

NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
PUBLIC HEARING ON REDISTRICTING

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROCEEDINGS  
MAIN HEARING SESSION

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In Raleigh, North Carolina  
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Reported by Robbie W. Worley

Sessions simulcast from the following locations:

North Carolina General Assembly - Legislative  
Office Building, Room 643 (Wake County)  
Central Piedmont Community College  
(Mecklenburg County)  
Fayetteville Technical Community College  
(Cumberland County)  
Cape Fear Community College (New Hanover County)  
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<p style="text-align: right;">2</p> <p>1 SEN. RUCHO: I'd like to bring to order 2 the public hearing today on redistricting. 3 We've got a few items that we'll take 4 care of prior to hearing of the public on this 5 issue, and then I've got a statement that I'll 6 present in a moment. But let's take up a few house 7 items. 8 Today, we have in Raleigh, Sergeant-at- 9 Arms, and we have them located through all the 10 sites. One of them here we have in the Senate is 11 Hal Roach, Jim Blackburn, Steve McKaig, and Jim 12 Hamilton from the Senate side. Thank you for 13 helping us make this a success. 14 And then we have, on the House side, 15 Marvin Lee and Reggie Sills. Thank you, folks. We 16 appreciate all of your help in making this -- and 17 there are Sergeant-at-Arms at each of the locations 18 that the moderator may be able to recognize as we 19 proceed forward. 20 Let's begin, and let's just -- ladies and 21 gentlemen, I'd like to welcome everybody to the 22 public hearing on redistricting. I am Senator Bob 23 Rucho, Senate Chairman of the Joint Select 24 Committee on Congressional Redistricting, and here 25 with me today is House Chairman Rep. David Lewis on</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">4</p> <p>1 is online. And members of the committee will have 2 an opportunity to review that and review your 3 comments in addition to the public comments today. 4 And I'd like to take a moment to have 5 each of the moderators to -- at each of the sites, 6 and I'll identify them in rotation, the Senators 7 and Representatives that are present at the site 8 today. And they'll be -- the people that we will 9 recognize will be the members of the committee. 10 And today, of course, myself, Senator Bob 11 Rucho, Representative David Lewis, Representative 12 Rodney Moore, Representative Jackson, Senator Chad 13 Barefoot, I see Senator Clark, Senator Ford, 14 Senator Blue. I'm trying to make sure I don't miss 15 anybody. Senator Erica Smith-Ingram, Senator Jane 16 Smith, Senator Floyd McKissick, Senator Paul Lowe. 17 And I think I have -- oops, Representative Jordan. 18 Thank you. And Representative Bell. I think I -- 19 and -- and Representative Hanes. Excuse me. 20 Okay. That is our group here in Raleigh. 21 And the -- I will rotate to the next stop, and that 22 will be at Central Piedmont Community College. 23 Representative Bill Brawley, would you identify the 24 Senators and Representatives there? Can you hear 25 me? Representative Brawley.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">3</p> <p>1 my left. 2 Today's hearing is an effort on part of 3 the Joint Senate Select -- excuse me, the Joint 4 Select Committee on Congressional Redistricting to 5 hear public comments on North Carolina 6 Redistricting -- Congressional Districts in light 7 of the ruling in the Harris versus McCrory, made by 8 the United States District Court for the Middle 9 District of North Carolina. 10 Along with our sites here in Raleigh, we 11 are also videoconferencing with the sites in 12 Halifax Community College, Central Piedmont 13 Community College, Fayetteville Technical Community 14 College, Cape Fear Community College, UNC 15 Asheville, and I will say to you Guilford Tech 16 Community College is closed today, and therefore, 17 we are not able to have a hearing there today. 18 If any -- if any of the public would like 19 to submit their comments, I will, as we proceed 20 forward, identify how to do so on the NCLEG 21 website. And if they can -- if -- members of the 22 public who cannot attend any of the sites are 23 welcome to have the opportunity to submit their 24 comments online at <a href="http://www.ncl.ncleg.net/redistricting">www.ncl.ncleg.net/redistricting</a> 25 through our written comments submission form, which</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">5</p> <p>1 REP. BRAWLEY: [break in transmission] 2 Wells, Tarte, and Jackson, and also Representative 3 Fraley. And -- oh, I'm sorry. And Representative 4 Bradford. Curtis represents Lincoln and Iredell. 5 Harrington is Gaston. Wells is Catawba. Tarte, 6 Jackson, Representative Bradford, and myself 7 represent Mecklenburg. And Representative Fraley 8 is also from Iredell. 9 SEN. RUCHO: Okay. 10 REP. BRAWLEY: That's all we have, sir. 11 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you, sir. And be 12 prepared to move forward on your first speaker in a 13 few moments. 14 REP. BRAWLEY: Representative Bradford, I 15 apologize for my oversight. 16 SEN. RUCHO: All right. We need to move 17 on to Fayetteville Technical Community College. 18 Senator Jackson, are you there? 19 SEN. JACKSON. Yes, sir. Good morning, 20 Senator Rucho. I have with myself here 21 Representative John Szoka representing Cumberland 22 County. And that's all our members that we have 23 here. 24 SEN. RUCHO: Very fine. And then I'll 25 need to be prepared to identify the first person on</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">6</p> <p>1 the online registration list to -- we'll be coming 2 to that person in a few moments. 3 SEN. JACKSON: Yes, sir. 4 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Okay. Calling 5 Cape Fear Community College. I've got 6 Representative Ted Davis as the moderator. 7 Representative Davis, can you hear me? 8 REP. DAVIS: [break in transmission] 9 Senator Harry Brown from Onslow County. Senator 10 Michael Lee, New Hanover. We also have 11 Representative Frank Iler from New Hanover County, 12 and Susi Hamilton from New Hanover County. 13 SEN. RUCHO: All right. Senator Davis, 14 would you identify your first person on the list 15 for online, and we will be coming through in a few 16 moments. Thank you. 17 Communicating with UNC Asheville, 18 Representative Chuck McGrady. 19 REP. MCGRADY: With me is Senator Ralph 20 Hise, Representative Mike Hager, and Representative 21 Michelle -- Michelle Presnell. 22 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. And that -- that 23 volume is actually getting better there. Thank you 24 very much. And then I have -- 25 SEN. HISE: Senator Rucho?</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">8</p> <p>1 because of the inclement weather -- and the policy 2 was if the facility is not open, then the 3 meeting -- then the hearing in the location, and in 4 this case Guilford Technical Community College, is 5 closed, and therefore that hearing in Guilford has 6 been canceled. 7 All right. Well, we've introduced 8 everyone. Excuse me. Because of the inclement 9 weather across -- at all of the locations, we have 10 extended the sign-up from 10:00 to 11:00 to allow 11 people that may be coming in late due to the 12 inclement weather to have an opportunity to sign up 13 and to be recognized appropriately. 14 Okay. Now, I would like to thank -- 15 thank all of you, first of all, for taking the time 16 to come and attend and participate in this public 17 hearing at the sites across the state, including 18 here in Raleigh. 19 As you may be aware, the General Assembly 20 is actively seeking a stay by the U.S. Supreme 21 Court of the lower court ruling in order to avoid 22 the chaos and costliness associated -- associated 23 with an eleventh-hour delay of the election that is 24 already underway. 25 We continue to believe that the maps that</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">7</p> <p>1 SEN. RUCHO: I'm sorry? 2 SEN. HISE: Senator Rucho, this is Ralph 3 Hise at UNC Asheville. Just wanted to let you know 4 we have also opened an overflow room 'cause we've 5 exceeded capacity in the original room. So we have 6 a separate room at UNC Asheville where people can 7 hear -- see the hearing. 8 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you, Senator Hise. 9 And -- and I need y'all to be prepared to bring -- 10 you know, line the speakers up so we can have a 11 nice, smooth transition through and give everybody 12 a chance to speak. Okay? Thank you. 13 SEN. HISE: We're ready. 14 SEN. RUCHO: All right. And then I'm 15 calling now Halifax Community College, and I've got 16 a -- Representative Skip Stam. Representative 17 Stam, do you have your members there? 18 REP. STAM: I do. Yes. This is 19 Representative Stam. Senator Sanderson is here 20 with me. And we do have several speakers here 21 ready to speak. 22 SEN. RUCHO: Okay. Excellent. And we'll 23 be with you in a few moments. 24 And members of the Committee and the 25 public, I'll let you -- just remind you that</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">9</p> <p>1 have been upheld by the North Carolina Supreme 2 Court and validated by five of six others that have 3 been reviewed are fair, legal, and constitutional. 4 We will exercise all avenues of appeal to 5 see that they remain in place. However, because of 6 the compressed timeline imposed upon us by the 7 Court, and in light of our ongoing appeal and 8 request for a stay, we think it's prudent that 9 we -- we think a -- we think it is a prudent course 10 to open a public comment process in event that the 11 maps need to be redrawn. 12 In the past -- and if you -- if you were 13 here during the first redistricting cycle, we had 14 many, many public hearings, and a lot of 15 teleconferencing like this. And this is why we 16 decided to come forward with the same way, so 17 that -- and they were an essential part of the 18 Committee activity. 19 And what we're trying to do is gather the 20 knowledge of the citizens and their views on 21 redistricting, and today, specifically on 22 Congressional maps. 23 Our public hearing today is, again, an 24 opportunity for us, the members of the Select 25 Committee, to hear from you and hear your opinions.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">10</p> <p>1 Now, whether you signed up online in advance or 2 came today to put your name on the list, you'll 3 have an opportunity to speak for five minutes on 4 whatever idea you may have about Congressional 5 redistricting. 6 However, you choose -- however you choose 7 to spend your five minutes -- and we are here today 8 to hear from you about redistricting -- we are not 9 here to answer any questions, but to listen and 10 learn from your comments and ideas. 11 As to the rules that we'll follow in this 12 site and across the -- across the state, I will 13 introduce each speaker, especially in time in 14 Raleigh, and then the moderator from the different 15 cite as we rotate through will introduce that 16 speaker. And I would direct you to the -- if there 17 is any problems, any of the sites, you can go ahead 18 and talk to the staff person there, and they'll 19 relay it back to us, Representative Lewis and 20 myself, to help you with any problem. 21 Now, in the -- in the five minutes, we 22 have a staff person there, I believe Sergeant-at- 23 Arms at every location. And who is our Sergeant- 24 at-Arms here in with the yellow and red cards? 25 Okay. There it is.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">12</p> <p>1 is Chris Mansfield here? 2 Okay. Yeah, we'll go -- we will come 3 back -- we'll call -- see if Jane Pinsky is here? 4 Ms. Pinsky, if you'll identify yourself, 5 and then you have five minutes. 6 MS. JANE PINSKY: Good morning, Chairman 7 Rucho, Chairman Lewis, members of the Committee. 8 My name is Jane Pinsky. I am the Executive 9 Director of the North Carolina Coalition of 10 Lobbying and Government Reform. 11 The Coalition is approximately ten years 12 old and represents a wide array of partisan and 13 ideological views in the State of North Carolina. 14 The groups that make up the Coalition 15 range from the John Locke Foundation, to AARP, to 16 the AFL-CIO, to the League of Women Voters. 17 We are here today to simply say that the 18 problem is not with the districts as they are 19 drawn, but rather with the process that has 20 required you to draw these districts. 21 We know that drawing districts is not an 22 easy task, and that we have an unfortunate and long 23 history in North Carolina of partisan 24 gerrymandering. 25 We would encourage you, as you move</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">11</p> <p>1 And what we'll be doing at that point, 2 when the speaker begins, you'll have five minutes. 3 The Sergeant-at-Arms will show you a yellow card 4 when you have one minute remaining -- and you see a 5 yellow card there. And then at the end of five 6 minutes when your time is expired, you'll have a 7 red card. And then you'll be expected to conclude 8 your -- your -- your comments. 9 Now, also, in addition to the public 10 comments, we would welcome any written comments you 11 may have in addition to what you present today. 12 You can either have a written comment -- hand a 13 written comment to a staff member, or you can, as I 14 mentioned earlier, get onto the web site, which is 15 nclg.net/redistricting, and use the written 16 comment submission form if you have thoughts that 17 you wanted to share with this committee. 18 At this time, I'd like to present -- ask 19 for the first speaker to -- to come forward. And 20 in -- we'll do the first one in Raleigh. 21 And the first speaker today will be Chris 22 Mansfield. Now, when Chris Mansfield comes up to 23 the microphone in the back of the room, I need you 24 to identify yourself and basically where you 25 reside. And then we will begin the process. Is --</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">13</p> <p>1 forward, to look at a number of non-partisan 2 processes and at some of the legislation that has 3 indeed been proposed by members of this body. 4 Thank you very much. 5 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. All 6 right. I'm going to go to Central Piedmont 7 Community College, Representative Brawley, for the 8 first speaker there. Representative Brawley? 9 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you -- thank you, 10 Senator. The first speaker is Robin Hayes. 11 SEN. RUCHO: Okay. Would you repeat 12 that, please, Representative Brawley, a little 13 louder? 14 REP. BRAWLEY: [break in transmission] 15 -- microphones will pick up. That's a good 16 question. Which way should he look? Look toward 17 the camera right -- look toward that camera. 18 MR. ROBIN HAYES: Are we ready? 19 REP. BRAWLEY: Yes. 20 MR. HAYES: Good morning, ladies and 21 gentlemen. Thank you all for holding this hearing. 22 Representative Brawley. Democrats and Republicans 23 have worked very, very hard to draw a map, 24 regardless of what we all think [break in 25 transmission]</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">14</p> <p>1 I'm from Concord, North Carolina. I 2 reside in the Eighth District. I'm also a 3 recovering US Congressman. I have been affected by 4 redistricting twice, and I have some knowledge of 5 the process. 6 What I'd like to emphasize this morning 7 is that there are very clear rules for drawing 8 districts. It's based on a census which occurs 9 every ten years. The most people that we can have 10 involved in the election process is what I think is 11 the most important goal of being involved. 12 A number of you here are very active in 13 politics at the grassroots level. That's what it 14 takes for the system to work. Everybody involved 15 knows that every ten years, there's the authority 16 of the State [break in transmission] because of the 17 drawing a map. Consequently, you have ten years, 18 ten years -- [break in transmission] you have ten 19 years to organize your precincts and your districts 20 and to make sure that you elect the person that you 21 think is most qualified. 22 [break in transmission] Democrats some 23 25 years. The Republicans, some 25 years. The 24 rules haven't changed. You've got to [break in 25 transmission] by the federal government and the</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">16</p> <p>1 Brawley. We'll -- we're going to -- we're going to 2 move on to Fayetteville Technical Community 3 College, and reminding all of our moderators that 4 we're working off the online registration list 5 first. 6 And so, Senator Brent Jackson, are you 7 there? 8 SEN. JACKSON: Good morning, Senator 9 Rucho. We have Mr. John Harry was one of our first 10 to sign up online. Mr. Harry? 11 MR. JOHN HARRY: Yes. Good morning, 12 Chairman. I am John Harry from Hoke County. I 13 would like to talk about historical precedents. 14 Today the United States celebrates All 15 Presidents Day. And I, among -- among others of 16 faith, celebrate Lent. This past January 18th, we 17 celebrated Martin Luther King, Jr., and on December 18 25th, the symbolic birth of Jesus Christ, both 19 humble men of vision. 20 Today we are gathered here to give 21 testimony on political philosophy of the judiciary 22 intervention to the State of North Carolina and the 23 US Constitution, as it violates the principle of 24 one person and one vote, principles established by 25 Reynolds v. Sims, Wesberry v. Sanders, 1964, the</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">15</p> <p>1 Justice Department. They [break in transmission] 2 sign off on the map because they [break in 3 transmission] who want the most people to vote who 4 can [break in transmission] at this point to 5 overturn what the Republicans and the Democrats 6 have put together in the General Assembly, chaos 7 will result. 8 A similar situation, if my memory is 9 correct, occurred in 1998. A primary in May, and 10 then another Congressional primary in September. 11 799,000 folks voted in the regular primary. 12 166,000 voted in the later primary. You want to 13 disenfranchise voters and completely skew the 14 process, then let this judge -- three-judge panel 15 do what they're trying to do. 16 The system's here. The rules are known. 17 I recommend that the judges stay with the court 18 system, and let the legislature continue with its 19 process. And at the end of the day, the more 20 people participate, the quality of our government 21 will improve, and I recommend that we leave maps as 22 they are now. 23 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 24 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Mr. Hayes. 25 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you, Representative</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">17</p> <p>1 cornerstone of the Voting Act of 1965. 2 Prior to the Voting Act of 1965, a man of 3 vision stated, "In the process of gaining our 4 rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful 5 deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst of -- 6 for freedom by drinking from a cup of bitterness 7 and hate," Martin Luther King, Jr., 1963. 8 Another man of vision stated, "Do not 9 judge or you will be judged," Jesus Christ, 2,016 10 years ago. 11 Historically, since the mid-1930s, many 12 people believe it is the government's 13 responsibility to reach out for the issues and 14 solutions to all concerning, of course, our 15 respected country. This philosophy is counter to 16 the philosophy of our Constitution, as the issue at 17 hand today will show. 18 As a selected federal judge has stabbed 19 the citizens of North Carolina in the back with its 20 current ruling on political districting and 21 redistricting of one -- 1st district and 12th 22 district. The judge's lack of respect for the 23 voters of North Carolina, who in 2010, 2012, and 24 2014 voiced their approval for change from past 25 political gerrymandering of those in control of our</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">18</p> <p>1 government since Reconstruction. 2 [inaudible] Civil War, federal 3 Constitution did not provide protection for voting. 4 It was a function of the State. This changed for 5 the seceding states between 1865 and 1870 while 6 under the Military Reconstruction Act of 1867 7 forced the reentering Confederate states to adopt 8 universal male suffrage, which is the cornerstone 9 of the 14th amendment of 1868 [break in 10 transmission] 1870. The 15th Amendment -- excuse 11 me. In 1870. 12 The 15th Amendment, which provides the 13 right to vote, shall not be denied or abridged on 14 the basis of race, color, or previous condition of 15 servitude, superseded state law. 16 1871, the -- excuse me. The Enforcement 17 Act law, which violated the principle -- excuse me. 18 Provided for federal election oversight. [break in 19 transmission] Supreme Court ruling since struck 20 down state laws which violated the principle of the 21 15th Amendment. 22 Congress, Federal Congress, 1970 -- 23 excuse me, 1957, 1960, 1964, passed legislation 24 which contains voting-related provisions. In 1960 25 and 1962 the US Supreme Court ruled on</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">20</p> <p>1 state government, which I may say practices various 2 district modifications of their own since 3 Reconstruction. The current Republican program has 4 legal precedents under current state and federal 5 law to establish political districts. 6 In closing, others will talk about voters 7 defranchised. And if the current decision is not 8 overturned, as thousands of voters have already 9 voted by absentee ballot and -- and in particular 10 our military serving abroad and the elderly, the 11 high cost of redistricting will not affect only the 12 second and -- 1st and 2nd [sic] District, but will 13 generate the requirement that all present districts 14 undergo reconstruction. Thank you. 15 SEN. JACKSON: Thank you, Mr. Harry. 16 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you, Senator Jackson. 17 And we -- we -- to give everybody an opportunity to 18 speak, we must stay within the five-minute limit, 19 please. 20 All right. Going to Cape Fear Community 21 College, Representative Davis, your first person on 22 the online registration list, please. 23 REP. DAVIS: Yes, sir, Senator Rucho. 24 Our first speaker will be Ms. Helen Pannullo. 25 MS. HELEN PANNULLO: Good morning. My</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">19</p> <p>1 gerrymandering and grossly malproportionate state 2 legislative districts. 3 Voting Act of 1965, Section 2, 4, and 5 4 of the act are of relevance here today. Wake 5 County, North Carolina, in January 23rd, 1967, a 6 declaratory judgment as Wake and the State of North 7 Carolina under Section 5 was not a covered 8 jurisdiction, but a partially covered jurisdiction, 9 just like it is today. 10 In June 25th, 2013, the United States 11 Supreme Court ruled under Shelby v. Holder, 133 12 Supreme Court 2612, ruled Section 4B 13 unconstitutional, which is the preclearance rule -- 14 preclearance, excuse me. 15 Section 5, briefly, was designed to 16 ensure that voting changes and [unintelligible] 17 jurisdictions could not be implemented until a 18 favorable determination had been attained. 19 Section 4 had established a formula -- 20 formula for -- for determining cause, setting a 21 precedents that the philosophy of law is of 22 importance, which I, among others, worry the 23 Democrat party, through the voters of North 24 Carolina, Africans, Latinos, Caucasian and others, 25 remove them from control of the North Carolina</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">21</p> <p>1 name is Helen Pannullo, and I am the Chairman of 2 the North Carolina 7th Congressional District 3 Republican Party. 4 First, I want to extend our sympathy to 5 the family of Justice Scalia on his untimely 6 passing. He is in our thoughts and our prayers. 7 I want to thank the General Assembly -- I 8 want to thank the General Assembly for their 9 outreach to the community on this most critical 10 decision by the three-judge panel of the federal 11 court, that being the 1st and 12th Congressional 12 District are unconstitutional. 13 I would like to note that while -- while 14 the panel's finding on the 1st District was 15 unanimous, there was a two-to-one vote that the 16 12th was unconstitutional. 17 The requirement to draw the 1st and the 18 12th by February 19th, just four days from today, 19 is an impossible task. One has to wonder why the 20 Court imposed such an unreasonable deadline given 21 the complexity of the task to draw the 13 -- 13 22 districts in 2001 in order to meet federal 23 requirements, and the amount of time that was 24 provided for review in the State, also, the amount 25 of time that is necessary for the required federal</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">22</p> <p>1 review and preapproval by the US Department of 2 Justice. I should note that this preapproval was 3 granted in 2011 when the department was headed by 4 Attorney General Eric Holder. 5 So here we are with a Congressional 6 district map, drawn, as they have been in the past, 7 by the political party with the majority of members 8 in the NC House and Senate in the year following 9 the census. 10 This Republican majority was elected in 11 2010 in districts established by the Democrats 12 after the 2000 census. The 2011 district map was 13 then pre-cleared by a Democrat-controlled and many 14 say ultra-liberal US Department of Justice. 15 Yet in spite of this, various individuals 16 and organizations have waged an all-out campaign of 17 legal challenges that abuse and confuse the voters, 18 regardless of their political affiliation. 19 What concerns me is that the redrawing of 20 the 1st and the 12th could have a ripple effect 21 throughout the state, potentially changing 22 boundaries of all 13 Congressional districts. 23 The 7th District has boundaries with five 24 other Congressional districts. Those districts, in 25 turn, have boundaries with five other districts.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">24</p> <p>1 Assembly, not under an artificially short two-week 2 before the court steps in to draw the districts. 3 Voters have made their preference for 4 Republicans clearly known. It is a current 10-3 5 partisan split with Congressional delegation is the 6 fair result of voters' decision to elect 7 Republicans. Any new map should keep the precincts 8 and counties whole as much as possible. And due to 9 the declining influence of our rural community, the 10 smaller counties should not be split. 11 Thank you again for this public hearing 12 and the opportunity to speak. 13 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you in Cape Fear. 14 Moving on to UNC-Asheville, Representative McGrady, 15 your first person on the online list. 16 REP. MCGRADY: Our first speaker is Bob 17 Penland. 18 And for the speakers that are in the 19 front of the room, we've got a member of the 20 Sergeant-at-Arms staff, and he will have cards that 21 will indicate when you get to your time limit and 22 one minute before that time limit. 23 Mr. Penland, all you need to do is press 24 the button. 25 MR. BOB PENLAND: My name is Bob Penland.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">23</p> <p>1 Again, one has to wonder if the change is really 2 about drawing all 13 districts, not just the 1st 3 and the 12th. So the impact of [unintelligible] 4 have far greater ramifications that two 5 Congressional districts. 6 The federal ruling has created chaos in 7 our primary election. Voting has already begun, 8 with thousands of voters requesting and receiving 9 absentee ballots. Many have already submitted 10 their votes. 11 Delaying the Congressional primary will 12 cause unprecedented voter confusion, will actually 13 disenfranchise voters across the state, probably in 14 greater numbers than those voters who are purported 15 to be disenfranchised in this court case. And if a 16 separate Congressional primary election is required 17 to be held in the summer, history has shown that 18 dramatically fewer voters turn out for second 19 primaries, again depriving voters of an orderly and 20 timely primary process. 21 I believe the Congressional districts are 22 fair and legal. I am opposed to redrawing them. 23 However, if the courts prevail in this case, I 24 believe the redrawing of Congressional districts 25 should be done in a timely manner by the General</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">25</p> <p>1 I live in Candler, North Carolina. I'm a retired 2 military person. And I'm here for my very first 3 time at a public hearing to speak out. And I think 4 I'm speaking on behalf of thousands of other people 5 across this state just like myself. 6 We voted in 2010, 2012 to change the 7 legislative body over to control of the 8 Republicans, and I think that they did a very good 9 job on drawing the redistricting. Redistricting 10 was approved by the Justice Department, which I 11 note was controlled at that time by Eric Holder, 12 who is not [break in transmission]. 13 Article 1, Section 4, of our US 14 Constitution gives the right to the legislators to 15 draw district lines for Congressional elections. I 16 think our current lines are fair and equitable. I 17 think that we should leave them like they are. 18 Speaking as a retired military person, I 19 wonder how many thousands of ballots have already 20 been mailed and voted, and you are going to throw 21 those people away, and they are the ones that are 22 protecting the rights of the people sitting in this 23 room, giving them the right to vote for whomever 24 they choose. 25 So I think our section -- our</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">26</p> <p>1 Congressional boundaries should remain the same. 2 Thank you. 3 SEN. RUCHO: Okay. Thank you -- thank 4 you very much. Moving on to Halifax Community 5 College. Representative Stam, your first person on 6 the online registration list. 7 REP. STAM: Yes, sir. We would call up 8 Ophelia Gould-Faison. And on deck, Ronnie Reeves. 9 If you would state your name for the record and -- 10 come right here, Ms. Faison. 11 MS. OPHELIA GOULD-FAISON: Good morning. 12 My name is Ophelia Gould-Faison. I'm a resident 13 here of Halifax County, Congressional District 14 Number 1, served by the Honorable G.K. Butterfield. 15 First of all, I have a concern about the 16 short notice of this hearing. Getting public 17 input. I don't know -- I'm concerned that this 18 representation has not been fulfilled for our area 19 of eastern North Carolina because of the weather. 20 Congressional district has been redrawn, 21 and it's been redrawn through racial lines. It's a 22 form of gerrymandering. As we can see, if you look 23 at the map, it's drawn oddly-shaped, which groups 24 blacks in one district, and making it so that other 25 races, Caucasians, are voted, and it -- and it</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">28</p> <p>1 moments ago, just to let you know that we did have 2 a few more members attend. 3 Okay. Our next person is Linda Harper. 4 Linda Harper. 5 Okay. Linda Harper is not in this room. 6 Brian Irving is the next speaker. Is Brian Irving 7 here? Okay. 8 Dennis Burns? Not here. 9 Brian Fitzsimmons? If you'll go up to 10 the microphone and identify yourself. 11 MR. BRIAN FITZSIMMONS: Thank you, Mr. 12 Chairman. My name is Brian Fitzsimmons. I am the 13 Chair of the Wake County Democratic Party. I am a 14 constituent of Senator Barefoot's and 15 Representative Jackson, and my Congressman is 16 Representative Holding in District 13. 17 It was -- I was interested to hear, 18 Senator, you bring up the idea of chaos and 19 costliness. This is -- this is what you did. This 20 is what happened. This is the chaos and 21 costliness. The -- the responsibility for that 22 falls directly on this body. So the chaos and 23 costliness that is going on right now is of your 24 own doing. 25 You tried to fix a problem that did not</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">27</p> <p>1 helps the -- excuse me. It helps to elect the 2 legislators. And this redrawing has done just 3 that. 4 Let's not forget, it's always a good time 5 to do what is right. And the concern about the 6 election that's going forth now, the early voting, 7 the absentee ballot, sometimes we do have to step 8 back and look at the importance of even though 9 people have already started -- are voting through 10 absentee ballot, we -- it would behoove us to do 11 what is right, and if necessary, start this 12 election process over again. 13 Thank you. Thank you for your time. 14 REP. STAM: Senator Rucho, may I announce 15 that since the beginning, we've been joined by 16 Senator Don Davis, who came all the way from Snow 17 Hill and passed nine accidents on the way. 18 Can we have another one from here, or do 19 we do -- 20 SEN. RUCHO: No, we're going to -- we're 21 going to rotate back through the cycle. Okay? 22 Thank you. We'll be back with you. 23 Back in Raleigh -- and again, I will say 24 I see Senator Woodward is here, Representative 25 Michaux, and Representative Harrison I saw a few</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">29</p> <p>1 exist. Congressional Districts 1 and 12 had 2 elected African American candidates without the 3 redistricting process of putting predominately 4 African American voter rolls into each of those 5 districts. 6 This plan does nothing more than 7 segregate African American voters into Districts 1 8 and 12. North Carolina has a long history of 9 political gerrymandering. It was wrong when the 10 Democrats did it. It's wrong when the Republicans 11 do it. It doesn't make it any better or any 12 less -- less bad because one party is in power. 13 One of our prior speakers spoke about the 14 7th Congressional district having five county -- or 15 five Congressional districts border it. That in 16 and of itself is -- is an example of why this 17 gerrymandering process is as wrong as it is. 18 I urge you -- I urge you to look at this 19 in the -- with the right set of glasses. To look 20 at it and do the right thing, the right thing being 21 drawing these districts the way that they should 22 have been drawn in the first place. 23 Thank you. 24 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving 25 again -- reminding folks that because of the</p>



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1 inclement weather, Guilford Tech Community College  
2 is -- cancelled the hearing today. But those  
3 individuals that might want to can still use the  
4 NCLEG website to put their comments forward.  
5 And, members of the committee, I will say  
6 to you that we're getting a number of comments  
7 online. They will be sent to you so that you can  
8 have them well in advance, so you'll have a chance  
9 to review the written comments in addition to what  
10 you're hearing today.  
11 We're going to go to Representative  
12 Brawley at Central Piedmont Community College.  
13 Representative Brawley, the next person on your  
14 online registration list. Representative Brawley?  
15 Representative Brawley at Central Piedmont  
16 Community College.  
17 REP. BRAWLEY: Yeah. Senator, we have  
18 Gene Millsaps. Can y'all hear us?  
19 SEN. RUCHO: Yes, sir, now we can.  
20 REP. BRAWLEY: Okay. Good deal. Thank  
21 you.  
22 MR. GENE MILLSAPS: Thank you for this  
23 opportunity. I am Gene Millsaps with the  
24 [unintelligible] of Iredell County. I rise to  
25 support the correction of the current Congressional

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1 district plan to bring fair representation to North  
2 Carolina citizens.  
3 With regard to the election timeline, it  
4 is unfortunate that some courts have upheld the  
5 current plan, but is fine to make corrections. The  
6 fact that some absentee ballots have been requested  
7 and submitted does not outweigh the damage done by  
8 holding a third election on an unconstitutional  
9 map.  
10 Ensuring our elections are constitutional  
11 should be the primary goal. Certainly, it is one  
12 worth dealing with -- dealing with a few  
13 administrative problems.  
14 If the Republican majority had not  
15 abruptly and unnecessarily moved up the election,  
16 primary election a few months ago, then candidate  
17 filing would not even be closed yet.  
18 With regard to openness and transparency,  
19 this redistricting plan [break in transmission].  
20 Our voters need to have faith in the process and in  
21 their government.  
22 These public hearings are extremely  
23 important. They were announced after 5:00 p.m.  
24 this past Friday, and scheduled for 10:00 a.m. the  
25 following Monday morning. This procedure may not

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1 be a good faith effort to collect feedback, but  
2 we'll make the best of it.  
3 Any consultants involved in the drawing  
4 of these maps should be made available in committee  
5 meetings so that the public may have a full  
6 understanding of his or her role and the intent in  
7 creating these maps.  
8 The map drawing process should be a  
9 public record. As a result, any plan should be  
10 drawn at the General Assembly on State equipment  
11 and computer so that the public that the public may  
12 view what -- may view the background and thinking  
13 behind that plan.  
14 Republican leadership should disclose  
15 every cent of taxpayer money that has been spent on  
16 consultants to draw the maps and outside attorneys  
17 for their advice on the updated plans.  
18 I urge the General Assembly to unpack the  
19 improperly packed 1st and 12th Districts, and  
20 restore fair representation to the citizens of the  
21 adjacent districts.  
22 Thank you.  
23 AUDIENCE MEMBER: Here, here.  
24 (Applause.)  
25 REP. BRAWLEY: I have already said there

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1 will be no shout-outs in this.  
2 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you.  
3 REP. BRAWLEY: There will be no  
4 demonstrations. This is not a sporting event.  
5 SEN. RUCHO: Moving on to the next  
6 speaker, we're going to do so that we can make sure  
7 we give everybody an opportunity. We'll be at  
8 Fayetteville Tech. I've got -- Senator Jackson,  
9 your next person on your online registration list.  
10 SEN. JACKSON: Thank you, Senator Rucho.  
11 We have Jerry Rinehold is our second person to sign  
12 up online. Jerry?  
13 MR. JERRY RINEHOLD: Mr. Chairman, good  
14 morning. My name is Jerry Rinehold, 516 Deerpath  
15 Drive, Fayetteville, North Carolina, 28311. I am a  
16 resident of Cumberland County and have also served  
17 as a Cumberland County election precinct [break in  
18 transmission]. I'm in the 4th Congressional  
19 District.  
20 Thank you for hosting this public comment  
21 period to permit citizens to [break in  
22 transmission] to the Joint Select Committee on  
23 Congressional Redistricting.  
24 I recommend that the entire March 15th  
25 North Carolina primary proceed as scheduled to

<p style="text-align: right;">34</p> <p>1 preserve -- prevent the potential 2 disenfranchisement of one segment of our community 3 that is often overlooked, our military and our 4 civilian overseas absentee voters who are defending 5 this nation. 6 In July 1968, I was inducted into our 7 Army in Los Angeles, California. I maintained a 8 California residency and cast absentee ballots 9 until retiring from the Army at Fort Bragg in 1988. 10 Military absentee voting was a real 11 challenge in those days. Today the process of 12 requesting and receiving absentee ballots is 13 easier, but the constant moves of those overseas 14 make it difficult for today's mobile force to 15 successfully complete the voting process. 16 I am passionate about wanting every 17 member of our military service to have a voice in 18 selection of their civilian governmental leaders. 19 The spreadsheet that I provided to the 20 Sergeant-at-Arms is my analysis of the November 21 2012 North Carolina and Cumberland County military 22 absentee ballot returns. Less than 80 percent of 23 absentee ballots were returned. 24 I have mailed hundreds of packets to our 25 members at arms to encourage them to vote and apply</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">36</p> <p>1 will have the potential to disenfranchise the 2 military and civilians who are defending this 3 nation overseas so that we have free and open 4 elections. 5 The North Carolina State Board of 6 Elections [break in transmission] absentee voter 7 file reported that 1,660 of the 15,811 North 8 Carolina voters requesting absentee ballots are 9 military and civilian overseas voters. Cumberland 10 County is represented with 101 of those voters. 11 I certainly hope the United States 12 Supreme Court permits the election to proceed -- to 13 proceed without disenfranchisement of our military 14 and civilian overseas voters. 15 Thank you. 16 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving 17 on to Cape Fear Community College, Representative 18 Davis, your next person on your list. 19 REP. DAVIS: Thank you, Senator Rucho. 20 The next person on the list to speak with be Bob 21 Williams. 22 While he's coming forward, I'd like to 23 say, sir, that Senator Louis Pate drove all the way 24 down from Wayne County to be with us and is here 25 now, sir.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">35</p> <p>1 for absentee ballots. The -- I've also provided an 2 example of a packet that went to a Fort Bragg 3 soldier in 2014. It includes a Cumberland County 4 early voting schedule, absentee ballot request 5 application, a pocket United States Constitution, 6 and a [break in transmission] guide. 7 I sent out similar packets less the early 8 voting schedule and absentee ballot request to 9 about 400 Cumberland County military and civilian 10 overseas voters who had requested absentee ballots. 11 About 20 percent of the packets were returned as 12 undeliverable. 13 I developed an additional study related 14 to the Associated Press October 26, 2012, report of 15 the crash of a transport aircraft in Afghanistan 16 reported to be carrying ballots. I wanted to 17 answer the question, were there any North Carolina 18 military absentee ballots on that aircraft. My 19 assessment was that none of our ballots were 20 destroyed in the accident. 21 I'm sharing this information with you to 22 show some of the impediments that our military and 23 civilian overseas voters already face, preventing 24 them from successfully voting. 25 Changes in the election already underway</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">37</p> <p>1 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. 2 MR. BOB WILLIAMS: Good morning, and 3 thank you for allowing the public the opportunity 4 to speak about the plans to redraw the 5 Congressional districts based on the ruling of the 6 United States District Court for the Middle 7 District of North Carolina, Congressional Districts 8 1 and 12 are unconstitutional. 9 I'm Bob Williams. I'm a member of the 10 Onslow Board of Education. I'm also a -- a member 11 at large for both the 3rd Congressional District 12 and the NCLP Executive Committees. 13 I'm speaking here today on behalf on 14 behalf of my Republican affiliations and not my 15 non-partisan affiliation with the Board of 16 Education. 17 But I would like to say this. 18 Redistricting, no matter what has happened, creates 19 chaos. We recently went through a redistricting 20 process in Onslow County school districts. But 21 after the redistricting, we had very, very few, if 22 any, comments or concerns after it happened. 23 Well, less than a month ago, before the 24 primary election, the Congressional races are being 25 thrown into a turmoil. Candidates and voters are</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">38</p> <p>1 facing the likelihood that they may have wasted 2 much of their time and money preparing for the 3 primary election. 4 Today, State Senator Dan Blue, who 5 represents 14th [break in transmission] Senate 6 District, in 1991, he was elected as the first 7 black Speaker of the House. Both the Senate and 8 the House began plans in 1991 to redraw the state 9 Congressional districts. 10 If you go back and you look at what 11 Congressional districts were up until about 1991, 12 you will see that they were fairly steady. They 13 were fairly compact. And there was very, very 14 little turmoil within that process. 15 Why was that? The majority of the people 16 who were voting during that time were Democrats. 17 Very few Republican input. And there's wherein the 18 problem started. 19 In 1991, the Democrats, who were the 20 majority parties in both chambers of the 21 legislature, and they were responsible for drawing 22 both the 1st and the 12th Districts. 23 Under the Section 5 of the Voting Rights 24 Act, the preclearance, as we've already from 25 previous testimony, the two districts were drawn in</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">40</p> <p>1 were clearly motivated by the changing of parties, 2 Republican influence within that. And the 3 Democrats enhanced measures to prohibit the 4 Republicans from gaining control over those areas 5 where mapping and redistricting were constantly. 6 While I'm not surprised that we're 7 holding a public hearing to discuss the same two 8 Congressional districts almost five years after the 9 Republican majority voted in 2010 -- excuse me, 10 '11, when they used almost the identical 11 methodology in 1991. 12 I'm not a fan of gerrymandering districts 13 for any reason. But it has been the practice of 14 political parties to redraw districts in favor of 15 whoever is the majority party. Race should not 16 play any part in the political considerations for 17 redrawing our districts. 18 The color of our skin should not 19 predetermine what political party we belong to or 20 for whom we vote. The only race we should be 21 considering is the human race, as ability to think 22 and reason allows us to make educated decisions 23 regarding the issues and candidates who best 24 represents our beliefs and interests. 25 Have a good day, and thank you for the</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">39</p> <p>1 such a matter that they included larger numbers of 2 voting age populations who were black. They also 3 happened to be Democrats. 4 The redrawing of the two districts 5 resulted in litigation that lasted almost 10 years. 6 Republicans, members of the legislature, and others 7 filed lawsuits against that. For 25 years we've 8 been fighting this problem, and today it has become 9 an issue because the courts have ruled against what 10 happened in 2011. 11 The Republicans gained a majority in the 12 legislature, and the districts with -- were redrawn 13 during -- after the 2010 federal census. A lawsuit 14 was brought against the legislature that contends 15 District 1 and 12 redrawn in 2011 were drawn with 16 race as the primary motivation, and not political 17 party demographics. 18 I would invite you to go back and take a 19 look at the map that you can do. Go and do a 20 search online for the legislature, North Carolina 21 legislature and redistricting. You'll find under 22 Wikipedia different maps that are in there that 23 goes all the way back to 1973. 1973 to 2011, 24 you'll see the different changes in the maps. 25 You can see that the changes in the maps</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">41</p> <p>1 opportunity to speak. 2 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving 3 on to UNC-Asheville. Representative McGrady, your 4 next speaker. 5 REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Thomas 6 Keith Thompson. 7 MR. THOMAS KEITH THOMPSON: Yes. My name 8 is Thomas Keith Thompson. I live in Woodson. I am 9 a small business owner, a father or two. I spent 10 10 years as a Board of Elections Precinct Clerk and 11 judge, and my son is a North Carolina voter and 12 current US Coast Guard active-duty member. 13 The North Carolina General Assembly is 14 constituted to represent the people. Elections 15 have consequences, and so do US District Court 16 rulings. You need to comply with this decision, 17 and quit pretending that it does not exist. 18 The lines of districts should allow and 19 encourage representation. They should not be a 20 shopping expedition for elected officials to 21 control the people. 22 Even in the west, at the edge of 23 districts, you have created chaos by the way you 24 originally drew these lines. In the 2012 election, 25 there were 25 separate ballots at Buncombe County's</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">42</p> <p>1 Crossroads Assembly precinct, splitting one 2 precinct by Congressional and North Carolina House 3 and Senate districts. 600 precincts statewide have 4 the same problem.</p> <p>5 A decent respect for the opinions of 6 mankind demand more compact districts that honor 7 communities of interest and compact geographic 8 boundaries, not exploit geographical information 9 systems and demographic software that create 10 vantage stands [ph] aimed to disenfranchise voters.</p> <p>11 Stop pretending this ruling doesn't apply 12 to you, and redraw the districts in a fair and 13 reasonable manner. The eyes of the world are upon 14 you. It is always the right time to do the right 15 thing. Thank you very much.</p> <p>16 SEN. RUCHO: All right. Thank you. 17 Moving on to Halifax Community College. 18 Representative Stam, your next speaker. 19 Representative Stam at Halifax Community College.</p> <p>20 MR. GARY GRANT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 21 My name is Gary Grant, and I come from the historic 22 community of Tillery Farms, a resettlement 23 community out of the New Deal era of the 1930s and 24 '40s.</p> <p>25 I am here in Halifax County. I am a</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">44</p> <p>1 eastern North Carolina has in common with the urban 2 areas of Durham, other than the fact that we are 3 majority black. And as we signed in today, we were 4 asked what was our race. And I'm wondering if that 5 will have some impact on how are comments are 6 viewed that this hearing was predominantly spoken 7 to by black people here in the 1st Congressional 8 district.</p> <p>9 What you are doing is not legislative 10 leadership, among other things that you've been 11 doing for many of the years that you've been there. 12 I consider the hearings a joke. And they make no 13 sense. And that we will still be in the dark when 14 the hearings are over. The voters here will not 15 know anything any more than what they've already 16 seen.</p> <p>17 Many citizens spoke against this district 18 when it was drawn in the first place. We traveled 19 all across the eastern North Carolina to make 20 comments about the fact that the district was not 21 fair and that you were cramming black people into 22 one -- one spot.</p> <p>23 Elections going forth should not go 24 forth, and you need to stop it and do what is 25 right. And I hear about all the absentee ballots</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">43</p> <p>1 registered and participating Democrat. And I speak 2 not just for me, but for many other citizens who 3 are not able to make it here today because of the 4 fact that, one, we did not have ample notification.</p> <p>5 Two, how dare you endanger our lives on 6 the icy roads out here, and then make light of it 7 because Senator Davis got here after seeing a 8 number of accidents. And I saw a number of 9 accidents on my way. If you were truly concerned 10 about this, you would have delayed these hearings 11 until our roads had thawed so that we would be able 12 to have more people present to address you.</p> <p>13 You've known for more than a week that 14 you were going to have to do something, and yet we 15 find out on Sunday that there is a meeting here on 16 Monday.</p> <p>17 You have produced no maps for 18 alternatives that we would have the opportunity to 19 see, so how do we know that you won't come back 20 with something just as crazy as what you have done 21 already? How can citizens make intelligent 22 comments on something that we have not seen? How 23 do we know that you won't produce the same kind of 24 crazy maps again?</p> <p>25 I've been trying to figure out what rural</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">45</p> <p>1 that have been sent out and have been sent in, 2 which means that you have the names and addresses 3 of those who have already voted by absentee ballot. 4 Send them out to them again. They should not have 5 to request them. Just send them to them again, and 6 let them vote once you have cleared up this matter.</p> <p>7 And stop blaming our Justice Department 8 for accepting something that they probably didn't 9 really look at to start out with. You all are the 10 ones who fit -- who drew this map and who made the 11 1st Congressional District look like, actually, 12 clown shoes.</p> <p>13 You act as if none of us have anything 14 better to do today, that we have to sit here and 15 wait for the comments from people in other places, 16 and they have to sit and wait for us to make our 17 comments when we all ought to be able to just make 18 these comments in our certain districts and then be 19 able to go home or go back to our work or whatever 20 it is that we need to get done today. And we also, 21 here in this county, need to get home before the 22 rain that's falling out there freezes on the road 23 again.</p> <p>24 Holding hearings in this manner is 25 ridiculous. It's wrong. Redo the district lines</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">46</p> <p>1 and do the right thing. I guess that's all that I 2 have to say. It's a mess. You made it. Clean it 3 up. Thank you. 4 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving 5 back to Raleigh, our next speaker will be Rev. Dr. 6 Earl Johnson. Dr. Johnson, are you here? 7 REV. DR. EARL JOHNSON: Yes. 8 SEN. RUCHO: Okay. 9 REV. DR. EARL JOHNSON: Thank you for an 10 opportunity this morning. Federal judges have 11 ruled two of North Carolina's 13 Congressional 12 Districts are racial gerrymanders. I believe they 13 are talking about District 1 and 12, unlawfully 14 tacking African Americans within their boundaries 15 and whitening the surrounding areas all for 16 political gain. 17 This was drafted by the Republican-led 18 North Carolina General Assembly in 2011. These 19 maps aggressively segregate voters and undermine 20 the development of multiracial coalitions. They 21 also -- these maps are the most cynical kind of 22 politics. They meticulously divide the state into 23 racial lines, dividing communities that have a 24 proven record of working together towards common 25 goals.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">48</p> <p>1 The next -- the net result of this 2 redistricting plan is that it does not improve 3 African American election prospects at all, because 4 they are already winning. What it does is 5 minimizes the influence of African Americans in 6 surrounding districts. 7 The gerrymandering in the 1st and 12th 8 Congressional Districts are symptoms of a bigger 9 problem, and that is simply that we are a broken 10 redistricting process. Ideally, districts are 11 supposed to be a compact [break in transmission] 12 with as few counties and precincts split as 13 possible and keeping communities of interest whole. 14 What plagues us is partisan gerrymandering. And as 15 a member of -- on the board of Common Cause, we 16 push for this. 17 Ultimately, districts are drawn to the 18 advantage of a party that is in power. And all too 19 often, the impact on me as an African American is 20 that we have districts that either allow one party 21 to take my vote for granted or another party to 22 write my vote off. And I can tell you now, I would 23 rather have a party to take my vote for granted 24 than to have one to take it off altogether. 25 And that's wrong. We need districts that</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">47</p> <p>1 The Voting Rights Act was established to 2 protect minority voters. These maps not only 3 undermine that intent, they effectively marginalize 4 minority voters. When redistricting processes are 5 controlled by legislatures, then political concerns 6 will play a role. 7 This plan, however, is more than just 8 partisan politics. This plan segregates African 9 American voters rather than building African 10 Americans into the fabric of North Carolina. When 11 you segregate the electorate by race, you change 12 the politics of the state for the worse. 13 District 1 and District 12 had both 14 historically elected African Americans by 15 comfortable margins. There was no legal 16 justification for increasing the African American 17 percentage in those districts by 50 percent. And 18 it is clear that packing black voters into these 19 districts was the primary goal of the plan, meaning 20 that race was the most important factor in the 21 creation. 22 These districts move us back to a day of 23 segregation that most of us thought we had already 24 moved away from. In fact, some claim that we were 25 living in a post-racial generation.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">49</p> <p>1 don't marginalize anyone's vote regardless of their 2 race. As former Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day 3 O'Connor once noted, "Racial gerrymandering bears 4 an uncomfortable resemblance to political 5 apartheid." And that is what we are experiencing 6 today. 7 Thank you on behalf of Common Cause and 8 on behalf of ECJ Ministries. 9 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving 10 to Central Piedmont, Representative Brawley, next 11 speaker. 12 REP. BRAWLEY: Can you hear me, Senator? 13 SEN. RUCHO: Yes, sir. 14 REP. BRAWLEY: Okay. Mr. Clarence 15 Leverette is recognized for five minutes. Sir, you 16 have the floor. If you'd come up between the 17 microphones and camera [break in transmission]. 18 Thank you, sir. 19 MR. CLARENCE LEVERETTE: Okay. Good 20 morning. My name is Clarence Leverette. I am the 21 present -- president of the African American Caucus 22 in Iredell County. And it seems that most of my 23 talking points have already been expressed. 24 But I do want to just throw out or 25 present a few ideas, first being people all will</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">50</p> <p>1 agree that voters should be able to choose their 2 elected officials. But here in North Carolina, it 3 seems that the legislators have divided, because of 4 this redistricting, they've divided our state in 5 order to choose the voters rather than it be the 6 other way around. 7 I have heard earlier -- earlier, they 8 have meticulously divided our state along racial 9 lines. And it divides our communities as well. 10 And the Voting Rights Act was established to 11 protect minority voters. And of course, as I stand 12 here, I'm sure you have no problem understanding 13 what -- where my focus is, being African American. 14 When redistricting processes are 15 controlled by the legislature, there is obviously a 16 tendency for political concerns to be addressed or 17 to be observed. This plan further segregates the 18 African American voters, rather than building the 19 African American -- African American into the 20 fabric of the -- the country itself and North 21 Carolina in particular. 22 So when you segregate the electorate by 23 race, which should not be, but you change the 24 politics of the state for the worse. These 25 districts move us back to a day of segregation that</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">52</p> <p>1 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving 2 on to Fayetteville Tech, Representative -- excuse 3 me, Senator Jackson. Sorry. Senator Jackson? 4 MR. HOWARD MENDELSON: My name is Howard 5 Mendelson. I'm from Moore County. And I'd like to 6 express my opinions today on support for the 7 current districting of maps that was conducted and 8 approved in 2011. 9 I feel at this time that the -- that the 10 maps were approved by the General Assembly through 11 due process, and that the -- further approved by 12 the Department of Justice. And we have to take 13 into consideration the fact that they did that at 14 that time. 15 We've gone through the 2012 and the 2014 16 elections. There has been no concern as far as 17 voiced through lawsuits or any attempt to change 18 redistricting. Now, this is the first time that 19 the GOP has had an opportunity to redistrict 20 districts in the State of North Carolina since the 21 '90s. And the Democrats are now in attempt to do 22 this [break in transmission] into the process in an 23 effort to sway the outcome of the elections [break 24 in transmission] as far as by causing a delay in -- 25 into our process of having our primaries, and also</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">51</p> <p>1 most of us thought we'd moved away from. 2 And we all understand that the party 3 that's representing the majority is the one that is 4 responsible for redistricting the -- doing the 5 redistricting. 6 But someone made a comment earlier that 7 when the Democrats were in office and they drew -- 8 drew the districts, back in 1991, that from that 9 point on, up until very recently, we never really 10 had a problem when -- especially to this magnitude. 11 Of course, after the 2010 election -- 12 census, rather, and the 2011 redistricting, there 13 has been a groundswell of concern. And while I 14 don't attribute any kind of moral turpitude into 15 how the legislature did the redistricting, when you 16 look at the results, then there is a cause for 17 concern. 18 From an African American's perspective, 19 we have lost because we've been packed, as they -- 20 as they say, have been packed into these districts, 21 1 and 2. It doesn't allow the African American 22 communities that are in the surrounding areas to be 23 able to represent their voice or express their 24 voice. 25 Thank you very much.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">53</p> <p>1 possibly with an attempt to change the outcome of 2 the election in favor of the Democrat party. 3 The late submission here for this lawsuit 4 and further being joined by the Department of 5 Justice put more chaos into the whole process. The 6 State has spent a lot of money and a lot of time to 7 get these early balloting done. And now we have 8 people that are in the military that are out of 9 state right now serving their country that are 10 forced now to go through this process and it will 11 possible -- their outcome in doubt as to whether 12 they'll be accepted or not. 13 I think now that the -- the district -- 14 the Department of Justice entering into this 15 lawsuit is a further indication of an attempt by 16 the Democratic Party to further skew the outcome of 17 any election attempts. 18 There's no question that North Carolina 19 is a state that is going to be at the -- at the 20 crux of the next Presidential election. This is 21 the first time in the history since the end of the 22 Civil War that North Carolina has voted for 23 Republicans, and it has done so by the will of the 24 people. 25 There have been attempts to say that we</p>

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1 are trying to become a segregationist society,  
2 which is not true. [break in transmission]  
3 attempted to allow everyone the opportunity to  
4 vote, and they have the right to choose who they  
5 select.  
6 And then I believe now that the current  
7 redistricting is accomplished through the due  
8 process as prescribed by law through the General  
9 Assembly, and further because of the Voting Rights  
10 Act of 1965 was approved by the Department of  
11 Justice.  
12 Any attempts now to change that will be  
13 to go against the will of the people in this state.  
14 And it would throw everything into -- into a  
15 chaotic situation. And would be unfair and costly  
16 to the people of North Carolina.  
17 Thank you for this opportunity to speak.  
18 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving  
19 on to Cape Fear Community College. I've got  
20 Representative Davis.  
21 REP. DAVIS: Mr. Chairman, our next  
22 speaker will be Susan Bulluck, who is recognized to  
23 speak for up to five minutes.  
24 MS. SUSAN BULLUCK: Thank you, Senator  
25 Rucho, Committee members, ladies and gentlemen and

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1 representatives from coastal counties. I live at  
2 102 Tanbridge Road in Wilmington.  
3 I am in the Jones district  
4 Congressionally. I have had the opportunity to be  
5 in both Rouzer's district and in Jones's district.  
6 I moved my residence one place or the other, and  
7 that is a symptom of the problem.  
8 I act as a campaign consultant and have  
9 worked in probably 55 to 60 of our counties. I  
10 work out of this state most of the time because I  
11 don't wish to foul my nest, because every election  
12 has at least half of the folks in opposition. If  
13 you are a winner, that's wonderful. If you are  
14 not, then you live with your neighbors who may have  
15 angst.  
16 I'm here to tell you that I've been in  
17 those rooms, smoke-filled in the past, maybe vapor-  
18 filled now, where the decisions are made about  
19 which block goes in which district. The fact is  
20 that that occurred, yes, late in the '80s, and both  
21 parties are equally guilty of the matching of  
22 voters to the particular district.  
23 The fact is that it changed dramatically  
24 with the input and the technology changes of the  
25 '80s and '90s. I own programs that were designed

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1 and rooted in programs that came out of Lee  
2 Atwater's original organization that actually uses  
3 the census data to register each of your addresses,  
4 your voting registration, your ethnicity, and a  
5 whole lot of other data now as metadata.  
6 I can use that program, along with either  
7 Republican or Democratic committees, to  
8 redistricting, to design any district I want.  
9 Obviously, the snaky district that I live in was  
10 designed for a purpose that was beyond asking for a  
11 compact district of like issues.  
12 The Court is going to decide this  
13 election. The Court -- we are beyond our hearing  
14 of saying to the Supreme Court, "Give us a stay or  
15 not." They're already making their decisions.  
16 What I'm asking all of you to do in my  
17 legislature -- yes, my accent is clearly Midwestern  
18 Northern, but I've been here since '75 -- you're my  
19 legislature and I want you to take the issue up in  
20 the next session to design and go with the 22 other  
21 states who have already passed legislation to make  
22 districting a commission of non-partisan nature,  
23 based on expertise, based on the capability that  
24 our new technology has.  
25 The problem we have has been exacerbated

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1 since 1980. I don't want to have to go back and  
2 sit in those rooms where we decide on individual  
3 districts by who lives in that block.  
4 Thank you.  
5 SEN RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving  
6 on to UNC-Asheville. Representative McGrady, next  
7 speaker.  
8 REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Tom  
9 Byers.  
10 MR. TOM BYERS: Thank you. I am Tom  
11 Byers, a resident of Asheville.  
12 We North Carolinians are finding  
13 ourselves in a bit of a tight spot at the moment.  
14 With the Federal Court having told us that two of  
15 our Congressional districts do not pass muster,  
16 there's a natural uncertainty about whether, when,  
17 and how our primary elections can go forward.  
18 But finding ourselves in this tight spot  
19 may also give us an opportunity, a chance to step  
20 back and take a big picture look at an issue that  
21 very much deserves a big picture look, the  
22 redistricting process itself. It deserves a big  
23 picture look because redistricting is very basic to  
24 the sound functioning of democracy.  
25 I want to urge the General Assembly to

<p style="text-align: right;">58</p> <p>1 make our redistricting process better by making it 2 as non-partisan as we reasonably can. To do that, 3 we need to create a non-partisan redistricting 4 commission along the lines of ones that are already 5 functioning successfully in some of our sister 6 states, in order to assure that the process is 7 ultimately accountable to the people through our 8 elected representatives. The General Assembly 9 could retain a legislative veto power over the 10 commission's work.</p> <p>11 Here are a few reasons why we should 12 change the way we've been doing redistricting in 13 North Carolina. A partisan process where whichever 14 party happens to be in control after the decennial 15 census uses its leverage to draw lines to its 16 advantage undermines the democratic process. When 17 the party in power manipulates boundaries to give 18 itself an edge, the end result is elected officials 19 who don't necessarily represent the true preference 20 of the majority. That is not good.</p> <p>21 Second, districts drawn to assure that 22 one party has the advantage contribute to 23 governmental gridlock. The essence of lawmaking is 24 compromise. No two of us citizens have the same 25 opinion on every issue, so it's always necessary</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">60</p> <p>1 logged on through the website, the official US 2 Capitol website to which I was linked, told me I 3 was in someone else's district.</p> <p>4 Long story short, after thorough research 5 which I had to initiate, it was firmly established 6 that the US Capitol website was wrong. If they 7 can't even keep it straight, with all their 8 hardware and software, what chance does the average 9 person have?</p> <p>10 Fourth and finally, the spectacle of 11 partisan gerrymandering breeds cynicism in 12 citizens. When people see their legislators treat 13 governing as a sort of game, where every ten years 14 the winners rig the rules so they'll have a better 15 chance of being winners the next time around, this 16 does not build confidence or trust in the whole 17 business.</p> <p>18 In contrast, if the new non-partisan 19 redistricting process were put into place for North 20 Carolina, that step could signal to all citizens 21 that we care about fairness, that we care to make 22 democracy function as democracy.</p> <p>23 I respectfully urge you legislators to 24 consider what a significant contribution would be 25 made to government of, by, and for the people of</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">59</p> <p>1 for there to be some give and take when it comes to 2 legislating.</p> <p>3 But when too many officeholders represent 4 districts drawn to be safe, the incentive for 5 compromise is greatly reduced. And nowadays, the 6 safe district effect is compounded by an 7 incumbent's reasonable concern that he or she may 8 face a primary challenger.</p> <p>9 It seems fair to assume that we can all 10 agree that at present, gridlock at the 11 Congressional level is a serious problem. It's not 12 an easy problem to resolve, but reducing the number 13 of safe districts would surely have some favorable 14 impact by increasing the incentive to compromise.</p> <p>15 Third, when district lines are not drawn 16 according to any sort of geographic logic 17 whatsoever, citizens naturally have a hard time 18 keeping track of what district they're in and who 19 represents them. Does anyone think that's a good 20 thing?</p> <p>21 A quick personal example of just how bad 22 things are. A year or so ago I was attempting to 23 communicate with my Congressman via a website. I 24 was pretty certain I knew who my Congressman was 25 following our latest redistricting, but when I</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">61</p> <p>1 North Carolina if you will take a step in the 2 direction of redistricting reform.</p> <p>3 Thank you.</p> <p>4 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving 5 on to Halifax Community College, Representative 6 Stam.</p> <p>7 REP. STAM: Our next speaker is Rev. C.E. 8 McCollum. Rev. McCollum?</p> <p>9 REV. C.E. MCCOLLUM: I want to say good 10 morning to all who have assembled for this hearing. 11 I am Rev. C.E. McCollum, the president of the 12 Roanoke Valley Southern Christian Leadership 13 Conference.</p> <p>14 When I looked at your racial 15 gerrymandering, I would never have thought that in 16 the 21st Century, we'd be facing the 20th Century 17 issues. I would have thought that we could get 18 beyond racism and the design of how we stack and 19 pack our racial groupings to the advantage of 20 others.</p> <p>21 It has often taken the guiding hand of 22 the federal courts to rule over the question of 23 constitutionality of the different states. Federal 24 judges have no dogs in this fight. They're 25 appointed for life, and they are not supposed to be</p>



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1 affected by political pressures or to rule one over  
2 another. They are authors of -- they are -- the  
3 authors of our Constitution gave them this  
4 appointment for life.  
5 The Voting -- the Voting Rights Act was  
6 established to protect minority voters. These maps  
7 not only undermine the intent, but they effectively  
8 marginalize minority voters. This act from the  
9 Republicans stems from the Supreme Court ruling in  
10 a five-four-four -- five-to-four vote, the final  
11 chief sections of -- of Section 4 and 5 of the  
12 Voting Rights Act was unconstitutional.  
13 Two hours after ruling by the Court, the  
14 Attorney General in the State of Texas authorized  
15 the voter ID law that the Justice Department had  
16 previously blocked as a civil rights violation.  
17 According to the Brennan Center for Justice at New  
18 York University School of Law, 22 states passed new  
19 voting restrictions in time for the 2014 mid-term  
20 election. And here we are in 2016 facing the same  
21 problem.  
22 States with Republican majorities in the  
23 statehouse are closing polling locations, chipping  
24 away at early voting, redrawing district lines to  
25 dilute the voting power in the communities of

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1 color.  
2 They took the case of Alabama to destroy  
3 those four and five sections of the voting law by  
4 saying that cities, counties, and states with a  
5 documented history of discrimination had to  
6 preclear any changes in their voting law even by  
7 the United States Department of Justice or a  
8 federal judge in Washington, D.C. The goal was to  
9 prevent these jurisdictions from discriminating  
10 again.  
11 What the Supreme Court did not emphasize  
12 was that any of these jurisdictions could be  
13 exempted from requirement upon proving they no  
14 longer practice racial discrimination. And for us,  
15 this is nothing new. The people who are trying to  
16 hijack our democracy are the same descendants of  
17 those who tried to exercise our right to vote by  
18 any means necessary.  
19 Thank you.  
20 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much.  
21 Returning to Raleigh, we have J.C. Wright. J.C.  
22 Wright? Please identify yourself as you begin your  
23 presentation.  
24 MR. J.C. WRIGHT: Hello. My name is J.C.  
25 Wright. First of all, I would like to say thank

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1 you very much to Senator Rucho, Representative  
2 Lewis, and distinguished members of the North  
3 Carolina legislature. Thank you for allowing us to  
4 comment on such an important part of our democratic  
5 process.  
6 Little bit about myself. I'm a lifelong  
7 North Carolina resident, born and raised in  
8 Asheville. Attended UNC-Asheville. Glad to see  
9 that they're participating in this process as well.  
10 Moved to Raleigh about three years ago.  
11 I have always been very interested in  
12 politics. And I -- I will say that I was a little  
13 disappointed when I did my research and found out  
14 that North Carolina ties with Maryland as the most  
15 gerrymandered state in the United States of  
16 America.  
17 Looking at a report that was done by The  
18 Washington Post dated March 15th, 2014, you can see  
19 that three of the North Carolina districts were  
20 highlighted there, including the two in question,  
21 the 1st and 12th of North Carolina.  
22 Gerrymandering, obviously, is one of the  
23 things that comes along with winning elections. As  
24 William L. Macy once said, "To the victor belongs  
25 the spoils." And the problem with that is that we

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1 are a country of the people, by the people, for the  
2 people.  
3 And -- and when you get so involved in  
4 playing the -- the political game, the Republican  
5 versus Democrat, the only people that lose are your  
6 voters and your citizens. And then we're not  
7 happy, and -- and you guys keep -- keep bickering  
8 about, you know, who's going to get this bloc and  
9 that bloc.  
10 I -- I look around and -- and I see, you  
11 know, a fair amount of people, but I see a lot of  
12 people that are not be represented fairly. And I  
13 think that there is a movement in this country to  
14 start recognizing equality and to start making sure  
15 that everybody that is entitled to have a voice,  
16 has a voice, and not a diluted voice, not one that  
17 is taken away from them.  
18 There are very -- there's a lot of  
19 different alternatives to how redistricting can be  
20 done. And in this day and age with the advent of  
21 technology and computers, it has become far too  
22 easy to disenfranchise particular blocs of voters.  
23 Taking away the political aspect of it --  
24 'cause I'm sorry, it's a little like the fox  
25 guarding the hen house -- having non-partisan

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1 redistricting would benefit the citizens, in my  
2 opinion. There's a lot of different methods that  
3 can be done short of split-line method. You know,  
4 compactness, optimization methods that can be done.  
5 And I really, really hope that -- you  
6 know, I understand the Republicans in the room, you  
7 guys didn't have a -- full control of North  
8 Carolina for over 100 years, and -- and I know it  
9 would be hard to give that up.  
10 But I -- I -- I really hope that you will  
11 do what is right for the citizens of this state,  
12 and will consider, especially considering that our  
13 unaffiliated bloc, which is third right now and is  
14 growing very rapidly and is going to put the  
15 Republicans into third place soon, that you will do  
16 something that will benefit us going into the next  
17 century by making it non-partisan, making it where  
18 we don't have to have this same fight where federal  
19 courts are now having to make us look foolish in  
20 front of the rest of the country because we're  
21 being racist. Shame on us. Okay?  
22 Thank you very much for your time.  
23 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving -- just  
24 reminding everybody that we did, due to the fact  
25 that Guilford Tech was closed today, that meeting

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1 there was cancelled.  
2 Moving on, Central Piedmont,  
3 Representative Brawley, the next speaker.  
4 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Senator. Harry  
5 Taylor. Stand right about there. The two  
6 microphones are on either side of the camera back  
7 there.  
8 MR. HARRY TAYLOR: Okay. My first  
9 comment before the start, that by looking at the  
10 videos, it appears that most of the rooms at this  
11 hearing around the state are as packed as this one  
12 is, which would indicate there's probably 600 to  
13 700 people in attendance and hope to speak today.  
14 And if this hearing goes on until midnight, they  
15 probably all won't get a chance to speak, which  
16 means a number of people aren't even getting a  
17 chance to talk at this hearing before the -- the  
18 General Assembly.  
19 This hearing is about the focus on  
20 remapping that came up last week. I'm going to  
21 talk about gerrymandering, which has already been  
22 discussed.  
23 Now, gerrymandering is a process, is a  
24 system, is a tool that's been in effect now for 204  
25 years. It started 1812. In 1812, gerrymandering

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1 started. And here in 204 years later, it's still  
2 with us.  
3 It's unethical. It's immoral. It's  
4 dishonest. And it's entirely legal. But it is  
5 immoral and unethical and dishonest. And it robs  
6 people of their right to participate in all of our  
7 democracy.  
8 The promise of democracy is that every  
9 single one of us should, every single day, have a  
10 chance to participate in the future of our country.  
11 By rigging votes, which is what gerrymandering  
12 does, by rigging votes, you're taking that  
13 opportunity away from vast parts of the population  
14 of this country.  
15 This is not enough. You, the General  
16 Assembly has the most restrictive voting rights act  
17 in the state, and with help of the American  
18 Legislative Exchange Council, with the help of the  
19 Pope brothers and Art Pope, is endeavoring to take  
20 over the entire country, the entire United States.  
21 Right now, you're being very successful at doing  
22 that.  
23 Hell, if I look at legislators in this  
24 room, everybody has a -- a pin on their lapel,  
25 maybe two pins, one of the American flag and one

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1 with a North Carolina flag or a seal of the State  
2 of North Carolina. And I presume that you wear  
3 those to present your patriotism.  
4 What is patriotic about rigging elections  
5 so that you can hold power? What is it about  
6 that -- what is that -- what does that say about  
7 your patriotism, if the only way you think you can  
8 run a state, that you can lead a state, is by  
9 cheating people out of their right to vote?  
10 Once you're elected, you all become  
11 "honorable" forever. And the honorable thing to  
12 do in this state, in North Carolina, is to create  
13 an independent redistricting system, whether it's  
14 by legislation or it's by amend -- Constitutional  
15 amendment. We need to have that, and we're going  
16 to get that one way or another.  
17 Now, I urge you, the legislature, to pass  
18 that, to -- to start talking about it again. To my  
19 knowledge -- my initial knowledge was that that --  
20 that a bill toward that end came up, I think in the  
21 2007, 2008, 2009 General Assembly when Thom Tillis  
22 was involved.  
23 And Thom Tillis afterwards said -- and  
24 after the Republicans took over the General  
25 Assembly or took over the House, said that he put

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1 it back on the agenda to be heard in the 2011, 2012  
2 session. And so they asked him why. He said, "It  
3 was good legislation then, and it's good  
4 legislation now, and I think we ought to pass it."  
5 It was passed in the House, sent over to  
6 the Senate, and the Senate thumbed their nose at  
7 it. That's got to stop. You want to be called  
8 "honorable." You want to walk around with North  
9 Carolina flags and American flags on your lapels  
10 and call yourself patriots and give everybody a  
11 chance, regardless of their color, if they are,  
12 where they come from, what they do, what their  
13 level of education is, give them the opportunity to  
14 participate in our country. That's what a  
15 democracy is.  
16 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you.  
17 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Mr. Taylor.  
18 SEN. RUCHO: Moving on to Fayetteville  
19 Tech, Senator Jackson, next speaker. Senator  
20 Jackson? Senator Jackson?  
21 SEN. JACKSON: Senator Rucho?  
22 SEN. RUCHO: Yes, sir. Next speaker,  
23 please.  
24 SEN. JACKSON: Okay. We're good to go  
25 with Mr. Jimmy Buxton.

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1 SEN. RUCHO: Okay. Thank you.  
2 MR. JIMMY BUXTON: I am Jimmy Buxton,  
3 president of the Fayetteville branch NAACP.  
4 I came here to speak in regard to a  
5 letter that was written by Bob Hall from Democracy  
6 North Carolina. However, that letter has already  
7 been read. And I'd like to concur with whatever  
8 was said in that letter.  
9 I also like to concur on what the  
10 gentleman from Halifax, who live in the district  
11 that's being affected by this redistricting.  
12 Everything he said, I agree with. I don't want to  
13 take up much time because the fact -- I know there  
14 are others.  
15 One thing that has been said that really  
16 struck my mind, North Carolina has one of the most  
17 restrictive voting rights laws in this nation, and  
18 that needs to end. The three judges who came out  
19 and said that this -- the redistricting was wrong  
20 has made it clear that you must redraw those  
21 district lines. There's no if's, and's about it.  
22 Now, the one thing about the military  
23 that's overseas already that have sent in their  
24 ballots, the gentleman's already stated, it's very  
25 easy for every one of those ballots that have been

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1 sent in to be mailed back to them once the district  
2 lines have been drawn and the right lines are --  
3 have been come out and that everybody knows, so  
4 forth. Those ballots can be mailed right back to  
5 those in the military. It's very easy. That's not  
6 a big issue.  
7 Thank you for my comment -- for allowing  
8 me to comment. I do not, as I said, want to take  
9 up time with things that have been said so far that  
10 [break in transmission] I agree with. Thank you.  
11 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving  
12 to Cape Fear Community College, Representative  
13 Davis. Next speaker, please.  
14 REP. DAVIS: Mr. Chairman, our next  
15 speaker will be Ruth Howard Chambers, who is  
16 recognized to speak for five minutes.  
17 MS. RUTH HOWARD CHAMBERS: Good morning.  
18 I -- I -- I want to concur with much of what has  
19 been said, in particular the brother from Halifax  
20 County, where my ancestors are from, Warren County,  
21 and up in Littleton.  
22 I looked at the map and I read in the  
23 newspaper about this redistricting, and that's when  
24 I began to pay attention to it. And as he said, it  
25 looks like a clown shoe. It snakes throughout. It

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1 raised questions in my mind.  
2 I also went online and looked at some  
3 maps, as the person here showed you in his  
4 notebook, of old districts and new districts. And  
5 I could see just by my eye, something had occurred.  
6 I also want to identify with the man who  
7 spoke from Asheville and the lady who has left who  
8 came from the Midwest and spoke about how voting is  
9 organized and how you -- your -- who you are and  
10 what you are is available to the Democrats and to  
11 the Republicans.  
12 I also want to say that when I went  
13 online to sign in, it said, "Organization," and I  
14 put, "Citizen." But I also put the faith community  
15 that I belong to. And I also put the political  
16 organization that I work with. But the most  
17 important thing is that I am a citizen, as you are.  
18 And I noticed here when I signed in  
19 behind the person who I came here with, who will  
20 also speak, that race was on this form. And just  
21 as he had drawn a line, I drew a line that race is  
22 not an issue in this. I am a citizen.  
23 And I hold here right now the  
24 tombstone -- a picture of my great-grandfather who  
25 lies in the cemetery up in Warren County. And he

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1 was born in 1843 before slavery was ended. And I  
2 grew up in Washington, D.C. But my father went  
3 there to get a better job, and that's where I went  
4 to school during segregation. Had a good school.  
5 But they sent up home to North Carolina  
6 every summer to be with our grandparents. So we  
7 worked in tobacco. And I always wanted to live  
8 here. This was a place I've always wanted to be.  
9 When it was time to go home at Labor Day -- I'm  
10 going to use my whole five minutes, it looks like  
11 it. When it was time to go home, I didn't want to  
12 go home. I wanted to stay here.  
13 I never came to live here until eight  
14 years ago, after living in New York City for 40  
15 years. And I taught in the public schools of New  
16 York City. And the kids laughed at me and said I  
17 had a Southern accent because I held onto whatever  
18 piece of it I could.  
19 But when I got here, my next-door  
20 neighbor, who is my good friend now -- I depend on  
21 them. But I knew when I went in his house, his  
22 politics, because I saw a picture of him with the  
23 first Bush who was president. But it didn't  
24 matter, and it doesn't matter. He called me a  
25 Yankee, and I'm not a Yankee.

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1 And I think we need to stop with it. We  
2 need to stop with the division, and we need to stop  
3 with the partisan politics, Democrats and  
4 Republicans. Yes, I live in Wilmington, and  
5 Wilmington is a small county, and it was divided by  
6 these redistricting lines. We need to stop. And  
7 my time is up.  
8 And I want to say I felt ashamed of North  
9 Carolina when that man got on and started, before  
10 Scalia's body was in the grave, talking politics  
11 and attaching it to the passing of this man, and  
12 did not even allow time for the family to mourn.  
13 It's a shame. Some of this stuff in North Carolina  
14 makes me sorry I'm here, but I ain't going nowhere.  
15 This is home.  
16 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving  
17 on to UNC-Asheville, Representative McGrady, next  
18 speaker.  
19 REP. MCGRADY: We've been joined by  
20 Representative Brian Turner from this area. And  
21 our next speaker is Annie Buckner.  
22 MS. ANNIE BUCKNER: My name is Annie  
23 Buckner. I'm a proud citizen of western North  
24 Carolina. I am also the political action chair of  
25 the Asheville-Buncombe NAACP.

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1 We need fair elections. We need fair  
2 districts. Members of the political action  
3 committee are calling on you to follow the order  
4 and redraw the unconstitutional, cynical, partisan  
5 maps fairly and immediately.  
6 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. All right.  
7 Moving to Halifax Community College, Representative  
8 Stam, your next speaker. And -- thank you. Go  
9 ahead.  
10 REP. STAM: Yes. Our next speaker is  
11 Clinton Williams, and our last speaker.  
12 And while he's coming up, I'd like to  
13 thank the president and staff, Dr. Ervin Griffin,  
14 of Halifax Community College, one of the great  
15 community colleges, for their cooperation in  
16 putting this together.  
17 MR. CLINTON WILLIAMS: Good morning.  
18 First of all, I want to -- my name is Clinton  
19 Williams, and I am on the Northampton County Board  
20 of Education. I reside in Garysburg, North  
21 Carolina.  
22 For of all, I want to thank you all for  
23 the tough job that you do. In moving forward, I  
24 would remind you that heavy is the head that wears  
25 the crown. I'm wondering if there are experts out

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1 there that have the capacity to maximize research  
2 protocols that would provide the data that  
3 legislators might use to appropriately redraw the  
4 district lines that might allow for the tedious  
5 task to be completed by the February 19th deadline.  
6 Fairness, human rights, and access to  
7 the -- to that which is constitutional have no time  
8 boundaries attached to it. The problem with  
9 regards to the creation of districts in the first  
10 place hinges on a historical and on very  
11 compounding of an activity that for sure denies  
12 citizens of access to equal and fair  
13 representation.  
14 Furthermore, it impedes voters' freedom  
15 to participate equally in the democratic process.  
16 Voting is a constitutional right that, if it does  
17 not, it should provide opportunity for each  
18 individual voter to have a causal effect, impact on  
19 issues that affect them throughout -- I'm sorry --  
20 the election of government which best supports and  
21 presents, represents their interests.  
22 And I listen to some of the comments that  
23 have been made this morning, I'm bothered by the  
24 kind of thinking that one would use to support an  
25 idea that suggests because we're already on a bad

<p style="text-align: right;">78</p> <p>1 road to destruction, that we should stay on course, 2 particularly when we know better. It calls into 3 consideration ethical ineptitude. 4 I had a thought that if we were on an 5 airplane and we were -- the plane had already taken 6 off, and the pilots realized that there was only 7 enough fuel, for whatever reason, to possibly, 8 slightly possibly assure a successful flight, 9 should the pilot continue that flight, or should 10 the pilot turn around and make sure that the plane 11 is properly serviced so that the safety of the 12 passengers would be the top priority? 13 This issue of redistricting 14 [unintelligible] pockets African Americans and 15 creates racial despair. This has been recognized 16 by Justice to the point that a moratorium has been 17 placed on the fast-approaching election so that it 18 is taken serious and something is done about this. 19 This neatly boils down to ethics, and at 20 best, questions lawmakers' enthusiasm with regards 21 to human rights and assuring fairness to all 22 members of our society regardless of color or 23 political orientation. Black people of color 24 represent a group of individuals that have 25 historically not been given fair access to the same</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">80</p> <p>1 Rucho, and thank you, Committee. I am Dallas 2 Woodhouse of Raleigh, North Carolina. And I am 3 executive director of the North Carolina Republican 4 Party and today will state out the position of our 5 party. 6 Number one, I want to say that we 7 continue to believe these districts were drawn fair 8 and legal, in accordance with both the -- the 9 existing state and federal statutes, as well as the 10 state and federal constitutions. 11 But of course, the courts have not made 12 this easier since you have originally drawn these 13 lines. They have changed the rules and the 14 precedents, not during the game, but after it has 15 been completed and the score has been submitted. 16 That has made the task of this committee and of 17 future redistricting efforts extremely difficult. 18 Until we return to the days of bright 19 line rules, especially with aspects of the Voting 20 Rights Act, this is going to continue to be a 21 difficult process at all. 22 You know, I'm not one likely to quote 23 Bill Clinton, but in this case, I will say that I 24 do feel your pain on the committee. 25 But again, we believe these districts are</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">79</p> <p>1 kinds of opportunities and access to many of the 2 same kinds of enjoyment as white counterparts. 3 Black people of color represents a group -- I'm 4 sorry. 5 Someone mentioned that -- someone 6 mentioned the Emancipation Proclamation this 7 morning. And if you go back to 1863 through 1865, 8 it should be incumbent upon all legislators to 9 acknowledge that while much of this may not have to 10 do with racism and socialism, it does have to do 11 with -- with fairness. 12 The right -- the right time to do the 13 right thing is always right. And quite frankly, it 14 is egregious that some of our lawmakers think that 15 it is okay to move forward in a situation that 16 denies an individual a constitutional right in the 17 best interest of time. 18 Thank you for your time this morning 19 listening to me. And I would ask that the 20 lawmakers take time and look at this issue and do 21 what is right for all people. Thank you. 22 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving 23 back to Raleigh. I have Steve Raugh. Is Mr. Raugh 24 here? Okay. I have Dallas Woodhouse. 25 MR. DALLAS WOODHOUSE: Thank you, Senator</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">81</p> <p>1 fair and legal, but this committee has to prepare 2 for the possibility of new districts being drawn. 3 Here is our position on what we believe should be 4 taken into consideration in the drawing of new 5 districts. 6 Partisan considerations. Partisan 7 considerations are the precedents of multiple Court 8 findings. They have been in place for many, many 9 years across every state. And courts hold that 10 partisan voting behavior can be taken into account. 11 We believe that a 10-3 map, or at least the 12 possibility of one, is the appropriate outcome 13 after Republicans won elections and have continued 14 to do so. I realize that doesn't make everybody 15 happy, but this process will not make everybody 16 happy. 17 Should you continue to -- to draw the 18 districts, we think that we should look to try to 19 keep precincts and counties whole to the largest 20 degree possible. And especially in our rural 21 counties, which of course have declining influence 22 across the state, it is extremely important to try 23 to keep those rural and small counties completely 24 whole. The Graham Counties, the Hyde Counties, we 25 shouldn't be dividing them up.</p>

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1           And finally, let's dispense of this issue  
2           of the appropriate amount of racial consideration.  
3           Let us draw districts without any consideration of  
4           race whatsoever. Let's make completely colorblind  
5           district drawing.  
6           That is the position of the Republican  
7           Party. I would love to know the position of the  
8           Democrat party. Are they for drawing completely  
9           colorblind districts that take no racial  
10          considerations into account whatsoever. That is  
11          our position.  
12          As Justice Roberts said in a famous  
13          education hearing, court decision, the way to stop  
14          judging people on race is to stop judging people on  
15          race. And we are for that 100 percent.  
16          I thank you for your time and your effort  
17          on what has been made a very, very difficult  
18          process. And on behalf of the North Carolina  
19          Republican Party, we wish you the best of luck.  
20          Thank you.  
21          SEN. RUCHO: Central Piedmont Community  
22          College, Representative Brawley.  
23          REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Senator. Mr.  
24          Scott Huffman.  
25          MR. SCOTT HUFFMAN: Thank you. Thanks,

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1           everyone, for showing up today. I'm originally  
2           from Spencer, North Carolina. I served in the US  
3           Navy for eight years. After my service, I returned  
4           home to the great State of North Carolina. North  
5           Carolina is my home. I live in Charlotte. I have  
6           a successful 20-year business called Charlotte  
7           Internet. I have a family. I have three children.  
8           And I'm the geek you call when you can't figure out  
9           what's going on with your computer.  
10          I am very concerned, as a Navy veteran,  
11          as a former Navy veteran, that my service was in  
12          vain because my vote is not fairly represented, as  
13          well as 34,000 African Americans who were moved out  
14          of District 8, into District 12.  
15          District 8, in my opinion, was fairly  
16          represented. It was fairly moderate.  
17          Congressman -- Representative Hayes currently  
18          chaired [sic] that district, and it was formerly  
19          chaired by Larry Kissell, and who was formerly  
20          chaired by Representative Hayes, who is here this  
21          morning. I even voted for you, Representative  
22          Hayes.  
23          As a former veteran, I'm concerned that  
24          34,000 Americans -- I mean, excuse me -- 34,000  
25          African Americans, as well as myself, are not being

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1           represented. They were forced out of District 8,  
2           into District 12 for the wrong reasons.  
3           It is your duty as our elected officials  
4           to represent the people. The Courts have found the  
5           current district unconstitutional. You must fix  
6           this. In my opinion, as a former veteran, the  
7           districts should be redrawn to fairly represent the  
8           people of North Carolina. No excuses. No delay.  
9           The people deserve a fair electoral process. Their  
10          votes matter. Every vote matters.  
11          Again, as a former veteran, I took the  
12          oath to protect this great nation, to serve. I  
13          urge you who are serving now in Raleigh to fix  
14          this. It is your constitutional duty to do so.  
15          All North Carolina -- all North Carolina voters  
16          matter. All elections should be fair. Going  
17          forward, we can fix this. We have the time to fix  
18          this.  
19          As a former veteran, I -- I hope and  
20          expect you to form an independent commission. That  
21          way we can establish fair districts. That way  
22          everybody's vote counts. Right now, without  
23          further delay, the districts should be redrawn.  
24          The people deserve a fair electoral process. The  
25          current, upcoming primary should be delayed, but we

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1           have the time to fix this. You can fix this in  
2           Raleigh. That's why we voted for you. That's why  
3           you're there.  
4           Earlier, they said that we should have  
5           colorblind districts. Well, here is a good  
6           representation of what the colorblind districts  
7           will look like. This shows independently drawn  
8           districts in North Carolina. And people deserve a  
9           right to vote. They deserve fair elections.  
10          They want money out of politics. They  
11          want our representatives to represent the people  
12          and not somebody who's going to cover their  
13          campaign finances to get them elected.  
14          Thank you very much, everybody.  
15          REP. BRAWLEY: Mr. Huffman, thank you for  
16          your service.  
17          MR. SCOTT HUFFMAN: Thank you, sir.  
18          SEN. RUCHO: Yes, sir. Representative  
19          Brawley, would you ask that gentleman to be to give  
20          that map to the -- one of the staff people so that  
21          it can be included as part of the record. Okay?  
22          Okay. Moving on to Fayetteville, Senator Brent  
23          Jackson.  
24          SEN. JACKSON: Senator Rucho, we have Ms.  
25          Queen Degraff -- [break in transmission]

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1 MS. QUEEN DEGRAFF: I think much of  
2 what -- I think much of what I was going to say has  
3 already been said. But what I do want to say is  
4 that two years ago, I celebrated 50 years in the  
5 civil rights and voting rights movement. And I'm  
6 just appalled and astounded that in 2016, that I am  
7 still addressing the same issues that I fought for  
8 and went to jail for over 50 years ago. And that  
9 we really can do better.

10 This is a -- as several people have  
11 pointed out, it's a clear case of what has  
12 historically been called gerrymandering, clearly  
13 drawing lines to put a certain group into a  
14 disadvantaged voting pattern. And we need to do  
15 better, and we need to make sure that the people we  
16 elect to office do what we feel is just and fair  
17 for all citizens. Thank you.

18 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving  
19 to Cape Fear Community College, Representative  
20 Davis.

21 REP. DAVIS: [break in transmission] will  
22 be Jim Kistner, who is recognized to speak for up  
23 to five minutes.

24 MR. JIM KISTNER: Good morning,  
25 everybody. My name is Jim Kistner. I'm a US Army

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1 veteran, but you don't need to thank me for my  
2 service. I did it willingly. I'm a resident of  
3 Wilmington, North Carolina. Registered voter here.

4 So considering the evidence presented in  
5 the recent Congressional redistricting lawsuit,  
6 Judge Roger Gregory wrote, quote, "There's strong  
7 evidence that race was the only non-negotiable  
8 criteria in redrawing those boundaries." He went  
9 on to say and conclude, "Traditional redistricting  
10 principles were subordinated to race." In other  
11 words, race plays a major role in how these lines  
12 were drawn.

13 From my perspective, and I think from the  
14 perspective of anyone that loves this democracy,  
15 this is absolutely unacceptable. Free and fair  
16 elections are the bedrock of American democracy.  
17 Cynical efforts to undermine the voting process and  
18 manipulate voting outcomes should be seen for what  
19 they are: violations of the fundamental principles  
20 of our nation and our state.

21 Instead of feeling shame and apologizing  
22 for their actions, Senator Bob Rucho and  
23 Representative David Lewis, the two Republican  
24 politicians who led the redistricting effort,  
25 responded by saying, "We are surprised and

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1 disappointed by the trial court's eleventh-hour  
2 decision that throws an election already underway  
3 into turmoil."

4 Surprised and disappointed? Turmoil?  
5 Let's be clear. If turmoil results from this  
6 effort, it is a result of actions -- their actions.  
7 It was their manipulation of the Congressional  
8 boundaries that brought this issue to federal court  
9 in the first place.

10 So what's to be done now? Even without  
11 being forced by the Court, the morally right thing  
12 to do would be to leave racism and cynical  
13 political manipulation outside the drawing, and  
14 redraw Congressional boundaries so they are fair  
15 and equitable to all individuals and groups in the  
16 state. That should happen immediately. One  
17 person, one vote. It's that simple. As one of the  
18 earlier speakers said, it's a mess. You made it.  
19 Clean it up.

20 Beyond that, I fully endorse the proposal  
21 and -- proposal that's been mentioned by a number  
22 of speakers this morning, that North Carolina adopt  
23 an independent, non-partisan redistricting process,  
24 one that gets every voter and all groups an equal  
25 voice in the state and national elections. To

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1 protect our democracy and prevent -- prevent future  
2 turmoil, let's adopt an independent, non-partisan  
3 redistricting process. Let's do that sooner rather  
4 than later.

5 I really appreciate having had the  
6 opportunity to speak. Thank you very much.

7 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving on to  
8 UNC-Asheville, Representative McGrady.

9 REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Jim  
10 McGlynn.

11 MR. JIM MCGLYNN: Thank you. The voting  
12 district lines in North Carolina give an unfair  
13 advantage to Republican candidates in state  
14 elections.

15 In 2011, the voting districts were  
16 revised to pack Democratic voters and African  
17 American voters into three of the state's 13  
18 Congressional districts. Then the other 10  
19 districts were drawn in such a way that they were  
20 Republican-dominated. Excuse me.

21 One example of how they were able to  
22 offset Democrat votes is in the 11th District, in  
23 which I vote. It has been represented by  
24 Republican Patrick McHenry since 2005. So it has  
25 been a pretty solid Republican stronghold that

<p style="text-align: right;">90</p> <p>1 stretches all the way from Hendersonville to 2 Bessemer City near Charlotte. 3 In 2011, this district was redrawn to 4 take the more liberal voters in Asheville out of 5 the 10th District and put them in this heavily 6 Republican 11th District. This ensured that both 7 the 10th and the 11th District were predominately 8 Republican. 9 My 11th District that they designed has 10 the shape of a big tennis shoe. And it has a 11 mushroom growing out of the toe of the tennis shoe. 12 And this mushroom encompasses Asheville. Any 13 Democrat that runs against a Republican candidate 14 in these districts has an artificially-designed 15 Republican Party majority to overcome. 16 It's a problem. This type of 17 gerrymandering is a direct attack on democracy, 18 which depends on fair elections. It violates the 19 Voting Rights Act of 1965 that makes it illegal to 20 weaken the voting power of racial or ethnic groups. 21 It discourages candidates in the minority party 22 from running. It discourages voters from voting 23 because they don't think their vote will make any 24 difference. 25 The obvious solution to this problem is</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">92</p> <p>1 Representative Lewis, members of the legislature, 2 thank you so much for letting me speak today. My 3 name is James Womack. I'm from Lee County. I am 4 politically active in state and local politics. 5 I believe the Congressional districts as 6 they're drawn represent a fair and legal 7 representation and apportionment of the voters in 8 North Carolina. And I believe that they are 9 absolutely consistent with the Voting Rights Act of 10 1965 and all the subsequent amendments and changes 11 up through 2006. 12 I do not believe these districts should 13 be redrawn simply because of a lower federal court 14 ruling that believes that two of the districts are 15 racially gerrymandered. Instead, I am hopeful that 16 the US Supreme Court will weigh in, accept this 17 case, and evaluate the districts in a prompt 18 fashion, and that they will validate the districts 19 as fulfilling the spirit and the intent of the VRA. 20 If for whatever reason, these districts 21 must be -- must be redrawn, then I recommend 22 several important safeguards and principles be 23 applied. 24 Number one, I say keep the counties, 25 especially the smaller counties, whole as much as</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">91</p> <p>1 to take the job of drawing these voting districts 2 away from partisan legislatures and have them drawn 3 by an independent agent on the basis of population 4 density and natural population groups, with no 5 weight given to political party affiliations. If 6 this would happen, it would restore our faith in 7 fair elections, which is so important in a 8 democracy. Thank you. 9 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving on to 10 Halifax, Representative Stam? 11 REP. STAM: Chairman Rucho, we have no 12 additional speakers at Halifax, but we're watching 13 the proceedings with great interest. 14 SEN. RUCHO: Very fine. We're going -- 15 now, if you find that you have a speaker, then just 16 let me know, and we'll fit you back into the 17 rotation. Thank you. All right. Moving on back 18 to Raleigh. And next person on the list is -- I 19 believe it's Helen Tenney, T-e-n-n-e-y. Is Helen 20 Tenney here? No. Okay. Next person is Terry 21 Schmidt. Terry Schmidt? Terry Schmidt? No Terry 22 Schmidt. Then we have Joyce Cotton. Joyce Cotton? 23 P.J. Gentry? P.J. Gentry? James Womack? Mr. 24 Womack, come forward and identify yourself, please. 25 MR. JAMES WOMACK: Senator Rucho,</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">93</p> <p>1 possible. In all cases, keep the precincts as 2 whole as the smallest nondivisible political 3 boundary. 4 To the extent possible -- this is number 5 two. To the extent possible, please keep the 6 counties aligned of their current Congressional 7 districts. In other words, do not completely 8 redraw all Congressional districts in the state, 9 forgetting the previous alignments. These 10 relationships have been developing for decades, 11 and -- particularly the representatives that are 12 there now, you know, should not be forced to have 13 to go back and re-strategize how they -- they go 14 about campaigning in those districts. 15 If possible, completely remove the race 16 demographic in the spreadsheets and databases being 17 used to initially redraw these districts. When the 18 lines have been redrawn, then simply apply the race 19 demographic to test the -- the -- to test for race 20 and the degree of racial distribution. Even the 21 1st and the 12th Districts have been -- even if or 22 ensure the 1st and 12th Districts are racially 23 unpacked and even if Democratic affiliation stays 24 the same or goes up. 25 Again, I think the 1st and the 12th were</p>



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1 the focus of the -- of the problem. And if you  
2 unpack them to some degree for race, that doesn't  
3 mean that the demographic for party would  
4 necessarily change. I think you just simply take  
5 race out of the equation, and then -- and then redo  
6 it based on party, you'll end up with -- with  
7 similar results, and I think that would meet the  
8 constitutional test.

9 I would also suggest that you take this  
10 opportunity for two other things, since -- since we  
11 may be forced to go back and revisit the districts.  
12 Include the affiliated political party in all data  
13 sets, and make sure to optimize all districts to  
14 sustain at least an R+6 voting pattern or better in  
15 at least 10 of the 13 districts.

16 Again, maintain an R+6 or better. Right  
17 now, I think it's R+11 or better. But I would at  
18 least -- if you're forced to unpack them and you  
19 don't have any other choice, at least maintain an  
20 R+6 so that you're not penalized politically for  
21 the racial unpacking that's done.

22 And if -- and if possible, use this  
23 opportunity to completely redraw the 4th District,  
24 as well. It's a -- it's -- and make it a  
25 diminished Democrat stronghold, something, you

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1 know, less than a D+3, so it can be a competitive  
2 race. As it -- right now, it's an uncompetitive  
3 race, and it's not even a target for the Voter  
4 Rights Act.

5 It's a consequence of -- of -- of -- of  
6 redrawing those boundaries for other purposes. So  
7 again, make the 4th District something that's less  
8 than a D+3. Right now, I think it's a D+20 or  
9 thereabouts.

10 Finally, let's use this opportunity to  
11 start the conversation about bailing out of the  
12 Voting Rights Act altogether. I strongly believe  
13 we should stop using race for any political  
14 purpose. Thank you. The VRA required we use race  
15 as a demographic to test the amount of racial  
16 dilution in the drawing of boundaries. Thus race  
17 was used initially by Democrats to gerrymander the  
18 1st and the 12th Districts, which have always  
19 looked strange the way they are today. I think  
20 it's high time we bailed on the VRA. It seems we  
21 meet the legal obligations or the legal  
22 requirements to bail out.

23 Thank you very much for my time.

24 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving on to  
25 Central Piedmont, Representative Brawley, next

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1 speaker.

2 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Senator. Brian  
3 Kasher.

4 MR. BRIAN KASHER: Thank you for the  
5 opportunity, as a voter and taxpaying citizen of  
6 North Carolina, to provide input into correcting  
7 the unconstitutional North Carolina approach to  
8 defining voting districts, the very root of our  
9 democratic republic.

10 There are viable solutions available that  
11 can result in fair, unbiased election districts  
12 that generally serve to keeping natural communities  
13 together. However, those of you in power must  
14 decide to adopt the system, and not succumb to the  
15 temptation of abusing your sworn oath to defend our  
16 Constitution.

17 Adopting another system that inherently  
18 advantages those in sitting power would be an open  
19 act of defiance against the federal courts, our  
20 Constitution, an act against democracy witnessed by  
21 the world.

22 The 1st and 12th Districts of North  
23 Carolina are within the topmost gerrymandered  
24 voting districts in the United States, while North  
25 Carolina itself is one of the most gerrymandered

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1 states.

2 I use the term "gerrymander" to represent  
3 the acts of politicians intentionally manipulating  
4 voting districts to thwart viable challengers. The  
5 act of gerrymandering is done, for example, by  
6 splitting communities, packing partisans, and by  
7 politicians picking who their voters will be, while  
8 intentionally diluting the vote of potential  
9 opponents.

10 This is not democracy in action. This is  
11 democracy being stolen. United States voters have  
12 the right to democratically elect their  
13 representatives. However, North Carolina voters do  
14 not need to travel to Russia, China, North Korea,  
15 or Iran to find a full-blown attack on the American  
16 way of constitutional government.

17 In North Carolina, the people have been  
18 systematically denied the true power of democratic  
19 vote by our own General Assembly's gerrymandering.  
20 And I'm not going to point a finger at either  
21 party. I love you all. I really do. Okay?

22 As a citizen of North Carolina, I can  
23 testify with no uncertainty that the General  
24 Assembly has provided no substantive information  
25 whatsoever to comment on at this hearing.

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1 All I can testify to is the General  
2 Assembly's past actions that have resulted in the  
3 State of North Carolina becoming a spectacle of  
4 anti-democratic practices to the world, and a loser  
5 in federal court after spending countless dollars,  
6 tax dollars, to defend the General Assembly's  
7 unconstitutional desires and practices.  
8 The General Assembly has had a week to  
9 share the redrawn voting maps developed by Tom  
10 Hofeller behind closed doors and without public  
11 input, but instead has moved forward with no  
12 transparency or disclosure to the public.  
13 In the absence of data, mapping, or  
14 direction from the General Assembly to comment on,  
15 I offer the following solution to the current  
16 unconstitutional gerrymandered approach to  
17 Congressional districting.  
18 Optimally -- optimally, compact equal  
19 population Congressional, Senate, and House  
20 districts have been generated by unbiased algorithm  
21 based on census blocks the smallest geographics of  
22 the Census Bureau.  
23 The existing maps below and the data they  
24 were derived from -- there's nice maps in the  
25 written version -- are available at

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1 bdistricing.com/2010/nc. That's b-d-i-s-t-r-i-c-  
2 t-i-n-g.com/2010/nc. You can see both the  
3 gerrymandered districts and the homogenous  
4 districts.  
5 It is your duty as public servants, sworn  
6 under oath to the people of North Carolina, to  
7 resolve this matter consistent with the  
8 Constitution and the authorities thereof, which do,  
9 by the way, include the Courts.  
10 The problem of the mess is a result of  
11 the General Assembly's own gerrymandering ways.  
12 When a citizen is found to have stolen a loaf of  
13 bread, the remedy for this is not at the  
14 convenience of the perpetrator. Y'all created this  
15 Congressional constitutional mess and should stop  
16 trying to pass the buck at the expense of the  
17 voters.  
18 In conclusion, for those who are  
19 believers, Paul told us at 13:1, "Let everyone be  
20 subject to the governing authorities, for there is  
21 no authority except that which God has  
22 established." The authorities that exist have been  
23 established by God. It's not limited to just the  
24 General Assembly. Under this simple biblical  
25 doctrine, you are compelled to comply with the

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1 federal court and remedy the unconstitutional  
2 voting districts the General Assembly itself has  
3 created.  
4 You have been caught with the hot potato.  
5 You might not have started it, but you've got the  
6 hot potato. Please stop blaming and passing the  
7 buck. You've been caught.  
8 Thank you all very much for what you do.  
9 Love you all. And I hope we come through this as a  
10 stronger state. God bless America.  
11 REP. BRAWLEY: Mr. Kasher, would you like  
12 to submit that for the record?  
13 SET. RUCHO: Thank you. Members of the  
14 Committee and the satellite sites, Representative  
15 Lewis is the Chairman of the -- of the House --  
16 Representative Lewis is the House Chairman, and he  
17 will take over at the podium for the time being.  
18 Thank you.  
19 REP. LEWIS: We'll return to Raleigh.  
20 The next speaker that registered -- the Chair  
21 apologizes. We'll go to Fayetteville Technical  
22 Community College. The Chair recognizes Senator  
23 Brent Jackson to introduce the next presenter.  
24 SEN. JACKSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman  
25 Lewis. We have Mr. Richard Button.

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1 MR. RICHARD BUTTON: I have to pass.  
2 SEN. JACKSON: He has -- he has passed,  
3 so if -- if it pleases the Chairman, I'd like to  
4 move on to the next person.  
5 REP. LEWIS: Please do.  
6 SEN. JACKSON: We have Ms. Gloria -- I  
7 can't pronounce her last name -- but for Ms.  
8 Stackhouse. And I apologize.  
9 MS. GLORIA STACKHOUSE: Stackhouse.  
10 SEN. JACKSON: Please go. And state your  
11 name, again, for the record.  
12 MS. GLORIA STACKHOUSE: My name is Gloria  
13 Stackhouse, and I am a voting resident of  
14 Cumberland County.  
15 And this morning I've sat, and I've  
16 listened to voters express their concern about the  
17 Court's decision of the 1st and 12th Districts and  
18 how they have and will continue to disenfranchise  
19 the voters if they're changed.  
20 One of the three federal judges who  
21 issued the ruling, US District Judge Max Cogburn,  
22 wrote, "Elections should be decided through a  
23 contest of issues, not skillful mapping. Voters  
24 should choose the officials. Instead, here in the  
25 North Carolina, Republican legislators are dividing

<p style="text-align: right;">102</p> <p>1 our state in order to choose their voters. 2 "Racial gerrymandering -- these maps are 3 the most cynical kind of politics. They seriously 4 divide the state along racial lines, dividing 5 communities that have a proven record working 6 together towards common goals. 7 "The Voting Rights Act was established to 8 protect minority voters. These maps not only 9 undermine the intent, they effectively marginalize 10 minority voters. 11 "When redistricting processes are 12 controlled by Legislators, then political concerns 13 will pay a -- play a role. This plan, however, is 14 more than just partisan politics. The plan 15 segregates African Americans rather than building 16 African Americans into the fabric of North 17 Carolina. 18 "When you segregate the electorate by 19 race and change -- when you segregate the 20 electorate by race, you change the politics of the 21 State for the worse. 22 "District 1 and District 12 have both 23 historically elected African Americans by 24 comfortable margins. There are -- there was a 25 legal justification for increasing the African</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">104</p> <p>1 plans were illegal because they misapplied the 2 Voting Rights Act and used race as a primary 3 consideration, rather than looking at the 4 percentages of votes needed to elect the minority 5 candidate or candidate of choice. 6 The North Carolina plans follow that 7 exact same flawed thinking. In fact that some 8 absentee ballots have been requested and -- and 9 submitted not overweighted the damage done by 10 holding a third election on an unconstitutional 11 map, ensuring our elections are constitutional 12 should be primary goal. Certainly, it is one worth 13 [break in transmission]. 14 And as closing, I would like to say that 15 the judge has ruled these Congressional districts 16 be redrawn immediately. That's why we're calling 17 on our lawmakers to stop making excuses, follow the 18 order, and redraw the maps. I do urge you to 19 immediately redraw the maps. Thank you for 20 allowing me to speak. 21 REP. LEWIS: Thank you. At this time 22 we'll move to Cape Fear Community College and 23 Representative Ted Davis. Representative Davis, if 24 you'd present your next speaker. 25 REP. DAVIS: Mr. Chairman, our next</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">103</p> <p>1 American percentage in these districts of 50 2 percent, and it is still that packing black vote -- 3 voters into these districts was the primary goal of 4 the plan. 5 "We knew that race was the important 6 factor in this creation. These districts were 7 moved back -- these districts move us back to a day 8 of segregation that most of us thought we had moved 9 away from." 10 And as one of the other -- the lady 11 pointed out earlier, you know, we're right back 12 fighting for rights to vote were fought were many 13 years ago, that blood was shed. And I'm a young 14 voter. I don't remember any time of -- of slavery, 15 but I remember segregation. I grew up in 16 segregation. 17 So having said that, the -- the district, 18 now we, you know, find ourselves moving back to a 19 day of segregation. The net result of this 20 redistricting plan is that it doesn't improve 21 African American elections because they were always 22 winning. What it does, it minimizes the influence 23 of African Americans in surrounding districts. 24 In the Supreme Court ruling regarding 25 redistricting in Alabama, the Court found Alabama's</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">105</p> <p>1 speaker will be Mr. Eric Edgerton. 2 MR. ERIC EDGERTON: Senators and 3 Representatives, thank you for the opportunity to 4 speak. I am Eric Edgerton. I am a resident of 5 Brunswick County, and I'm in the 7th Congressional 6 District. 7 This three-judge federal court has ruled 8 that redistricting done a few years ago is 9 unconstitutional for two districts, and has ordered 10 those two districts, 1 and 12, to be redrawn. 11 The current boundaries are fair, in 12 accordance with the laws, Voter Rights Act, case 13 law approved by the United -- the North Carolina 14 Supreme Court and US Department of Justice. 15 The request for a redraw within two weeks 16 is unrealistic, as the primary election is 17 currently underway and thousands have already 18 requested and received their absentee ballots. 19 Now, this redistricting will affect more 20 districts, and the new primary will be required. 21 And that's going to cost the state an additional 22 eight to ten million dollars. Plus, it's going to 23 cost more for each county to mobilize their 24 election boards. This is going to be very, very 25 expensive.</p>

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1 But there's more to it than just the  
2 dollar. When we look back at 1998 primary  
3 election, we found we had almost 800,000 ballots  
4 on May 5th. Then they had a second primary on  
5 September 15th, and 161,000 people showed up.  
6 That's 80 percent reduction. And what that happens  
7 is people are ready for an election. All of a  
8 sudden now they got to go back and do it again.  
9 And that's really a disenfranchisement.

10 I think if redistricting is required, the  
11 precincts and smaller counties should be kept  
12 whole, as breaking these things up could have  
13 detrimental effects in those counties.

14 Thank you very much for the opportunity  
15 to speak.

16 REP. LEWIS: Thank you. At this time  
17 we'll move to UNC-Asheville site and Representative  
18 Chuck McGrady to present your next speaker.

19 REP. MCGRADY: Mr. -- Mr. Charles  
20 Edwards. Then I'll move on to Janet Burhoe-Jones.

21 UNIDENTIFIED: Charles Edwards is here.

22 REP. MCGRADY: Mr. Edwards, go -- go  
23 right ahead.

24 MR. CHARLES EDWARDS: Okay. Thank you.  
25 Thank you for the opportunity. I'm Charles Edwards

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1 in Buncombe County.

2 I want to start and just offer, today, a  
3 little story. I ferried voters in the last general  
4 election, just shut-ins who have difficulty going  
5 to the polls otherwise.

6 One of the ladies -- one of the people  
7 that I picked up was an 82-year-old African  
8 American lady. Before we took off for the polls, I  
9 had an opportunity to chat with her a bit.

10 I'm -- something that came up during her  
11 discussion was her brothers' service in World War  
12 II, and she showed me the pictures of these two  
13 brothers. And of course, being in the Army in  
14 World War II, they served in segregated units.

15 They and this lady endured decades of  
16 segregation after World War II. But she was  
17 determined to go and vote. Her legs were bandaged  
18 and she had trouble walking, but as I say, she  
19 insisted on going.

20 She could have voted at the curb. When  
21 we arrived, we pulled up and I told her that there  
22 were provisions that she could vote at the curb and  
23 not endure the pain and difficulty of going inside  
24 to vote. But she insisted on it. So I and another  
25 gentleman, holding her by her arms, helped her walk

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1 into the voting location.

2 Now, I just want to say that this was a  
3 revelation to me. This was -- affected me deeply.  
4 And all I could think of, that these are the  
5 people, her brothers now dead and this elderly  
6 lady, who the North Carolina legislature has been  
7 doing its best to disenfranchise.

8 This conclusion is only strengthened by  
9 seeing the enactment of voter ID laws that are  
10 based on cynical and bogus claims of voter fraud,  
11 claims that everybody involved knows are lies.

12 I suggest that this debate about the  
13 districts is not just a political issue, but it's a  
14 moral and ethical issue. I think that the North  
15 Carolina legislature should be ashamed, deeply  
16 ashamed for these acts. And I urge that the  
17 legislature not dawdle, and purge this shame, and  
18 redraw the maps in conformance with the Court  
19 decision.

20 Thank you very much for the opportunity  
21 to speak.

22 REP. LEWIS: Thank you. At this time,  
23 we're going to return to the Raleigh site. Dennis  
24 Dixon? Is Dennis Dixon here? Sydney Dunston? Is  
25 Sydney Dunston here? Jay DeLancy? Mr. DeLancy,

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1 you have five minutes, sir.

2 MR. JAY DELANCY: Thank you,  
3 Representative Lewis and Senator Rucho. I wanted  
4 to start, first off, by congratulating both of you  
5 and your whole committee. Y'all have done  
6 fabulously hard work in making this -- this whole  
7 thing happen.

8 This redistricting, drawing these lines  
9 originally is hard work. Congratulations to that.  
10 Congratulations for organizing these short-notice  
11 hearings, too, that you were forced upon -- that  
12 were forced upon you by the Courts. And  
13 congratulations to your IT staff that somehow  
14 pulled this together and -- involving these  
15 community colleges.

16 Now, we're a non-partisan organization,  
17 but we have a deep passion for the Constitution.  
18 And I think that's at -- that is what is at stake  
19 here today.

20 And first off, the urgency of these  
21 hearings, it smells a lot like a cynical judicial  
22 joke. Never mind that tens of thousands of ballots  
23 have already been mailed out across the state,  
24 never mind that the Board of Elections have already  
25 received 7,000 or a little over 7,000 of them back,

<p style="text-align: right;">110</p> <p>1 and never mind that this election is already 2 underway. No, these three activist judges, they 3 want chaos in North Carolina's elections. 4 Now, contrary to the earlier rants we've 5 heard, this is not your fault, gentlemen, ladies, 6 and the committee. This is not your fault. This 7 is the fault of the sore losers. I'm sorry. It's 8 more than 100 years there was no problem of more 9 than 100 years of Democrat gerrymandering. No 10 problem with that. 11 No problem with creating the 1st and 12th 12 District, the clown-foot district. I think that 13 was created in 1990s, back when the Democrats had 14 control of the legislature. And no problem again 15 in 2000, when the Democrats maintained their -- 16 their single-party rule in this state for more than 17 100 years. It was no problem. 18 The only time it became a problem was 19 despite all that rigging, that the Republicans 20 somehow managed to win in 2010. Now, it's a 21 problem. Oh, big problem. 22 Now, we see activist groups like 23 represented here today with their scripted speeches 24 all across the state. We see them -- Democracy NC 25 and Common Cause out there with the usual talking</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">112</p> <p>1 stink we're hearing today smells a lot like 2 judicial disenfranchisement, intended to bully 3 North Carolina into either postponing the elections 4 or into creating some sort of unelectable, 5 unaccountable so-called non-partisan redistricting 6 commission. 7 Please do not buckle to this judicial 8 tyranny. I ask you to charge ahead with the March 9 primaries. The truth will win out, and your 10 position will be vindicated. Thank you. 11 REP. LEWIS: Thank you. We're going to 12 return to Fayetteville Technical Community College 13 and Senator Brent Jackson. Senator Jackson, would 14 you introduce the next speaker? 15 SEN. JACKSON: [break in transmission] 16 REP. LEWIS; Senator Jackson at 17 Fayetteville Technical Community College, are you 18 there, sir? 19 REP. LEWIS: Members, we're going to go, 20 instead, to Central Piedmont Community College. 21 Representative Brawley, are you there, sir? The 22 chair has called -- Senator Jackson, can you -- can 23 you hear me? Members, the Chair is going to ask -- 24 SEN. JACKSON: We can't hear you on this 25 end, and I have 24 people remaining to speak.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">111</p> <p>1 points. They're turning this into a propaganda 2 moment to create so-called non-partisan 3 redistricting commissions. 4 Well, I have bad news for you, we do not 5 have gods living among us, so don't drink that 6 Kool-Aid. What I mean is there are -- just as 7 there are no unicorns, there are no truly non- 8 partisan people in our society. And so our 9 Founding Fathers understood that. It's called the 10 sinful nature of man. They understood that, and so 11 what they did was created a system whereby citizens 12 could watch their government, keep an eye on them, 13 and when one side got out of hand, the other side 14 could watch them and make them fix it. That's 15 called citizen accountability. They designed this 16 system that way. 17 And to the extent that we can hold on to 18 that constitutional framework, we're going to have 19 a free country and we're going to have citizen 20 accountability. It's when we deviate from that 21 constitutional framework that we start losing the 22 rights of citizens to be heard and the rights of 23 citizens to -- to have any influence at all on 24 their government. 25 So this smells a lot like -- this whole</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">113</p> <p>1 REP. LEWIS: So the Chair is going to 2 ask -- the Chair -- it appears to the Chair that we 3 can hear the Central Piedmont site. Representative 4 Brawley, so you can't hear the Chair? 5 REP. JACKSON: We've got you now. Okay. 6 REP. LEWIS: Okay. The Chair is going o 7 direct the clerk to contact Senator Jackson at the 8 Fayetteville site, and ask the gentleman who's 9 presenting to suspend. And we're going to go 10 instead to the Central Piedmont Community College. 11 And we're going to as Representative Brawley to 12 introduce the next presenter. 13 REP. BRAWLEY: Brian McCollum. Sir, you 14 are recognized for five minutes. 15 MR. BRIAN MCCOLLUM: Thank you. 16 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you. 17 MR. BRIAN MCCOLLUM: I'm -- my name is 18 Brian McCollum. I'm a student at UNC-Charlotte, 19 which puts me square in the [break in transmission] 20 school is out today, so I decided to come down here 21 and participate in democracy. 22 So I think the main point I wanted to 23 make -- and the last speaker really did this -- 24 this really isn't, in my view, a Republican or a 25 Democrat issue.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">114</p> <p>1           You know, a lot of my friends and a lot 2 of Millennials, I think, in general, don't really 3 identify with parties so much anymore. 4 Independents are an ever-expanding -- unaffiliated 5 voters are an ever-expanding demographic. 6           But I think what a lot of people that I 7 talk to worry about is the districts in this state 8 aren't really competitive. I think for people who 9 are interested in politics, we don't necessarily 10 want districts drawn one way or the other. We want 11 them drawn competitively so we actually can have 12 some interesting races. 13           I -- I think the last point that was made 14 is fair. Democrats were guilty of this, just as 15 Republicans were. But that doesn't really make it 16 right one way or the other. 17           You know, we have 13 Congressional 18 districts in this state, and only three of them are 19 Democratic -- or held by Democrats. So there's 10 20 held by Republicans, 3 by Democrats. 21           That just doesn't really add up when you 22 consider we're about a 50/50 split, you know, 23 liberal/conservative. We went for Obama in 2008. 24 We went for Mitt Romney in 2012. It's a pretty 25 even split, so you would think the Congressional</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">116</p> <p>1           challenging North Carolina's Congressional 2 districts has abused taxpayers. And I, like a 3 former speaker, would like to know how much that's 4 costing the taxpayers, to continue their -- all the 5 way up to the Supreme Court of the United States. 6           They always have, since 2010, attempted 7 to thwart the result of duly constituted elections 8 in which voters rejected Democrats' policies, and 9 they're mad as hornets. This is the way they're 10 taking it out on us taxpayers. That last statement 11 came from our, by the way, African American 12 Chairman of the state Republican Party. So not 13 every African American agrees with the ones who 14 have spoken today about the voter 15 disenfranchisement. 16           Anybody interested in voter fairness 17 should be for voter ID that protects my right to 18 vote and that of the elderly lady who had to be 19 escorted in to vote. If somebody else had gotten 20 there first -- and that happens a lot -- and voted 21 in her name, she would not have been able to vote. 22 She had to prove -- we now have to prove who -- 23 that we are who we say we are, and there's 24 absolutely nothing wrong with that. 25           However, there is rampant voter fraud,</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">115</p> <p>1           districts would match that. 2           But I think -- you know, where I disagree 3 with the last speaker is I do think an 4 independent -- something that is independent and 5 that is bipartisan would help us break a lot of 6 this gridlock and just get some competitive 7 elections or people who are actually interested in 8 politics. So that's what I want. 9           REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, sir. 10           REP. LEWIS: Thank you. We're going to 11 move now to UNC-Asheville, Representative Chuck 12 McGrady. Representative McGrady, do you have a 13 presenter? 14           REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Janet 15 Burhoe-Jones. 16           MS. JANET BURHOE-JONES: After 140 years, 17 Republicans achieved historic victories in North 18 Carolina in 2010. Since 2010, liberal activists in 19 the North Carolina Democratic Party have attempted 20 to achieve through the courts what they could not 21 at the ballot box. 22           North Carolina Democrats are 23 disenfranchising military and elderly and the poor 24 who have already cast ballots. 25           The endless string of court litigations</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">117</p> <p>1           and has been. Yancey County still has more 2 registered voters than it does citizens. Another 3 county in North Carolina, the same way. To say 4 there is no voter fraud is absolutely absurd. 5           I've talked to judges who have worked 6 inside the polls, and had a male come in saying he 7 was a female of the opposite race, and she could 8 absolutely do nothing about it. She had to let him 9 vote. 10           That goes on all the time all across the 11 state. And the county party has to report it to 12 the Board of Elections. And up until 2010, they 13 were run by Democrats, and did not report it. So 14 to say there's no voter fraud today, we're all 15 perfect in North Carolina, [break in transmission] 16 and that's the truth as I see it. 17           So I am for the current lines as they are 18 drawn. I have heard nothing stated by the other 19 party, other speakers proving any racial bias 20 whatsoever. I've heard nothing about voter changes 21 in those districts, voter results. So to me 22 there's no reason not to leave it the way it is. 23           And to disenfranchise the military and 24 the poor and people who have already sent in 25 absentee ballots and sent them out needing to be</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">118</p> <p>1 voted on in unconscionable. It is absolutely 2 absurd.</p> <p>3 You've had years to bring this up in the 4 courts. And for the courts now to have us change 5 midstream in the middle of an election is 6 absolutely outrageous.</p> <p>7 Thank you for letting me speak.</p> <p>8 REP. LEWIS: Thank you. Ladies and 9 gentlemen, the Chair is going to go to Halifax 10 Community College. Representative Stam, can you 11 verify that there are no further speakers wishing 12 to speak at this time? Or Senator Sanderson, 13 whichever -- whichever member is presiding.</p> <p>14 Members, the Chairs have received 15 communication from the site that there have been no 16 participants in the past hour. The Chairs are 17 going to declare that the Halifax Community College 18 site and the public hearing there is closed.</p> <p>19 We will now proceed on with the general 20 public remarks. We'll go back to the Raleigh site.</p> <p>21 Members, the Hon. G.K. Butterfield had 22 signed up and requested to speak. He's a member of 23 Congress. He has notified the Chair that he is not 24 here, and would like for Senator Floyd McKissick of 25 Durham to read the remarks on his behalf.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">120</p> <p>1 announced its decision on February 5th, ten days 2 ago, and you could have prepared some proposed maps 3 for the public to see. You have state-of-the-art 4 technology. Maps can be prepared on demand. 5 Without having draft maps, there is really nothing 6 for the public to respond to or have input.</p> <p>7 "I ask that you engage in this process in 8 good faith. In drawing Rucho-Lewis Congress 3, in 9 2011, not only did you decide to use race as the 10 predominate factor in drawing Districts 1 and 12, 11 but you knowingly and incorrectly interpreted the 12 law by insisting that each of these districts 13 contain African American populations exceeding 50 14 percent.</p> <p>15 "It is my opinion that you were fully 16 aware that you were incorrectly applying the law. 17 In a disingenuous way you used a flawed 18 interpretation of the Voting Rights Act for your 19 own partisan political advantage.</p> <p>20 "As a result of your overreach in drawing 21 these maps, you have devised a system that 22 guarantees the election of 10 Republican 23 Congressmen out of 13.</p> <p>24 "North Carolina's voter registration 25 between Democrats and Republicans is 4.6 million</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">119</p> <p>1 The Chairs have confirmed -- have 2 conferred and are going to grant that request. So, 3 Senator McKissick, you have the floor to read the 4 remarks from Representative Butterfield.</p> <p>5 SEN. FLOYD MCKISSICK: Thank you, Mr. 6 Chair. And this is a formal statement from him, 7 dated February 15, 2016.</p> <p>8 It says, "I am Congressman G.K. 9 Butterfield. For the past 11 years, I've been a 10 Democratic Representative for the 1st Congressional 11 District, which is the district that the Federal 12 District Court unanimously determined is 13 unconstitutional because it was drawn using race as 14 the predominate factor.</p> <p>15 It is disappointing that you have elected 16 to proceed with this hearing this morning despite 17 warnings from law enforcement that motorists 18 refrain from traveling the streets and highways 19 because of snow and ice. There are numerous 20 reported accidents in Raleigh. And I simply cannot 21 attend.</p> <p>22 "I am also disappointed that you have 23 convened the public hearing today before releasing 24 draft maps for the public to see. This is not a 25 good way to start this process. The Court</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">121</p> <p>1 voters. Democrats are two million of the 4.6 2 million voters, or 43 percent. Yet, Democrats only 3 get the opportunity to elect Democratic Congressmen 4 in three districts, 23 percent out of 13 districts. 5 A fair plan should result in Democrats having the 6 ability to elect at least five or six of the 13 7 Congressmen.</p> <p>8 "Your strategy worked and it worked in 9 Virginia and Alabama and elsewhere. The United 10 States Supreme Court has made it clear in identical 11 cases that race cannot be the predominate factor in 12 drawing districts. Legislatures are required to 13 protect minority communities from racially 14 polarized voting practices by not submerging them 15 into districts where they have no opportunity to 16 elect a representative of their choice.</p> <p>17 "In some districts, it may require 47 18 percent to protect the African American community 19 from voter discrimination. In other districts, it 20 may require less than 47 percent because of 21 coalition politics, where white voters are likely 22 to form coalitions with the African American 23 community.</p> <p>24 "All that said, the General Assembly must 25 now get ready to comply with the mandate of a</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">122</p> <p>1 unanimous District Court, and I urge you to act 2 with expediency. 3 "The Court's decision will not be 4 overturned by the United States Supreme Court. 5 Citizens must not be required in a district that 6 has been determined to be unconstitutional. The 7 1st District is unconstitutional. You drew it that 8 way. 9 "You are responsible for correcting your 10 actions. It is imperative that Congressional 11 district elections be delayed until May 24 of 2016, 12 the date of the second primary. By fixing the new 13 date on the second primary date, it will not result 14 in excessive costs for this delayed election. The 15 fact that a few absentee ballots have been cast 16 pales in comparison to the damage to our democracy 17 by requiring voters to cast ballots in an 18 unconstitutional district. 19 "Another option would be to delay all 20 primary elections until May 24th to allow every 21 race, state and federal, to be decided on the same 22 date. 23 "Now, what is the remedy? The remedy is 24 for the General Assembly to draw a Congressional 25 map that protects African American communities from</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">124</p> <p>1 Charlotte. I'm a healthcare work, a Millennial, 2 and newly politically engaged citizen. 3 I'm not -- I'm not -- I'm not proud to 4 be -- excuse me. I'm not proud to be admitting 5 that last part, but politics, up until this year, 6 gave me very little hope for my voice. [break in 7 transmission] 8 We're gathered here today to hear about 9 redistricting. But what we need to remember is, 10 this is about democracy. You're commenting on the 11 values North Carolina voters feel their vote holds, 12 and determines how active they are politically. 13 What this is not about are the candidates, the 14 campaigns, the Republican Party, the Democratic 15 Party, or protecting incumbents. 16 As American -- as American citizens, we 17 want to know that our votes count. That's what 18 democracy is all about, giving everyone a 19 meaningful voice in a system that governs them. 20 Yes -- yet, voters are disenfranchised because 21 district maps are drawn to reduce political 22 competition, whether it's for Democrats or 23 Republicans. 24 If I'm a Republican voter in a district 25 that's statistically mapped to contain mostly</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">123</p> <p>1 voter dilution; a map where each district is 2 approximately the same, identical size and 3 population; a map that recognizes the interests of 4 the Democratic Party as well as the Republican 5 party; a map that does not unnecessarily divide 6 counties of voting districts -- voting districts 7 within counties; and a map that attempts to connect 8 communities of interest. 9 "I urge you to get on with the business 10 of complying with the decision of the federal 11 District Court. Do not waste additional time and 12 resources in delaying the inevitable. The Hon. 13 G.K. Butterfield." 14 REP. LEWIS: We move now to Central 15 Piedmont Community College. Representative 16 Brawley, are you there, sir, with your next 17 speaker? 18 REP. BRAWLEY: Yes, sir. Thank you, Mr. 19 Chairman. Jacob Rivett. You are recognized for 20 five minutes, sir. 21 MR. JACOB RIVETT: I'd like to thank 22 everyone here for allowing me to speak next. I'll 23 be brief. 24 My name is Jacob Rivett, and yes, that 25 does sound like a frog, and I live here in</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">125</p> <p>1 Democrats, then my vote now holds far less value. 2 And we wonder why so many citizens are not 3 participating in the process. 4 Let's be clear. North Carolina's 5 districts are some of the most gerrymandered in the 6 nation. And for that reason, they do not represent 7 a true example of democracy. 8 As long as these maps are drawn by party, 9 some level of gerrymandering will find its way into 10 the process. Even if a bipartisan committee were 11 used, gerrymandering will prevail, because just as 12 we've heard today, much of the concern stays 13 focused on the party, not the voters. Currently, 14 parties come first, not democracy. We must change 15 this. Our votes must be heard. 16 I challenge our elected representatives 17 to look closer at new technology that allow us to 18 automate redistricting in a truly impartial manner. 19 Sophisticated and comprehensive, algorithmic 20 approaches exist across this country, and North 21 Carolina can shine a progressive beacon by using 22 this method to redraw our maps. 23 By taking people with their own agendas 24 out of the redistricting process, we can put power 25 back into the hands of voters. Thank you.</p>



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1 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, sir.  
2 REP. LEWIS: Thank you, sir. At this  
3 time, we're going to move to Fayetteville Technical  
4 Community College. We experienced some technical  
5 difficulties a while ago. Senator Jackson, can you  
6 hear me? And I hope I can hear you?  
7 SEN. JACKSON: Yes, sir, Chairman Lewis.  
8 I can hear you. Can you hear me?  
9 REP. LEWIS: I can, sir. Would you ask  
10 the gentleman whose remarks we missed before to  
11 please deliver those remarks again?  
12 SEN. JACKSON: Absolutely. That was Mr.  
13 Tim D'Annunzio. Tim.  
14 MR. TIM D'ANNUNZIO: Thank you. I'm Tim  
15 D'Annunzio. And, well, first of all, pardon me if  
16 I repeat myself. I don't know how much of what I  
17 said, you -- you heard the first time.  
18 But I'm a -- I'm a businessman from Hoke  
19 County. I'm a father. I'm a veteran. And I'm  
20 also a candidate for the 2nd District -- in the 2nd  
21 District.  
22 I came here today to -- to really just  
23 offer some recommendations. As I said earlier,  
24 the -- as the process played out [break in  
25 transmission] I saw an agenda unfolding that I

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1 thought it was just too obviously politically --  
2 politically driven, agenda-driven -- and agenda-  
3 driven that I -- that I had to point it out.  
4 And so it's a typical political [break in  
5 transmission] on the left that when they've lost at  
6 the ballot box and they've lost in -- in -- in  
7 other means, they -- they eventually result to  
8 crisis and creating a crisis, agitating a crowd, in  
9 this case using race.  
10 I would like to also go back and say that  
11 I believe that the districts are constitutional.  
12 And just as the Supreme Court in North Carolina  
13 affirmed, and the Justice Department affirmed, and  
14 I also believe that there's no other Justice  
15 Department in history that is as racially sensitive  
16 or as sensitive to racial issues as the Obama  
17 administration's Justice Department. And that in  
18 itself is a validation of the Congressional  
19 districts.  
20 But the obvious agenda at hand here is to  
21 remove the right or the authority to redistrict, as  
22 has always been the case, from the legislature, and  
23 put it into the hands of -- of an independent  
24 committee.  
25 And it's only an agenda now because after

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1 so many years of the legislature being -- being in  
2 the hands of the -- the Democrat party and their  
3 using it to their advantage, now all of a sudden  
4 they are up at arms. And of course, as the process  
5 played out, we see it end where it is, in this  
6 crisis and chaos that's created for this specific  
7 reason.  
8 My remarks are also to that point and  
9 are -- are that if -- if we are forced to -- into  
10 the worst of all situations and have to redraw the  
11 maps and my -- my recommendation is to limit the  
12 amount of chaos that's created on March 15th by  
13 only affecting as few districts as possible.  
14 And in this case, if there are two  
15 districts that have been deemed unconstitutional,  
16 that it could only affect -- it should only affect  
17 two other districts adjoining it at a -- at a  
18 minimum.  
19 And then my -- my following  
20 recommendation, if that is the worst case and --  
21 and we are stuck with that, is to allow the other  
22 districts' elections to move forward as scheduled  
23 on March 15th.  
24 And that's it, and thank you for the  
25 opportunity to speak.

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1 REP. LEWIS: Thank you. At this time,  
2 we'll go to Cape Fear Community College and  
3 Representative Ted Davis. Representative Davis,  
4 will you please introduce your next presenter?  
5 REP. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.  
6 Our next speaker will be Mr. Frank Gugino.  
7 MR. FRANK GUGINO: My name is Frank  
8 Gugino, and I'm a resident of Hampstead, North  
9 Carolina.  
10 I want to thank everyone for the  
11 opportunity to speak on this very volatile issue.  
12 And people are very passionate on both sides.  
13 People are becoming inflamed on both sides. And  
14 it's obviously -- it's obvious to me that this is a  
15 conversation that's not going to end today. This  
16 is a conversation that's going to continue in North  
17 Carolina for some time to come.  
18 We've had a lot of people who have talked  
19 about their very deep-felt views on both sides.  
20 And it -- it's obvious that this conversation is  
21 going to continue.  
22 I applaud every -- everyone for making  
23 this forum available to me. It's obviously a -- an  
24 example of democracy in action. However, what is  
25 not a great example of democracy in action is the

<p style="text-align: right;">130</p> <p>1 result of the redistricting that has been done, 2 that has obviously forced a lot of people to become 3 disenfranchised with their votes in this state, 4 particularly the ones that have been cited by the 5 federal courts in Districts 1 and District 12. 6 To me, those are egregious examples of 7 gerrymandering. Gerrymandering has been explained 8 in detail and I won't go into it anymore, but right 9 know we know what it -- how it's done and why it's 10 done. 11 I talked to one of the previous speakers, 12 and she said to me this is nothing more than a -- a 13 case of retribution that is being exacted upon this 14 state by the people in power who were out of power 15 for so many years. And they were pummeled by the 16 stick of gerrymandering by the Democrat party, and 17 now they've got the stick, and it's time for them 18 to exact their revenge. 19 And guess what? We all know that's the 20 case. We all know what's going on and we all know 21 why it's going on. 22 Gerrymandering is a great American 23 tradition. It's been going on, as people have 24 said, for hundreds of years. So why should it stop 25 now? We got beat up, we have the scars to prove</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">132</p> <p>1 are capable of it. But we have to be willing to let 2 the old ways go away and start with new ways. 3 You know, James Madison said in the 4 Federalist Papers, if men were angels, government 5 would not be necessary. 6 Well, we're not angels, and we've got the 7 institutions to prove it. But we can rise above 8 the partisanship. We can admit when we've made 9 some mistakes. We can say, you know what, let's 10 leave those old politics behind us, and let's start 11 something new. And independent voter commissions 12 are the way to do it. It just takes the willpower 13 to do it. And I believe this state has the 14 willpower to do it. Thank you. 15 REP. LEWIS: At this time, we'll move to 16 UNC-Asheville, Representative Chuck McGrady. 17 Representative McGrady, who's your next presenter? 18 REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Frank 19 Burrell. He doesn't appear to be here. The next 20 speaker is Aiden Carson. The next speaker then is 21 Doug Campbell. 22 MR. DOUG CAMPBELL: Good afternoon. I'm 23 Doug Campbell, resident of Buncombe County. 24 Honorable Senators and Representatives, thank you 25 for the opportunity to address you on the important</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">131</p> <p>1 it, if you're a Republican. And if you're a 2 Democrat, we don't want any more of it. 3 There are people in -- who are running 4 for President today who are calling for a 5 revolution. We're seeing a kind of politics going 6 on in 2016 that's unlike anything most of us have 7 ever seen in our lives, and most of us have been 8 around for a while. Well, maybe the time has come 9 for a revolution in the way we redistrict our 10 state. 11 There have been many calls for 12 independent voter commissions. It's happening in a 13 few states right now. It's ultimately going to 14 happen. It's going to happen because it's the only 15 fair way for this issue to be resolved. 16 We have partisanship rampant in America, 17 and it's only getting worse regardless of which 18 side of the aisle you are on. 19 Hopefully, we have a moderate core of 20 Americans who want to have their voices heard, who 21 are not extremely left, who are not extremely 22 right, who are willing to bring people into that 23 word that's become a dirty word in America these 24 days. That word is compromise. 25 We can compromise in this country. We</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">133</p> <p>1 issue of North Carolina voting districts. 2 In 1964, the US Supreme Court ruled in 3 Reynolds v. Sims that, quote, "An individual's 4 right to vote for state legislators is 5 unconstitutionally impaired when its weight is in a 6 substantial fashion diluted when compared with 7 votes of citizens living in other parts of the 8 state," end quote. 9 This ruling underscored the American 10 principles of equal representation and one person, 11 one vote. Any reasonable person looking at a map 12 of the 2011 North Carolina Congressional districts 13 would quickly conclude that those principles were 14 sorely overlooked in its creation. 15 Redrawing the 1st and 12th Districts 16 would be an important first step in improving the 17 representation in our state. However, we have a 18 long way to go before achieving one person, one 19 vote. 20 In the 2012 election, according to North 21 Carolina State Board of Election figures, only 49 22 percent, less than a majority, of the votes cast in 23 the US House races were for Republican candidates. 24 Yet, 69 percent of the Representatives were 25 Republican. Some would call that expertly crafted</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">134</p> <p>1 transformation of minority voters into a party of 2 power. Others would call it a subversion of the 3 will of the people. But whether it favors 4 Republicans or Democrats, it's the result of a 5 morally bankrupt districting process that has been 6 going on for far too long. 7 I urge you to take -- to make total 8 redistricting of our state -- the independent, non- 9 partisan commission a top priority in the next 10 session. Every North Carolinian deserves his or 11 her vote to count equally. When less than half of 12 our voters send over two-thirds of our 13 representatives to Congress, that is not equal 14 representation. That is not one person, one vote. 15 And that is not democracy. Thank you. 16 REP. LEWIS: Thank you. Move on -- now, 17 we're going to turn to the Wake County site. 18 Denise Rentz? Denise Rentz? Welcome, ma'am. You 19 have the floor for up to five minutes. 20 MS. DENISE RENTZ: Thank you. My name is 21 Denise Rentz. I am a soccer mom. I am a PTA 22 volunteer. And I am not a political operative, but 23 I do participate in politics as a volunteer on the 24 county level and as a representative of my county 25 to the district committee for the GOP.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">136</p> <p>1 Redistricting is not new. Gerrymandering 2 is not new. We are not here to debate whether 3 gerrymandering is right or wrong. I think we can 4 all agree that the process has flaws. We're here 5 to determine the impact of changing these districts 6 in this election right now. 7 It is important to note that Attorney 8 General Roy Cooper and likely Democrat nominee for 9 Governor won all 13 of these Congressional 10 districts. Not one of the 10 Republican-held 11 Congressional districts have a majority of 12 registered Republican voters. So when the GOP 13 candidate must create a coalition of Republicans, 14 Democrats, and unaffiliated voters to win, it's all 15 about messaging. 16 The Courts have allowed political parties 17 to draw districts for political advantage and 18 prohibit racial gerrymandering. Is this fair? 19 Maybe not. But it is the law, and it's been 20 utilized by both parties. You cannot change the 21 rules in the middle of an election. 22 So the question is were these districts 23 drawn to suppress the African American vote? What 24 was the motivation? Do we need proof that the 25 Legislature was politically motivated and not</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">135</p> <p>1 I -- like I said, I'm not a political 2 operative. I am the person that carries the signs 3 and hands out the posters and makes phone calls. 4 I come today to support the districts as 5 they are currently drawn. I think the effort to 6 force redistricting in the middle of an election is 7 irresponsible. So many people have already said 8 that our voters are becoming disenfranchised. You 9 know, it's hard to get people out to the polls, and 10 I work hard to get them there. And if we have to 11 delay this election, it just makes that job harder. 12 And we want everyone to be able to vote. 13 Republicans have argued that they 14 followed the law in creating these districts. The 15 US Justice Department, whose leadership was 16 approved by our Democrat President Barack Obama, 17 found that the maps did not hurt the ability of 18 minorities to elect the candidates of choice in the 19 districts being challenged, and they were 20 precleared under this procedure. 21 Democrat voters and others challenged the 22 2011 boundaries. Argued that the 30 legislative 23 and Congressional districts were designed to weaken 24 the overall influence of black voters in North 25 Carolina. I disagree.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">137</p> <p>1 racially motivated when drawing these lines? How 2 do we know? 3 I just want to throw out there that our 4 elected chairman of our North Carolina GOP is an 5 African American man. I was at the convention 6 where he was elected, and I can guarantee that 7 there were a lot of old white guys there who voted 8 for him. I doubt that this is racially motivated. 9 I'd also like to draw your attention with 10 someone you may be familiar with, Dr. Ada Fisher. 11 Dr. Fisher is one of two representatives that 12 represent North Carolina Republican Party at the 13 national level. Dr. Fisher is black, she's Jewish, 14 and she's a woman. You cannot get more minority 15 than that. I take umbrage when people say that as 16 a Republican, I am a racist. 17 The election process started months ago. 18 Thousands of absentee ballots have been distributed 19 to voters who are filling them out and returning 20 them. Hundreds of those ballots have already been 21 voted and returned. The primary election date for 22 hundreds of offices and thousands of candidates is 23 just days away. 24 We've relied on the existing districts 25 for two election cycles. I urge the leaders to</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">138</p> <p>1 make every effort to carry on with elections as 2 they have been started, and address redistricting 3 laws and gerrymandering at a more appropriate time 4 and in a way that will not cause more voters to 5 give up on our process. 6 But should the districts be redrawn, I 7 agree with many of the other speakers today that we 8 need to try to keep our smaller counties intact 9 wherever possible. As a campaign volunteer, I know 10 it's really hard for people to figure out where 11 they're supposed to vote. And it's important that 12 we try to keep these areas intact. The counties, 13 the precincts, they shouldn't be split. And there 14 should never be a racial consideration when drawing 15 these lines. This shouldn't be taken into account. 16 I thank you for your time today. 17 REP. LEWIS: Thank you. At this time, 18 we'll return to Central Piedmont Community College 19 and Representative Brawley. Representative 20 Brawley, could you present your next speaker? 21 REP. BRAWLEY: Yes. Ms. Laura McKennon. 22 Ms. McKennon, you are recognized for five minutes. 23 MS. LAURA MCKENNON: Hi, my name is Laura 24 McKennon, and I want to thank not the legislature, 25 but I want to thank my daughter, who's been in this</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">140</p> <p>1 about our Congressional districts, so let's talk 2 about it. 3 So were we so gerrymandered that we 4 didn't have equal representation? In 1996, we had 5 six Democrats and six Republicans. Oh, wow. In 6 1998, we had six Democrats and six Republicans. In 7 2000, it swapped a little bit. Oh, wow, Democrats 8 only had five representation -- Representatives in 9 Congress. Republicans had seven. And in 2001, one 10 year after having that two-person majority from a 11 Congressional district, Senator Rucho, you 12 submitted some information about redistricting. 13 And in one of your pieces for independent 14 redistricting, your bills said "geographically 15 compact and contiguous." That was Senator Rucho's 16 proposal for redistricting. 17 So let's go back. What happened the next 18 year. So after that, it went back to a little bit 19 more even: six Democrats, seven Republicans. 20 2004, six Democrats, seven Republicans. Are you 21 noticing a pattern? 2006, seven Democrats, six 22 Republicans. 23 So in 2007, Robert Pittenger submitted a 24 bill to our legislature, and his legislature [sic] 25 for independent districting had several goals. Let</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">139</p> <p>1 meeting. She's 10 years old and she's a future 2 voter. I am saying -- I am speaking today not only 3 for my own interests, but for her interests. And I 4 want to thank Gray for being so patient with this. 5 I've been a Mecklenburg County voter 6 since 1988. That was my first primary that I ever 7 voted in. And I would challenge anybody in North 8 Carolina, or in Mecklenburg to surpass my 9 participation because I checked my voter 10 registration and looked, and I -- I participated in 11 46 different elections. I am definitely an active 12 voter. 13 And I thought as I've listened to 14 everybody else here, that maybe I should take some 15 of you back a little bit. Maybe back -- let's just 16 take 20 years back. You know, 20 years ago, 1996, 17 Independence Day was going to be the biggest film. 18 Madeleine Albright was going to be our Secretary of 19 State. AOL was the biggest website. Only 20 20 million Americans had access to the Internet. 21 That's pretty big. 22 Well, let's talk about what's going on in 23 our voting, our Congressional. There's been a lot 24 of talk about all the other things with the Voting 25 Rights Act and the different things. Today is</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">141</p> <p>1 me read a couple of them. A goal of compactness 2 and a goal of one person, one vote. That was in 3 2007. 4 I don't know exactly what has happened to 5 our legislature to go back from those, but might it 6 have had something to do with our 2008 election, 7 where instead of relatively equal, President Barack 8 Obama had the biggest turnout of Democrats in North 9 Carolina, and our red state, traditionally, went 10 purple. And in that case, there was only three 11 legislators different. So eight Republicans -- 12 sorry. Eight Democrats and five Republicans. 13 So we know, of course, that we're going 14 to have districting. What happened in -- in 2008 15 before that. Oh, wow, we bounced back and there 16 was one different between our legislative 17 representatives, and of course, we got up to today. 18 Well, I am in the 9th Congressional 19 district. And if you don't think that race has 20 played a part in how that has been drawn, I would 21 suggest that you go and look at some of the 22 district -- the information for districting, 23 because it's so important on race. 24 And there's a mitten in the 9th District, 25 where I happen to live, and that mitten is</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">142</p> <p>1 primarily white voters. Why is it excluded from 2 the club? What is it, that mitten of Mecklenburg 3 County that's excluded? It's race. And there's no 4 doubt about that.</p> <p>5 In the 2014 election, almost three 6 million North Carolinians voted. In fact, 7 Democrats -- Democratic candidates got .44 percent 8 of the vote. 44 percent. Republicans 56. Great. 9 But our representation for three -- or three 10 Democrats was only 23 percent. We could get better 11 odds in Vegas that we can in North Carolina.</p> <p>12 Please, please do the right thing. Take 13 us back to purple. That's what we need. I'll go 14 back to 1984 a little bit. Purple Rain. I know 15 it's silly. We like it being purple. Let's keep 16 it.</p> <p>17 REP. LEWIS: Going to move at this time 18 to Fayetteville Technical Community College. The 19 Chair will remind the location chairs that speakers 20 are asked to limit their comments to five minutes 21 or less. We turn to Fayetteville Technical 22 Community College. Senator Jackson, do you have 23 another presenter?</p> <p>24 SEN. JACKSON: Yes, sir, Chairman Lewis. 25 We have Mr. Jason Freedman -- Freeman. He might</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">144</p> <p>1 that my comments may seem idealistic, but this 2 should remind all of the reality that allows a lack 3 of fairness to be inserted in our process.</p> <p>4 The government at all levels and its 5 agencies are always quick to demand adherence to 6 deadlines and suspense dates from the voters and 7 the citizens. Yet when exercising their functions, 8 the agencies often seem to ignore any principle of 9 timely and fair schedule and action.</p> <p>10 Here it is again, that a branch of 11 government has apparently ignored the ongoing 12 process of free and fair elections of voting that 13 should be steadily be improving in our state and 14 nation. This is hypocrisy and inconsistency, which 15 is another example of the basis for great 16 frustration seen throughout the electorate during 17 ongoing campaigns for elected offices.</p> <p>18 If this is a purposeful attempt to 19 undermine our voting process, then that is 20 despicable. As a retired military service member, 21 I am deeply disappointed that this sort of suspect 22 action could be possibly representative of a nation 23 which I defended for decades.</p> <p>24 Redrawing voting districts is obviously 25 needed at times. But this suspect attempt at</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">143</p> <p>1 have left one us, so I'll move on to the next one. 2 Mr. Eric Martin?</p> <p>3 MR. ERIC MARTIN: Yes, sir. 4 SEN. JACKSON: Okay. We have Eric with 5 us.</p> <p>6 MR. ERIC MARTIN: Thank you, sir. My 7 name is Eric Martin, a resident, voter of 8 Cumberland County.</p> <p>9 Ladies and gentlemen, I'll speak plainly. 10 Here we go again. We're in the midst of an 11 election process and the government is demanding 12 that we jump through our backsides to change a 13 fundamental aspect of the ongoing process, thereby 14 undermining the process while it is functioning.</p> <p>15 Instead of requiring that an adjudication 16 be addressed over a fair, decent, and reasonable 17 timeline, such would no constituency will be 18 unfairly be dealt with. This requirement of 19 redrawing districts right now is abusive, 20 especially towards our military service members 21 whose service allows us all to sit here safely and 22 complain about deficiencies in our governance 23 without fear of reprisal.</p> <p>24 How, when, and why you do something is 25 often as important as what you do. I'll say also</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">145</p> <p>1 demanding redrawing is being done unfairly, without 2 appropriate -- appropriate timeline requirements.</p> <p>3 I am deeply disappointed that this may be 4 another example of politics infringing upon any 5 sustainment of integrity in our systems.</p> <p>6 If redrawing voting districts is needed 7 now and reform of the system is needed, which it 8 may very well be, then do it in a reasonable, fair, 9 and thoughtful manner for the purpose of improving 10 [break in transmission] for everyone instead of 11 during an election, which perpetuates the sickness 12 of dishonest and selfish political leveraging that 13 has infected our society and system of governance 14 on all sides. Thank you.</p> <p>15 REP. LEWIS: Thank you. Members, we're 16 now going to go to Cape Fear Community College. 17 The Chair is going to yield the chair to Senator 18 Rucho.</p> <p>19 REP. DAVIS: Mr. Chairman, our next 20 speaker will be Steven Donatone.</p> <p>21 MR. STEVEN DONATONE: Thank you. My name 22 is Steve Donatone. I'm a registered Independent 23 voter, resident of Hampstead.</p> <p>24 The issue at hand goes well beyond two 25 districts. Gerrymandering is a national problem,</p>

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1 and has results in the intense polarizations we see  
2 in the various states and Congress. Both parties  
3 have used gerrymandering to secure their hold on  
4 power. And it is time for both parties to end the  
5 process.  
6         Gerrymandering creates districts that are  
7 monolithic in their views, with the result that  
8 those of a particular view are concentrated in any  
9 given district. The result is the election of  
10 increasingly extreme candidates and ever-more  
11 polarization in our government.  
12         For example, no one would call Richard  
13 Burr a liberal. Yet, he is being challenged by an  
14 individual who claims Burr is not conservative  
15 enough.  
16         We sees this on both side of the  
17 political spectrum, where there is a race to the  
18 extremes. Does anyone really want to see a choice  
19 between Ted Cruz and Bernie Sanders as our option  
20 for President, polar opposites, neither of them  
21 willing to compromise.  
22         For democracy to function, there is a  
23 need for an exchange of alternative views and a  
24 degree of compromise to take the best aspects of  
25 the different views in creating the best public

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1 policies. This should be the primary objective of  
2 both parties, rather than perpetuating their hold  
3 on power.  
4         For the politicians who are still in  
5 attendance, I say put your personal ambitions  
6 aside, show some statesmanship, and create an  
7 independent process that's non-political in nature  
8 for drawing district lines. The office you hold is  
9 not what commands respect. Respect is either  
10 generated or not generated by your actions. If you  
11 want respect, be respectable. Thank you.  
12         SEN. RUCHO: Okay. Moving on to UNC-  
13 Asheville, Representative McGrady, your next  
14 speaker, please.  
15         REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Julie  
16 Mayfield. And I'll be turning the chair over to  
17 Senator Hise.  
18         SEN. RUCHO: Okay. Thank you,  
19 Representative McGrady. We can't hear the speaker.  
20         MS. JULIE MAYFIELD: There we go. Is  
21 that better?  
22         SEN. RUCHO: Better now.  
23         MS. JULIE MAYFIELD: All right. Thank  
24 you. My name is Julie Mayfield.  
25         SEN. RUCHO: Lost you, Julie.

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1         MS. JULIE MAYFIELD: Oh.  
2         SEN. RUCHO: Yeah. I think you may have  
3 to hold that button down.  
4         MS. JULIE MAYFIELD: We'll try that. I'm  
5 the director of a regional environmental advocacy  
6 group. I am also a member of Asheville City  
7 Council. But I speak to you today as a resident of  
8 Asheville and a citizen of North Carolina. I have  
9 four points.  
10         First, I'd like to echo the calls made by  
11 many other people today and urge you to take the  
12 opportunity to pass an independent non-partisan  
13 redistricting bill. This recent decision was made  
14 on the basis or race, but it is no secret that  
15 partisan politics drove these maps. I respectfully  
16 disagree with an earlier speaker that partisan  
17 should play a role here. Politically-driven maps  
18 are bad regardless of the party drawing them. We  
19 can and should do better. Let's get politics out  
20 of this process so that we can all move forward  
21 with confidence in our leaders and the integrity of  
22 our elections.  
23         My second point is I'd like to ask you to  
24 take advantage of this opportunity to redistrict  
25 Asheville back into the mountains where it belongs.

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1 This is not a reflection on Representative McHenry.  
2 He is -- he has excellent constituent services and  
3 has been very helpful on important local issues  
4 like the CGS site. But Asheville belongs in the  
5 mountains.  
6         My third and fourth points are simple.  
7 It's also repetitive. Please redistrict Asheville  
8 back into the mountains, where it belongs. And  
9 finally, redistrict Asheville back into the  
10 mountains where it belongs. Thank you.  
11         SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Okay. Going  
12 back to Raleigh. And I have Louise Romanoff --  
13 Romanow. Excuse me. I hope I pronounced that  
14 correctly. Not here? And then Mark Nance. Five  
15 minutes, please.  
16         MR. MARK NANCE: Thank you, Senator  
17 Rucho, Chairman Lewis, and other committee members.  
18 I appreciate this opportunity.  
19         My name is Mark Nance. I live in  
20 Raleigh, married, have two kids, Simon and Anna.  
21 To the chagrin of some, I'm on the board of Common  
22 Cause North Carolina. And I'm also a political  
23 science professor at North Carolina State  
24 University, which it's in a little bit of all those  
25 roles that I speak to you this morning -- or this

<p style="text-align: right;">150</p> <p>1 afternoon, by now.</p> <p>2 Just like you, I guess, I'm still trying</p> <p>3 to figure out the implications of a court decision</p> <p>4 that declares electoral districts unconstitutional</p> <p>5 in a -- in a -- in regions and elections that are</p> <p>6 already underway.</p> <p>7 Logically, frankly, legislative leaders</p> <p>8 have appealed for a stay of that decision. And</p> <p>9 that outcome was uncertain to begin with, and is</p> <p>10 even more so now, I think, following the death</p> <p>11 of -- the death of Justice Scalia.</p> <p>12 My comment this morning, thus, is not</p> <p>13 really about how to redraw those districts or</p> <p>14 whether the election should be postponed, but</p> <p>15 rather the bigger lessons that I think this all</p> <p>16 points to. And other have made many of these same</p> <p>17 points that I'll -- I'll be reiterating.</p> <p>18 Basically, I want to make one simple</p> <p>19 point. We have to reform the process by which we</p> <p>20 draw electoral districts in this state. We have a</p> <p>21 long tradition now, stretching across both parties,</p> <p>22 of the courts filing -- finding districts drawn by</p> <p>23 our legislators to be unconstitutional. North</p> <p>24 Carolina has very much to be proud of, but our</p> <p>25 representative districts frankly are a source of</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">152</p> <p>1 will look very different in 10 or 15 years than</p> <p>2 they do right now.</p> <p>3 Applied political dynamics are also</p> <p>4 expected to be very different. Some of you will</p> <p>5 know Dr. Andy Taylor in our department. He's fond</p> <p>6 of saying, "We also know that the primary strategy</p> <p>7 of gerrymandering is to win small and lose big."</p> <p>8 The sum total of all of that for you as</p> <p>9 legislators means that the majority party drawing</p> <p>10 the districts are the ones actually subject to most</p> <p>11 change that comes from even small demographic</p> <p>12 shifts. So in attempting to draw yourself into</p> <p>13 safe districts, you actually put yourself at</p> <p>14 greater danger of losing your seat because of these</p> <p>15 demographic shifts.</p> <p>16 There is, in other words, a tremendous</p> <p>17 amount of uncertainty that is within North Carolina</p> <p>18 over the next 10, 15, or 20 years. Again, as Dr.</p> <p>19 Taylor has said, "It therefore behooves all of you</p> <p>20 and those in power in particular to buy yourselves</p> <p>21 a bit of an insurance policy and implement a system</p> <p>22 of redistricting that is transparent, accountable,</p> <p>23 reliable, and fair regardless of the party in</p> <p>24 charge." It's a hedge against predictable</p> <p>25 uncertainty and its unpredictable outcomes.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">151</p> <p>1 embarrassment.</p> <p>2 Let me focus on two points why I think it</p> <p>3 makes sense that this is a tradition in North</p> <p>4 Carolina that needs to be gotten rid of, and as</p> <p>5 quickly as possible.</p> <p>6 I understand that it's tempting to draw</p> <p>7 the districts to your own advantage and draw</p> <p>8 yourself and your party into safety while putting</p> <p>9 others at a disadvantage. God knows I understand</p> <p>10 that the Democrats, for far too long, did that for</p> <p>11 themselves, and shame on them for having done so.</p> <p>12 But North Carolina is changing</p> <p>13 drastically, as you well know, and with it so is</p> <p>14 the strategy of gerrymandering, the value of it to</p> <p>15 you. We know that there's rapid urbanization in</p> <p>16 the state, and that rural counties are losing</p> <p>17 population. We know that North Carolina is</p> <p>18 becoming substantially more diverse. We do not</p> <p>19 know how these new more diverse populations will</p> <p>20 vote.</p> <p>21 We know that traditional racial, ethnic</p> <p>22 and socioeconomic settling patterns in the</p> <p>23 center -- in the urban centers versus suburbs</p> <p>24 versus exurbs are also breaking down at rapid</p> <p>25 rates. In short, your districts, your districts</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">153</p> <p>1 Second, as a professor, I am sensitive to</p> <p>2 the critique that this is abstract political</p> <p>3 theory. But I assure you this has real impact on</p> <p>4 our economy and our democracy. For those of you</p> <p>5 involved in the gritty day-to-day of this, I think</p> <p>6 sometimes it morphs into a somewhat technical or</p> <p>7 largely technical wonky kind of a practice where</p> <p>8 you move a few voters here and you move a few</p> <p>9 voters there to try to get over the constitutional</p> <p>10 bar.</p> <p>11 Let me assure you, most people outside of</p> <p>12 this political activist world see this as the worst</p> <p>13 kind of political maneuvering. It feeds into an</p> <p>14 already strong criticism -- cynicism -- thank you,</p> <p>15 Sergeant -- feeds into an already strong cynicism</p> <p>16 about the ugliness and pettiness of our political</p> <p>17 process.</p> <p>18 My own students, for example, just</p> <p>19 finished reading a study, a landmark study by</p> <p>20 Robert Putnam, where he tries to understand why</p> <p>21 some regions in Italy, for example, perform much</p> <p>22 better despite having been given the similar</p> <p>23 institutions and the same resources.</p> <p>24 His argument, very simply, is that</p> <p>25 those -- those citizens trust their institutions.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">154</p> <p>1 They trust that the -- the people in charge of them 2 are not rigging the game to the systematic 3 advantage of some and the disadvantage of others. 4 As a result they engage their fellow citizens in 5 their representative institutions in a way that 6 makes the entire system work that much better. 7       Gerrymandering, including, I would say 8 very strongly here, partisan gerrymandering that 9 has been so brazenly endorsed here this afternoon 10 breaks that trust and hampers the functioning of 11 our democracy. As Representative Stam said in a -- 12 in a -- in a forum that I hosted last fall, this 13 will not fix all of our problems, but it will go a 14 long way. It's the infrastructure on which our 15 democracy is built, and it deserves a better 16 system. Thank you. 17       SEN. RUCHO: Sergeant-at-Arms, we have no 18 more speakers on the -- on the sign-up sheet unless 19 someone has come in that was on here earlier and 20 was not present when they were called. Can you 21 check to be sure, 'cause we're going to go on to 22 Central Piedmont now. But that will be the last 23 call for that -- those people that have signed up 24 for this. Okay. 25       Central Piedmont? Representative</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">156</p> <p>1 way it is. 2       And I'm challenging any candidate who is 3 running for office to allow our representatives to 4 create fair and balanced Congressional districts. 5 And I will say that I have enough pride in my 6 message and the message of the people that support 7 me that we are going to win our district however 8 it's designed. 9       So I challenge those -- the incumbents 10 and candidates to have enough pride and -- and 11 relevance in your campaign that you would be able 12 to compete competitively however the district is -- 13 is drawn. Thank you very much. 14       SEN. HARRINGTON: Thank you, Mr. Cano. 15       SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving on to 16 Fayetteville. I've got Senator Jackson. Do you 17 have another speaker there, please? 18       SEN. JACKSON: Yes, sir, Senator Rucho. 19 We have Mr. George McMillan, Jr. George? 20 Apparently he left. We have Mrs. -- our last 21 speaker that we have signed up is Mrs. Wanda 22 Lawrence. 23       MS. WANDA LAWRENCE: Thank you. I'm 24 Wanda Lawrence from Fayetteville, North Carolina. 25 It is very unfortunate that the election</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">155</p> <p>1 Brawley. 2       SEN. HARRINGTON: Thank you, Mr. Chair. 3 Senator Kathy Harrington standing in for 4 Representative Bill Brawley. 5       SEN. RUCHO: Thank you, Senator 6 Harrington. 7       SEN. HARRINGTON: Our next speaker is 8 Christian Cano. 9       MR. CHRISTIAN CANO: Cano. 10       SEN. HARRINGTON: Cano? Excuse me for 11 the mispronunciation. 12       MR. CHRISTIAN CANO: That's fine. Thank 13 you. Thank you very much. My name is Christian 14 Cano. I'm the Democratic nominee for Congressional 15 District Number 9. 16       And everything that I was going to say 17 has been said already. So basically what I would 18 like to challenge all candidates who are running 19 for Congress, because this is basically what this 20 about, is to have enough pride in your message that 21 if we were able to compete fairly, that would you 22 be able to win. 23       If you don't have enough pride and you 24 don't believe that you are relevant anymore in your 25 district, then yes, you want this to continue the</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">157</p> <p>1 process is underway, and now a change is required. 2 It is unfortunate because our legislators knew of 3 this problem when the lines were drawn and the maps 4 were created. 5       The district maps were challenged when 6 they were introduced to the public. Changes should 7 have been addressed and made at that time, not now 8 for when -- through the [break in transmission] of 9 the Court to [break in transmission]. 10       Stop prolonging the inevitable and redraw 11 the lines of the districts so that there will be 12 fairness for all voters. Follow the law as it has 13 already been handed down to you. Correct the 14 district lines so that the voting process can 15 proceed fairly. 16       Thank you for your time. 17       SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Going to Cape 18 Fear, Representative Davis. 19       REP. DAVIS: Mr. Chairman, our next 20 speaker is Mr. Dwight Willis, and then I have 13 21 more speakers signed up after that. 22       SEN. RUCHO: Wonderful. 23       MR. DWIGHT WILLIS: Are you ready for me? 24       REP. DAVIS: Yes, sir. 25       MR. DWIGHT WILLIS: I am Dwight Willis.</p>



<p style="text-align: right;">158</p> <p>1 I live at 140 Carolina Avenue, Holden Beach. I'm 2 here today speaking as a private citizen 3 representing no one except the citizens of North 4 Carolina. I appreciate your taking the time to 5 conduct this hearing and to allow me to speak 6 before you today. 7 For 41 years I worked in the public 8 school system as both a teacher and administrator. 9 That's why I look so tired. For many of those 10 years, I taught high school history, civics, and 11 government. And I passionately believe in and 12 taught my students about the sacred right and the 13 privilege of voting. For me, the right to vote is 14 more important than the first 10 amendments to the 15 Constitution, because without the right to vote, 16 none of the other rights, freedoms, and privileges 17 that we have as Americans can be protected. 18 For much of my life I've advocated for a 19 system where an independent commission redraw 20 federal and state districts after each 10-years 21 census. That never happened in my lifetime yet. 22 For generations in North Carolina, the Democratic 23 Party controlled the redistricting process and 24 adjusted districts to meet their political goals 25 and interests.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">160</p> <p>1 require that these districts be compact and 2 contiguous. A quick look at District 1 and 3 District 12 show the makers of these maps clearly 4 violated the intent of the Constitutional 5 requirements. 6 Although not related to the makeup of the 7 1st and 12th districts, there's no reason that 8 places like district precincts in downtown 9 Wilmington would be removed from the 7th District 10 and placed in the 3rd District other than to dilute 11 the voting strength of the American -- the African 12 American voters who live in that precinct. This 13 dilution of minority voting strength is even more 14 egregious in the 12th District. By segregating 15 minority votes in two or three districts, their 16 votes become marginalized. 17 The maps that the General Assembly 18 approved in 2011 are clearly illegal, as determined 19 by the recent federal court decision, and they must 20 be changed. The General Assembly has an 21 opportunity to be magnanimous and right this wrong. 22 You have an opportunity to protect the concept of 23 one man, one vote, when everyone's vote really 24 matters. 25 In 2012, 2,219,000 people, or 51.8</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">159</p> <p>1 When Republicans took control of the 2 state government in 2010, I was hopeful, because of 3 their previous statements, that they would remedy 4 this situation and adjust districts according to 5 the geographic and economic interests of the 6 citizens who lived in those districts. 7 Unfortunately, it appears my hopes and 8 dreams were to no avail, and those new maps were 9 solely created to meet the political goals and 10 interests of the Republican Party now. 11 I keep hoping that someday, someone will 12 create the districts to meet the goals and 13 interests of the citizens who live in those 14 districts. 15 This could be you, and this could be now. 16 District 1 and District 12 were obviously created 17 to further the interests of the Republican Party 18 without any thought as to how those lines might 19 impact the citizens who live within those districts 20 or how the makeup of those districts might -- might 21 impact the makeup of the surrounding districts. 22 Ideally, Congressional districts would be 23 drawn to reflect the geographic and economic 24 interests of the citizens of those districts. 25 The Federal and State Constitutions</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">161</p> <p>1 percent, cast Democratic ballots for the US House, 2 and 2,143,000 people, or 49.13 percent, cast 3 Republican ballots. Yet the will of the people was 4 clearly not heard. Ten Congressional seats were 5 awarded to Republicans, and only three were awarded 6 to Democrats. 7 How can our democracy work when the will 8 of the people is clearly undermined and subverted 9 by egregiously gerrymandered districts? 10 However, even worse are the number of 11 districts, federal and state, where the districts 12 are so politically misaligned that incumbents run 13 without opposition. These candidates go to Raleigh 14 and Washington without any need to work across the 15 aisle or represent those constituents who did not 16 vote for them because they're always going to get 17 reelected. 18 The art of compromise has always been a 19 foundation of our democratic principles that I 20 taught for many years in public school. But 21 compromise is no longer even considered our -- in 22 our gerrymandered districts. It's ultimately 23 created the gridlock in our legislative body to 24 make it so difficult to govern our state and 25 nation.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">162</p> <p>1 I've heard a lot of state legislators 2 argue that primary elections are already in 3 process, and that we -- it's too late to do 4 anything now. However, it's more important to 5 ensure that our elections are constitutional. 6 I'm asking you today to protect and 7 encourage the democratic process in North Carolina 8 by drawing compact and contiguous districts based 9 on economic and geographic interests and keeping 10 counties intact whenever possible. 11 I'm asking that you return to Raleigh 12 committed to making democracy work for we the 13 people. Many of our citizens don't believe that 14 you believe in us or work for us. This is your 15 opportunity to show North Carolina citizens that 16 you are statesmen and not just politicians. 17 Thank you for allowing me to speak today. 18 SEN. RUCHO: Moving on to Asheville. I 19 think Representative McGrady. Or -- no, I think 20 Senator Hise is there now. Am I correct? 21 SEN. HISE: You are correct. Thank you, 22 Mr. Chairman. We have 12 left to speak after this 23 speaker, and now we have Kathy Scott representing 24 herself. She's left. Luke Hyde? 25 MR. LUKE HYDE: I'm here.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">164</p> <p>1 serving as a Congressman from Virginia, Jefferson 2 introduced a bill in Congress -- 3 SEN. RUCHO: We can't hear him. Hello? 4 Got to hold your finger down on the -- on the -- to 5 speak. We lost your audio. Are you speaking? 6 UNIDENTIFIED: He is speaking. 7 SEN. RUCHO: Well, we -- we can't hear 8 his audio there. 9 MR. LUKE HYDE: This is the speaker. Can 10 you hear me now? 11 SEN. RUCHO: Yes. Go ahead. 12 MR. LUKE HYDE: As a student of history, 13 I go to court cases for guidance. The US Supreme 14 Court ruled in the Dred Scott case in 1855 that 15 Dred Scott, an African American, did not have 16 rights as a citizen. 17 The US Supreme Court ruled in 1896 in the 18 Plessy v. Ferguson case that the defendant, an 19 African American, could not ride trains with white 20 citizens. In Brown v. Board, 1954, the Court ruled 21 that segregation was illegal and improper. In 22 Baker v. Carr in '62, the Court ruled that one 23 person got one vote. 24 In Thornburg v. Gingles, a North Carolina 25 case of the late '60s, the US Supreme Court ruled</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">163</p> <p>1 SEN. HISE: Representing attorney-at-law. 2 MR. LUKE HYDE: Can I be heard now? 3 SEN. RUCHO: Yes. 4 MR. LUKE HYDE: I'm Luke Hyde, and I'm an 5 attorney in Raleigh, the 5th District, and in the 6 30th District, the seven western counties of North 7 Carolina. 8 Gov. Elbridge Gerry gave us the term 9 "gerrymandering," as we've heard already. He 10 borrowed that idea from the State of Pennsylvania, 11 which had borrowed it from England. It had been 12 going on for years. 13 On July the 4th, 1776, five members of 14 the Continental Congress, composed of Benjamin 15 Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert 16 Livingston, and a young lawyer from Virginia named 17 Thomas Jefferson, wrote the first draft of the 18 Declaration of Independence. 19 Jefferson put a clause in that 20 declaration which would outlaw slavery in the 21 United States. Delegates from two Southern states 22 objected, and the clause was removed because the 23 Continental Congress required unanimous consent. 24 Seven years later, in 1783, and four 25 years before the US Constitution was drafted, while</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">165</p> <p>1 that the North Carolina legislature could not 2 unconstitutionally gerrymander the districts. 3 This gerrymandering perpetrated by the 4 current and past General Assembly is an insult to 5 the citizens of North Carolina. It is 6 inappropriate, impractical, illegal, and 7 unconstitutional. And as a person who cares about 8 every person voting, I'm offended, and every 9 thinking person ought to be offended. 10 Gerrymandering harms all citizens, not 11 just Democrats, not just Republicans, not just 12 unaffiliated. It harms all citizens. 13 All reasonable and intelligent citizens, 14 I believe, would support a non-partisan or 15 bipartisan commission to select the districts in 16 practical, honest ways. 17 About 100 years after Elbridge Gerry was 18 doing his improper, illegal, unconstitutional 19 gerrymandering, another person from Massachusetts 20 named John Erskine, who was a professor at Amherst, 21 wrote a little essay called "The Moral Obligation 22 to be Intelligent." I believe we're all required 23 to do that. 24 I request this General Assembly please be 25 intelligent. Please honor all citizens. When I</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">166</p> <p>1 was a lad growing up in Swain County on a farm, we 2 used to have to plow the fields. We had a blind 3 mule named Fred. I believe that Fred the blind 4 mule could see that this gerrymandering is 5 unconstitutional and illegal, and Fred would do the 6 right thing. I request the legislature follow 7 Fred's advice, please.</p> <p>8 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. We're 9 going to go back -- since Halifax is closed, we're 10 going to back to Raleigh. And we have Sue Googe. 11 Five minutes, Ms. Googe.</p> <p>12 MS. SUE GOOGE: Thank you, Chairman, for 13 allowing me the opportunity to speak.</p> <p>14 Ladies and gentlemen, my name is Sue 15 Googe. I'm the Congressional candidate for 16 District 4, so redrawing the district actually 17 enhances my chance to win. But that is not my 18 purpose here.</p> <p>19 As a Republican candidate, I often told 20 District 4 is unwinnable. Why it's unwinnable? 21 Because gerrymandering. But I want to talk about 22 this issue from a different point of view.</p> <p>23 As a citizen, when I went into the 24 Congressman's office to request a constituent 25 service, I don't think anyone would deny a service</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">168</p> <p>1 don't solve the problem if the elect official only 2 represent the special interests in D.C.</p> <p>3 So I think in order to preserve our 4 democracy, the elect official must represent we the 5 people, regardless of the races, because our system 6 is two-party system in the general. It doesn't say 7 white versus black or what color it was. So I 8 believe the divide between the country is the 9 political ideology, not the -- not necessarily 10 racial. It's just my personal point of view.</p> <p>11 District 4 I'm running in has 30 percent 12 of black, 50 percent of white. Chinese American, 13 which is my [unintelligible], only account for one 14 percent. No one can say I only represent one 15 percent of the Chinese American because when I 16 enter this race, I represent all. When I see 17 constituent, I don't see their color. I only see 18 they are constituents of mine. I only see they are 19 American citizens.</p> <p>20 That's why I request the primary date to 21 stay where it is. I don't deny gerrymandering 22 maybe have some political gain one way or the 23 other. However, it's a poor way to change it right 24 now. It will undermine our democracy. For those 25 who already identified their candidates, and they</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">167</p> <p>1 to me because of my skin color. So if my 2 representative represents me well, regardless of 3 the skin color, it doesn't matter which district 4 I'm in.</p> <p>5 I used to be in District 4, and then to 6 13, and then back to 4 again. So to me as citizen, 7 I believe as long as the elected official really 8 represent we, the people, it really doesn't matter 9 where do you live. Within the boundary of the 10 United States of America.</p> <p>11 I came here for request the primary date 12 to stay. Here's the reason. As a candidate, we 13 have been campaigning for a very long time. We 14 connect to the voters in the districts. We 15 advertise to our constituents. We have supporters, 16 all cause, all races. Even some registered 17 Democrats supporting us. So I don't see the race 18 issues right here, as long as we get a vote.</p> <p>19 I think the problem is when I'm on the 20 campaign trail, I very often hear the elected 21 officials in DC do not represent we the people. 22 That's why the Congress consistently have the 23 approval rate in the 20s. So it doesn't matter 24 what color they are. They don't represent we, the 25 people, Then no matter how we redraw the map, we</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">169</p> <p>1 have to rechoose their candidates, how could that 2 going to enhance our democracy?</p> <p>3 Ladies and gentlemen, we are here to cast 4 our vote for the people we're believing in. It 5 doesn't matter what color. Barack Obama is black. 6 Me as Asian, I don't see him as black. I see him 7 as President. And I want my constituents to see me 8 as their represent -- their -- their elect 9 official, not because I'm Asian or other racial 10 color. Thank you very much.</p> <p>11 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Going to Central 12 Piedmont, Senator Harrington, are you there?</p> <p>13 REP. BRAWLEY: Senator Harrington has 14 given me back the delightful task of chairing, 15 Senator.</p> <p>16 SEN. RUCHO: Okay, Representative 17 Brawley. Next speaker.</p> <p>18 REP. BRAWLEY: Our next speaker, we will 19 have Ms. Terry Taylor-Allen. Ms. Taylor-Allen, 20 you're recognized for five minutes.</p> <p>21 MS. TERRY TAYLOR-ALLEN: Okay. Okay. 22 Thank you so very much. My name is Terry Taylor- 23 Allen. I am an unaffiliated voter in the 9th 24 Congressional District. And I'm here today to 25 express my strong support for the Court's decision,</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">170</p> <p>1 and my urgent request that the North Carolina 2 General Assembly do its duty, and take care of 3 these maps immediately. 4 We have an embarrassment on a national 5 stage due to our aggressively and inappropriately 6 gerrymandered Congressional districts. So many 7 people who are far wiser than I have effectively 8 pointed out the detriment that these Congressional 9 map have caused to our state, to our citizens. I 10 don't need to revisit all that. 11 I just simply need to say this action is 12 overdue. The time is now to fix it. Let's get it 13 done. Let's not wait. Thank you very much for the 14 time to speak today. I appreciate it. 15 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Ms. Taylor- 16 Allen. Thank you, Senator. 17 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Going on -- now, 18 I will say Senator Jackson has said that he has no 19 more speakers at Fayetteville, so that has been 20 closed at 2:00 p.m. And then we move on to Cape 21 Fear Community College, and I think I still have 22 Representative Davis there. 23 REP. DAVIS: Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman. Our 24 next speaker will be Mr. Richard Poole. 25 MR. RICHARD POOLE: Thank you,</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">172</p> <p>1 redistricting removed a slice of the city of 2 Wilmington, downtown Wilmington, took it out of the 3 7th District and put it into 3rd District. 4 Now, the result of that is the heavily 5 African American populace of that district was 6 removed from the district that their Wilmington 7 neighbors vote in, and they are now voting in a 8 district that stretches all the way from -- from 9 downtown Wilmington in the southeast part of our 10 state, all the way to the Virginia line. They are 11 represented by a Congressman most of them have 12 never laid eyes on. They have been 13 disenfranchised, and that needs to be addressed. 14 Another reason for urgency, we've already 15 had two elections with illegal and unconstitutional 16 districting, and we need to have it fixed before we 17 have a third election. Now, the -- the Court, the 18 federal court, gave the legislature, the General 19 Assembly, two weeks to redraw the districts. 20 Several have commented that that's -- that's a 21 short period of time. It puts a lot of pressure on 22 the General Assembly. 23 The first response to that is that two- 24 week deadline was required by North Carolina law, 25 by legislation passed by the General Assembly. So</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">171</p> <p>1 Representative Davis, and thank you to the North 2 Carolina General Assembly for holding this hearing 3 on redistricting. 4 I wish I could speak with the wit and 5 grace of the gentleman who told us the story about 6 Fred the blind mule. But I'm just going to have to 7 do the best I can. 8 My name is Richard Poole. I live in 9 Wilmington, North Carolina. I'm first vice-chair 10 of the New Hanover County Democratic Party. And in 11 addition to being here in my personal capacity, I 12 represent the party in these remarks. 13 We are here to speak to the urgency of 14 the need to redistrict. Senator Rucho, it's my 15 understanding that you have expressed a belief that 16 this is too rushed, and that -- that it's not -- 17 the need is not as urgent as would be suggested by 18 the Court's opinion. So I'd like to address myself 19 to the urgency of the matter at hand. 20 The first reason this is urgent is 21 because the districts, District 1 and District 12, 22 are segregated by race. And that because of the 23 way they were districted back in 2011, their voting 24 plan is illegal and unconstitutional and wrong. 25 In our own city of Wilmington, that</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">173</p> <p>1 to the extent this is a rush, it's a rush that was 2 created by the General Assembly's own actions. 3 Further, in our state, knowing that this 4 litigation was pending, the General Assembly moved 5 up the primary date to March 15th, much earlier 6 than it would have happened in earlier years. Now, 7 I understand the desire to be a player in the 8 Presidential nomination process. I share that. 9 But again, to the extent there is urgency here, 10 it's a situation that was created by the General 11 Assembly. 12 We urge the General Assembly to 13 expeditiously redraw the districts in a fair and 14 transparent and equitable manner. Transparent 15 would suggest that the map-drawing process should 16 be of public record, that the plans should be drawn 17 up on a state computer, that consultants of the -- 18 that are assisting should be made available at 19 committee hearings, and that the leadership 20 disclose the money that it is spending on 21 consultants and lawyers in this process. 22 Thank you very much for this opportunity. 23 SEN. RUCHO: Thank -- thank you very 24 much. Moving on to UNC-Asheville, Senator Hise. 25 REP. MCGRADY: Representative McGrady has</p>

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1 resumed in the chair, and our next speaker is Jake  
2 Quinn.  
3 MR. JAKE QUINN: Good afternoon. My name  
4 is Jake Quinn. I live in Asheville in Buncombe  
5 County, and I'm representing Mountain Voices  
6 Alliance today.  
7 I am disappointed in the scheduling,  
8 noticing, and conduct of this meeting. The  
9 technical difficulties that have plagued this  
10 poorly organized hearing do not instill confidence  
11 in the Committee or in its staff.  
12 About four years ago, I testified against  
13 the Rucho-Lewis maps. Suffice it to say that I am  
14 not surprised that they were thrown out by a  
15 federal court or that we have to have this hearing  
16 today.  
17 Despite Senator Rucho's stated belief  
18 that the maps are fair, the federal District Court  
19 has clearly indicated they are not. Senator Rucho  
20 is mistaken in his belief, and he ought to discard  
21 it.  
22 I am, frankly, surprised to hear the  
23 confusion about these maps' constitutionality. The  
24 US District Court has made crystal clear that they  
25 are not constitutional and that they do not comply

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1 with law in the United States.  
2 So folks, let's not debate this. Keeping  
3 these maps is not an option. Take it off the table  
4 and change them.  
5 The executive director of the North  
6 Carolina Republican Party has stated that district  
7 maps ought to be blind to race but not blind to  
8 party registrations. I want to congratulate the  
9 executive director. He is exactly wrong. And that  
10 is why we are here today.  
11 Redistricting is not rocket [break in  
12 transmission] --  
13 SEN. RUCHO: We can't hear him speak.  
14 MR. JAKE QUINN: -- there are six basic  
15 goals, six criteria to consider when you are  
16 redistricting.  
17 Number 1, equal populations. Number 2,  
18 geographic compactness. Number 3, geographic  
19 contiguity. Number 4, preservation or recognition  
20 of existing political boundaries such as counties  
21 and precincts. Number 5, respect for natural  
22 geographic boundaries. And number 6, racial  
23 fairness.  
24 There should be no consideration given  
25 whatsoever to voters' political affiliation. It

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1 taints the process terribly.  
2 I will conclude in stating that I fully  
3 concur in the testimony offered by my friend and  
4 neighbor Tom Byers earlier today, and urge the  
5 committee to consider it carefully.  
6 North Carolina has gotten [break in  
7 transmission] --  
8 SEN. RUCHO: I assume the speaker has  
9 completed his presentation. Am I correct?  
10 MR. JAKE QUINN: No, you are not.  
11 SEN. RUCHO: Well, we couldn't hear you.  
12 MR. JAKE QUINN: Unfortunately --  
13 unfortunately, the technical facilities are not  
14 conducive to a smooth-running hearing. That is not  
15 my fault. That is your committee's fault. Thank  
16 you.  
17 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Let's  
18 go ahead now and go to -- we're going to -- well,  
19 we've closed Raleigh as far as speakers are  
20 concerned. We're going to continue doing our work.  
21 Let's go to Central Piedmont, Representative  
22 Brawley.  
23 REP. BRAWLEY: Than you, Senator. The  
24 next speaker is Hasan Harnett. Mr. Harnett, you're  
25 recognized for five minutes. You have the floor,

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1 sir.  
2 MR. HASAN HARNETT: Thank you, sir. Mr.  
3 Chairman, Committee members, and ladies and  
4 gentlemen both far and near, my name is Hasan  
5 Harnett. I am an American, a registered voter in  
6 the 8th District, and the Chairman of the North  
7 Carolina Republican Party.  
8 My single voice, as Republican Chairman,  
9 represents large, diverse communities of the human  
10 race. Nearly two million Republicans, voters who  
11 are strong in this state. Overall, the North  
12 Carolina Republican Party strongly opposes the  
13 redrawing of the Congressional maps in the midst of  
14 an election. Likewise, we believe lawmakers,  
15 through the General Assembly, have and -- have and  
16 will continue to protect the rights of North  
17 Carolina voters.  
18 We also believe lawmakers have previously  
19 established voting boundaries that are fair,  
20 reasonable, and legal. Just for the record, the  
21 General Assembly is not here to choose voters, or  
22 even marginalize voters, like some might have  
23 suggested. This type of thinking in itself is  
24 offensive.  
25 And from an African American perspective,

<p style="text-align: right;">178</p> <p>1 quite frankly, color has nothing to do with it. 2 Therefore, it is completely ludicrous to think 3 otherwise. 4 Let me remind you, the North Carolina 5 Supreme Court upheld unanimously ruling of the 6 three-judge panel that heard the case in North 7 Carolina Superior Court. Let me remind you that 8 since 2011, every court has issued an opinion. And 9 even the Obama Justice Department has reached the 10 same conclusion, North Carolina's redistricting 11 maps are constitutional. All in all, the 12 Republican Party in North Carolina is very diverse. 13 We are largely satisfied with our present-day 14 representation and the -- and the constituent 15 services we are receiving. 16 Mr. Chairman and Committee members, 17 present-day Congressional primaries must go on 18 without judicial tinkering. Delaying the North 19 Carolina Congressional primary for a court-ordered 20 redraw of the map will cause massive voter 21 confusion, which will destabilize and utterly 22 destroy voter confidence all across the state. 23 Additionally, disenfranchised voters will 24 not come out to vote in a standalone Congressional 25 primary, and this will end up costing the state</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">180</p> <p>1 political quotas. Due to the declining influence 2 of North Carolina's rural communities, it is 3 imperative that our state's small counties not be 4 split. 5 In closing, the North Carolina Republican 6 Party opposes the redrawing of Congressional maps 7 in the midst of the election cycle. We have full 8 confidence in the North Carolina General Assembly. 9 We thank you for your public service. We thank you 10 for this public hearing. 11 REP. BRAWLEY: Mr. Hasan, your time has 12 expired, sir. 13 MR. HASAN HARNETT: Thank you, sir. 14 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving on to 15 Cape Fear Community College, again, Representative 16 Davis. 17 REP. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 18 Our next speaker will be Mr. William Whalen. 19 MR. WILLIAM WHALEN: I am William Whalen. 20 I am the president of the Southeastern North 21 Carolina Central Labor Council, a coalition of 22 labor unions in Brunswick, Columbus, Duplin, New 23 Hanover, and Pender Counties. 24 We are here today because our legislature 25 chose partisan politics over the will of the</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">179</p> <p>1 close to 10 million dollars for all the business 2 owners and parents out there whatever happened to 3 financial accountability and responsibility. 4 Again, the North Carolina Republican 5 Party opposes the redrawing of the Congressional 6 maps. Democrat Roy Cooper won all 13 of these 7 Congressional districts, showing that they can be 8 won by Democrats. Of the 10 Congressional 9 districts currently held by Republicans, none have 10 had majority GOP registrations. Therefore, all 11 must create a broad coalition between Republicans, 12 conservatives, Democrats, and unaffiliated voters 13 to win. It is all about campaigns and candidates 14 and the message they present. Therefore, the 15 current 10/3 partisan split is a fair result of 16 Republican election victories, which allow 17 legislators to take partisan votes into account 18 when drawing districts. 19 If North Carolina is forced to redraw the 20 Congressional districts as a potential solution, 21 the North Carolina Republican Party believe that 22 any Congressional districts should keep precincts 23 and counties whole as much as possible. 24 Congressional maps should be drawn in a complete 25 colorblind fashion with no regard to race or racial</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">181</p> <p>1 citizens of North Carolina. 2 The 3rd District stretches from 3 Wilmington to the Virginia border. The 7th 4 district stretches from Southport to Raleigh. 5 Most North Carolinians -- and believe me, 6 I represent the pride from the conservative to the 7 liberal in my members, in our members. But most 8 North Carolinians, regardless of their political 9 leanings, find gerrymandering wrong. 10 The Republican legislature can do right 11 by the citizens of North Carolina now by rejecting 12 their soft -- sophisticated software program that 13 created these gerrymandered districts that split 14 communities and not competitive in the general 15 election. 16 Legislature can choose to create 17 districts that are compact and keep communities 18 together as much as possible. Legislature -- 19 legislature can choose to use North Carolina 20 Constitution Articles 2, Section 3 and 5, as a 21 guide that districts are not to be gerrymandered. 22 In closing, the Southeastern North 23 Carolina Central Labor Council believe the citizens 24 of North Carolina should choose the 25 representatives, and that Raleigh politicians</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">182</p> <p>1 should not chose their voters. Thank you. 2 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving on to 3 UNC-Asheville, Representative McGrady. 4 REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Blake 5 Ethelston. 6 MR. BLAKE ETHELSTON: Can I be heard? 7 SEN. RUCHO: Go ahead. Try it again. 8 MR. BLAKE ETHELSTON: Thank you. Thank 9 you for the chance to speak. My name is Blake 10 Ethelston. I'm a Buncombe County resident. I'm a 11 Mecklenburg County native. I'm an unaffiliated 12 voter. I'm a father. I'm a business owner. And 13 professionally, I work as a geographer. I've 14 worked with geographic information systems for more 15 than 20 years. 16 The situation that this recent court 17 ruling and the deadlines driving the hearing -- I 18 should say the recent court hearing and the 19 deadlines driving this hearing are emblematic of a 20 larger problem that's been discussed many times 21 today, and is partisan gerrymandering. 22 I'm here to encourage the General 23 Assembly to follow the example of other states in 24 adopting a non-partisan, transparent redistricting 25 process.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">184</p> <p>1 shy of my 43rd birthday. That puts me at older 2 than the median age in North Carolina, older than 3 the median age in Buncombe County. In other words, 4 half of North Carolina, half of this county, are 5 younger than I am. 6 I was asked to list my race when I signed 7 in, but not my age. Maybe it's not okay to ask, 8 and it's probably not okay for me to ask for a show 9 of hands in this room, although that would have 10 been more helpful earlier today, to ask how many 11 folks are younger that I am in this room, or how 12 many folks were younger at the beginning of this 13 meeting. 14 I would submit that the composition of 15 folks who were here today does not represent 16 anything close to a cross-section of western North 17 Carolina, certainly when it comes to age. And in 18 2016, this here calls for a more inclusive public 19 participation process. 20 Thank you again for the opportunity to 21 speak. 22 SEN. RUCHO: That concludes the remark of 23 the speaker? Thank you. We'll go on to Central 24 Piedmont Community College, Representative Brawley. 25 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Senator.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">183</p> <p>1 And I'd like to recognize that there are 2 General Assembly representatives from both parties 3 in this room today who would champion such a 4 process. Representative McGrady in particular 5 should be commended for supporting non-partisan 6 redistricting when his party was both a -- or when 7 he was a member of both the majority and minority 8 parties. 9 It's also worth noting that organizations 10 on both the conservative and liberal sides of the 11 spectrum have espoused overhauling the state's 12 process for redistricting. Other speakers have 13 explained that the best practices for drawing 14 boundaries have been identified and that the 15 districts should be designed for compactness, 16 contiguity, keeping counties whole when possible, 17 and of course, complying with the Voting Rights 18 Act. 19 The turnout for these hearings on short 20 notice is a testament to public interest in the 21 redistricting issue. The process, therefore, 22 should allow for substantial citizen input with 23 numerous locations, numerous times of day, and many 24 opportunities for involvement. 25 Another thing about me, I'm a few weeks</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">185</p> <p>1 Pamela Grundy? Ms. Grundy, you're recognized for 2 five minutes. 3 MS. PAMELA GRUNDY: Good afternoon, 4 everybody. Thank you for the opportunity to speak. 5 Thank you everybody who has come out for this very 6 important issue. 7 My name is Pamela Grundy. I have lived 8 in the Plaza Midwood neighborhood of Charlotte for 9 the past 20 years. I have been in several 10 Congressional districts, although I have never 11 actually moved. I've been in the 12th 12 Congressional District, I was in the 8th 13 Congressional District, I am now in the 9th 14 Congressional District. 15 When I was in the 8th Congressional 16 District, it was fairly evenly split between 17 Democratic and Republican voters. I was 18 represented for a while by Republican Robin Hayes, 19 who is sitting here listening to all of this. Then 20 for a while I was represented by Democrat Larry 21 Kissell. My vote mattered. 22 I must admit, I did not ever vote for 23 Representative Hayes -- sorry about that -- but I 24 felt that he had been elected fairly. Every time 25 that he was elected, he had won a fair race.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">186</p> <p>1 Elections in the District 8 were lively and hard-</p> <p>2 fought, as you well know. And eventually, we</p> <p>3 Democrats did -- wound up, by very hard work, by</p> <p>4 grassroots campaigning, Larry Kissell prevailed and</p> <p>5 became our representative. That is how democracy</p> <p>6 should work.</p> <p>7 Now, I am in the 9th District. I'm</p> <p>8 represented by Robert Pittenger. This district</p> <p>9 leans so heavily Republican that the race is</p> <p>10 decided in the Republican primary. We had a very</p> <p>11 strong Democratic candidate when the district was</p> <p>12 recently changed, to no avail. It was really -- it</p> <p>13 was really a hopeless race despite the strength of</p> <p>14 the Democratic candidate.</p> <p>15 So essentially, as a Democrat, my vote is</p> <p>16 meaningless, as I do not vote in the Republican</p> <p>17 primary, and I do not appreciate it. I can go to</p> <p>18 the polls and vote and I can cast my ballot, but</p> <p>19 technically I am disenfranchised, which was the</p> <p>20 purpose of the change.</p> <p>21 A group of Democratic-leaning voters was</p> <p>22 moved from a mixed district into a heavily</p> <p>23 Republican district specifically in order to reduce</p> <p>24 the impact of our vote in the district we had been</p> <p>25 in and in the district into which we were put.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">188</p> <p>1 I'd like to go ahead and just voice my</p> <p>2 support for the current districting. I believe</p> <p>3 they're fair.</p> <p>4 If we are looking at turnout last year,</p> <p>5 we had 120 people in the district I'm running</p> <p>6 for -- I mean, 120,000, and only 30 actually showed</p> <p>7 up to vote, 30,000 people. No matter how</p> <p>8 gerrymandered the districts are -- I'm running in</p> <p>9 the district D-10 as a Republican -- that they're</p> <p>10 fair. It comes down to voter turnout, because</p> <p>11 ultimately that will decide all races.</p> <p>12 And for us to change after the veteran</p> <p>13 vote has been cast already through absentee ballots</p> <p>14 is wrong. If we want to change it, we change it</p> <p>15 after the general election when we have time to sit</p> <p>16 down and actually make a difference in how things</p> <p>17 are done. I do appreciate it. Thank you.</p> <p>18 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving</p> <p>19 on to UNC-Asheville, Representative McGrady.</p> <p>20 REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is</p> <p>21 Darlene Azarmi.</p> <p>22 MS. DARLENE AZARMI: Thank you. Can</p> <p>23 y'all hear me?</p> <p>24 SEN. RUCHO: Yes.</p> <p>25 MS. DARLENE AZARMI: All right, great.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">187</p> <p>1 There were no more hard-fought races, no</p> <p>2 more districts where the better Republican or the</p> <p>3 better Democrat won. It was now a -- both</p> <p>4 districts are essentially not competitive.</p> <p>5 Representative Brawley noted at the</p> <p>6 beginning that this meeting, all of us here today,</p> <p>7 represents the kind of democracy that the Founding</p> <p>8 Fathers intended. Gerrymandered districts which</p> <p>9 derive people -- deprive people of meaningful votes</p> <p>10 do not represent the kind of democracy the Founding</p> <p>11 Fathers intended.</p> <p>12 We need fair, non-partisan maps so we can</p> <p>13 have competitive races, fair representation, and</p> <p>14 get back to running the kind of democracy that our</p> <p>15 ancestors fought for and that the people of North</p> <p>16 Carolina deserve. Thank you.</p> <p>17 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Ms. Grundy.</p> <p>18 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Going</p> <p>19 to Cape Fear Community College, Representative</p> <p>20 Davis.</p> <p>21 REP. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.</p> <p>22 Our speaker will be Mr. Gerald Benton.</p> <p>23 MR. GERALD BENTON: How do you do? My</p> <p>24 name is Gerald Benton. I'm from Leland, North</p> <p>25 Carolina.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">189</p> <p>1 So, thanks for the opportunity to speak. I am an</p> <p>2 organizer for Democracy North Carolina, but I am</p> <p>3 here as a young person who cares and always has.</p> <p>4 So having a father from Iran, I was</p> <p>5 always taught the value of participating in our</p> <p>6 democracy, and have been an active voter since I</p> <p>7 was eligible. I grew up in Lincolnton, North</p> <p>8 Carolina, attended Cape Fear and UNC-W, where I</p> <p>9 worked at the polls for all four years.</p> <p>10 And now I work in -- across western North</p> <p>11 Carolina to ensure that people turn out and vote.</p> <p>12 It is a tough job amidst all of the confusion</p> <p>13 voters face, such as the complexities of the voter</p> <p>14 ID law, but I'm passionate about it and enjoy it.</p> <p>15 I am a firm believer that voters should</p> <p>16 choose elected officials instead of legislators</p> <p>17 dividing our state to choose their voters.</p> <p>18 The timeline in which we have seen these</p> <p>19 public hearings created and announced speaks</p> <p>20 volumes about the level of transparency which</p> <p>21 citizens can expect in this process of redrawing,</p> <p>22 and unfortunately depict what lawmakers feel is</p> <p>23 acceptable or what they can get away with in terms</p> <p>24 of accountability in doing so.</p> <p>25 Equal access to and fair representation</p>



<p style="text-align: right;">190</p> <p>1 in the political process are at the core of what 2 elections are meant to ensure in democracy 3 supposedly of, by, and for the people. 4 The gentleman who spoke earlier about his 5 suspicions of race determining whether comments are 6 heard should not be ignored, but taken seriously 7 and responded to by y'all who represent us. 8 I would like to highlight the importance 9 of the public perception of how this act of 10 redrawing plays out as a critical player in North 11 Carolinian voters' integrity, morale, and trust in 12 a process that has been proven [break in 13 transmission] -- 14 SEN. RUCHO: We can't hear you at this 15 moment. 16 MS. DARLENE AZARMI: Can you hear me now? 17 SEN. RUCHO: Yes. 18 MS. DARLENE AZARMI: Okay. Apologies for 19 that. 20 So the gentleman who spoke about his 21 suspicions of race determining whether comments are 22 heard should not be ignored, but taken seriously 23 and responded to by y'all who represent us. 24 I would like to highlight the importance 25 of the public's perception of how this act of</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">192</p> <p>1 percentage by population in those counties. It is 2 clear that race was a primary determination in the 3 way the maps look the way they do. 4 Additionally, our young students have 5 [break in transmission] college campuses. In fact, 6 UNC-A, where I am today, and nearby Warren Wilson, 7 split by these maps, again, undermining their 8 ability to believe that elected officials want 9 their voices to be heard. Citizens are truly 10 appalled at the odd-shaped political parameters 11 that define their ability to have their voices 12 heard in the political process. 13 Allowing parties to draw the map given 14 their interest in building political power is and 15 always will provide for a conflict of interest. I 16 hope that the disaster of courts having to divide 17 what I call our normalization of segregation due to 18 national Voting Rights Act violations can be 19 replaced with common sense, non-partisan 20 redistricting reform led by our legislators with 21 insights from [unintelligible] to guide our 22 political processes. 23 We look to you for leadership on this. 24 Until you can take that [unintelligible] the map- 25 drawing process should be public record and an</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">191</p> <p>1 redrawing plays out as a critical player in North 2 Carolinian voters' integrity, morale, and trust in 3 a process that has been proven to be corrupt, which 4 again comes back to their belief in y'all as 5 leaders. 6 Now is the time to play fair, follow the 7 rules, and do what you are required to do. I hope 8 that you seek the public's approval on any maps 9 that are put forth. As of this moment, without an 10 alternative, we have nothing to guide our 11 commentary. That's voiding most impacted voters' 12 belief that they can have any real say in the 13 decision that is made. 14 It's no secret that these districts were 15 and traditionally have been racially gerrymandered 16 to consolidate and depreciate the political power 17 of marginalized groups, particularly African 18 Americans. [break in transmission] divide our 19 state and its communities along racial lines and 20 compromise our ability to work together for a 21 common goal. 22 Districts 1 and 2 have historically 23 elected African Americans by comfortable margins 24 and they're [break in transmission] legal 25 justification for increasing the African American</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">193</p> <p>1 interim plan should be drawn out by the General 2 Assembly on a State computer to ensure 3 accountability. 4 Further, any consultants should be 5 available to [unintelligible] accessible to the 6 public for [unintelligible] communication. Every 7 cent of taxpayer dollars spent on consultants to 8 draw maps [unintelligible] should be disclosed to 9 the public. The fact that some absentee ballots 10 have been requested and submitted does not outweigh 11 the damage done by holding a third election on 12 unconstitutional maps. 13 Ensuring that our elections are 14 constitutional should be our first and foremost 15 priority. I hope that all of you have heard and 16 take seriously the concerns of citizens from across 17 the state today. Eight people with me in the 18 overflow room had to leave due to time constraints, 19 and I hope that you please remember all those who 20 are at work or school or for whatever reason and 21 could not be here to make comments. Thank you. 22 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. We're 23 going to go to Central Piedmont Community College. 24 And a reminder to the moderators at each of the 25 locations that we are -- have a five-minute limit.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">194</p> <p>1 So, Representative Brawley?</p> <p>2 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Senator. The</p> <p>3 next speaker is Clare Mahoney. Ms. Mahoney, you</p> <p>4 are recognized for five minutes. The floor is</p> <p>5 yours.</p> <p>6 MS. CLARE MAHONEY: I appreciate it. And</p> <p>7 first of all, I -- I really think it's great that</p> <p>8 this many citizens have come out --</p> <p>9 REP. BRAWLEY: Talk loud, Clare.</p> <p>10 MS. CLARE MAHONEY: -- that this many</p> <p>11 citizens have come out to this hearing and have</p> <p>12 stuck with it this long speaks volumes about how</p> <p>13 involved we all are in the process.</p> <p>14 Most of my most salient points have</p> <p>15 already been made eloquently and repeatedly by</p> <p>16 other speakers. But throughout this entire</p> <p>17 process, one thing keeps repeating in my mind, so I</p> <p>18 wanted to share it.</p> <p>19 If indeed the call for a non-partisan,</p> <p>20 independent redistricting committee is a principle</p> <p>21 that all hold dear, and that we should be fighting</p> <p>22 for in this country, why only be calling for it on</p> <p>23 the state level? Shouldn't it also apply on the</p> <p>24 local level, where government is closest to the</p> <p>25 people?</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">196</p> <p>1 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Moving</p> <p>2 on to Cape Fear Community College. I've got</p> <p>3 Representative Davis for the next speaker.</p> <p>4 REP. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.</p> <p>5 Our next speaker will Steve Unger.</p> <p>6 MR. STEVE UNGER: Like to say thank you</p> <p>7 for the committee for holding this today. I am the</p> <p>8 chair of the Democratic Party in Pender County.</p> <p>9 I'm also running for office in the NC House 16th</p> <p>10 District.</p> <p>11 It is time to redraw the districts.</p> <p>12 The -- the Courts have said so. No decision is</p> <p>13 going to come down from the Supreme Court, and</p> <p>14 folks who say that the current process is fair,</p> <p>15 the -- the courts have already spoken. And now</p> <p>16 it's a matter of how we redraw districts so that we</p> <p>17 create the most fair.</p> <p>18 The argument that the election has</p> <p>19 started already isn't sufficient. We've gone</p> <p>20 through two election cycles already, and why should</p> <p>21 we do a third? So I think a battle like that --</p> <p>22 that is an insufficient argument.</p> <p>23 The other thing is that the leadership --</p> <p>24 if the General Assembly had not moved up the</p> <p>25 primary, we wouldn't be having a problem with</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">195</p> <p>1 You see, as a 24-year resident of</p> <p>2 Charlotte, and a lifelong Republican, I know well</p> <p>3 what it feels like to live in a gerrymandered</p> <p>4 district. I know well what it feels like to live</p> <p>5 in a county where my voice is diluted, where my</p> <p>6 ideas get very little play on the governmental</p> <p>7 scene.</p> <p>8 And so I do find it -- when I hear</p> <p>9 Christian Cano, you know, give the clarion call to</p> <p>10 candidate, if you believe in your cause, don't be</p> <p>11 afraid to say it. Does he believe in this cause</p> <p>12 enough to call for it right here in Charlotte,</p> <p>13 where we live closest, where we should be closest</p> <p>14 as a community, where we should be fighting for</p> <p>15 what's right together as a community.</p> <p>16 And I just had to get up here and make</p> <p>17 that call because I -- I do caution you, beware of</p> <p>18 the siren song that encourages you to take this</p> <p>19 sort of power away from the unelected</p> <p>20 representative and put it in the hands of unelected</p> <p>21 bureaucrats. That is just not something that I</p> <p>22 think is best for this state or this country.</p> <p>23 Thanks for listening.</p> <p>24 And again, you are all great for being</p> <p>25 here today.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">197</p> <p>1 election underway with this Court ruling. And</p> <p>2 sure, we wanted to have more of a say on the</p> <p>3 national level, but it's also created this</p> <p>4 quandary.</p> <p>5 Any new map should be drawn by -- on a</p> <p>6 State computer. Any consultants should be</p> <p>7 revealed. And anybody who's paid to assist should</p> <p>8 be revealed. This should be open. We should be</p> <p>9 transparent.</p> <p>10 Now, I live in the 7th District. You</p> <p>11 know the 3rd District comes here, goes all the way</p> <p>12 up to Corolla. And I lived in the Outer Banks for</p> <p>13 a year. That's a long way away. I couldn't tell</p> <p>14 you if right here at Cape Fear Community College,</p> <p>15 whether this is the 3rd or the 7th District. So</p> <p>16 it's important to have districts that are</p> <p>17 contiguous, to include counties whenever possible,</p> <p>18 to include areas and regions. I -- I remember when</p> <p>19 this area was all 3rd District.</p> <p>20 Even in Pender County, where I came from,</p> <p>21 the county and former officials had to sue and won</p> <p>22 the case in the Supreme Court to leave the county</p> <p>23 alone when it came to State House districts. And</p> <p>24 we need to look at the North Carolina Constitution</p> <p>25 which guides us in this area.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">198</p> <p>1                   Lastly, I'd like to point out that my 2 regular job has me making athletic teams. I work 3 as an athletic supervisor for the Town of Surf 4 City. And one of the things I have to do is I have 5 to try to create teams in such a way that there's 6 competitive balance and making sure we have fun 7 playing, we have fun games. 8                   I can't guarantee who's going to win or 9 who's going to lose. But if we don't have fair 10 teams and we don't have fair districts, the kids 11 and adults don't play and they drop out. And if we 12 don't have fair districts, people are going to drop 13 out of the electoral process. 14                   We heard from a couple of the Millennials 15 today. They just want to see fairness. They want 16 to see opportunity. And right now, we don't have 17 that. The Courts have said that we need to have 18 that opportunity. So I'm glad we're moving forward 19 in that area. 20                   One thing also that the State officials 21 might consider is as you're redrawing and taking a 22 look at a non-partisan way of doing the 23 Congressional districts, to also look at the State 24 and Senate districts because there is also a 25 lawsuit winding through the courts on that. Let's</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">200</p> <p>1                   American by significantly diluting their voting 2 rights. 3                   Even at this late date, I urge the 4 Assembly to accept the court opinion and send a 5 message to African Americans in North Carolina that 6 our state government respects them, respects their 7 voting rights, and will continue -- and will start 8 to do that. 9                   I submit accepting -- accepting the 10 three-federal-judge decision is especially 11 important to communities of color because of other 12 legislation some call voter suppression. 13                   Legislative voting changes that have 14 affected African Americans include reducing early 15 voting, noting African Americans disproportionately 16 vote more as a percentage in early voting than 17 whites. Eliminating same-day registration. Number 18 3, voter ID. 19                   By continuing to challenge the federal 20 decision which found unconstitutional the 21 curtailment of minority rights, we're telling our 22 state minorities we care more about legislative 23 election strategy than about your voting rights. 24                   The democratic government at the federal, 25 state, and local level should be taking legislative</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">199</p> <p>1 do it all at once. 2                   Thank you so much for the opportunity 3 today. I appreciate it. 4                   SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving on to 5 UNC-Asheville, Representative McGrady. 6                   REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Renee 7 Rafeni. After that, Judy Mattox, I believe I saw 8 leave. That would bring Currie First? 9                   MR. CURRIE FIRST: I'm here. 10                   UNIDENTIFIED: Currie First. 11                   MR. CURRIE FIRST: Currie First from 12 Buncombe County. Today is about one issue: how 13 our government effectively disenfranchised African 14 Americans in two state districts by a practice 15 called gerrymandering. 16                   Voting right advocates challenge the 17 districting on racial grounds under the 13th 18 Amendment, granting voting privileges to former 19 male slaves, and equal protection clause of the 20 14th Amendment giving protected classes equal 21 rights under law. 22                   We know the result. Three federal 23 judges, after hearing oral argument and reviewing a 24 massive evidentiary record, ruled two districts 25 unconstitutionally discriminated against African</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">201</p> <p>1                   action to encourage voting and sending a message, 2 barriers to voting must be removed. 3                   Before 1920, for many of us in this room, 4 our grandmothers by law could not vote. Their 5 gender was an absolute bar to voting. In 1920, a 6 constitutional amendment gave the right to vote to 7 women. In the 1970s and earlier, men who were sent 8 to Vietnam, conscripted and drafted and killed, 9 could not vote. A constitutional amendment in 1972 10 gave the right to vote to those 18 to 21. 11                   Extending and supporting voting 12 privileges is our proudest, best history, not 13 diluting voting rights of minorities. The right 14 thing for the General Assembly is to tell your 15 attorney -- you're the client -- tell your attorney 16 that you're going to abide by the three-judge 17 decision and get on with it. 18                   In concluding, I'm extremely upset that 19 at least at several of the public hearing sites, 20 folks signing in were required to write in their 21 race at the sign-in. The chairs of this committee 22 should immediately write to each person listing 23 their race and apologize for this invidious 24 request. This is not unimportant at a hearing 25 that -- that concerns race discrimination. Do not</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">202</p> <p>1 allow future public government hearings to include 2 a racial, ethnic identity. Thank you. 3 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving to 4 Central Piedmont Community College, Representative 5 Brawley. 6 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Senator. Our 7 next speaker is Justin Conley. Mr. Conley, you are 8 recognized for five minutes. You have the floor. 9 MR. JUSTIN CONLEY: Thank you. [break in 10 transmission] morning, but good afternoon. I'd 11 first like to thank the committee for the 12 opportunity to speak on Congressional 13 redistricting. 14 Our country was founded ideal of 15 government of, by, and for the people. Our great 16 state deserves qualified leaders fairly elected to 17 represent their interests in Raleigh and in 18 Washington. But that's not happening. 19 I am a new Mecklenburg County resident, 20 but a North Carolina native. I currently serve as 21 the President of the Young Democrats of North 22 Carolina. We work to provide a mechanism for 23 registered Democrats ages 18 to 35 to have an 24 active role in our communities in the spirit of the 25 Democratic party. My organization represents the</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">204</p> <p>1 frustrating to feel the weight of our generation's 2 challenges from tackling climate change to income 3 and equality to have to use time and energy to 4 fight for something more fundamental, my right to 5 be represented fairly in my government. 6 Every North Carolina -- excuse me. Every 7 North Carolinian should be have equal access to be 8 represented. When power is not shared, democracy 9 breaks down. Politics from the fringe extremes of 10 both political parties with an unwillingness to 11 compromise. Last year, we saw Congress have one of 12 its most unproductive and unpopular sessions in 13 history despite being packed full of 14 representatives from one party. 15 Now, I'm a Democrat without prefix or 16 apology, but I long for the era of hyper- 17 partisanship to be over. I am tired of waking up 18 every day to the same old politics. I want a 19 government that compromises, works across the aisle 20 to solve problems, and put people first. Now, you 21 have an opportunity to draw fair districts. 22 You also have 53 members of both parties 23 in the House and additional members in the Senate 24 willing to work to end this argument altogether by 25 passing independent redistricting reform. You have</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">203</p> <p>1 changing face of the seventh most rapidly 2 diversifying state in our country. 3 The overwhelming majority of our members 4 could only legally vote around the time of the last 5 census in 2010. Our state is changing. And in 6 order to harness the potential we have as a state, 7 we must ensure we have a government that reflects 8 its people. 9 Elections should be simple. The party 10 that gets the most votes should win the most seats 11 in Congress and in our General Assembly. But 12 that's not what is happening. In 2012, 2.2 million 13 of our friends and neighbors voted for a Democratic 14 Congressional candidate, compared to 2.1 who voted 15 for a Republican candidate. Yet nine out of the 13 16 US House districts sent a Republican to Congress. 17 Fair district lines matter. They matter 18 because these elected representatives should 19 reflect our state's population and accurately 20 reflect the will of the people in North Carolina. 21 It is frustrating to stand in a forum and 22 argue for my right to be represented fairly by my 23 elected officials. It is frustrating to see the 24 will of our people not reflected in the halls of 25 our Congress and on Jones Street in Raleigh. It is</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">205</p> <p>1 the opportunity to make this state's elected 2 leadership look like North Carolina, the 3 opportunity to give the people of this state the 4 representation it deserves. 5 Our state faces too many problems to get 6 hung up on the usual partisan politics. But at the 7 end of the day, unfair districts do not address the 8 one in four children of our state living in 9 poverty. Unfair districts do nothing to make 10 college more affordable. Unfair districts do not 11 create jobs or boost wages for those working full- 12 time but still can't make ends meet. 13 But I know if we have a government that 14 reflects the great people of this state, there is 15 no problem we cannot solve together. Remember, 16 this is the state where the weak grow strong and 17 the strong grow great. We can overcome the 18 problems of today and get ahead of the ones 19 tomorrow. But it starts with fairness. This is 20 how we create a more perfect state, and this is how 21 we create a more perfect union. Thank you. 22 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. 23 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Mr. Conley. 24 SEN. RUCHO: Okay. Going on to -- 25 continuing our discussion about redistricting and</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">206</p> <p>1 how the speaker believes that they can change and 2 improve it, we're talking about Cape Fear Community 3 College, Representative Davis. 4 REP. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 5 Our next speaker will be Mr. Dennis Dixon. 6 MR. DENNIS DIXON: Thank you, Mr. 7 Chairman, and thank you, Representative Davis. My 8 name is Dennis Dixon. I live in Wilmington. And I 9 am happy to have the opportunity to participate in 10 this hearing. 11 I am very thankful that the framers of 12 our Constitution organized a House of 13 Representatives so that the members would have to 14 stand for reelection every two years. That makes 15 the House of Representatives, that part of the 16 national government best able to respond to 17 changing issues and priorities. 18 It's desirable that the elections of 19 Congressmen be as competitive as possible. 20 However, gerrymandering has come to be a custom 21 established by tradition to interfere with that 22 competitiveness in Congressional elections. 23 Gerrymandering is well-established, and 24 we have to acknowledge that any gerrymandering will 25 work against some segment of the population. In</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">208</p> <p>1 redistricting on race. So I'll repeat that because 2 we've gone on tangents with a lot of issues. We're 3 here today because it's unconstitutional to base 4 redistricting on race. 5 I'm -- I have a concern that there was 6 very poor publicity about this meeting. 7 Personally, I learned last night in looking at the 8 newspaper. I'm particularly concerned that -- I 9 have a sense that the districts that have been 10 discussed the most, District 1 and 12, have seen -- 11 have seemed under-represented. I think that this 12 is not going to be a sufficient amount of public 13 hearing. 14 There have been two illegal elections. 15 There's no reason to have a third illegal election. 16 We live in a great country and have a great 17 Constitution, which includes the protection of 18 citizens so that they can elect representatives 19 that reflect sensible and fairly drawn, 20 constitutionally-sound districts. This is a 21 partisan issue, but it has been said today, let's 22 stop beating each other with the partisan stick. 23 The inconvenience of the logistics of the 24 upcoming election should not be used to permit the 25 Republican legislature to use that as a</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">207</p> <p>1 this case, it has turned out that the federal 2 courts have determined that the gerrymandering in 3 North Carolina a few years ago has gone beyond the 4 bounds of ordinary gerrymandering and that it must 5 be corrected. 6 I think we should be grateful that the 7 Court has impelled us to reduce the impact of 8 gerrymandering on our Congressional elections. 9 Thank you very much. 10 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving on to 11 UNC-Asheville, Representative McGrady. 12 REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Ernie 13 Thurston. He apparently is not here. Next speaker 14 is Terrence Clark. Mr. Clark, you've got five 15 minutes. 16 MR. TERRENCE CLARK: Can you hear me? 17 SEN. RUCHO: Yes, sir. 18 MR. TERRENCE CLARK: Okay. My name is 19 Terrence Clark. I'm a retired physician. I live 20 in Buncombe County, Candler area. I want to 21 emphasize -- well, I'm speaking -- I'm speaking 22 today as a citizen of North Carolina and Buncombe 23 County. 24 We are here today, I want to underscore, 25 because it is unconstitutional to base</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">209</p> <p>1 manipulation. 2 I have recommendations. Number one, 3 several people have said it, I believe you need to 4 delete the question about race in today's hearing. 5 I saw that on the entry forms. It should -- that 6 is not relevant. Can you hear me? 7 SEN. RUCHO: Yes, sir. Keep speaking. 8 MR. TERRENCE CLARK: Okay. I request 9 that the legislature comply promptly with the 10 three-panel judges' ruling to do the redistricting 11 map. 12 I request that well-publicized public 13 hearings be set for next week, with a particular 14 emphasis on the districts that have been discussed 15 so much today. 16 I also ask -- ask that you clarify 17 guidelines of how we submit our written document. 18 Many people have scribbled documents, and some have 19 handed them in. I think you would like them typed, 20 and when do you want them? 21 I also ask that it be a priority in the 22 next session to set up a -- a commission to look at 23 non-partisan redistricting. Thank you. 24 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving to 25 Central Piedmont Community College, Representative</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">210</p> <p>1 Brawley. 2 REP. BRAWLEY: This -- is Matt Needham 3 here? Okay. No, wait -- yeah. Jack Brosch. 4 MR. JACK BROSCHE: My name is Jack Brosch. 5 I'm a resident of Mecklenburg County, and I think I 6 bring a perspective to this argument that I have 7 not heard enunciated previously. And it is that 8 perspective of a candidate for US Congress in the 9 North Carolina's 12th District. So I know about 10 gerrymandering a little bit. 11 And I'm not going to talk about some of 12 the effects that are going to happen on voters, but 13 don't let my lack of comments mean that I don't 14 agree with many of the previous speakers on that 15 topic. What I am going to talk about is the effect 16 that this late change with have on candidates in 17 North Carolina. 18 Candidates file for office, and they try 19 their best to stand up to the rules and regulations 20 supplied by the General Assembly and by the Board 21 of Elections. And those rules need to be out 22 previous so that they can plan their campaigns, 23 that they can map their -- their district, and they 24 can figure out what voters are most likely to be 25 able to be persuaded to their side of the argument,</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">212</p> <p>1 General Assembly, but now is not the time. Do not 2 shake the globe and create another snowfall. Thank 3 you. 4 SEN. RUCHO: Excuse me. Thank you. 5 Going on to Cape Fear, Representative Davis. 6 REP. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 7 Our next speaker will be Ms. Sonya Bennetone. 8 MS. SONYA BENNETONE: Good afternoon. My 9 name is Sonya Bennetone. I'm a registered voter in 10 District 7 in New Hanover County. However, I was 11 raised in District 3 and a community organizer in 12 District 3. 13 I am a descendant of those who were held 14 captive and made former slaves here in North 15 Carolina. I can trace my family's history back to 16 the Beverly Plantation here in Wilmington on my 17 father's side, where my great-grandfather and my 18 great-aunt were former slaves there. 19 I found out about this meeting at the 20 last minute. And it is discouraging when District 21 3 is heavily impacted by these maps, where you have 22 your heavily populated African Americans who are 23 put in Congressional 3 who were formerly in 24 Congressional 7. And I hope that you'd reconsider 25 this when you redo the map. It's a shame that we</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">211</p> <p>1 and to be able to use scarce resources to get those 2 constituents to vote for them. 3 Not to make light of -- of the previous 4 arguments, but a little over a week ago, we had a 5 national event called the Super Bowl. And can you 6 imagine the morning of the Super Bowl, where all of 7 a sudden they decide, "Yeah, we're not going to go 8 by yards. We're going to go by meters. We're 9 going to change the whole game. And you that -- 10 that ten-yard play that you practiced and you 11 planned for so that you can get that first down and 12 you can move that ball down the field, eh, it's 13 going to be adjusted. We're now working with 14 meters." How would that affect the game that so 15 many of us dearly love called football? 16 John B. Taylor is a fellow at the Hoover 17 Institute and a professor at Stanford University, 18 and I think he said it best. And what he said was 19 that society thrives when they have a predictable 20 policy framework. 21 And while I agree with many of the 22 previous people and their comments about 23 redistricting in the long term -- and I suggest 24 that they look at House Bill 49 and Senate Bill 28. 25 These are bills that are already in front of the</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">213</p> <p>1 live in a country where descendants of former 2 slaves still have to fight for our constitutional 3 right, a right that we were born with. 4 My father, a disabled veteran, gave his 5 rights for this country, and he believed in voting. 6 He was also a Baptist minister. He believed in 7 voting. He believed not voting was being worse 8 than being locked up in jail because that was 9 something that was not given to us easily. 10 And when I look for the fight to vote, I 11 don't have to look far. My cousin, in the '70s, 12 was spit on trying to exercise her right to vote 13 and jailed for two weeks. 14 This is not the North Carolina we should 15 have. This is not the North Carolina I want for my 16 children or for future generations. Please revisit 17 the map. Asking for two weeks to protect the 18 Constitution is nothing 'cause many people have 19 died to protect the Constitution. 20 Thank you for listening. 21 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. Moving on to 22 UNC-Asheville, Representative McGrady. 23 REP. MCGRADY: Our next speaker is Carmen 24 Ramos-Kennedy. Give us just a second. 25 SEN. RUCHO: Representative McGrady?</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">214</p> <p>1 REP. MCGRADY: Give us a second. 2 SEN. RUCHO: Okay. 3 MS. CARMEN RAMOS-KENNEDY: Okay. I am 4 Carmen Ramos-Kennedy, the newly elected president 5 of the Asheville-Buncombe branch, NAACP. I will 6 attempt to do as my good friend Beth Jessup told me 7 when speaking publicly. Keep it simple. 8 The three federal judges have ruled that 9 the 2011 North Carolina redistricting map was drawn 10 along racial line. It's unconstitutional. With 11 the computer technology for mapping, those in the 12 majority in the legislature have divided 13 communities, divided college campuses, put people 14 on the same street in different districts. This 15 has been done to a degree never seen before. 16 I ask you to do the right thing. Redraw 17 the districts. Get new absentee ballots out to 18 those who have already voted. The ruling must 19 stand and maps be redrawn. No excuses. 20 Now, speaking personally as Carmen Ramos- 21 Kennedy, a registered voter, a lifelong activist in 22 the work of the community, personally, I believe 23 redistricting should be non-partisan. We need to 24 reform the process, and it should be an independent 25 agency that does that job.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">216</p> <p>1 publicized. The notice was too short. And 2 obviously, there's great interest in this, and we 3 need more discussion and more opportunity for 4 people that are impacted, and that's all of us in 5 North Carolina. 6 The thing that keeps coming to me -- and 7 I'm new at this -- I've been a social activist for 8 my whole life because I'm a mother and I care about 9 the future of this country. I'm the daughter of a 10 veteran who was at Pearl Harbor when it was bombed. 11 I lived in -- in a country where I could not vote 12 because I wasn't a citizen. So as an adult, I 13 moved back to this country so I could vote and 14 could be involved in the process. 15 And I -- I want to acknowledge that today 16 is also the birthday of Susan B. Anthony, who was a 17 fearless activist in many, many fields, but 18 especially for the end of slavery and for the right 19 of women to vote. 20 I am in favor of these maps being 21 redrawn. Clearly, the court has spoken. It is 22 inconvenient. It could cause chaos. But I think 23 it's chaos that gives us an opportunity to have a 24 fair system, a system that really does represent 25 the people of North Carolina, that we have a vote</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">215</p> <p>1 No elected official should be safe in 2 their district. They should not spend time 3 focusing on securing funding for their next 4 election. They should be focusing on the work of 5 the people. 6 I'm incensed and dismayed that no sooner 7 than SCOTUS took the teeth out of the Voting Rights 8 Act in 2013, did North Carolina, Texas, and other 9 states pass extreme voter ID laws restricting 10 voting rights all under the guise of voter fraud. 11 They've passed legislation for a problem that is so 12 minuscule that it barely exists. 13 Too much blood has been spilled for the 14 right to vote. Too much blood has been spilled for 15 the right to vote. Impediments to voting is un- 16 American. Thank you. 17 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Going 18 to Central Piedmont, Representative Brawley. 19 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Senator. 20 Margaret Davis. Ms. Davis, you're recognized for 21 five minutes. You have the floor. 22 MS. MARGARET DAVIS: Thank you, Senator 23 Brawley. It's a pleasure to be here, and I've 24 learned so much listening to everybody across the 25 state. And I really agree that this wasn't well-</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">217</p> <p>1 that means something. 2 I've been -- I'm sitting here at Central 3 Piedmont, now. I've been offering voter 4 registration opportunities in a non-partisan way. 5 And it really disturbs me to hear young people say, 6 "My vote doesn't matter. It's a game. It 7 doesn't -- it doesn't interest me because I can't 8 make a difference." And I don't think that's the 9 kind of country we want, and I know that for my 10 children, grandchildren, and yours, that we can do 11 better, and that we must look at these matters, use 12 the technology that's available to us to do this in 13 an impartial way. 14 The Democrats and the Republicans have 15 been guilty of gerrymandering, and it has to stop. 16 Thank you very much. 17 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. 18 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, ma'am. 19 SEN. RUCHO: Cape Fear Community College, 20 Representative Davis. 21 REP. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 22 Our next speaker will be Ms. Barbara Graham. 23 MS. BARBARA GRAHAM: I want to thank you 24 that I'm able to speak here. I didn't think I was 25 going to do it. I thought I would back down. But</p>

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1 I've heard a lot of things that people have said.  
2 I go this way with one, and I go that way with the  
3 other one. So there's been a lot of good things  
4 said. But I have mine to say, and I stayed this  
5 long, and so I'm going to speak.  
6 I'm Barbara Graham, District 7, precinct  
7 chairperson in Woodburn, live in Leland, North  
8 Carolina. My precinct -- I'm a minority in my  
9 precinct, basically. It's one-quarter Republican,  
10 three-quarters Democrat. So you know, I have no  
11 problem with that.  
12 I -- I -- I looked to see who's -- what  
13 precinct has a chairperson, and I find that there  
14 are several precincts -- precincts that have no  
15 chairperson. So at the most -- to me, the most  
16 important level to be involved in the political  
17 process is locally. And so I encourage people to  
18 do that, and not -- not to see a precinct without a  
19 chairperson.  
20 And I have, on my list, Republicans with  
21 no phone number. People don't even want to be  
22 called. So I mean, our concerns, if we are  
23 concerned, we ought to make ourselves available.  
24 And so I'm going to say what I had to  
25 say here, I concur with Eric who is the chair of

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1 District 7, Eric Edgerton, Brunswick County,  
2 citizen Hasan Harnett, our North Carolina  
3 Republican chairperson, all that they have said, I  
4 agree with.  
5 Redrawing the district map before a major  
6 election appears to be a chess-like move with all  
7 intent to cause confusion, disenfranchise all  
8 voters. Redrawing Congressional districts now  
9 disrupts the whole voting process. After the  
10 general election in November is the time to take  
11 this up.  
12 Dr. Martin Luther King's purpose was to  
13 see all races and all colors be judged by character  
14 and not color. This move to redistrict voting  
15 districts by color does not honor the intent of Dr.  
16 Martin Luther King. He intended that all people  
17 could live and achieve by their character,  
18 abilities, and desire to achieve.  
19 We have many colors representing all of  
20 us in Congress, the Senate, and the President.  
21 Redrawing the district lines -- redrawing the lines  
22 probably will always look like gerrymandering to  
23 one ethnicity or socioeconomic group or political  
24 affiliation, et cetera. It may well always be --  
25 may well always look discriminating or segregating

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1 to one ethnicity or another.  
2 If we group all one race in one district  
3 by themselves, it appears to discriminate, but  
4 actually allows that race to vote for someone of  
5 their own ethnicity. If we try to mix the races,  
6 then it appears to discriminate because it wasn't  
7 possible to incorporate equally all races.  
8 We have the freedom to move from state to  
9 state, county to county, city to city. Populations  
10 will always be shifting. District lines represent  
11 population numbers, not the color of one's skin.  
12 We are Americans. Let's start being American.  
13 Presumption that a person of ethnicity or  
14 another -- one ethnicity or another will  
15 discriminate or not discriminate is indeterminable  
16 because it's a matter of the heart. We in power  
17 rule in all ethnicities.  
18 To delay the primary and redraw the lines  
19 at this time is strictly a move of power, and not  
20 in the best interest of our election process.  
21 After having said all that, I am not opposed to  
22 redrawing lines, but I am opposed to the delay -- I  
23 am -- let's how it -- I am opposed to the delay of  
24 the primaries do so at this time. I just don't  
25 believe new lines one way or another will satisfy

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1 our population.  
2 We are Americans and that means no color,  
3 hereditary ethnicity. American. No matter what  
4 the lines, each district includes American. People  
5 come together and reason together no matter what  
6 your race or color. It's about time.  
7 Exercising your voice in the political  
8 process happens in your local precinct. As I said,  
9 at my first political -- I didn't say that. At my  
10 first political state convention, I noticed the  
11 district representing Charlotte had 700 delegates.  
12 Approximately 170 were there. I was very  
13 disheartened that people weren't there.  
14 We as citizens need to take the  
15 responsibility of our democratic process and our  
16 local precincts. I researched -- and I said this  
17 already -- researched the precincts in my area, and  
18 some didn't even have a chairperson. Several --  
19 and several did not include both Democrats and  
20 Republicans.  
21 Finally, we should not redraw lines a few  
22 weeks before the Presidential primary, if at all.  
23 Voter ID will not discourage voting, but redrawing  
24 Congressional districts will.  
25 I can't even get five people to attend a



<p style="text-align: right;">222</p> <p>1 local precinct meeting to talk about issues in our 2 country, or just in our own county. We need to be 3 involved. And so I want to thank you for listening 4 to me.</p> <p>5 I am a 67-year-old woman who took this 6 country for granted for many, many years. I 7 finally got involved and took notice of what was 8 happening in the Presidential election in 2012, and 9 I was appalled. I was appalled at the approach and 10 the misinformation that we were given by our 11 mainstream media. So here I am, and that's why I'm 12 here.</p> <p>13 REP. DAVIS: Thank you.</p> <p>14 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. UNC-Asheville, 15 Representative McGrady.</p> <p>16 REP. MCGRADY: Mr. Chairman, our last 17 speaker is Samuel Kaplan. You have to hold -- go 18 ahead.</p> <p>19 MR. SAMUEL KAPLAN: Hi. Welcome. Thank 20 you. Thank you so much for listening to the public 21 today. My name is Sam Kaplan. I'm honored to be a 22 professor of mathematics at UNC-Asheville. I'm not 23 formally representing UNC-Asheville, or for that 24 matter the Mathematical Association of America or 25 anything else, just myself. I'm a native of North</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">224</p> <p>1 part of the -- influenced the ruling of the -- that 2 race played a role.</p> <p>3 What I would like to say is as we move 4 past this next crisis, however we decide, we will 5 hopefully move to a position where we consider a 6 nonpartisan method of drawing these districts. We 7 can use tools that have been developed by 8 mathematicians in the last 20 years, specifically, 9 around gerrymandering and meeting criteria like 10 compactness and demographic information, to make 11 sure that we minimize mischief in any mapmaking. 12 And we can quantify gerrymandering. And we should 13 do so.</p> <p>14 Everyone believes in rational government. 15 Let's use the tools that we have that are 21st 16 Century tools to make sure that we have rational 17 representation in our districts. Thank you so much 18 for your time and attention.</p> <p>19 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much. Going 20 to Central Piedmont, Representative Brawley.</p> <p>21 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Senator. Our 22 next speaker is Mike Huffman. Mr. Huffman, you are 23 recognized for five minutes. You have the floor, 24 sir.</p> <p>25 MR. MIKE HUFFMAN: Thank you. My name is</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">223</p> <p>1 Carolina.</p> <p>2 And I just want to take one second to 3 remind the audience of the power of gerrymandering. 4 I think I drew a picture -- apologize for the 5 simplicity of the image. I think you can see 6 there's two colors there. They look to me like red 7 and black. I don't know how it covers over to your 8 camera. But you can imagine these are a layout 9 maybe of voters or of neighborhoods or counties. 10 There are 13 red and 12 black. If you do a 11 simplistic cut of the five districts -- oh, you 12 can't see the lines between them? Is that true? 13 [break in transmission] How about now? Can you 14 see the lines? The horizontal lines, you end up 15 with two majority in one and one -- three majority 16 in the other. Okay? Not a big surprise.</p> <p>17 If you, instead, group the reds together 18 into a supermajority district, divide the other one 19 deeply, you end up with four representing the black 20 even though they are minority, out of the five 21 districts.</p> <p>22 This is exactly what we've done in North 23 Carolina. If you overlay the boundaries of the 24 districts with demographic information from the 25 census, it's quite apparent, and I'm sure it was</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">225</p> <p>1 Mike Huffman. I live in south Charlotte near the 2 airport. I don't know who "gerry" is, but I'm 3 tired of him "mandering" our elections.</p> <p>4 Let's be clear. These districts are 5 drawn to deny voting power to black people. 1st 6 and 12th Districts were drawn to pack African 7 Americans together so they only get to influence a 8 couple of Congressional districts.</p> <p>9 Let's talk about our troops. I've heard 10 a lot of people talk about the troops earlier 11 today. Let's talk about our Democratic soldiers 12 who don't have a fair say in their government 13 because some folks in Raleigh want to draw 14 districts like a five-year-old draws on Etch-a- 15 Sketch. Let's talk about that.</p> <p>16 I have a friend who lives in Hickory, in 17 Catawba County, a Gulf War veteran, but because 18 he's a Democrat, his vote doesn't really count for 19 much in a Republican county. If you really care 20 about the troops, you will draw fair districts that 21 are as competitive as possible so that veterans and 22 troops from both of our parties get a fair chance 23 to choose which Congressperson will be voting on 24 which group of brown people they get to shoot in 25 the Middle East.</p>

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1 Bottom line, get a computer program to  
2 draw these districts in a nonpartisan fashion, send  
3 out new absentee ballots, and hold a fair election  
4 for once. Thank you.  
5 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much.  
6 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you, Mr. Huffman.  
7 SEN. RUCHO: I've got -- going to Cape  
8 Fear, Representative Davis. Is this your last  
9 speaker there?  
10 REP. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.  
11 The last speaker that I have to sign up today is  
12 Mr. William Shell.  
13 MR. WILLIAM SHELL: This is a little  
14 weird. I think it's the first time I ever spoken  
15 anywhere to a microphone in a ceiling.  
16 I was scheduled to speak earlier. My  
17 name is Bill Shell. I'm a former chairman of the  
18 Republican Party in New Hanover County. I'm a  
19 lawyer, and I followed redistricting litigation for  
20 over 40 years. Participated in some of it.  
21 But I -- as I said, I was scheduled to  
22 speak earlier. I had to go to the hospital to get  
23 a heart monitor put on. And I assure you it wasn't  
24 because of all the stuff I'd heard this morning.  
25 It was previously scheduled.

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1 So -- but I'm back. And I want to talk  
2 to you just a little bit. Some of this stuff may  
3 be a little repetitive, but I hope some of it isn't  
4 because I'm going to make some suggestions.  
5 Now, we're here because of what I call  
6 extreme gerrymandering. We're not talking about  
7 gerrymandering. It's -- it's extreme. It's been  
8 made possible by the computer and computer  
9 software. And what has happened is it's led to  
10 noncompetitive elections in North Carolina. None  
11 of the elections for any Congressional district are  
12 competitive. Not a one. And what that does is  
13 decrease voter participation, and what that does is  
14 bad for democracy.  
15 And the way we've done it is terribly  
16 bad. We've done it and let's be blunt about it.  
17 It's been done by racial packing. And we have  
18 developed, in North Carolina, a system of apartheid  
19 voting. And let's call it just exactly what it is.  
20 Now, this is going to -- to remedy this  
21 situation is going to involve more than the 12th  
22 and the 1st Districts. It's going to have to be  
23 changes in other districts, as well. And they're  
24 going to have to be fairly substantial.  
25 I've heard the argument that this will

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1 throw things into chaos. That's not true. Number  
2 one is, if there's any chaos or any uncertainty,  
3 it's the fault of the General Assembly. And voters  
4 are going to hold them accountable because of that.  
5 But that's not necessary.  
6 We've got the technology available to us  
7 to be able to do this job and to do it right and to  
8 do it within the time that's been allotted to us.  
9 And if we're not able to do that, we'll just use  
10 more time, is what we need to do.  
11 There's nothing magic about having a  
12 primary on March the 15th. It was previously on  
13 May the 15th. It was done ostensibly -- I don't  
14 think that's the only reason -- to get more  
15 participation from the presidential candidates.  
16 But on March the 15th, we're one of four  
17 states holding presidential primary. The others --  
18 Ohio, Illinois, and Florida -- they're all bigger  
19 than us, they're all winner-take-all.  
20 We are proportional. If you in the  
21 Republican primary, for instance, are going to have  
22 five or six candidates probably still at that  
23 point, we're not going to get any participation  
24 much from Republican presidential candidates. We  
25 may get some from the Democrats. Of course,

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1 there's only going to be two. But so if the  
2 primary has to be postponed and filing reopened,  
3 then so be it. We can do that. Let's get this  
4 thing right.  
5 Now, this court case is going on, I can  
6 tell you it appears to me quite, quite clear that  
7 the chances of a stay from the Supreme Court are  
8 slim. That's especially not with Justice Scalia's  
9 death. Now, I think the case is eventually going  
10 to be lost in the 4th Circuit, and certainly it's  
11 going to be lost in the US Supreme Court. So why  
12 do that? Bad legal advice. Paid hundreds of  
13 thousands, maybe millions already, getting ready to  
14 pay millions more if we decide to go that route.  
15 We don't need to delay this anymore. We had  
16 unconstitutional maps in 2012 and 2014. We don't  
17 need it again in 2016.  
18 The way I look at it, there are three  
19 choices. One, do nothing. Number two, tinker  
20 around the edges of these districts. And both of  
21 those choices, that will lead to continued  
22 litigation, the expenditure of millions of dollars,  
23 and in the end will result in the federal courts  
24 redrawing our districts for us. And that's what'll  
25 happen.

<p style="text-align: right;">230</p> <p>1           Those are not the right way. Let's do it 2 right. And the way to do it right is make the 3 changes that need to be changed, taking mainly into 4 two consideration two things: compactness of the 5 districts and a community of interest. If you do 6 that, redistricting is really not hard. It's 7 really not. 8           There was one map shown up here, I 9 believe by Mr. Huffman from Charlotte. Take a look 10 at that because I think that might be -- that might 11 be good. If you do it right and get it right, then 12 the public will thank you. If you don't, they're 13 going to punish you. That's just the way it is. 14           Now, you know, we're in New Hanover 15 County. We have two Congressmen. Neither one of 16 them seem to have any particular interest in New 17 Hanover County, even though we have 220,000 people 18 live here. You know, that's not the way it ought 19 to be. 20           I hope you will get it right. I hope you 21 will do the right thing. But I'm not confident. I 22 think that what will happen is that these hearings 23 are pretty much a sham and decisions have already 24 been made. I hope I'm wrong. I really am -- I 25 hope I'm wrong.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">232</p> <p>1 conversation. 2           As I said, my name is Bill Gent. I'll go 3 back on the script. I am a resident of Mecklenburg 4 County, a member of the 12th District, so I'm 5 directly affected by this issue. I'm also a combat 6 vet. I fought for this country so that you could 7 be here. 8           Okay. While I'm not an attorney or a 9 judge, I am a common sense person. This issue may 10 well require addressing by legislation, but that's 11 for the courts to decide, not for us to decide 12 here. However, as a common sense person, it is 13 obvious to me that ordering the redrawing of 14 multiple district lines in such a short time frame 15 just to meet a judicial order or a longstanding 16 problem will result in a generally ill-considered 17 results and will have -- probably have to be redone 18 at a later date. 19           Also, to demand this action at this point 20 in time will obviously be hugely disruptive to the 21 voters in the upcoming election. If the objective 22 was to truly ensure fairness and equity for all 23 voters, and it will fall in -- it will fail in 24 that. And those that propose moving forward are 25 showing themselves to be disingenuous in their</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">231</p> <p>1           I thought at one time the Republicans 2 could do it better. I was wrong. Prove me wrong 3 again now, and do it right in this thing. 4           I appreciate the opportunity to talk to 5 you. It's my experience over the period of time. 6 And I hope you will get it right, because the way 7 it is now is wrong. 8           SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. All right. I -- 9 we're -- I think we're complete in Cape Fear, 10 Representative Davis. We're complete in Asheville, 11 Representative McGrady. And the last one, I 12 believe, is going to be at Central Piedmont, 13 Representative Brawley. Is that right? 14           REP. BRAWLEY: Senator Rucho, I have the 15 excellent news that I am introducing Bill Gent, the 16 last speaker from Central Piedmont. Mr. Gent, you 17 are recognized for five minutes. You have the 18 floor. 19           MR. BILL GENT: [unintelligible] thanks 20 for being here today [unintelligible] to be here 21 today. I'm going off-script a little bit at the 22 beginning because a lot of what I've heard today 23 sounds very reasonable. I've also heard a lot of 24 inflammatory things, comments that were absolutely 25 out of the ballpark, nowhere even germane to the</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">233</p> <p>1 motives. 2           This leads me to ask, why now and not in 3 a time frame more suited to obtaining a real 4 resolution to the problem, if needed, if a real 5 resolution exists. I don't know that it does. I 6 don't have the information. I don't think most of 7 us have the information, to be honest, from what 8 I've heard today. 9           My perception of this effort, both by the 10 individuals bringing this action, as well as the 11 judges that made such a ridiculous order, that this 12 is all meant to be as disruptive as possible, to 13 disenfranchise as many voters as possible. 14 Therefore, I find that if this is allowed to stand, 15 the very people it is supposed to be helping will 16 be hurt in the process. Not to mention, that all 17 the voters that have already voted will get the 18 attitude, "Why bother? My vote doesn't count 19 anyhow," which is exactly the problem in the first 20 place. It is hard enough to get people out and 21 get -- to vote. And now you are sending them the 22 message that their vote doesn't count unless it 23 conforms to a new set of rules. New set. Thank 24 you. 25           SEN. RUCHO: Thank you very much.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">234</p> <p>1 REP. BRAWLEY: Thank you. Last one in 2 Charlotte. 3 SEN. RUCHO: Okay. 4 REP. BRAWLEY: Senator, at that point, 5 the Charlotte site is closed. 6 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. All right. 7 Ladies and gentlemen of the committee, first of all 8 I'd like to thank the public for participating in 9 this event and -- and doing their part. And also 10 for the attention of the committee. I'd like a 11 special thank you to our court reporter. Thank you 12 very much for a wonderful job and being very 13 patient with us. Before I finish the final 14 statement, Representative Lewis, any comments? 15 REP. LEWIS: Yes, Mr. Chairman. Thank 16 you. I would like to offer my sincere thanks on 17 behalf of the chairs to the members of the House 18 and the Senate, those that are here in Raleigh 19 today and those that are attending the remote sites 20 across the state. Further, I thank our central 21 staff for their hard work over the weekend, the 22 NCGA police, the House and Senate Sergeant-at-Arms, 23 our partnership with the community colleges, and 24 also with the universities. Thanks to your help, 25 we've been able to pull off a series of public</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">236</p> <p>1 together a flawless public hearing. And I 2 personally say thank you for your hard work. We 3 appreciate it very, very much. And I know the 4 committee members do the same. 5 We have achieved our goal today, and that 6 is to have everyone that chose to speak to have an 7 opportunity to speak. And for anyone else, they 8 are more than welcome to put in, as Representative 9 Lewis alluded to, the -- the -- they can use public 10 comment on the NC -- NCLEG website. Tomorrow -- 11 members of the committee, tomorrow we will be 12 meeting and going over -- of course, you'll have a 13 chance to go over the comments that have been made 14 today. Going over the issue of -- of the written 15 comments that came in. 16 REP. LEWIS: Apparently there was one 17 more in Charlotte we missed, if we could just hear 18 him before everybody else. 19 SEN. RUCHO: We'll hold that final 20 comment. Apparently, there was a person that was 21 not seated at his seat when he was supposed to be 22 there to speak. So, Representative Brawley in 23 Charlotte at Central Piedmont, last speaker, 24 please. Representative Brawley? Representative 25 Brawley, can you hear me? Representative Brawley.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">235</p> <p>1 comment for the past five and a half hours. We've 2 done that across six sites. 3 I would point out for the record, that in 4 2002, when the Democratic-controlled General 5 Assembly was ordered to redraw the maps, they held 6 no public hearings. I'd further point out that in 7 2003, when the Democrat majority was ordered to 8 redraw the map, they held one. It was in Raleigh 9 and had 20 speakers. We have had more than 60 10 participate and express their concerns over the 11 past five and a half hours. I'm very grateful for 12 all of you who took time to participate today. I 13 will further add, Mr. Chairman, that the comments 14 that were submitted in the -- in written form prior 15 to noon today are hereby directed to be sent to the 16 members of the Joint Redistricting Committee for 17 their review. Comment that continues to come in 18 prior to 8:00 tonight will also be batched and sent 19 to members of the committee prior to our meeting 20 tomorrow. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That concludes 21 my comments. 22 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you, Representative 23 Lewis. And I do join you in saying thank you very 24 much for the General Assembly staff, the IT folks, 25 our staff. You did a remarkable job in putting</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">237</p> <p>1 Okay. Representative Brawley, have the speaker 2 begin again, please, if you'll be kind enough. 3 REP. BRAWLEY: Yes. Matt Newton is 4 recognized for five minutes. 5 MR. MATT NEWTON: Thank you so much. And 6 I hope you can hear me now. My name is Matt 7 Newton. I live in Charlotte. I am an attorney 8 with my own law firm here. I'm also chairman of 9 Mecklenburg County's Democratic Party. I will keep 10 it very brief, and I want to apologize for missing 11 the deadline a moment ago, and I thank you all so 12 much for -- for sticking around and for listening 13 to me. 14 Very quickly, I did read the opinion of 15 the -- of the Court that was issued just about a 16 week and a half ago. And as I understand it, I -- 17 I -- I was a big shocked by that opinion. But as I 18 understand it, the proposition was that racial 19 gerrymandering didn't occur, because political 20 gerrymandering had occurred. And in my opinion, I 21 think regardless of the gerrymandering that 22 happened, it should not be tolerated. Even if, 23 right, there's a custom of this in the past, I 24 think it's time that we all put our foot down. 25 And many people before me have talked</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">238</p> <p>1 about an independent commission to -- to redraw 2 lines in the future. And I hope that the General 3 Assembly takes that seriously under consideration 4 as we move forward. 5 Having said that, in my county, we have 6 one of those Congressional districts that needs to 7 be redrawn. That's Congressional District 12. And 8 it's surrounded by both Congressional District 9 9 and Congressional District 8. I wanted to bring to 10 the attention of the General Assembly the numbers 11 of folks that have been redistricted out of the 8th 12 and the 9th into the 12th. And ask that if we move 13 forward, that there is no -- there is no lifting of 14 the federal court order tomorrow, to please 15 consider placing those folks, who in my opinion 16 have been disenfranchised, back into their 8th and 17 the 9th Congressional districts. 18 And what we're talking about here is 19 we're talking about 47,000 African American voters. 20 47,000. There are 13,000 in Congressional 9 that 21 were displaced and put into Congressional 12. And 22 there were -- what does that leave? -- 34 -- 34,000 23 that were taken out of 8 and put into 12. So as 24 you move forward and if the redistricting does 25 occur by Friday, please, please, please, we value</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">240</p> <p>STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA COUNTY OF GRANVILLE CERTIFICATE</p> <p>I, Robbie W. Worley, a duly commissioned Notary Public in and for the State of North Carolina, do hereby certify that on February 15, 2016, this proceeding was held before me at the time and place aforesaid, that all parties were present as represented, and that the record as set forth in the preceding pages represents a true and accurate transcription of the proceedings to the best of my ability and understanding.</p> <p>IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand, this the 1st day of March, 2016.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">239</p> <p>1 every voice in our democracy. We value the -- our 2 neighbors here in Mecklenburg County. Please 3 consider placing those folks, those 47,000 voices, 4 back into Congressional 8 and Congressional 9. 5 Thank you so much for your time. 6 SEN. RUCHO: Thank you. All right. 7 Members of the committee, we'll finish up with the 8 last comment, and that being the Select Committee 9 on Redistricting -- the Joint Select Committee will 10 be meeting Tuesday at 10:00 in 643 here. And at 11 that time, we will have a chance to digest all the 12 information we received today and try to establish 13 some criteria upon which we would like to draw 14 these maps that would coincide with what the court 15 decision was read. That being said, this committee 16 meeting, public hearing is over. 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25</p>	