentially the ruling? Let me ask this question: Once . . .

SEN. DUNCAN: Go ahead, Senator.

SEN. WEST: You have cited Rule 13.01 that talks about resolving. Is resolving synonymous with hearing a bill?

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, the Senate can resolve for whatever purpose it desires.

SEN. WEST: Right. And the question is, you cited in your ruling that 13.01 provides the basis for your ruling. And as I understand it, resolving is coming into the Committee of the Whole, hearing a bill that's separate from resolving. It's a separate act than just resolving.

SEN. DUNCAN: Well, Senator, we can resolve for any purpose, and the purpose was to hear the bill. Moreover -- and I will remind you that a courtesy posting on the date, time and location of the hearing was performed over a week ago, which is well in advance of any public notice that would be required of a standing committee. And so the only change that you have referred to was a courtesy posting that was done yesterday with regard to the change of time that occurred whenever there was a motion to adjourn until
10:00 instead of 9:00, and so we're talking about an
hour's difference here. So, again, I think that we
have resolved by resolution of the Senate to deal with
this. The Senate certainly was in session pursuant to
the constitution and the rules of the Senate.

SEN. WEST: Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman. But
the broader question, though, is one of resolving and
hearing the bills and whether or not public notice of
bills that are to be considered by the Committee of
the Whole are required by the Senate rules.

I mean, essentially you're saying that
the Committee of the Whole, by your ruling, that we
don't have to provide the public notice, there is
no -- we don't have to deal with transparency as
relates to considering bills in this committee, we can
just do it at our own whim, and that's inconsistent
with everything we've been doing in this body in terms
of transparency. If I'm wrong about it -- I just want
to make sure the record is clear.

And historically, Mr. Chairman, when we
have had bills in the Committee of the Whole, we have
provided notice to the public so that the public could
be here like they are now. And what I'm hearing today
is, is that that notice provision is not applicable
anymore as a result of the ruling of the Chair. I
mean, correct me if I'm wrong.

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, we are resolved into a Committee of the Whole by the resolution we adopted which laid out the bill that was to be considered. As a result, we thought we were following the rules by resolving into a Committee of the Whole which would apply at any time we so desire; therefore, the rules that you're citing to would conflict with the ability of the Senate to freely resolve into a Committee of the Whole to more informally discuss and debate witnesses -- or the issues, including the invitation of witnesses to come in and testify, as we have done here.

SEN. WEST: Does it also conflict with Rule 13.04?

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, 13.04 provides the -- it provides for the conflicts that may occur with the concept of committee of the whole and other rules, by saying that the rules of the Senate apply, if applicable. And if they conflict -- where they conflict, those rules wouldn't apply.

SEN. WEST: And this is my last question. So you're saying that the notice provision, the notice to the public concerning legislation at the Committee of the Whole will take up conflicts, with
the Committee of the Whole's right to resolve?

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, the way the Committee of the Whole operates and the design of that from time immemorial would -- giving the Senate the ability to resolve into itself as a Committee of the Whole to informally debate an issue at any time it desires would conflict with those posting rules.

SEN. WEST: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Mr. Chairman?

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Shapleigh, for what purpose?

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: During the Senate portion of this, before we got into committee, we had a discussion there about some housekeeping matters that I think we need to make very clear for this record. This portion is being kept for the official record by a stenographer hired by the Senate. Is that correct?

SEN. DUNCAN: That's correct.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: And for the purposes of the official record, should it be transmitted to any third party, we have agreed that the stenographer's record may be utilized?

SEN. DUNCAN: I'm not sure I understand your question. Would you repeat it?
SEN. SHAPLEIGH: If we have to establish the official proceedings of what's happened here today for, for example, the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C., the record that is being made by the stenographer whose equipment is there and who sits in Patsy Spaw's office can be used to establish that record?

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, it's my understanding that this will be a record that can be used to establish the record of the testimony that is given to the Senate, and the debate.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Now, for the purposes of making sure that we have the record to send, I would like to talk a little bit about the procedure for the Secretary of the Senate to take documents and keep them to append to the record. We've had discussions already about several documents, the letters to and from Sen. Van de Putte and yourself, the letter to AG Abbott, the notice of the posting that Sen. West was talking about, and this green Texas Senate agenda. Am I to understand that if we want these made a part of the record, we can deposit them with the Secretary of the Senate?

SEN. DUNCAN: I would suggest that you do that, but I would also suggest that you identify...
and just move to put them into the record so that you have a clear marker of where they are and at what time they came in so that whoever is reading the record will have an opportunity to relate the documents to the testimony.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Well, at this time I would like to, with your permission, mark and deliver to her Exhibits 1A and B, Sen. Van de Putte's letter to you and your response to her; as Exhibit 2, her letter to AG Abbott; as Exhibit 3, the notice of the posting time that Sen. West has talked about; as Exhibit 4, the Senate agenda that was distributed today; and Exhibit 5, the signed tag that brought this point of order to the Chair.

SEN. DUNCAN: Your evidence is received.

(Exhibit Nos. 1 through 5 marked and admitted)

SEN. DUNCAN: And it may be that what we would do is just keep a numerical order of those exhibits when they come in. But I put the challenge on you to make sure that you get them marked and submitted to the Secretary so they get into the record appropriately.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Thank you.

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Gallegos, for what
purpose?

SEN. GALLEGOS: Parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. Chairman, in lieu -- on the ruling on
Sen. West's -- what he asked for, I want to appeal the
ruling of the Chair on this issue.

SEN. WILLIAMS: Mr. President?

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Williams of Harris --
or Montgomery, rather.

SEN. WILLIAMS: I would move to table
the motion that Sen. Gallegos just made.

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Williams,
Sen. Gallegos.

(Off-the-record discussion at the bench)

SEN. WILLIAMS: Mr. Chairman -- or
Mr. President -- or Mr. Chairman, I guess I should
say.

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Williams.

SEN. WILLIAMS: Mr. Chairman, I
respectfully will withdraw my motion to table. As I
understand, it's not appropriate to have a motion to
table an appeal to the ruling of the chair in
committee. However, I also believe that the rules
provide that that motion would be in order were we on
the floor. So it's my mistake. I withdraw my motion.

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Williams withdraws
his motion to table. Sen. Gallegos sends up an appeal to the ruling of the Chair.

Sen. West, for what purpose?

SEN. WEST: Out of all due respect, Mr. Chairman, I'm trying to figure out what rules apply and what rules don't. And if we could just get some idea of what Senate rules are going to apply and then, you know, all of us will know exactly what the rules are.

So I just need to know what rules apply. I thought the Senate rules applied. But again, there's some wiggle room in there, and I just want to know how to proceed. As an example, the Attorney General -- well, I'll come back to that. But again, I just need to know what rules apply as it relates to -- you know, we can do anything we want to do, we can resolve and pretty much do what we want to do. I'm trying to figure out why his motion wouldn't be honored.

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, currently we are in the motion of -- Sen. Gallegos has a motion to appeal before the body. You have a parliamentary inquiry. Why don't we handle that as those issues come up. Let's go ahead and deal with the appeal of the ruling of the Chair that has been raised by
Sen. Gallegos.

Sen. Gallegos, you're recognized to speak on that.

(Brief pause)

SEN. WENTWORTH: Sen. Gallegos, you're recognized to argue in favor of your motion.

SEN. GALLEGOS: Mr. Chairman, the reason for my appeal is that evidently the rules are unclear on what rules that we're going by on major legislation, I think and I believe that the Senate rule should be applicable to major legislation, such as the bill that is trying to be laid out before us, that any major piece of legislation under the Senate rules, the ones that Sen. Royce West said. And I've got another tag on similar rules, that I believe that the Senate rules are applicable to major legislation that's heard on this floor, whether it be Committee of the Whole or regular Senate committee hearings.

And that is why, you know, until we find out what rules that we're working on, I believe that the rules of the Senate should be applicable to this bill here, and that's why I'm appealing the ruling of the Chair.

SEN. WENTWORTH: Okay. Members, a motion -- I'm sorry. The Chair recognizes Sen.
SEN. WILLIAMS: Mr. Chairman, I would like to speak on Sen. Gallegos' motion that's before us.

SEN. WENTWORTH: You're recognized.

SEN. WILLIAMS: Thank you.

Respectfully, Sen. Gallegos, I would encourage you to read the rules that we have on the Committee of the Whole. And before I made this rule change at the beginning of the session, I very carefully looked at the rules of the Committee of the Whole. And we also considered how that has worked, because I wasn't familiar with it, quite frankly.

And it's clear to me, after reading this and other documents that relate to parliamentary law, that a ruling other than what the Chair has made would put the body in conflict with itself. The purpose of the Committee of the Whole is to allow the body to dissolve into that committee and consider important matters before the entire body.

And to require that the posting rule apply before we could do that would be to restrict the body's inherent ability to dissolve into the Committee of the Whole. And so the standing committee rules, as I understand it, don't apply universally to this
proceeding that we're in.

And I think it would be a grave mistake for this body to try to impose upon ourselves a posting rule so that if there's some important matter that we need to consider in an informal basis like a committee hearing, is not as we hear it on the floor, it would unnecessarily restrict our ability to do so.

And there are many examples in our history as a Senate where we have resolved into the body of the whole and considered bills and legislation without posting those things. So respectfully I just wanted to point that out to the body, Mr. Chairman.

SEN. WEST: Will Sen. Williams yield?

SEN. WILLIAMS: I yield.

SEN. WENTWORTH: Sen. West, for what purpose?


SEN. WENTWORTH: Do you yield to Sen. West?

SEN. WILLIAMS: I yield.

SEN. WENTWORTH: He yields.

SEN. WEST: Sen. Williams, I recognize that oftentimes we resolve and we don't post to take up -- we resolve into the Committee of the Whole to take up issues. But in this instance, we decided to
post, follow the Senate rules and post. And then we decided to repost. And now we're hearing that posting is not applicable to the Committee of the Whole. And that's why I'm taking so much time on this, given the issues of transparency that the public demands and I know that you support.

The issue in my mind is, is that once we set up and make this ruling, we're now telling the public, we're now telling the State of Texas that this committee can take up legislation without giving the public notice. That's what we're saying.

SEN. WILLIAMS: Well, Sen. West, respectfully, I think you turn the intent of the posting rule on its head with your logic. And if the purpose of the posting rule is so that the public can have adequate notice, there is no argument that can be made. This has been widely disseminated over the Internet, in the popular media.

And, in fact, the posting here was merely a courtesy. The purpose of the posting rule is not primarily to notify the public. The primary purpose of the posting rule is to make sure that the other members of the body know what's going on when you have a standing committee that comes together and it's subject to the call of the chair.
It is an important secondary thing that we also give notice to the public. But I don't think you can reasonably argue that the public wasn't aware of what proceedings were going to be taking place. We have over 100 witnesses that have testified. And surely you don't think, because it wasn't posted in the back hall, that somebody didn't show up for this meeting.

SEN. WEST: Sen. Williams, I understand your logic. And, frankly, I'm kind of baffled by it. The reality is, is that the decision that y'all are going to make today is that the posting notice does not apply to the Committee of the Whole. That's this argument. And the reality is, is that when you decide to post, there is a certain amount of things that we have to do according to our rules. There are certain rights and privileges and all of that that are tied to that posting. When you repost, it resets the clock; it resets the clock.

Here is the way I look at it: The reality is this -- and you and I had this debate, you and I had this debate when we were going through the rules change -- you guys -- the majority of the body decided to change the rules. Okay. And you have the votes, you have the gavel, you change the rules. And
that's fine. I can deal with that. But those are the rules.

I'm just saying, let's make certain that, given the rules that we now have, that all of us can apply those rules to this situation. And when we sit up and say that the Senate of the whole -- the Senate can resolve itself into the whole committee and these rules, posting is not applicable, I think we need to think about it.

I understand that we're dealing with issues, you know, voting issues that was always something that was very divisive in this body. But what I'm saying to you, as my desk mate and as a colleague, we're got to really think about the decision that we're making today saying that when we take up these types of issues, that posting should not be applicable.

SEN. WILLIAMS: Sen. West, I appreciate the courtesy that you've shown me in explaining your side of this. And what I would politely try to point out to you is that I don't believe that we are today deciding that the posting rule doesn't apply to the Committee of the Whole. That has been decided a long time ago.

SEN. WEST: When was it decided?
SEN. WILLIAMS: That is a part of the body of parliamentary law that exists already. And it is in the spirit of what's in the rules that relate to the Committee of the Whole and the purpose. So, yes, we're reaffirming that that doesn't apply today. And the mere act of giving public notice does not then subject you to a rule that didn't apply before. And I think that's the ruling that the Chair has made, and I think correctly so.

Thank you, Sen. West.

SEN. WEST: Look forward to the vote.

SEN. WENTWORTH: The Chair recognizes Sen. Lucio of Cameron County.

SEN. LUCIO: Will Sen. Williams please yield for a question?

SEN. WENTWORTH: Sen. Williams, you yield?

SEN. WILLIAMS: I yield.

SEN. WENTWORTH: Sen. Williams yields.

SEN. LUCIO: Thank you, Sen. Williams. I think all of us will agree that rules are important to this process and if we're not to follow them, then as a point of clarification, maybe you could tell me what other rules do not apply to this extraordinary piece of legislation?
SEN. WILLIAMS: Well, Sen. Lucio, it wouldn't be appropriate for me -- I'm not presiding over this -- it wouldn't be appropriate for me to presume the role of the chair of this Committee of the Whole. I think it's up to his discretion on that. And I think that my -- I'll leave it to -- rather than say "to his discretion," I think I'll leave that to the Chair to make those rulings as the issues come forward.

My response was really centered at -- since the issues that Sen. Gallegos raised when he explained his appeal to the ruling of the Chair. And I would reiterate again that it's not my belief that all of the standing committee rules apply to the Committee of the Whole, that we should not restrict ourselves on the ability to resolve into the body of the whole. It is designed for the Senate to be able to rapidly take up an issue with everyone involved. It is a unique situation, much different than a standing committee is.

And so there is a long history, as I said, of this body resolving into the Committee of the Whole to consider matters, resolutions and legislation where no posting was done whatsoever. And to say that the mere act of giving public notice then subjects you
to that rule is to turn the Senate rules on their
head, in my opinion.

SEN. LUCIO: Well, but, you know, they
shouldn't have been posted, then if that would have
been the case, in my opinion, as well. You're a very
good student of the rules, and that's why I asked this
question. I think we need to revisit the rules, and
we need to rewrite the rules so it can be very clear
and not have to waste the public's time next time we
have a proceeding as such.

SEN. WILLIAMS: Thank you, Sen. Lucio.

SEN. WENTWORTH: Sen. Van de Putte.

SEN. VAN de PUTTE: Thank you,
Mr. President. I would like to speak -- appeal -- and
not maybe particularly at Sen. Williams, but he brings
up some very interesting comments. According to our
Senate rules on 13.04, "The rules of the Senate, as
far as applicable, shall be observed in the Committee
of the Whole Senate."

So as far as applicable. And although
this question on this appeal is about posting, we
don't post when we go into Committee of the Whole.
And probably, as Sen. Williams has said, because we
don't know when we're going into the Committee of the
Whole. We don't know when we're going to go back into
the Committee of the Whole and resolve to talk about
the Easter vacation schedule and whether we should be
off on Holy Thursday and Good Friday. And although
that is important, it is about the logistics and the
work schedule.

This is very different. When the rules
of the Senate were changed on the first week of the
session, it was done so to circumvent our normal
two-thirds rule on one particular issue, voter ID.
And because there is a bill -- this is a legislative
bill -- it is not the Senate resolving to talk about a
holiday schedule; it is not the Senate that is
resolving to talk about should we go and attend
someone on the Senate, their parent's funeral and the
logistics for that; it is not the Senate resolving to
plan the retirement party for our former secretary of
the Senate, Betty King.

Those are the things that we do because
it is the business of the Senate. This is the
business of the people. And we are going to add
another barrier to the basic right to vote; and, yet,
by the ruling, we are going to say the people have no
business knowing that we're going to take up a
legislative bill.

And so maybe for the purposes of this
appeal -- this is special. You made it special. You said this was more important than anything else. And so we are taking up -- and maybe the posting is not -- Sen. Williams, I vehemently disagree with you. The posting is not for our convenience. We're here; we have staff. We know when we're going to meet. It is for the public. It is because we are going to add barriers to their basic right to vote, but they ought to have the posting if the Senate is going resolve into the Committee of the Whole to change the way and the possess that they vote. It is their business.

And so this is very different from the Committee of the Whole resolving to discuss a work schedule or to plan a party or to make funeral arrangements. This is the people's business. And I would ask you to think on this appeal. What we are saying is that when there is legislation before the Committee of the Whole, that we don't have to give notice.

Although notice was given -- and it is very much appreciative -- to have this ruling set in our Senate rules for the senators that may not even be born yet, is a terrible precedent. It shuts the public out. So because of the special order and because we're meeting in the Committee of the Whole
for one bill that was deemed so important that it
couldn't go by regular Senate rules, didn't go to the
Committee of Jurisdiction, we changed that.

But we ought to at least afford the
public the opportunity to know, in future generations
when they're about to be asked, to change how they
vote and what processes are used. And so when I ask
you to think about the appeal, don't think about us,
think about all the wonderful Texans here who always
exercise their right to vote.

SEN. WENTWORTH: The Chair recognizes
Sen. Williams.

SEN. WILLIAMS: Thank you.

Well, Sen. Van de Putte, respectfully, I
would say they're here. People from both sides of the
issue are here. And I think the effect of Sen.
Gallegos's appeal would be to send them home so that
they couldn't participate in this process today.

SEN. WENTWORTH: Members, Sen. Gallegos
has appealed the ruling of the Chair. The Secretary
will call the roll. A vote of "Aye" --

SEN. GALLEGOS: Mr. Chairman?


SEN. GALLEGOS: May I -- I want to reply
to Sen. Williams, if I may.
SEN. WENTWORTH: The Chair recognizes Sen. Gallegos.

SEN. GALLEGOS: Sen. Williams, you know, I respect your remarks. And let me just say what my colleagues have already told you in their remarks. You said it's a unique situation. It is. And you said that there was Internet postings, the media that has posted so, you know, everybody is supposed to know.

Well, I beg to differ with you. This is an issue that is unique because you made it unique when we passed that resolution that completely did away with the two-thirds rule. So when you said it's a unique situation, it is, because only -- and only on this issue do we do away with the two-thirds rule that has always been a tradition of the Texas Senate.

And let me remind you, Senator, that we got elected here, everybody on this floor, to notify and at least let our constituents know what's going on here. And I will be the last one to say to them that I'm going to depend on Internet postings and the media to post, you know, this unique bill that you have made unique by the resolutions that we passed earlier this session and doing away with the two-thirds rule on this issue.
So I would really tell you, 

Sen. Williams, that the only really way to tell the people that elected you and me about this unique situation that we have on this floor today is by public posting, something that we were elected to do, to tell them -- not the Internet, not the media or anybody else, or the grapevine or whatever else you want to call it.

It's a public posting; that's what it is. And I will refer in my appeal to the rules that Sen. Van de Putte did, 13.04. And it says, "The rules of the Senate, as far as applicable, shall be observed in Committee of the Whole Senate." And also on Rule 20.02, it says, "The President's ruling is subject to appeal to the entire Senate."

And that's what I'm doing right now, Mr. Chairman and Sen. Williams. With all due respect, I do appeal the ruling of the Chair.

SEN. WENTWORTH: All right. Members, Sen. Gallegos has appealed the ruling of the Chair. A vote of "aye" will sustain the Chair; a vote of "nay" will overturn the Chair.

The Secretary will call the roll.
ROLL CALL NO. 2

SECRETARY SPAW: Averitt?
SEN. AVERITT: I confirm.
SECRETARY SPAW: Carona?
SEN. CARONA: (Indicated "aye" vote)
SECRETARY SPAW: Davis?
SEN. DAVIS: Nay.
SECRETARY SPAW: Deuell?
SEN. DEUELL: (Indicated "aye" vote)
SECRETARY SPAW: Duncan?
SEN. DUNCAN: (Present, not voting)
SECRETARY SPAW: Ellis?
SEN. ELLIS: (Indicated "nay" vote)
SECRETARY SPAW: Eltife?
SEN. ELTIFE: (Indicated "aye" vote)
SECRETARY SPAW: Estes?
SEN. ESTES: (Indicated "aye" vote)
SECRETARY SPAW: Fraser?
SEN. FRASER: Aye.
SECRETARY SPAW: Gallegos?
SEN. GALLEGOS: (Indicated "nay" vote)
SECRETARY SPAW: Harris?
SEN. HARRIS: (Indicated "aye" vote)
SECRETARY SPAW: Hegar?
SEN. HEGAR: (Indicated "aye" vote)
SECRETARY SPAW: Hinojosa?

SEN. HINOJOSA: (Indicated "nay vote"

SECRETARY SPAW: Huffman?

SEN. HUFFMAN: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Jackson?

SEN. JACKSON: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Lucio?

SEN. LUCIO: (Indicated "nay" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Nelson?

SEN. NELSON: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Nichols?

SEN. NICHOLS: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Ogden?

SEN. OGDEN: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Patrick?

SEN. PATRICK: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Seliger?

SEN. SELIGER: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Shapiro?

SEN. SHAPIRO: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Shapleigh?

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: (Indicated "nay" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Uresti?

SEN. URESTI: (Indicated "nay" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Van de Putte?
SEN. VAN de PUTTE: (Indicated "nay" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Watson?

SEN. WATSON: (Indicated "nay" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Wentworth?

SEN. WENTWORTH: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: West?

SEN. WEST: (Indicated "nay" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Whitmire?

SEN. WHITMIRE: No.

SECRETARY SPAW: Williams?

SEN. WILLIAMS: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Zaffirini?

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: (Indicated "nay" vote)

SECRETARY SPAW: Mr. President?

PRESIDENT DEWHURST: (Indicated "aye" vote)

SEN. WENTWORTH: There being 19 ayes, 12 nays and one present, not voting, the ruling of the Chair is sustained.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Mr. Chair?

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Shapleigh?

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Welcome back.

SEN. DUNCAN: Thank you.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Can we make that vote,
since we don't have electronically recorded votes, an
Exhibit 6?

SEN. DUNCAN: Yes, Senator. I think all
votes should be made part of the record, and they are
part of the record.

Sen. Fraser. The Chair recognizes
Sen. Fraser to lay out Senate Bill 362.

SEN. GALLEGOS: Mr. President?
SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Gallegos, for what
purpose?

SEN. GALLEGOS: Mr. Chairman, I want to
tag this Senate Bill on Ruling 11.19 on 48-hour notice
to all Senate members, and I believe that's 11.19.

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, bring your point
of order forward.

SEN. GALLEGOS: My tag is already up
there.

(Brief pause)

SEN. GALLEGOS: Mr. President, I would
move to tag the bill and request a 48-hour notice to
all Senate members pursuant to Rule 11.19.

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, are you rising on
a point of order?

SEN. GALLEGOS: I'm tagging the bill.

SEN. DUNCAN: Let me rephrase the
question. I think you would have to raise a point of order on further consideration of the bill, based on the tag.

SEN. GALLEGOS: Well, I raise the point of order to disallow any further consideration of Senate Bill 362.

SEN. DUNCAN: Okay.

SEN. GALLEGOS: And I have done that in reference by submitting a tag to the Secretary of the Senate.

SEN. DUNCAN: Thank you, Sen. Gallegos. For the reasons previously stated in the prior point of order raised by Sen. West, your point of order is respectfully overruled.

SEN. GALLEGOS: Thank you, Mr. President.

SEN. DUNCAN: Thank you, Senator.

SEN. WEST: To make sure the record is clear --

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. West.

SEN. WEST: Parliamentary inquiry.

Sen. Gallegos, as well as some other members of the Senate, filed a motion to tag for further consideration of Senate Bill 362. Your ruling would be the same as it relates to that motion, to tag also?
There were two motions to tag filed.

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, the interpretation and the basis for the overruling of Sen. Gallegos' motion and your motion and a motion with regard to the tag rule would be that the rules do not apply -- are not applicable, and I've made that ruling. And that would be -- the ruling would be consistent with the earlier ruling I made on your motion.

SEN. WEST: Okay. And I just wanted to make certain that we're basically dealing with all the tagged motions that were up there. So tagged rules don't apply to a committee whole either when we're taking up substantive legislation? And that's, in essence, the ruling?

SEN. DUNCAN: Senator, for the reasons that we explained earlier and I think for the reasons that were abated by the Senate and prevailed in the appeal, that the tag would not apply, the tag rule would not apply to the Committee of the Whole.

SEN. WEST: Thank you.

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Fraser, you are once again recognized. You have the floor with regard to laying out Senate Bill 362.
LAYING OUT OF SENATE BILL 362

SEN. FRASER: Thank you, members. The three-minute rule is in effect.

I've been sitting here for four hours waiting to lay this out. And, actually, we have a lot of discussion about how I should lay this out, discussion on it. And I think the bill speaks for itself. And I am going to be very brief, probably three or four minutes, and allow the witnesses to move forward, because I think we've wasted enough of the public's time and that we should move forward with hearing from the witnesses.

Members, this bill, I think probably most of you are going to be very familiar with it. It's something we've talked about a lot. Someone back a while ago when we were having lunch asked me the question, said, "How did the talk about this bill get started"?

And I actually came back and sat down, and I've got probably, interestingly, more research and more reading and debate on this bill maybe than one I've ever done, because I'm very interested in the concept. But I think probably if you track it back in our nation's history, is that we look at the ongoing threat of voter fraud that this country has addressed
really since the start, it goes all the way back.

And we've got many places where we look. One of them would be Tammany Hall, possibly the Kansas City Pendergast machine. Here in Texas, we probably should look no further to the 1948 Senate race when the Duke of Duval delivered 201 of the 203 registered voters in Box 13 in Jim Wells County in the race between LBJ and Coke Stevenson. Maybe we refer back to Mayor Richard Daley's Chicago machine in the 1960 presidential election where it was alleged that at least one in every 10 votes potentially was a fraudulent or illegal vote, and including multiple votes by the dead that continues throughout our Texas history, even looking at the activity over the indictments and the convictions over the last several years, clarifying that voter fraud not only is alive and well in the United States, it's very alive and well in Texas.

And I think that brings us forward to why we're here today. I believe the danger of the voter fraud has threatened the integrity of the entire electoral process for the entire history of the United States.

In 2005, I think a lot of you are familiar with the fact that the Federal Election
Commission asked a bipartisan commission, and they went out and they tried to get someone to head that up from what I'll call the left, the former President of the United States, Jimmy Carter, a Democrat president that had been the governor of a state, Georgia, that was a Section 5 Voter Rights Act state. They asked him to be one of the co-chairs of a bipartisan commission. Secretary of State James Baker was the other side. That Commission was put in place to look at voter fraud in the United States and come back with a recommendation of how we address that.

That commission in, you know, their reaffirming the danger said, "The elections are at the heart of democracy. Americans are losing confidence in the fairness of elections. And while we do not have a crisis today, we need to address the problems of our electoral system."

During that same time, the Supreme Court made a ruling in Purcell and Gonzalez stating the "Confidence in the integrity of our electoral processes is essential to the functioning of our participatory democracy. Voter fraud drives honest citizens out of the democratic process and breeds distrust of our government. Voters who fear" -- and I emphasize the word "fear" -- "Voters who fear their
legitimate votes will be outweighed by fraudulent ones
will feel disenfranchised. "[T]he right of suffrage
can be denied by a debasement or dilution of the
weight of a citizen's vote just as effectively as by
wholly prohibiting the free exercise of the
franchise."

It hit very close to home in 2003 when
we had a member of our body that I served with. My
chairman when I was in the House of Representatives,
Steve Wolens, a Democratic House of Representative
member and a chairman from the Dallas area, in 2003,
he laid out a bill and made a passionate plea to the
Legislature because he believed that through voter
fraud, that there had been an effort not only for him
but also his wife that was the mayor of Dallas.

And he says in the bill that he laid out
in his appeal, "Rigged elections in Dallas with people
harvesting votes have destroyed our" -- he said, "The
ability to cast a vote and have our vote counted is
the bedrock of our democracy. We must do everything
possible to ensure the sanctity of the vote in our
state. And as a society, we must not tolerate the
disenfranchisement of our citizens any longer in
accusing a group in a Democratic primary of rigging
the election and harvesting votes."
That same Baker Commission, the Carter-Baker Commission, in an editorial that President Carter and Baker co-wrote, said, "At the end of the day, there is considerable national evidence of in-person voter fraud. And regardless of whether one believed that voter impersonation is widespread or relatively rare, there can be no serious dispute that it is a real effect that can be substantial, because in a close election, even a small amount of fraud could make the margin of difference."

In 2005 that bipartisan commission that was created by the election reform, recommended that a fair, a free and fair election requires both ballot security and access to voting. "We as a commission have offered to bridge" or "a proposal to bridge the partisan divide by suggesting a uniform voter ID."

That recommendation came from a former President of the United States, had been put on a commission by the Federal Election Commission. The recommendation came because of a concern about voter fraud. And he recommended in 2005 that we develop a program for a uniform voter photo ID. The bill that I lay out today is in response to that.

Senate Bill 362 is really pretty straightforward. It's nothing more than when I walk
in to vote and I lay out my voter registration, that
that person across from me can recognize that I am who
I represent to be, that I am that person on the roll.
And I feel I have an obligation to represent that I am
a legal living person that has the right to vote and I
am that person on that roll.

Under Texas law today, we do not have
that ability. We're going to have witnesses come
forward today, and they're going to tell you about
cases. I have questions that I'm going to ask, and
one of the ones is going to be to the Secretary of
State. We're going to ask about if, when we go into a
voting booth, if someone could impersonate me and
steal my vote and what they could do about it.

And I think a lot of you are going to be
shocked at what our current law in Texas is today.
Without a doubt, there is the ability in Texas from a
lot of different directions or a different way for
someone to steal your identity, your right by your
voter registration and can vote, identify themselves
as you.

The Baker Commission -- and I'm sorry.
Let me back up a second and say one of the other
things that you're going to hear today is that we have
representatives from Indiana and Georgia. After the
Baker Commission recommended that the photo ID be implemented, one of the first states to do a strict photo ID was the State of Indiana. Theirs is very straightforward. It says that the citizens, when they vote, will show a photo ID. If someone doesn't have a photo ID, the state will pay for it.

That law that was put in place actually was in place during the 2006 election, and then again in the 2008 election. It has withstood the challenges through the court system. And this last year, the U.S. Supreme Court confirmed a decision on the Indiana bill in a majority opinion that was giver by John Paul Stevens, which is generally considered a moderate to left-leaning justice. He issued the majority opinion, and the opinion was six to three confirming the voter ID bill for Indiana.

Since then, there have been two election cycles. I'm not going to go into the results of that, because we have someone from Indiana that is going to testify to that. But I think it's going to clearly show that instead of somehow discouraging someone to vote, it did just the opposite, that the vote total -- in fact, I'm going to go ahead you give you those, because I think they're very important.

In Indiana over the last two election
cycles, Indiana had the fifth largest increase of 
voter increase in the United States in the 2008 
election. In the Democratic votes that were cast, 
they were No. 1 in the nation. They were the largest 
increase of Democrat votes in the nation, even though 
next door in Illinois, where the presidential 
candidate was from, had no photo ID registration. 
Indiana had a strict photo ID registration. Indiana 
doubled the increase of Illinois. It clearly showed 
that there was not a suppression there.

Georgia, a Section 5 voter rights state, 
they also implemented a strict voter photo ID bill. 
This last election cycle, Georgia was the largest 
increase in vote totals in the nation. Of all the 
states, of the other states that did not have it, 
Georgia, after they implemented their photo ID 
legislation, had the largest increase in vote totals 
in the nation. And we have people from Georgia here.

I think probably a brief description of 
my bill, and we'll get into that. And if someone has 
questions about 362 and what my bill does, but it's 
really pretty straightforward. It just says that when 
someone goes in to vote, they have not only the choice 
of showing their photo ID, driver's license, but we're 
also giving them secondary choices, and those
secondary choices are a lot of secondary choices.

They could show their library card.

They could show any government piece of mail that was mailed to them. Basically anything that would show their identification as a secondary source of identification is going to be allowed under my bill. And when we start discussing that, I'll be glad to go over the list that is listed of things. But in Texas, the bill that we are laying out actually has a secondary choice. Then if someone doesn't have a photo ID, there is a secondary choice to identify themselves.

I should also clarify that we are only addressing the in-person voting; we are not addressing mail-in ballots, early voting, any of the other things in the election cycle.

I think I'm going to go ahead and close so we can start either the questions and/or bring in the witnesses. But I think it's important to note that in upholding Indiana's photo ID law, in the decision that was given by John Paul Stevens in his majority opinion, he stated, "Confidence in the integrity of our election process is essential to the functioning of our participatory democracy. Voter fraud drives honest citizens out of the democratic
process and breeds distrust of our government. Voters who fear their legitimate votes will be outweighed by fraudulent ones will feel disenfranchised."

We believe Senate Bill 362 goes a long ways for correcting that concern.

QUESTIONS FROM SENATE FLOOR

SEN. DUNCAN: Thank you.

Sen. Lucio of Cameron.

SEN. LUCIO: Thank you, Mr. President.

For a question.

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Lucio.

SEN. LUCIO: The request was made earlier today to see if we could have the Attorney General here to answer any legal questions we might have on this legislation. As I look around the chamber, I don't see the Secretary of State, my good friend Hope Andrade who I can -- well, who is the Chief Elections Officer of the state, as you well know. And I'm wondering if she will be present maybe to respond to any questions that the members might have, or the Department of Public Safety or any other agency that might come into play with this piece of legislation. Will that be the case?

SEN. FRASER: I'll address the first question first. The Secretary of State, I share your
interest in that. And, actually, when that person comes up, I have a lot of questions that I would like to ask also. Unfortunately, the Secretary of State, Hope Andrade, is on an airplane as we speak, out of the country. But the No. 2, the Assistant Secretary is here. Coby Shorter is over on the side right now and will be available for any questions that would come up.

Actually, that is one of my invited persons for questions. I have him scheduled in the mix. But I think any member that has a question of the Secretary of State's office would be free at any time for a resource.

The DPS, I have not personally asked them to be here to testify, but I believe probably they're monitoring this as we speak. And I would suspect if we wanted somebody from the DPS to answer questions about motor voter or any of those issue, I feel sure that we could get them over. I have not invited them.

SEN. LUCIO: Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, you also mentioned that voter ID proposal for bipartisan and serve the public interest by protecting the integrity of the ballot, and you also mentioned the Commission on Federal
Election reform that was co-chaired by former President Jimmy Carter and former Secretary of State Jim Baker supported laws that required voters to show a voter ID before voting.

I just want to ask you that, that in the days after the release of the commission's report, I'm informed that President Carter and former Secretary Baker stated in an op ed in the New York times that their intent had been misconstrued and clarified that until we have universal registration, we cannot make having such an ID be a condition of voting. Are you aware of that op ed?

SEN. FRASER: Tell me, where was that?

SEN. LUCIO: That op ed?

SEN. FRASER: What was the date on that?

Tell me the date on that, please.


SEN. FRASER: And I guess I would defer -- I obviously can't get in the minds -- and, by the way, we do have someone from that commission here that we can question, will be the second person that I will call up. And so you'll have the right to ask
them, because they're from that commission.

All I can go by is a newer -- you know, everyone has a right to, you know, their developing thoughts. But the newest thing I have on record was February 3, 2008. It was an op ed contribution, "A Clearer Picture on Voter ID" by Jimmy Carter and James A. Baker III, which I'm assuming -- February 3, 2008 is after September 23, 2005. So this would be their more current thoughts.

And in that current editorial that I have here in my hand, it said, "In 2005, we led a bipartisan Commission . . ." And I'm not going to read the whole thing, but it says: "We bridged a partisan divide by suggesting a uniform voter photo ID." And this is February 8 (sic), 2008.

SEN. LUCIO: 2008?

SEN. FRASER: 2008. Yours is 2005. So I don't know what to say, other than my story is three years newer than yours.

SEN. LUCIO: Well, I guess they changed their minds after two thousand --

SEN. FRASER: Everybody gets to change their mind. All I know is that this is the most current thing that I have on file. But that was a op ed contribution to the New York Times February 3,
2008, you know. I'm --

SEN. LUCIO: Thank you very much, Senator.

SEN. FRASER: Thank you.

SEN. WATSON: Mr. President?

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Watson of Travis.

SEN. WATSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just want to ask a couple of questions.

And first, let me say that I think you and I probably agree that there is not a senator in this room that doesn't want to protect the sanctity of the ballot box, regardless of how they might feel about 362.

SEN. FRASER: I would share we, without a doubt -- we've had this conversation -- is that I think we both have the same intent, is that neither one of us want voter fraud and we would do anything we could to stop voter fraud in Texas. And I think that's --

SEN. WATSON: Nobody wants --

SEN. FRASER: I think we agree with that.

SEN. WATSON: Nobody wants voter fraud.

And there may be some disagreements about how we go about that. Let me ask a couple of questions about
the bill. And first let me mention something about
the Carter-Baker Commission. I'm not sure there was a
change in opinion. But what they said in that
February 2008 is, they were looking for a universal
voter identification. Is that correct?

SEN. FRASER: I believe the term was
"uniform" --

SEN. WATSON: Uniform.

SEN. FRASER: -- "voter ID." And,
actually, what they suggested --

SEN. WATSON: Was REAL ID.

SEN. FRASER: -- is that the federal
government would issue a photo ID to every person in
the United States.

SEN. WATSON: And what they've actually
indicated is that in order to be in favor of a uniform
voter ID, they believe that what needs to happen is,
the government would be in a position to give everyone
an identification so that you wouldn't run into
situations where there might be discrimination. Is
that correct?

Well, for example, they're affirmatively
said --

SEN. FRASER: They have affirmatively
said that somebody should pay for it, the federal
government or the states, but they would issue a photo ID.

SEN. WATSON: So that everybody would have a uniform identification?

SEN. FRASER: Exactly what I'm laying out in this bill.

SEN. WATSON: And I don't disagree.

SEN. FRASER: I --

SEN. DUNCAN: Senators, senators --

SEN. FRASER: I can answer you. Just a second.

SEN. DUNCAN: May I interrupt?

SEN. FRASER: Sure.

SEN. DUNCAN: You've got a court --

SEN. WATSON: Well, we're both interrupting. Why don't you?

SEN. DUNCAN: Well, no. I'm just trying to help you out. The court reporter can only type down one person talking at a time, and so you have a tendency --

SEN. WATSON: Fair enough.

SEN. DUNCAN: -- to talk over each other. So if you could observe that rule, it will help the record.

SEN. WATSON: And we do that even in
private conversations, I might add.

SEN. FRASER: Unfortunately, we are on the committee together, and this is a common occurrence, so we will have to try to control ourselves.

SEN. WATSON: I think you were the last one talking.

SEN. FRASER: The final statement, I think they say -- let me read this. Actually, it's interesting that the last -- this was in -- they were writing this in response, urging the Supreme Court to validate the Indiana law. And it says that -- they are suggesting that states should move to implement photo IDs gradually, that a free ID should be available. But they're also saying that the Supreme Court can lead the way on the voter ID issue by validating the Indiana ruling, which is the photo ID.

And, again, it's the thing I just read. It will move ". . . our national leaders and the entire country to bridge the partisan divide on a matter that is important to our democracy." The Supreme Court should ". . . support voter ID laws that make it easy to vote but tough to cheat," from their editorial.

SEN. WATSON: And they had indicated --
I'm sure we'll hear some other testimony about this. But the Carter-Baker Commission had indicated that they believed the way Georgia had set theirs up was discriminatory in part because the government wasn't, as you just indicated, making it easy for people to be -- all people to be able to get a uniform identification.

SEN. FRASER: They want it to be easy to -- their suggestion was have a photo ID, have someone pay for it, make it easy for them to get it. But they say, "Here is what we want to do. We want a voter ID law that makes it easy to vote but tough to cheat."

SEN. WATSON: Well, let's talk about what the current situation is so that we can be clear on what it is that we would be doing if Senate Bill 362 were to pass. Currently we have a form of voter identification in Texas. And what it is, is we have an identifying document that we call a voter registration certificate. Isn't that right? The state provides a voter registration certificate to those who register to vote?

SEN. FRASER: The answer to that probably is "Yes" and "No," is that the way we currently identify ourself when we go in is a voter
registration certificate. The problem with current law is, there is no way that that person that is behind the voting booth knows, "Are you really that person?" because -- hold on a second -- you know, there is nothing to say that I couldn't pick up my brother Steve's voter ID and walk in and lay it on the table and the -- we're going to ask the Secretary of State this -- but I think the procedure in law says identify:

Are you on the list? Yes.
Is this your correct address? Yes.
Are you in this precinct? Yes.
Here is your ballot -- even though I'm voting with my brother's card.

SEN. WATSON: I ought to give you a flag so I know when you're done. But, Senator, the point is, I want to try to set what the benchmark is for what is required now when someone goes in to vote. And when someone goes in to vote right now, as you just indicated, all they have to do is show that certificate. The election officer sees their name and sees that their name is on a list of registered voters, and then they're able to vote. Is that correct?

SEN. FRASER: Well, let me ask you --
the Secretary of State will clarify this. But if you're look in Section -- is 63.001?

SEN. WATSON: It is.

SEN. FRASER: -- of the election -- and if you've got it in front of you, you can read along. It says bring your card, registration card, hand it to them. They verify: Is the name on the card on the list? Is Kirk Watson on the card? Are they also listed as registered? Yes, it is. They say,

"Is this your current address?"

"Yes, it is."

"This is the proper precinct you're going to be voting in?"

"Yes, it is."

"Here is your ID (sic)."

SEN. WATSON: And then you get to vote.

SEN. FRASER: I mean, "Here is your" -- can I keep going, though? The interesting thing on this, though, is, Senator, that -- let me give you a hypothetical -- and we'll ask the Secretary of State to verify this -- is that let's assume that they mailed you your voter registration to your mailbox, but your next door neighbor saw them dropping it off and he walked over and picked it up out of box. And he beat you to the polling place. And he walked in
where someone didn't know who Kirk Watson was and he laid it on the table, and he said, "I'm Kirk Watson," and they went through all those scenarios, that person would be given a ballot and would vote for you, that put it in the pile. And they would walk out the door, and that vote would count in the selection. Now, we'll verify with the Secretary of State that that's correct, but I believe that's the way it happens right now.

SEN. WATSON: And that really wasn't my questions. So let me ask my --

SEN. FRASER: I'm practiced with a lawyer where you don't answer the question that was asked.

SEN. WATSON: I notice you've been trying to do that. Let's just walk through what the process is and the change in the law. Currently all that is required is to show the certificate, walk through the way you just did, and then you can vote. Senate Bill 362 changes that.

And it says that while you would still submit the voter registration certificate and that part is the same, it then adds the requirement that in addition to the current standard practice or procedure of presenting that voter registration certificate, you
must also submit either a picture identification or
two types of other identification that’s listed in
Senate Bill 362.

SEN. FRASER: Senator, I guess I would
ask you -- I'm assuming -- you travel a lot. You've
flown since 911?

SEN. WATSON: I'm not sure how that is
answering my question. Is that what your bill does or
doesn't do?

SEN. FRASER: I'm saying that this is
going to be a whole lot like -- even if you were
getting a library card, they're going to say, "We need
a form of photo identification, and they're going to
do -- like they do at the airport, they're going to
look at the card, they're going to look at you,
they're going to look back at the card and say, "Yes,
you are the person that you are pretending," or "you
say you are. You" -- Kirk Watson is the person on the
photo; kirk Watson is the person on the registration
files. And the answer is yes, that would be the way
this would work.

SEN. WATSON: So the answer is yes, that
there is an additional requirement so that people who
could vote under the current voting standard practice
and procedure will be precluded from voting if they
don't meet these new requirements. Is that correct?

SEN. FRASER: I'm sorry. I was talking to staff. Ask that again, please.

SEN. WATSON: People who could vote under the current voting standard practice and procedure will be precluded from voting, if Senate Bill 362 passes, if they don't meet those new requirements?

SEN. FRASER: No one is going to be precluded from voting. Everyone that walks in -- under 362, every person that walks in to vote will be allowed to vote.

SEN. WATSON: If they meet the new requirements?

SEN. FRASER: Every person that --

SEN. WATSON: That's provisional balloting.

SEN. FRASER: -- walks in --

SEN. WATSON: Is that what you're talking about?

SEN. FRASER: Every person that walks into the registration to vote can vote. No one will leave the voting place without being able to vote.

SEN. WATSON: Let me ask my question differently. If they don't -- if someone walks in
today, under 362 -- let's say 362 passes -- and they
don't have the new requirements that are set forth in
362, they will not be able to vote a regular ballot
the same way people today, with just a voter
registration certificate, are allowed to vote a
regular ballot?

SEN. FRASER: Okay. If someone walks in
and -- I think right now the data is showing the last
year of the people that signed up, 98.5 percent of the
people that registered to vote had a driver's license
and they registered that way. So if they didn't have
that, if they're one of that one or two percent that
did not have a driver's license, they have a long
laundry list of things that they could use to identify
themselves to show that they are, in fact, who they
say they are. If for some reason they didn't have any
of that, they will be given a ballot. The ballot will
be marked a provisional ballot, and then we will have
the ability then to identify: Are they who they say
they are? So the answer is no, they're not going to
leave without being able to vote.

SEN. WATSON: And maybe I didn't ask my
question well and so you didn't understand it. My
question is, under 362, if they don't meet the new
requirements, there will be people that otherwise
today would be able to vote by just showing a voter registration certificate that will not be able to vote a regular ballot. Is that correct?

SEN. FRASER: Everyone leaving the polling place will be able to vote.

SEN. WATSON: But it may be a provisional ballot. Is that right?

SEN. FRASER: Provisional ballot, though, once they verify their identification and they show that they are who they say they are, the vote counts. So the answer is, everyone that leaves will be able to vote.

SEN. WATSON: Let me ask you a question about the statistics you just mentioned. Do you have any data regarding the racial composition of those people who are currently in Texas that are without a driver's license or other photo ID?

SEN. FRASER: Unfortunately, no, that data is not, I don't think, readily available. If it is, no one has given it to me. All I can go by is the number -- they gave me the raw numbers of who had a photo ID that was registered in, you know, the last year. 2006 is the latest number. And of those, you know, you had 1.5 percent of the population that registered to vote that it appeared didn't have or
1. didn't offer their driver's license up as a deal. So
2. it's a very small segment, and I don't believe they
3. broke down the racial composition of that.

   SEN. WATSON: Where did that data come
4. from?

   SEN. FRASER: DPS, motor voter.

   SEN. WATSON: DPS. And how many people
5. would that be?

   SEN. FRASER: I may need to correct
6. that. I stand corrected. That came from the
7. Secretary of State's office. It was the total number
8. of people registered with a Texas driver's license.
9. I'm sorry. I stand corrected.

   SEN. WATSON: Let me make sure I
10. understand the number that you're indicating. What
11. you're indicating is that of the total population
12. that's registered to vote, the Secretary of State's
13. office is providing data that says 98.5 percent of
14. those have a driver's license?

   SEN. FRASER: I don't think I said that.

   SEN. WATSON: Okay. Well, that's what
15. I'm trying to find out. I want to be clear what you
16. said.

   SEN. FRASER: Okay. Well, let's do it
17. again. Last year, in 2006, the number of people that
registered to vote in 2006, that registered to vote that year, of those totals, there were 2,419,188 that registered with a driver's license. There were 37,490 that didn't use their driver's license to register.

SEN. WATSON: So that would not --

SEN. FRASER: So that --

SEN. WATSON: That wouldn't be taking into account any long-time voters who might no longer have driver's licenses or have allowed their driver's license to be expired for more than two years or that nature. Is that correct?

SEN. FRASER: I actually have that data, too.

SEN. WATSON: Good. Why don't you give that to me.

SEN. FRASER: Total number of people on their staff -- now, have to keep in mind that some of these people that have been on the rolls for 30, 40, 50, 60 years, some of this has changed. And so some of them that signed up, once they were okayed and identified, they stayed on the roll and they didn't have to add it.

My mother would be a good example, but she didn't get her driver's license until well into her married life. On her registration form, she is
not registered as showing to have a photo ID; but, in fact, I do know that she has one. The ones in the records that show that, they show that there were 5,601,000 that have a license. The ones that neither numbers show up, either social security number or voter ID, 809,000. So in their records, it's about 88 percent of the people, in their records, give the driver's license as their identification source. There's 12 percent they don't know about. But in that, the assumption is, a great many of those now have a photo ID, people like my mother.

SEN. WATSON: But we don't know what that number is?

SEN. FRASER: We don't know for sure.

SEN. WATSON: And how many people are we talking about when we talk about 12 percent?

SEN. FRASER: Well, in the records, they have 809,041 that they don't have in their records a number registered, but they also readily will admit that those records are very outdated because what happens when someone is registered, as soon as they're approved as a registered voter, they don't ever have do go through this again. So --

SEN. WATSON: Right.

SEN. FRASER: You can't automatically
make the assumption that there's 809,000 people that
don't have it. I think the belief -- probably one of
the things that we may be having a lot of these
questions you're asking that could be answered by
other states. Georgia has a very close makeup of the
way our population is made up. Indiana is a little
different. But in those cases -- I think the
registrar of both of those states are going to be
here, and they're going to tell you they went through
the cycle and identified the ones that didn't have it.
And I believe they're going to tell you they were
shocked at how few people didn't have a photo ID.

SEN. WATSON: Well, one of the things
that I think we need to be concerned about before we
vote on this floor is whether or not, when the changes
that you propose get made, whether or not that's going
to have a negative impact on certain populations. And
the 12 percent that you're talking about there, the
800,000 to a --

SEN. FRASER: The unknown category.

SEN. WATSON: The 800,000 to a million
people, do we know what the racial breakdown is of
that? Do you know how many African-Americans, how
many Hispanics, those that speak only Spanish?

SEN. FRASER: I'm not advised, because I
don't -- at least I don't remember on the -- I can't
remember on either the driver's license and/or the
voter that it had a place in there to click, you know,
Anglos.

SEN. WATSON: Are you familiar,
Senator, with any statistical analysis that's been
done regarding the potential effect of Senate Bill
362's new requirements on African-Americans?

SEN. FRASER: A lot of what I'm at least
observing, you will hear today from Indiana and
Georgia, two states that implemented it. And they're
going to talk about the people that voted in the
racial breakdown before they implemented it and after
they implemented it and what happened in --

SEN. WATSON: Again, I would --
SEN. FRASER: So I think -- what I'm
hoping to do is have facts speak for themselves.

SEN. WATSON: Well, and I'm looking
forward to that. I'm saying you, though, with regard
to your bill, Senate Bill 362, are you familiar with
any data or study that's been done with regard to some
sort of statistical analysis concerning the effect of
the new requirements of Senate Bill 362 on -- and I'll
just mention a couple of populations -- African-
American population, Hispanic, people making less than
$35,000 a year, people who speak only Spanish, any statistical analysis of the effect of these new requirements on those people?

SEN. FRASER: Well, I guess the assumption would be, the people in Texas, even though we're independent, we're also a whole lot like the people in the rest the nation. Those statistics are available nationwide, because we already have this being implemented other places. We're going to have witnesses that are going to testify to that. And I think you're asking a subjective question that we have objective data that is available that the witnesses are going to lay out. You're asking have I done that? The answer is no, but I am pulling data from the academics that have done that and have delivered back.

SEN. WATSON: As it applies to Texas?

SEN. FRASER: Well, you assume it would apply to Texas, if they're citizens of the United States. And, you know, I don't know why it wouldn't apply.

SEN. WATSON: Well, so that I'm clear, what we can expect to hear is data related to states other than Texas. But you're not familiar with any statistical analysis that's been done regarding the impacts or effects of the new requirements of Senate
Bill 362 on minority populations in the State of Texas?

SEN. FRASER: Actually, Senator, you're going to hear some testimony from some people from the major cities in Texas and things that have happened and what, you know, possibly they believe. But I don't know that I can answer your question.

SEN. WATSON: All right. Fair enough. Let me ask a quick question about funding under this. Can you point me in this bill, Senate Bill 362, where there is any provision to educate voters about this change requirement for more identification?

SEN. FRASER: Do you see the section that says "Education" --

SEN. WATSON: Yes, I do.

SEN. FRASER: -- "Voted Education"?

SEN. WATSON: And tell me -- what that says is that the Secretary of State and voter registrars are going to put it on their website. Is that correct?

SEN. FRASER: Yes.

SEN. WATSON: Is that the only education that's identified in this bill?

SEN. FRASER: We are anticipating a -- you know, we're going to have to educate not only the
registrars, the poll workers, we're going to have posting outside of the voting place of the requirements of this. I would assume one of the things that you're going to ask is, in Ohio and Georgia, both that they had mailers to the voters talking about these changes. Obviously, the specifics of that are not included in this bill. But as a member of the Senate and assuming this bill passes, that I think I am assuming everyone in this body would be sympathetic, that we should include some funding to make sure that voters are educated.

SEN. WATSON: So you anticipate that there would be some fiscal note to this bill?

SEN. FRASER: Well, no. This bill only has -- it has no fiscal implications.

SEN. WATSON: And that's because there's no money put into it for any of the things you just talked about in terms of educating voters?

SEN. FRASER: And again, if there was education, obviously, the education, depending on how much education it was, there could either be no fiscal impact or it could be some. Again, you're being subjective.

SEN. WATSON: All right. I'm not sure that's the case, but let me make sure I'm clear.
Under the current bill, there's not any ability to educate the voters about these new requirements, other than that it would be posted on the Secretary of State's or a county voter registrar's website.

SEN. FRASER: We would -- actually -- let me ask a question of staff.

(Brief pause)

I think the question you're asking is that every time a registration card is sent out, there will be an explanation with that registration card, which I'm assuming you're calling the education part of that. So the answer is yes, there will be an education go out when the registration cards are sent out. So a person's --

SEN. WATSON: So if somebody registers newly, they'll get that information?

SEN. FRASER: I get a registration card every two years.

SEN. WATSON: So every time that -- what you're suggesting is, that's going to be -- the substance and sum of the education will be on new registration cards?

SEN. FRASER: And, quite frankly, you're getting into an area of the technical part of the way this would be administered by the election division.
In the bill we do specify that when a registration card is sent out. All I know is, I get one every two years, I get a new registration card. It couldn't be real difficult in that to include an explanation of this bill, what will be included, and make sure that they understand that whenever they show up at the polls, you need to do this.

So the answer of -- the language of the bill says that is anticipated. Now, the actual agency itself that administers, the Secretary of State's office, I think probably would be the one to answer that question.

SEN. WATSON: And we don't know -- you don't know, as we stand here today, how much that costs?

SEN. FRASER: What it will cost? Well, right now we have given them funds to send out that registration card. And if all they're doing is putting another piece of paper in that registration card, I just can't imagine that they can't take care of it out of their regular budget.

So I think where you're trying to go -- will there be an appropriation for that? -- I don't anticipate that that's necessary. But you're a member of this body. And if you want to recommend that,
after this bill passes, that if you want to offer up
to the Appropriation Committee and talk to Chairman
Ogden, I think you have every right to do that. I
can't speak for the Secretary of State the way this
will be administered.

SEN. WATSON: Well, I'm just accustomed
to when bills come into committee, we tend to know or
are supposed to know what the fiscal note is at that
time so that we don't vote on something, only to later
have a new fiscal note come in.

SEN. FRASER: Did you get a copy of the
fiscal note?

SEN. WATSON: Yes, and it said zero.
SEN. FRASER: There is your answer.
SEN. WATSON: Well, and what that means
is, there's going to be little education, and we'll
talk about -- Chairman Duncan has made a good point,
that the court reporter has now been going -- and
while you and I may be enjoying our repartee, she
probably needs a break.

So with the Chair's permission and with
Sen. Fraser's permission, I'll be more than happy to
yield the floor for the time being so that we can take
a break for the court reporter.

SEN. DUNCAN: Thank you, Sen. Watson.
And, members, we'll stand at ease for 10 minutes. We'll go back in at exactly 2:50. (Recess: 2:42 p.m. to 2:56 p.m.)

SEN. DUNCAN: The Committee of the Whole will come back to order. Sen. Watson.

SEN. WATSON: Mr. Chairman, I'll yield for other staff's questions, so we can move forward.

SEN. DUNCAN: All right. Sen. Shapleigh.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Thank you, Mr. Chair. If I may, some questions of the author.

SEN. FRASER: I would love to answer questions.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Senator, you, in laying out your basis for filing this bill, talked extensively about the Carter and Baker Commission. Do you remember the year that commission -- when they issued their report?

SEN. FRASER: Senator, there is a reference in the forward to the report that I believe says 2005. And I'm assuming the Commission was formed that year, and I'm assuming they also issued the report. But I'm also going to punt on that one, because we have someone from the Carter-Baker
Commission that is here, that if we can get past these
questions and get to our witnesses, I've got people
that can answer that question a lot better.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Okay. You quoted from
their words in an op ed article. And what I would
like to do is give you a copy of an op ed article that
they put in The New York Times one week after issuing
the report, so that we can talk about what their
intent or what they thought about this report. You
have their -- what we just pulled off what Sen. McCain
would call the Google, an editorial from Jimmy Carter
and James Baker themselves dated September 23, 2005,
which was the week after they produced this report.
And I would like you to, if you would, see if I'm
reading this correctly.

"This week, we issued a report that
bridges the gap between the two parties' perspectives
and offers a comprehensive approach that can help end
the sterile debate between ballot access ballot
integrity. Unfortunately, some have misrepresented
one of our 87 recommendations. As a result, they have
deflected attention from the need for comprehensive
reform."

"Since we presented our work to the
president and Congress, some have overlooked almost
all of the report to focus on a single proposal - a
requirement that voters have driver's licenses or
government-issued photo IDs. Worse, they have
unfairly described our recommendation.

"Here's the problem we were addressing:
24 states already require that voters prove their
identity at the poll - some states request driver's
licenses, others accept utility bills, affidavits or
other documents - and 12 others are considering it.
This includes Georgia, which just started demanding
that voters have a state-issued photo ID, even though
obtaining one can be too costly or difficult for poor
Georgians. We consider Georgia's law discriminatory."

Are these the same guys that issued the
report that you're relying on?

SEN. FRASER: And I guess I would remind
you that the Georgia law, they're a Section 5 voter
rights state, and they were approved. As of
February 8, 2008 of this year, I believe they were --
that final appeal was -- you know, they ruled with
Georgia. And Georgia's act -- both was approved
through DOJ, approved through Section 5 and was
approved through the courts.

Again, I don't -- all the things that
you're asking, you address several different issues
that we have witnesses here that actually know the
details of this. You're asking me, from 2005, to get
in either President Carter or James Baker or staff or
the other 21 members on the commission, what was in
their head then and what was in their head in 2008
when they released the article to The New York Times,
the guest editorial. I think those would be better
answered by our witness that is here that is sitting
in the back waiting to testify. We also have Indiana,
and we've got those Georgia people. There's two from
Georgia that will tell you how this impacted their
voters, including minorities.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Let's go if we can --
do you have the fiscal note on this bill, the one that
came with our packet? I'm looking at the last
paragraph that describes the costs in this bill and
what the anticipated fiscal note might be.

SEN. FRASER: I've got it. What are you
referring to?

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Well, when you look at
the top, it says "No fiscal impact implication to the
state is anticipated." Is that correct?

SEN. FRASER: That is correct.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: And when we look at the
bottom, after it describes putting up a website which
would be part of the state's obligation, then at the bottom it says, "Based on responses from a sampling of election authorities and county clerks, fiscal impact from implementing provisions of the bill would vary by county. Costs would include at a minimum those for printing signs to post at each polling place, which would not be significant. Other potential costs would be associated with additional training and posting information to the county website. Again, those costs are not expected to be significant. One smaller county response anticipates that the new provisions regarding casting a provisional ballot would require hiring additional staff, resulting in a moderate to significant cost."

Now, my question is, where is the training going to be done? Who will do the training with respect to those that will administer and enforce the rules that you propose to pass today?

SEN. FRASER: And I will tell you again that we have an expert resource witness that can answer that question, that if we can get on with the testimony, that the persons we have here I think are prepared to answer that question.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: But as the author of the bill -- and your intent is important in
establishing this -- in this fiscal note, there is no money for training at the state level, that in this fiscal note it's contemplated that locals in a broad verify of the polling places around the state would be responsible for the training under this bill. Is that correct?

SEN. FRASER: My intent of this bill is to establish a system of voter identification to try to eliminate fraudulent voting and would be implemented by the Secretary of State. The fiscal note to the bill is like we always do on every piece of legislation. It is sent back in. And the fiscal note, as delivered back to the members of the Legislature, it says there is -- no significant fiscal implication to the state is anticipated.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Okay. Well, let's get down, if we may, to a "Yes" or "No" answer. The fiscal note on your bill says, "Each county clerk would be required to provide a session of training using the standards adopted by and the materials developed by the Secretary of State as soon as practicable as well." Is that your intent under the bill that you drafted?

SEN. FRASER: I guess I would refer you back to the bill itself. We've got the training
section, the wording of the bill. If you would like -- I'll read it to you if you would like for me to. But the wording of the bill is the instruction to the Secretary of the State and the counties. And then the Secretary of State would be -- I think it's their job to implement. But, again, the expert witness can answer that.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: In your opening, in talking about the need for this bill, you referred to Cooke County, you referred to LBJ and Duval County. Are you aware of and do you personally know Royal Masset?

SEN. FRASER: And I guess I would ask what Royal Masset has to do with Cooke County?

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Well, nothing. But your examples came from other places to lay the basis for the need for this bill. And my question is, do you know, were you aware that Royal Masset was the political director of the Republican Party for 15 years?

SEN. FRASER: Well, I guess the fact that I recognize that his name is Royal "Ma-say" rather than Royal "Mas-et" would give some indication that I know Royal "Ma-say."

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: So if Royal "Mas-et" in
something that was posted online last time this bill came up, who was the political director of the Republican Party, if he were to say, "Anyone who says all legal voters under this bill can vote," doesn't know what he was talking about and, "Anyone who says that a lack of IDs won't discriminate against otherwise legal minority votes" is lying, do you have any way -- do you have any way of determining why he would say that?

SEN. FRASER: I have no input.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: If Royal Masset were quoted in this account as saying, "In my involvement with over 5,000 Republican candidates, I have never seen one case of Republicans committing voter fraud," do you have any idea why he would say that?

SEN. FRASER: I am not advised.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: If Royal Masset said in his quote, "When voting in America is only allowed to healthy and wealthy people than (sic) the America I know is far sicker than my mother. House Bill 218" -- which is the bill that came up last session, identical I believe to the bill that you're carrying -- "is a direct descendent of poll taxes, and of allowing only white male property owners to vote. In its effect it is racist, barbaric, antidemocratic and contrary to
everything that made America great."

Do you have any idea why a former political director of the Republican Party would make that statement?

SEN. FRASER: No other advice other than to say that the three sources that I quoted in my opening remarks, two were Democrats and one was a left-leaning Supreme Court Justice that all make, you know, comments the other direction. And, actually, Rep. Steve Wolens commented about the fraud and the voter harvesting that happened in a Democratic primary. So I'm assuming people on both sides of this issue have opinions.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Now, I think -- I thought I heard you mention the name Karl Rove as one --

SEN. FRASER: I don't think I mentioned Karl Rove.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Okay. Let me ask, are you personally, other than the hearsay statements from Steve Wolens and others, are you personally acquainted, do you know of any voter fraud, you yourself?

SEN. FRASER: Well, the hearsay statements, those were actually statements by Steve
Wolens he made -- I think he made those on the House
Floor in laying out his bill, so I don't think those
are hearsay. He represented them as facts.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: In connection with your
investigation and your desire to pass this bill, did
you talk to the Attorney General of the State of
Texas?

SEN. FRASER: Ask that question again.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: In your investigation
of this bill as you worked it up, did you consult with
the Attorney General of the State of Texas?

SEN. FRASER: I guess I need a clear
question. You know, what -- "consult" is a very broad
lawyer term.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Did you talk to him?

Did you ask him about voter fraud?

SEN. FRASER: I talk to the Attorney
General quite often on a full range of issues.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Did you talk to him
about this issue?

SEN. FRASER: I have talked to the
Attorney General about a wide range of issues.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Did you talk to him
about voter fraud and the nature, scope and extent of
it here in Texas?
SEN. FRASER: No.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Okay. Were you aware that he did a rather extensive investigation searching for voter fraud in Texas and spent approximately $1.4 million on that investigation?

SEN. FRASER: I guess I would dispute the statement that you just made, is that the Secretary of State was giving an appropriation of $1.4 million that they used in the special investigation, unit investigation. Within that $1.4 million, it came from federal funds that were spent on election fraud. The issues they used that on was the Eldorado YZF Ranch case, the Texas Youth Commission, the hurricane-related rapid response efforts, the market manipulation and penny stock fraud case, the ERCOT case, the cyber case, (inaudible) unit, identity theft, public corruption, money laundering and election fraud.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Okay. So I'm looking at Attorney General Greg Abbott's press release from March of 2006 where he announces, "In Texas, an epidemic of voter fraud is harming the electoral process and it's time we rooted it out." Do you recall when he launched that investigation?

SEN. FRASER: I do.
SEN. SHAPLEIGH: And reading further in his press release, "At first glance, these might seem to be like isolated events in far-flung towns. Step back and the picture looks just as sinister as it did 60 years ago. For example, Texas has long been a haven for paid political operatives who target seniors and the disabled to handle their mail-in ballots for them. Many of the cases referred to my office by the Secretary of State fall into this category."

Do you remember that press release?

SEN. FRASER: And I think you're going back and addressing the case of the Steve Wolens' bill that he filed on the mail-in ballots, and I don't think that particular issue has anything to do with Senate Bill 362. My bill relates to the voter identification issue when we're investigating --

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Well, I --

SEN. FRASER: I make reference to the Wolens bill because it is part of the fraud history and voter fraud. But the investigation you're talking about has nothing to do with the bill we're laying out right now.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Well, here is his press release. Here is the title of it: "Helping Stamp Out Voter Fraud in Texas." That's exactly what you're
bringing forward today. Right? Is that what you're
trying to address in your bill?

SEN. FRASER: Could we get a copy of
that? You're referencing something. We're looking
through. And for some reason -- is all the
information we have. For some reason I can't find
that one. We thought we had them all. But I'm sorry.
I don't have that one.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Okay. This is his
press release off of the website when he launched his
investigation in March of 2006.

SEN. FRASER: And, Senator, out of
fairness, I don't regularly go to the Attorney
General's website to read every press release that
comes out. So I'm sorry, I don't --

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: I understand. But
you're bringing a bill and you led this Senate to
believe and you're laying out the case for widespread
voter fraud in the State of Texas. And we've had, to
my knowledge in the last two years, one major
investigation by the Attorney General of the State of
Texas. And I want to get into exactly what that
widespread voter fraud looks like after that
investigation. That's where I'm going. That's what I
want to find out.
So in this press release, he's laying out the basis for widespread voter fraud, and he launched -- his investigation spans, as you say, among other things -- investigating other issues, $1.4 million. And by my account here, that investigation produced exactly 13 indictments. Twelve of the 13 were minorities; nine, Hispanics; three, African-Americans. Thirteen of 13 of the indictments were Democrats. Now, do you have any reason to dispute those numbers with us here today?

SEN. FRASER: Yes, I do. The exact numbers are 30 suspects, 22 that have already been prosecuted.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: In terms of the indictments, when he brought the indictments --

SEN. FRASER: Indictments on 30 suspects.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: How many of those were minority?

SEN. FRASER: I'm not advised.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: How many of those were Democrats?

SEN. FRASER: I'm not advised. I don't know that they asked him what their --

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Well, do you have any
witness here today who can confirm how many of those
were minorities and how many were Democrats?

SEN. FRASER: I have not called a
witness, you know, for that. It's possible that -- we
have two people from the registrar's office in
Houston, and I know Houston was one of the places that
had a problem. And I would suggest that you ask the
expert witness from the Houston registrar's office. I
suspect they probably would have some information.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Well, I think this
issue of that investigation is the proof that we have
of how widespread fraud is in the State of Texas. I
think we have a perfect right to ask those questions.
And I want to know if you as a chairman will
participate with us in getting a live witness that we
can ask about those cases on this floor?

SEN. FRASER: And I'm being advised --
let me just confirm.

(Brief pause)

I'm being advised that the Attorney
General's office is willing to answer your question,
to clarify the questions you have.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: And will that Attorney
General bring us, with time to review the file on each
of these 13 indictments so that we can determine for
ourselves and can effectively cross-examine him or her on the real nature of these cases? Will we have that file in time to really do the job we need to do to get at the heart of this massive voter fraud that we have in the State of Texas?

SEN. FRASER: You know, I don't think that the indictments on those -- we're in a case that the ability to game the system by representing yourself as someone else. I've got one area of the voter fraud in this that we're addressing, and it is voter ID, identifying that when you walk in for in-person voting, you are who you say you are.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: In connection with the indictments brought, even your number, which differs from my number, did a single one, would a single indictment have been resolved by this photo ID or were they all mail-in ballots or other issues?

SEN. FRASER: I am not advised. My goal on this is to look at the law itself, of implementing, people identifying themselves for the ability to vote. We were looking at the Indiana law that is a strict photo ID, the Georgia law that is a strict photo ID that have been in place, Indiana for two election cycles, Georgia for the last. And we're going to hear from expert witnesses of how that not only didn't
suppress voting, it actually increased voting because it increased voter confidence.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: So are you aware of any other investigations, other than what Attorney General Abbott has done here in Texas, with respect to voter fraud?

SEN. FRASER: I'm not advised.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: So if we hear from this witness that's going to come here and share with us the nature and extent of voter fraud in the State of Texas, and not a single one relates to photo ID, will that make a difference in the way you prosecute this bill?

SEN. FRASER: Again, we're going to have the expert witnesses come forward. But I think what you're going to hear is the case -- or the example that I used with Sen. Watson of someone stealing his identification, going and voting and, you know, representing themself as Kirk Watson and being able to vote.

I think what you're going to hear -- and I don't want to put words in the mouth of the Secretary of State or the other witnesses -- but I think you're going to find that it is extremely hard to identify and even harder to prosecute those cases,
because we have a huge flaw in Texas law. We have not
given them the ability to even identify that someone
is breaking the law. And if you can't identify
they're breaking the law, then prosecuting that person
becomes even harder. So I think the point that's
going to be made through the testimony on this is that
we have a huge deficiency in current law in
identifying voters when they come for in-person
voting.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: You had mentioned and
laid out some statistics on those that have photo IDs
in the State of Texas and said that your information
came from the DPS. Is that correct?

SEN. FRASER: I don't think I
represented anything came from DPS. I think the data
we had I represented came from the Secretary of State.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Okay. Are you aware of
any other data from Texas with respect to those that
hold photo IDs that are of voting age?

SEN. FRASER: Help me with that. I --

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Well, for example, are
you aware of, say, the Texas Conservative Research
Institute's finding -- the Texas Conservative
Coalition Research Institute finding that 37 percent
of Texas residents over the age of 80 do not have a
driver's license?

(Brief pause)

SEN. FRASER: I'm not advised. And I don't think, unless they called every one of those people, they could verify that. My mother is over 80 and she still has a driver's license, I believe, but she votes by mail.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: So which is the number, the number that the Texas Conservative Coalition Research Institute has for us, 37 percent don't have a driver's license, or the number that you're bringing to us?

SEN. FRASER: I don't think I brought anything forward.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Okay. Thank you, Senator. I look forward to another --

SEN. FRASER: You're cutting me short. You told me that I would be here till midnight on your questionings.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: We've still got eight hours.

SEN. FRASER: That's enough time.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: We're ready.

SEN. FRASER: Thank you.

SEN. SHAPLEIGH: Thank you.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Thank you, Mr. President.

SEN. FRASER: Is this a test to see if I really have this information in the books?

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Yes, it is. I'm going to ask you questions about Page 218, Line 4, and what it's on.

SEN. FRASER: The book that I shared with you --

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Yes.

SEN. FRASER: -- and showed you all my data.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: It's a wonderful book, and I congratulate you and your staff for developing such thorough information, very impressive. My staff is not happy to know about it, however.

Sen. Fraser, you were the Senate sponsor of House Bill 218 that never made it to the Senate floor in 2007. Correct?

SEN. FRASER: That is correct. I was the sponsor of the --

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Do you know the main differences, if any, between the bill that you sponsored in 2007 and the bill that we are considering
today regarding voter ID?

SEN. FRASER: I'm going to clarify with staff. I think I know the answer, but . . .

(Brief pause)

I'm being advised that the bill that we're filing is very, very close. There are very, very small changes in the bill.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Well, that's what I thought. I looked at the two bills and I looked at the two bill analyses and I looked at the two fiscal notes. But what surprised me more than anything is that the bill that we considered in 2007 had a fiscal note of $671,000 in each year over a five-year period, but the fiscal note for the bill that we are considering today says "No Fiscal Implications."

Could you explain the difference in the fiscal note?

SEN. FRASER: Good research. And it's exactly the same thing that I -- I looked at the two. I asked the same question. We called about the fiscal note. Evidently in the research of this -- and again, we've got an expert witness that is sitting -- or they were sitting right over here, the Secretary of State. I think they will answer that. And I think the answer is, again, I don't want to put words in their mouth, but I think in doing more research, they found out
that a lot of these things are available for them to do within their current budget, and it does not create additional expense.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Well, I certainly do want to follow up with the LBB to ask them specifically, since they write the fiscal notes, why such an enormous difference. It's just amazing. I would like the name of the person who developed the new fiscal note. I might want to work with that person for my bills.

SEN. FRASER: Well, as thorough as you are on finance, because I've sat there and watched you, and you do a wonderful job in looking at these. And I know exactly the questions you'll be asking in Finance, and I would encourage you to do that. But I also, being a former member of Finance, did the same thing, asked the questions. And my response back was, is that after further examination, they realized that this had no fiscal impact.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: I'll be asking them to look at some of mine further and see what they can come up with.

SEN. FRASER: Thank you, Senator.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Thank you, Senator, for that particular answer. But looking at the bill --
and Senators Watson and Shapleigh touched upon these issues -- there will be some costs to the local officials, will there not -- the posting of signs, the training will be provided by the state, but the local officials will have to engage in a lot of verification, participate in that training, the posting of signs and development of material, or will the state cover that expense?

SEN. FRASER: I expect that is; correct, is that, you know. But that also is not unusual in that the local elected officials, any time there is something for notification, they do that. And so it's not -- I'm being told not unusual, wouldn't be expected.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: There was much discussion yesterday and today and even before that, including by Sen. Duncan and Sen. Van de Putte, Sen. West and others regarding the need for each side to make a record, and then each side, those who support this legislation and those who oppose it are making a record for two purposes: No. 1, because a lawsuit is expected; No. 2, because we will be dealing with challenges before the Department of Justice. Would you agree with that?

SEN. FRASER: You know, again, you're
projecting some what-ifs.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: I thought it --

SEN. FRASER: I would suggest that my intention today is not to make a record. I'm not in any way trying to develop any kind of record, other than trying to inform my fellow other 30 senators that the bill that I'm laying out will increase voter participation rather than the people that believe that their vote is not going to count.

And so the expert witnesses that I have brought today are the Secretary of State to talk about the fact that we've got a problem, the Houston registrar that says that they've had a problem there in voter fraud. We've got people from Indiana to talk about the fact that after we implemented this law, they had the largest increase in Democratic votes in the nation. We've got two people from Georgia that are going to say that they had a huge increase in voter participation, and they're going to talk about the minority increases, because, evidently, Georgia had a huge increase because the Hispanic and the African-American voters were encouraged that their vote was, in fact, going to count.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: But what years are you comparing, a huge increase from what year to what
SEN. FRASER: You and I have been in politics a long time, and we know that presidential year elections are the comparison. So if you're comparing 2008, you would look at 2004. If you look at 2006, you would look at 2002. In Indiana after the bill was implemented, if you compare 2002 to 2006, after it went into place, there was a two percent increase in the voter participation. All of it came in democratic voters. There were three new congressional people elected in Indiana in 2006.

In 2008, during that same election cycle, the vote total in Indiana was over double the increase of next door Illinois. They had a 6.7 percent increase in all voting. It all came in the Democrat election. They had 6.9 percent in Indiana increase, even though Republican voting actually stayed stable or went down a little bit.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Well, we looked at the data, but we would disagree on the interpretation of the data because we, the Democrats, believe that that was the impact of President Obama, and that it was President Obama who brought out the African-Americans and the Hispanics and the minorities and that he was the motivation and the reason that there was such an
increase in turnout.

SEN. FRASER: I'm glad you brought that up, because the good thing is, we got Indiana here to verify that. But I think they're going to tell you that Obama was from Illinois. He was a senator from his home state next door where we had this repressive -- or the alleged oppressive voter ID bill that was put in place. The increase in Indiana was more than double the increase in Illinois, which was the president-elect's home state that he was serving in.

I believe the facts are going to show just the obvious. Not only did they not depress voting, those voters were encouraged that their votes were going to count, and it doubled in Indiana over what it was in Illinois. So I would love for you to make that case, because I think it's going to show that just the opposite happened. I think they were encouraged to vote and they voted in great numbers.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: And perhaps if the voter ID hadn't been in place, the turnout would have tripled or quadrupled. So we don't know that, but we will look into it and pursue those issues with the expert voters. Thank you, Senator.

SEN. FRASER: All right.
SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Now, going back to the
cost of this particular legislation, have you
considered at all the cost to the State of Texas to
participate in a lawsuit, to defend a lawsuit related
to this particular bill if it passes?

SEN. FRASER: No. And I have -- the
answer is no. As you know, it's part of the
legislative process.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Yes.

SEN. FRASER: Any time the State of
Texas is litigated against, we have an obligation to
defend ourselves. And, as you know, since you've been
in the Legislature -- you have been here a long time
and you've seen it multiple times -- and if the
lawsuit is filed, then the state has to defend itself.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Have you considered at
all the cost to the State of Texas to dealing with the
challenge that would be issued with the Department of
Justice regarding this particular legislation if it
passes?

SEN. FRASER: I guess the question I
would ask you, if you're asking me if I've looked at
the cost, I would ask you the question, have you
looked at if someone lost an election because someone
cheated, because they misrepresented themself and they
weren't allowed to serve -- and one of the things we're going to be talking about is, there is somebody in this room today that won a very narrow election and would not be here today if someone had cheated on a very few votes.

So I guess the question I'll ask you, what is the cost of the State of Texas if someone is allowed to cheat, that would change history, someone else to represent them, there is a huge cost to the state in the fact that you change history by rigging an election.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: But basically what we're focusing on at this point in the debate is the cost related to this particular bill, not to history and not to the future but the costs associated with this particular bill. On a related note, were any of your expert witnesses brought in at any expense to the State of Texas or the Senate in particular?

SEN. FRASER: I'm sorry. I've got two people asking questions. Please ask it again.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Were any of your expert witnesses for today brought in at the expense of the State of Texas or the Senate in particular?

SEN. FRASER: No.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: No?
SEN. FRASER: Were any of your expert witnesses brought in at the expense of the state or the expense of the Senate?

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: That is my question.

SEN. FRASER: No. I was asking you that.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Oh, I didn't bring in any expert witnesses except one from Austin, who I am --

SEN. FRASER: None of my expert witnesses were at the expense of the state.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Good.

SEN. FRASER: Let me clarify that. Not unless Coby Shorter is on expense report for driving his car in to the Capitol this morning. I don't think so.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: All right. Senator, you talked about vote fraud and you referenced the Duke of Duval and something that happened in 1948. That's a long time ago. You and I discussed other allegations of fraud, including one election in which someone apparently bubbled in. The bubbles were erased on ballots that the respective voters had not bubbled in.

In other words, there were many ballots
that indicated that a voter had not voted in a particular race, and apparently someone else went in and bubbled in and, in effect, impacted the results of the race. In that particular race, there were allegations that there were more votes than ballots counted in a recount. But your bill would not have anything to do with correcting that kind of voter fraud that was alleged at that point, would it?

SEN. FRASER: If you go back and examine my opening comments, I said how did I move toward even starting thinking about this? And I reflected that in the history of the United States, there's been a lot of cases where there was either voter fraud, voter manipulation, stolen election, voter harvesting, that there is a history out there of people attempting to steal elections.

I also made the observation that that has moved people toward losing faith in the system. And if they lose faith in the system and they think their vote is not going to count, they don't go vote. That might have something to do with the fact that we have some elections that there's only eight percent of the people that vote because they have no faith that their vote is going to count.

I'm addressing one small area of the
law, and that is something that I think I can impact; and that is, when Judy Zaffirini walks into your polling place at home and you put your voter registration down there, I want them to know without a doubt that that is Judith Zaffirini that is voting and not Tom Smith that is borrowing her -- or Thomasina Smith borrowing -- it would probably be -- it would be better if it was a woman, I guess, in the example.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: That's all right. I understand, Senator. Don't worry about it.

SEN. FRASER: If someone else is using your card to vote, then I think you need that assurance that you've got to make sure that when you go to vote, that somebody has not been there, you know, impersonating you, stealing your ability to vote.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Quite frankly, Senator, that never ever crossed my mind, except in relation to the point that you're making. But never ever did I feel threatened in any way.

My other question for you is, do you have any examples at all of any Texas election in which the outcome was impacted by voter impersonation?

SEN. FRASER: I'm going to wait until we have all of our expert witnesses. They're going to
answer questions, and we're going to talk about the
election system in Texas and the ability not only to
impact elections but also the extreme difficulty in
identifying that someone cheated, and prosecuting
them.

(Brief pause)

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: You ready?
SEN. FRASER: Yes.
SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Senator, have you
considered at all the questions that many of us have
raised -- we who are Democrats, we who are
minorities -- regarding the impact, the negative
impact of this legislation on the turnout of
minorities, specifically African-Americans and
Mexican-Americans, and specifically in South Texas?
Have you considered those concerns that we have
raised?

SEN. FRASER: Senator, actually I
considered a lot. And I think -- you know, first of
all, I'm going to make a blanket statement: I want a
large turnout of all Texans, and I want a large
turnout of minorities, making sure that they are
encouraged to vote.

And again, I would encourage you to
listen to the testimony of Indiana and Georgia of what
happened when they implemented a fair system where people were comfortable that their vote was going to count and what happened to the minority turnout. And so the answer to your question is, absolutely. I want to make sure that -- I want everyone in Texas to vote in large numbers, and I want the minorities, the African-Americans and the Hispanics, to increase their numbers.

And I really believe in my heart that the bill that I am laying out today will do that, because I think they are frustrated that their vote is not counting, that there are people cheating in the elections and have been cheating for a long time. And if they know that their vote is going to count, I think they'll be encouraged, and I think more will turn out. So the answer to your question is --

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: I certainly have not seen evidence of that cheating that you're referring to, not in terms of voter impersonation. But I certainly will be interested in hearing if there is any. On the other hand, if our experts prove to you that your bill will have a negative impact on Mexican-Americans, on African-Americans, will you consider amendments to alleviate our concerns?

SEN. FRASER: Well, first of all, in
response to it, I have four different papers from academics around the country that address the issue that you're talking about of the fact that actually the minority -- impact is that minorities will turn out more, and it's from actual data of what's happened since these laws have been input.

Mr. Chairman, could I possibly move that these be added or entered into the record?

SEN. DUNCAN: You can do that at this time. I think we'll have -- those will be Exhibits -- what numbers? We'll bring them down to the front and mark them.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Thank you, Senator. I've asked you about the negative impact on Mexican-Americans, on Hispanics in general, on African-Americans. Have you considered the negative impact on the elderly, specifically persons over the age of 65, and how they will be able to prove their identification? What about --

SEN. FRASER: Senator, I don't know about you, but I'm getting close to that range. And, obviously, I am concerned about people in that range. I'm concerned about my mother that is in a retirement center and are there, and I spend a lot of hours at the retirement center talking to those people,
asking -- I've asked them -- you can't imagine the
number of questions I've asked about the way they
vote, what they're following -- you know, what the
habits are.

And I think the assurance I can give to
you is that, first of all, the bulk of the people that
are over 65 -- some that have stopped driving -- the
bulk of those and probably a high, high percentage
vote by mail. I am not impacting that in this
legislation. So everything they have done in the past
in the ability to vote to mail stays exactly the same.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Have you considered a
possible negative impact on persons with disabilities,
including those who live in institutions such as
nursing homes?

SEN. FRASER: And again, I guess I would
throw my mother in that category. My mother is
wheelchair-bound. I know that just even me trying to
get her into my car to take to the doctor is a huge
problem. She, you know, like most of her friends,
votes by mail, and so she is in that category of the
disabled. And her voting rights will continue, as
will all of her friends in the retirement center.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Senator, going back to
your bill, on Page 6, Line 14 of your bill, you
itemize --

SEN. FRASER: I'm getting heckled over here. People from the other side are moving over to -- he's trying to implement the egg-timer rule of three minutes.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: I see.

SEN. FRASER: I'm for that.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Well, on Page 6, Line 14 of your bill, you list types of documentation that you acceptable as proof of identification under this chapter. In 2007, in House Bill 218 which you sponsored in the Senate, you included a student identification card as proof of identification, as acceptable documentation, but a student ID card is not included in your 2009 bill. Could you explain why?

SEN. FRASER: Senator, could I refer you to Section 6.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: What line, what page, Senator?

SEN. FRASER: It is -- just a second. The reference you're making is the public institutions of higher learning, the student ID card is still included. The wording changed, but it's covered by No. (6)(A).

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: So you're saying that
on Page 6, beginning at Line 8 where it reads, "a valid identification card that contains the person's photograph and is issued by:

(A) An agency or institution of the federal government; or

(B) An agency, institution, or political subdivision of this state," you're saying that that would include institutions of higher education and that, therefore, student identification cards would be acceptable proof of identification?

SEN. FRASER: Yes.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Good.

SEN. FRASER: Isn't that what that says? It says "an agency, institution or political subdivision of this state." The University of Texas is considered a subdivision of the state. It says that an identification card that contains a person's photograph that is issued by. I think the answer to your question is "Yes."

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: All right. In your old bill -- I'm looking at it now -- you have this language -- and in addition to that, you specified the student identification card. But so long as you clarify your legislative intent, that's acceptable to me.
But a related question, Senator: In that section, you list many, many types of acceptable proof of identification, including a certified copy of a birth certificate, United States citizenship papers, an original or certified copy of the person's marriage license or divorce decree. And finally on Page 7, Lines 1 and 2, you include court records of the person's adoption, name change or sex change. Could you explain why you included sex change as an acceptable documentation and proof of identification?

SEN. FRASER: I believe we're going to punt to the House sponsor. This was the language that was passed out of the Texas House last year. We picked up the bill from an amendment that was added in the House. And as our starting point, the legislation that we never voted on last year that we brought over from the House, that language is in there. So I guess I would say I'm not advised.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: All right. And I'm sure that you can find out why, perhaps, and answer me on the floor --

SEN. FRASER: Some of it was being inclusive.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: -- through the Senate debate.
I do have a related question. Going back to our student identification card, that references public universities. But what about students in private institutions.

SEN. FRASER: Not included.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: They're not included.

Was that an oversight? Do you intend to include them at a later date?

SEN. FRASER: The answer to that is that it's not an intentional exclusion. The concern on it is us not knowing every private institution in the state and the way their IDs are administered. A state institution, we have some input and control. And I guess the answer to that is, if you have a mechanism for that, I'm willing to listen. It is not -- the answer is not that we're -- we're not trying to prohibit. It's just that those particular groups, we don't have the ability to at least observe or regulate the IDs they're putting out.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: But to summarize, then, and to make sure that I understands, a student identification card issued by a public institution would be considered proof of identification that is acceptable under your bill. But a student identification card issued by a private institution of
higher education would not be?

SEN. FRASER: As the bill is currently written.

SEN. ZAFFIRINI: Thank you very much, Senator. I appreciate your courtesy.

SEN. FRASER: Yes.

SEN. DUNCAN: Before we go to the next questioner, let me just kind of clarify the record. I have some -- Sen. Shapleigh -- and I think if you're going to put something in the record, you need to identify it. Sen. Shapleigh had submitted Exhibit 6, which is the vote tally on the Gallegos motion to appeal the ruling of the Chair. Exhibit 7 is a document, "The Effects of Photographic Identification on Voter Turnout in Indiana," submitted by Sen. Fraser. Exhibit 8 is an article or a document entitled "Much-hyped [up] Turnout Record Fails to Materialize, Convenience Voting Fails to Boost Balloting." Exhibit 8. And then Exhibit 9 submitted by Sen. Fraser is "The Empirical Effects of Voter-ID Laws: Present or Absent?" I think Exhibit No. -- yes, No. -- that's all there are. So those will be in the record.

Exhibit 10 is "A Report of the Heritage Center for Data Analysis" submitted by Sen. Fraser.
(Exhibit Nos. 6 through 10 marked and admitted)


SEN. WHITMIRE: Thank you, Mr. President.

Sen. Fraser, to clarify a few things that you mentioned earlier, you mentioned that Indiana and Georgia voting occurrence. What year was that?

SEN. FRASER: The Indiana voting, the first one was in 2006. The second was in 2008.

SEN. WHITMIRE: I think I --

SEN. FRASER: Excuse me a second. And Georgia was in 2008.

SEN. WHITMIRE: Well, don't you agree that everywhere in the country, every state had a greater participation this year, primarily because of the popularity of our presidential candidates and also the severe economic conditions? Particularly I would focus on Indiana. Why would you use the Indiana increase in voting as an indication of anything, other than they were very energized about the selection of candidates and because of their unemployment rate and their severe economic downturn? Wouldn't that --

SEN. FRASER: Senator, you're making
wonderful subjective argument. We have an objective 
person that is about to testify before us that will 
give you very clear answers that the Indiana guy 
knows --

SEN. WHITMIRE: Sure.

SEN. FRASER: -- what their results were 
and he knows what the surrounding states were.

SEN. WHITMIRE: Well, I haven't heard 
from him. I can only go by your trying to compare 
Indiana to Illinois, and that you said Indiana had 
such an increase over Illinois. And I think empirical 
data, would you not agree, would show that Indiana or 
Illinois always has high voter participation?

What also I would like to ask you, would 
you not agree that Georgia, it has been well recorded 
that the African-American vote this year, because of 
President Obama, was a significant increase in 
turnout? So I just really don't know if that's an 
indication that your new mechanism works so well in 
those two states.

And, in fact, I would ask you: Do you 
think it's even a reasonable comparison -- Georgia and 
Indiana with Texas -- when you look at our size, our 
diversity, our language issues? Why would you use 
those two to indicate what Texas is going to follow?
SEN. FRASER: You know, the great thing about this, Dean, is that we're allowed to bring in experts from those states.

SEN. WHITMIRE: We're going to listen to them?

SEN. FRASER: We have the person that runs the elections in those states that can answer your question. And I -- you know, I think it's great that they're here today.

SEN. WHITMIRE: Well, I assume they're partisan officials as well. How about elected officials? Did I not read your county clerk said in her long tenure as your county clerk had never seen anyone impersonating a voter in your own district? Did I not read that correctly?

SEN. FRASER: You know, someone reported to me that she had said that she had not identified it. But she also said she was supporting the bill --

SEN. WHITMIRE: She supports the bill.

SEN. FRASER: Just a second. You asked me the question; I get to answer it. She said that she supports the concept --

SEN. WHITMIRE: Sure.

SEN. FRASER: -- of voter identification. The question was asked by the
reporter, "Have you caught someone impersonating someone?" The thing that she didn't add to that, that if the reporter would have asked that, "Does the state and your office have the mechanism to identify if someone is voting illegally?" and here would be the example that I would use, is that if Tom Smith came in with Bill White's identification card and Bill White is on the registration roll--

SEN. WHITMIRE: I've heard it. You said it--

SEN. FRASER: But just a second.

SEN. WHITMIRE: You've done that two or three times. I'm familiar with that. You used it earlier.

SEN. FRASER: Okay.

SEN. WHITMIRE: And that leads me to my question.

SEN. FRASER: You wanted an answer to the question.

SEN. WHITMIRE: No. I understand. You've used about three examples of where someone runs to the mailbox and gets someone else's certificate and then runs and votes. It's the same identical example you're using right now, which leads me to a very specific question:
Do you not know that that is against the law and it's a third degree felony?

SEN. FRASER: Okay. And I would ask you --

SEN. WHITMIRE: What you're trying to address is against the law. And would it make a difference to you and would you still be in favor of your bill if I told you we can enhance that penalty?

SEN. FRASER: Dean, I think if we can get past this portion of this, that y'all are asking me questions that could be asked of an expert witness. We have somebody from the Secretary of State's office that is going to clarify: Is that possible and is it possible to catch them and is it possible to prosecute? And I think you're going to be surprised at the answer.

SEN. WHITMIRE: No, I'm not going to be surprised at the answer, because I've been running for office 36 years. It's not only -- Troy, would you not agree, my duty and your duty as public officials is to prevent fraud, but we have a very special reason -- because on the ballot. I have been in barnburners. I have been in close elections. I have tried to identify voter fraud. And that leads me -- and it's never existed in the tough races that I've been in.
And I would suggest, can any one of the 31 senators document and demonstrate where voter fraud has been an issue in their election? I would suggest to you early on, perhaps in mail-in ballots, we were concerned. But on Election Day, there is safeguard after safeguard.

But I do agree with you -- and each and every one of us I think would agree -- if we could identify fraud, we would want to prosecute. But the interesting thing is, I'm going to ask you before I sit down, give me a recent occurrence of voter fraud.

SEN. FRASER: Johnny --

SEN. WHITMIRE: The cite in Duval County, that was the year I was born. Then you cited dead people voting. Would a voter ID have helped those people, prevented them from voting? Give me an example.

SEN. FRASER: I hate to keep giving you the answer, but you're about to have the registrar from Houston that's about to come up here and testify, and they're going to talk about the dead people that voted. And I'm going to show you --

SEN. WHITMIRE: That --

SEN. FRASER: Just a second. You asked a question. Right here in my records, I've got it
here, but I had rather wait on the expert witness, but
this is a dead person that voted in person.

SEN. WHITMIRE: Were they prosecuted?

The person that voted them fraudulently, was that
person prosecuted? And if she shows up and she didn't
file charges against them, we ought to all be
outraged. I'm just curious. What are you trying
to --

SEN. FRASER: Ask that question.

SEN. WHITMIRE: What are you trying
to --

SEN. FRASER: Ask that question of the
witness.

SEN. WHITMIRE: I look forward to it.

This is my concern: What are you trying to fix? Can
you point to a recent fraudulent act that would
justify us changing the Senate rules, having a special
order, not addressing property tax increases, highway
funding? What are you trying to address that is such
a high priority?

SEN. FRASER: John, this, you know --

SEN. WHITMIRE: No. I'm really serious.

SEN. FRASER: I know. But --

SEN. WHITMIRE: We just went through a
historical election --
SEN. FRASER: Do you want me to answer? Would you like for me to answer or do you want to interrupt me?

SEN. WHITMIRE: Yes, yes. What are you fixing that would shove everything else aside and take this up today?

SEN. FRASER: This is not rocket science. What I am fixing is the very real possibility -- of which we're going to show that it is -- that someone could steal your registration card and they could go and vote, representing to be you, and that there is no way to identify when it's happening. And once it happens, it's almost impossible then to prosecute after the fact.

SEN. WHITMIRE: Okay. Let me ask you this -- and I look forward to hearing our witness. Let me ask you this: When you compare Indiana and Georgia, are you familiar at all with how they conduct their elections in terms of their poll workers, their training, their compensation, any qualifications to hold an election? What are the requirements in Georgia, Indiana, relative to our qualifications?

SEN. FRASER: Dean, one of the great things -- the answer I just gave Sen. Zaffirini -- the great thing about this process, we bring in expert
witnesses from those states.

SEN. WHITMIRE: Yes.

SEN. FRASER: They know the answers to those questions. My expert witness is about --

they'll answer that exact question that you have.

SEN. WHITMIRE: Because I think what you're going to find is, in these other states, they compensate them in a greater detail, they have training for them. And we depend on volunteers, often our senior citizens. And often we have precincts in Harris County that we literally cannot find people to serve, and we actually merge and combine precincts because of the lack of individuals available to run these elections. And then you're proposing an elaborate documentation.

SEN. FRASER: Dean, you're my friend. I respect your right to ask this. But the last three persons have all asked the same questions. And my responses have been the same: We have expert witnesses that are about to show up that can answer your questions. And I guess I tell you no matter how many ways you ask it, my response is going to be the same. I think we need to cut this off and start the witnessing.

SEN. WHITMIRE: Well, I look forward to
talking to the person from Harris County. And if someone fraudulently voted for someone who is deceased, I would hope we find out why they weren't prosecuted. And I would also -- as we continue, I wish you would ask your witnesses for the most recent incidence of voter fraud that they're familiar with and the outcome in terms of prosecution.

We've had a senator -- Sen. Williams was rightfully concerned about some allegations he had heard. The same question was to him at that moment a couple of months ago: Were the people prosecuted? I think we've got the toughest Penal Code in the United States, 10 to 20 for fraudulently voting for someone. And I think we ought to actively prosecute them, because none of us want to participate in a campaign or serve in a body that is governed or controlled or influenced by voter fraud.

I don't think it exists. And I think the harm is being done because we're not in Finance this afternoon, we're not dealing with Texas Youth Commissions this afternoon, we're dealing in fighting something that does not exist. And as it is going to be documented by our witnesses, going to create a hardship for thousands of Texans.

SEN. DUNCAN: Sen. Ellis?
SEN. ELLIS: Thank you, Mr. President.

Senator, I know you're tired. I'll try not to take too long. One question I want to ask you is about the provisional ballot. You said when you first began answering questions from Sen. Watson, that everyone would be able to vote, no one would be turned away. Now, how would that process work if someone doesn't have the forms of identification that are laid out in your bill.

SEN. FRASER: I believe Coby Shorter is right over here. He's going to be coming up to visit with you in just a second. He will give you all that data. And I believe our expert witnesses -- and I think I told Sen. Watson that.

SEN. ELLIS: Well, now, here is what I'm getting at: I know you're tired, Senator.

SEN. FRASER: No. I'm doing good.

SEN. ELLIS: The only reason I'm asking you this is because you're carrying the bill, not your resource witnesses, so it's not personal. Here is what I'm getting at: I'm assuming, the way I read your bill, if somebody does not have the forms of ID you lay out, they will be told, "You can cast a provisional ballot." So here is my question: When does that ballot get counted? What does it take for
that provisional ballot to be counted?

SEN. FRASER: And when my witness comes
up -- that is the Assistant Secretary of State -- they
will tell you the procedure that is used for that.

SEN. ELLIS: Okay. I'm guessing, but I
assume that if somebody does that have that ID and
they cast a provisional ballot, the burden is on them.
The bill doesn't lay it out, but I assume the burden
is on them to then go home or go somewhere and prove
who they are or that ballot will not be counted. And
that's what my question was.

SEN. FRASER: Let me ask you, if you
were getting on an airplane and you didn't take your
ID, is the burden on the airport to run to your house
to get your ID for you?

SEN. ELLIS: Well, here is a minor
distinction. I don't have a constitutional right to
get on an airplane. That's a big difference. Let me
give you, if I might, a few other points, Senator.
You used Georgia a number of times as, I guess, a
building block for this legislation. Is that a fair
assessment? You were saying that they do this in
Georgia, Georgia is comparable to Texas?

SEN. FRASER: I don't know that we use
it as a building block. I said that they have passed
a near identical bill. It has passed DOJ. It has passed the court system and been put into law. And they've had an election cycle. And we have the voting -- the people that ran the election in Georgia, here. And I guess I would lay it out that I think the facts will speak for themselves. I don't think I'm laying out Georgia as an example; I think Georgia is their own example.

SEN. ELLIS: Well, I want to make sure that you and other members do understand a basic distinction between Georgia and Texas. The State of Texas is the third minority -- majority minority state in the country -- new Mexico, California and then Texas. Georgia's population at best, Hispanic population, may be 7, may be 9 percent. There is a big distinction between Georgia and Texas.

When you came up, Senator, you made reference to -- I guess giving us a history lesson about voter fraud issues, and you mentioned Duval County in particular. And being a proud graduate of the LBJ School and a beneficiary of the great legislation that President Johnson signed into law after an historic march that went on this past weekend across the Edmund Pettis Bridge, I want to give you a little bit of a history lesson.
Do you have any idea in what year the State of Texas enacted the poll tax?

SEN. FRASER: I'm sorry. I'm not advised. I don't have that number.

SEN. ELLIS: The State of Texas enacted the poll tax in 1901. Do you have any idea when the Democratic Party, not just in Texas but in a number of states, enacted the while-only primary system where you have to be white in order to vote in a primary?

SEN. FRASER: Still I'm sorry. I don't have that number.

SEN. ELLIS: 1923. It was not abolished until 1944. The poll tax, of course, was not abolished until 1966. I want to say that to you, Senator, because when this bill didn't open up, 1885 or whenever it opened up, there were people who sat in desks, these desks, in chairs not quite as comfortable as the ones that you and I are sitting in today, or standing on this floor, didn't have this nice carpet, something, didn't have the padding under it. But decisions were made over the history of this state which is why we have to be pre-cleared before making this change or any other one.

Now, Georgia is similar to Texas in one way. It, alone with a number of other southern
states, do have to be pre-cleared because of their
legacy of putting hurdles in the path of people to be
able to vote.

SEN. FRASER: We recognize they are a
Section 5 voting rights state, that the two states
are, you know, alike in that way.

SEN. ELLIS: Are you aware -- you
mentioned that the Department of Justice pre-cleared
Georgia's voter ID plan. You do know Georgia had not
one but two voter identification bills. You are aware
of that, I assume. The first bill that Georgia had
was pre-cleared by the Justice Department by someone
who is one of your witnesses today, by the way, a
political appointee at the Justice Department. And
then the state and federal courts struck it down, and
then Georgia went back and redid their voter
identification law. Are you aware of how much they
spent on informing voters how to comply with their
voter identification law in Texas?

SEN. FRASER: And again, same answer
I've given the last three, now you're fourth, is that
my witness from Georgia is very prepared to go over
the details of that rather than you asking me, because
I can't be an expert on the Georgia law.

SEN. ELLIS: And only -- as painful as
it is to do it, particularly with you being my desk
mate -- it is your bill -- Georgia spends $500,000.
Now, I'm only making that point because you put
Georgia on our mind, not me. Georgia is probably --

SEN. FRASER: I --

SEN. ELLIS: -- a great state, might be
one-fifth, one-sixth the size of Texas. They spent a
half a million dollars a year to make sure people know
the provisions under that law. Senator, you made
reference to the Carter-Baker Commission when you
initially started. Do you know the genesis of that
commission? Do you know --

SEN. FRASER: We're about to have a lady
come up here in just a minute that is from that
commission that I bet will give us the entire genesis.

SEN. ELLIS: I'm going to ask her a lot
of questions. The only reason I raise it to you is,
sometimes -- not all the time, but sometimes these
senators tend to listen to other senators,
particularly the person who is carrying the bill, as
opposed to somebody who has testified for it.

That bill was created, that commission
was created in part to try and restore confidence in
the American electoral system, not just in our eyes
but in the eyes of people all around the world,
Senator, because of the election of 2000 in which a lot of people think there were serious problems in that election of 2000, and that's why this Commission was established, a very bipartisan commission.

Even if President Jimmy Carter and Secretary Baker were on different sides in their 2000 race, they realized, when developing nations were saying, "Y'all need to have President Carter send a group down here to monitor elections in America," instead of going to developing countries. Do you have any idea who some of the other people were Senator, on the Carter-Baker Commission?

SEN. FRASER: I bet we're going to hear that from my expert witness.

SEN. ELLIS: Raul Yzaguirre. I mention that because he's one of the most noted Hispanic civil rights leaders in the country. I don't mention that to help your side to this argument. Also former Congressman Bob Michel, a very distinguished group of American citizens from both sides of the aisle. Do you have any idea, Senator, how many pages were in the Carter-Baker Commission Report?

SEN. FRASER: I didn't get that quite. How many what?

SEN. ELLIS: 130. I only read -- 113. I
was going to say, I thought it was 115. If you count
the nice pictures in the back --

SEN. FRASER: Are you --

SEN. ELLIS: 115 pages. Senator, do you
have any idea how many recommendations there were in
the Carter-Baker Commission Report?

SEN. FRASER: I would suspect that the
lady coming up from the Carter-Baker Commission could
possibly have that information if you asked her.

SEN. ELLIS: Do you have any idea what
the real name of that Commission was?

SEN. FRASER: I'm not advised.

SEN. ELLIS: It was the Help America
Vote Act and the Voting Rights Act. That's what the
Commission was created for. Senator --

SEN. FRASER: And I would suspect that
the recommendations was made for vote identification
that increased the voter turnout in Indiana and in
Georgia for record turnout, they were successful that
they encouraged -- "We're going to help people vote,"
and they encouraged people to feel more comfortable
about their voting rights.

SEN. ELLIS: But --

SEN. FRASER: And I suspect my witnesses
that you're going to hear are going to tell you that.
SEN. ELLIS: Good try but not quite. You referenced a New York Times editorial a little earlier. I'm going to try to be a little more balanced than you were, my desk mate, in reading your provision from that editorial, that op ed by President Carter and Secretary Baker. It was titled, "A Clearer Picture on Voter ID," February 3, 2008. Here is just a snippet that I think gives a pretty good --

SEN. FRASER: Is that about a snippet?

SEN. ELLIS: -- of both sides of the issue. It says in the fourth paragraph, "No state has yet accepted our proposal. What's more, when it comes to ID laws, confusion reigns. The laws on the books, mainly backed by Republicans, have not made" -- I don't want to lick my finger here and try to turn this page, so don't give me a hard time -- "have not made it easy for voters to acquire an ID. At the same time, Democrats have tended to try to block voter ID legislation outright -- instead of seeking to revise that legislation to promote accessibility."

Here is the point that they were trying to make, Senator. Out of those 113, or 115 pages if you count the pictures, they had a series of things to help Americans have more confidence in their voting system and also to encourage more people to vote,
things like say their registration, restoration of
ex-offenders' right to vote, states spending
significant amounts of money in educating people on
how to vote. And, Senator, the most important part
was having a uniform, universal form of
identification, HAVA, as we have referred to it a
number of times.

Sen. Estes, my other desk mate here, may
have forgotten this. But last session you were quoted
in the paper as saying, "It will cost too much money
for the State of Texas to comply with the HAVA
legislation."

What I'm saying to you, Senator, is I
don't think it's appropriate to pick and choose which
parts of the Carter-Baker recommendation, their
report, you want to implement, because when you do,
you don't do justice to it. Senator, you made
reference to not using this legislation to impact
mail-in ballots. Why?

SEN. FRASER: Is this a question or were
you --

SEN. ELLIS: Why is it that your bill
does not touch mail-in ballots?

SEN. FRASER: Why?

SEN. ELLIS: Yes.
SEN. FRASER: Well, it's like a lot of legislation we pass. We fix a piece of the puzzle at a time. The mail-in ballot is a huge problem. It is something absolutely that at some point we're going to have to address.

SEN. ELLIS: Senator --

SEN. FRASER: But today I'm addressing the recommendation of -- the Carter-Baker Commission recommended that we put in voter photo ID legislation. And I'm moving toward what other states have done, which is Indiana and Georgia, that I'm taking a baby step today toward that. But I think what I'm doing will encourage all turnout, but more especially minority turnout in Texas.

SEN. ELLIS: You made reference to Steve Wolens' comment earlier. Are you aware that the reference, the comment that you are taking was referring to mail-in ballots?

SEN. FRASER: Absolutely. And I would also remind you, you voted for that bill --

SEN. ELLIS: Oh, I did.

SEN. FRASER: -- because he had been fraud -- his exact statement was, is "They are harvesting" --

SEN. ELLIS: Yes.