U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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BUSINESS MEETING

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FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 2024

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The Commission convened at 1331

Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 1150, Washington, DC and via Videoconference at 10:00 a.m., Rochelle Garza, Chair, presiding.

PRESENT:

ROCHELLE GARZA, Chair VICTORIA NOURSE, Vice Chair JOHN C. ADAMS, Commissioner STEPHEN GILCHIRST, Commissioner GAIL HERIOT, Commissioner MONDAIRE JONES, Commissioner PETER KIRSANOW*, Commissioner GLENN MAGPANTAY, Commissioner

ANDRES CORDOVA, Chair, Puerto Rico

Advisory Committee

PAMELA COLON, US Virgin Islands

Advisory Committee

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WAYNE HEARD, Chair, District of Columbia

Advisory Committee

NADINE SMITH*, Chair, Florida

Advisory Committee

MAURO MORALES, Staff Director

PILAR McLAUGHLIN, General Counsel

STAFF PRESENT:

ROBERT AMARTEY

DAVID BELL

NAOMI BURRELL

MONICA COOPER

PAMELA DUNSTON

DAVID GANZ, Parliamentarian

EARL HARRIS*, WebEx Producer

HYUNG KIM

TINALOUSIE MARTIN, Director, OM

JULIAN NELSON-SAUDNERS

PRINCE OLUBAKINDE

ESSENCE PERRY

JOHN RATCLIFFE

ANGELIA RORISON, Director, PAU

JERRI SHEPARD

JACOB SWANSON

COMMISSIONER ASSISTANTS PRESENT:

ALEXIS FRAGOSA

CARISSA MULDER

THOMAS SIMUEL

IRENA VIDULOVIC

STEPHANIE WONG

YVESNER ZAMAR

* Participating virtually

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UNEDITED 4
A-G-E-N-D-A
PAGE Approval of Agenda6
Business Meeting:
A. Presentations by State Advisory Committee Chairs on Released Reports and Memorandum Florida, Ms. Smith
B. Management and Operations:
Staff Director's Report, Mr. Morales74
Adjourn Meeting74

	UNEDITED 5
1	P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S
2	10:06 a.m.
3	MR. HARRIS: Good day. And welcome to the
4	US Commission on Civil Rights monthly business
5	meeting. Today's conference is being recorded. At
6	this time I would like to turn the conference over to
7	Chair Rochelle Garza. Please go ahead.
8	CHAIR GARZA: Good morning, everyone.
9	We're going to go ahead and get started. This
10	business meeting of the United States Commission on
11	Civil Rights comes to order at 10:06 a.m. Eastern time
12	on Friday, April 19th, 2024. This meeting is taking
13	place at the Commission's Headquarters located at 1331
14	Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C.
15	I'm Chair Rochelle Garza. I'd like to do
16	a roll call. So if we could please confirm your
17	presence when I say your name. I'll start with Vice
18	Chair Nourse?
19	VICE CHAIR NOURSE: Present.
20	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Adams?
21	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Present.
22	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Gilchrist?
23	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Present.
24	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Heriot?
25	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I'm here.
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	UNEDITED 6
1	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Jones?
2	COMMISSIONER JONES: Present.
3	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Kirsanow?
4	COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Here.
5	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Magpantay?
6	COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: I'm here.
7	CHAIR GARZA: Wonderful. Based on that
8	we, based on that roll call we have a full Commission
9	present. Is the court reporter present?
10	COURT REPORTER: Yes.
11	CHAIR GARZA: Court reporter is present.
12	Is the Parliamentarian present?
13	MR. GANZ: Hi, this is David Ganz. I'm
14	present.
15	CHAIR GARZA: Wonderful. Is the Staff
16	Director present?
17	MR. MORALES: I am present.
18	APPROVAL OF THE AGENDA
19	CHAIR GARZA: So, we're going to now
20	proceed with today's agenda as posted on the Federal
21	Register. Today we're going to consider the following
22	agenda items.
23	Presentation by the Florida Advisory
24	Committee Chair, Nadine Smith, on the voting rights in
25	Florida following recent amendments to the election
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code. Followed by a presentation by the United States Virgin Islands Advisory Committee Chair, Pamela Colon, on the status of Civil Rights in the U.S. Virgin Islands. Thank you for being here. Then we will hear from, we'll hear a presentation by Puerto Rico Advisory Committee Chair, Andrés L. Cordova, on the insular cases and the doctrine of the unincorporated territory and its effects on the Civil Rights of the residents of Puerto Rico. And then we will go ahead and conclude with the Staff Director's Report. At this time, are there any motions to amend the current agenda? COMMISSIONER JONES: Yes, Madam Chair. I _ _ CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Jones, qo ahead. COMMISSIONER JONES: I would like to amend

the agenda to include a vote to change our July

business meeting date from July 19th to July 12th

telephonically, in order to meet the voted upon

timeline for our approval of the statutory enforcement

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report.

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	UNEDITED 8
1	CHAIR GARZA: Okay. Do we have a second?
2	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I'll second that.
3	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Heriot seconds.
4	Any discussion? Commissioner Adams, go ahead.
5	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Commissioner Jones, I
6	don't have anything per say against this, except I
7	haven't checked my calendar. Is this, the meeting was
8	the 19th, right?
9	COMMISSIONER JONES: That's correct.
10	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: And we're bumping it
11	to the 12th?
12	COMMISSIONER JONES: That's right.
13	Because that's the timeline that we voted on for
14	approval, or disapproval I guess, of the Statutory
15	Enforcement Board. So it just makes sense to have
16	that during our July business meeting?
17	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: I don't have anything
18	on that day.
19	CHAIR GARZA: Okay, wonderful.
20	(Laughter.)
21	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: I just didn't know.
22	This is the first I heard this so, okay.
23	(Laughter.)
24	CHAIR GARZA: Well I appreciate you,
25	Commissioner Adams, for checking your calendar in real
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	UNEDITED 9
1	time.
2	COMMISSIONER JONES: And, Madam Chair,
3	just
4	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Was this on email?
5	I'm sorry, it just totally slipped me. I didn't see
6	this.
7	COMMISSIONER JONES: I think my
8	understanding is
9	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Okay. Very good.
10	COMMISSIONER JONES: Okay. All right.
11	But it would be telephonic, by the way. I just want
12	to reiterate that.
13	CHAIR GARZA: Yes.
14	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: I just want to
15	clear, we're just moving right now to change the
16	agenda? Where are we putting this on the agenda?
17	CHAIR GARZA: Oh.
18	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Or do you want to
19	make a motion to put it right now?
20	CHAIR GARZA: Yes.
21	COMMISSIONER JONES: I would amend my
22	motion to include a vote for right now.
23	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Second.
24	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Okay. I will
25	include my second on that too.
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	UNEDITED 10
1	CHAIR GARZA: Okay. So do, I guess we can
2	call to question, do we want to do a roll call vote on
3	moving the
4	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: That we don't need
5	to.
6	CHAIR GARZA: No? Okay. We'll just do a
7	verbal aye or nay on moving the business meeting date,
8	our July business moving date from July 19th to July
9	12th. And we're going to host that electronically,
10	telephonically, in order to meet our deadlines for the
11	statutory enforcement report. All those in favor?
12	(Chorus of aye.)
13	CHAIR GARZA: Any opposed? Okay, motion
14	passes unanimously.
15	BUSINESS MEETING
16	CHAIR GARZA: All right. Well now we can
17	get to the business items that we have on today's
18	agenda. As I said, in today's meeting we are
19	privileged to hear from three of our, of the
20	Commission's Advisory Committees Chairs.
21	The Advisory Committees are instrumental
22	in addressing civil rights issues locally and
23	statewide, advocating for justice and equality through
24	their investigations, public hearings, and reports.
25	And their commitment ensures that civil rights remain
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	UNEDITED 11
1	a central focus in policy discussions, providing a
2	foundation for meaningful change and protecting the
3	rights of all citizens. So, we thank our chairs for
4	their dedication and for making the journey to share
5	their insights with us today.
6	And so, prior to getting into the agenda,
7	I would like to acknowledge the presence of Chair
8	Wayne Heard, from the DC Advisory Committee, who has
9	joined us today. Although he is not presenting, his
10	attendance is greatly appreciated and underscores the
11	collaborative spirit of our committees in addressing
12	civil rights issues. So thank you for being here as
13	well.
14	And now we're going to go ahead and move
15	on with our presentation. Up first we will hear from
16	our Florida Advisory Committee Chair, Nadine Smith, on
17	the Committee's report voting rights in Florida
18	following recent amendments to the election code.
19	Thank you, Chair Smith, for your joining
20	us. As we are in the midst of a Presidential election
21	year, the Florida SACs report comes at an important
22	time. It explores the significant changes in
23	Florida's election laws and their impacts on civil
24	rights.
25	The Committee's diligent efforts in
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compiling this report underscores the ongoing need for strong oversight of election reforms to ensure voters are not being disenfranchised. We look forward to hearing the bipartisan recommendations from this report about how to improve legislative amendments to reduce restrictions that impact access to the ballot box. Chair Smith, the floor is yours.

PRESENTATION BY THE FLORIDA ADVISORY COMMITTEE CHAIR, NADINE SMITH, ON VOTING RIGHTS IN FLORIDA

MS. SMITH: Thank you. And thank you to the Commission for the invitation to speak on what is now our second sort of installment of the deep dive into the voting landscape in the State of Florida.

And I want to tip our hat to our Advisory Committee. It has been a truly bipartisan effort. It has, we have invested a great deal of time, done of a great deal of listen, and I'm very proud of what has come out of all of the representation that is reflected in this report.

As you may know, in the aftermath, the 21 2020 General Election, there were lots of claims in 22 the media of voter fraud and other unsubstantiated 23 claims. And in the midst of that the Florida 24 legislature adopted Senate Bill 90 and Senate Bill 524 25 that amended different provisions within the state's

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1 election code. 2 In January of 2022 we took on, we doctored 3 proposal to study what the impact of those а 4 amendments would be on voting rights in our state. So 5 the study took place as a follow-up to our October 6 2020 report that was entitled voter rights and voter 7 disenfranchisement in Florida. The Committee, we updated our, the 2023 report and examined civil rights 8 9 concerns raised by these two pieces of legislation. 10 So just to, for clarity, Senate Bill 90, 11 prior to its adoption state law already allowed voters 12 to return vote by mail ballots to drop box. Senate 13 Bill 90 tightened the requirements on the use of those 14 drop boxes. Specifically among the requirements were 15 that drop boxes only be made available at permanent 16 election branch offices, that drop boxes only be used 17 during early voting hours, and that drop boxes had to 18 be monitored continuously in person by an employee 19 while they were accessible. 20 And election supervisors would be subject 21 to up to \$25,000 in civil penalties if staff stepped 22 away from the drop box, even momentarily, as а 23 consequence of these provisions.

24 So with respect to the work of third-party 25 voter registration organizations, Senate Bill 90 **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS

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imposed new requirements that these groups send all of their voter registration forms either to the correct supervisor of election for each voter county, or to the Department of State within 14 days of receiving them. And the legislation included substantial penalties for third-party registration groups, whether they mistakenly sent the registration to, you know, Brevard instead of Broward. Or sent them after that 14 day deadline. And we heard from, you know, different organizations about the tilling effect that it had on their voter registration efforts.

12 SB 90 also specified that election 13 supervisors may not send a vote by mail ballot to 14 voters without an expressed request. Expect for votes 15 with disabilities or if they were overseas voters, or 16 if it was a local referendum.

And they reduced the period under which such requests were valid from four years to two years. So if you didn't expressly renew you were no longer automatically sent a vote by mail ballot.

21 And then finally, SB 90 imposed new voter 22 identification requirements for voters requesting a 23 vote by mail ballot. And it restricted socialization 24 that's activities, the term, in voting areas. 25 Including line warming activities, such as handing out

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	UNEDITED 15
1	water or fans or snacks or chairs, ponchos, anything
2	like that, umbrellas.
3	And it barred any person from
4	distributing, requesting collating, delivering, or
5	possessing more than two voter vote by mail ballots.
6	Except for ballots from immediate family members.
7	Which prohibited third-party groups from collecting
8	vote by mail ballots and returning them to election
9	officials.
10	Previously, any person involved in
11	collecting or delivering vote by mail ballots was
12	prohibited only from accepting any pecuniary benefit
13	for the service.
14	Now, state Senate Bill 524 established an
15	office of election crimes and security within the
16	Department of State. And the Secretary of State's
17	Office was then responsible for investigating, I
18	should say it this way. The Secretary of State's
19	Office prior to this was responsible for
20	investigating. This new legislation required the
21	Secretary to place greater emphasis on such
22	responsibilities by establishing an office that
23	focused solely on election crimes and security.
24	And we heard from advocates across the
25	state who raised concerns that prosecuting people for
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good faith mistakes, or even negligence in experiencing their right to vote created a substantial burden on that fundamental right. And this was a situation made more complex because voters, via ballot measure, had restored rights of returning citizens, felons who had paid their debt to society, et cetera.

And then the laws that the legislature propagated after that created such confusion that people who were given, who identified themselves as former felons were told through the state machinery that they were allowed to vote got caught up in this net. So it established Senate Bill 524.

13 Also established the county supervisors of 14 elections much update the voter registration list 15 rather than biannually requiring greater annual 16 interagency coordination. And it also prohibits 17 municipalities from adopting ranked choice voting. 18 And it enhanced penalties for "ballot harvesting." 19 Activities from a misdemeanor became a third-degree 20 felony. And required the Department of State to 21 develop a plan to require additional identification 22 when returning vote by mail ballots to confirm 23 identity.

So that's the, that was the landscape that we were looking at. And what emerged from that, I'll

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	UNEDITED 17
1	just focus on the key points that emerged to leave
2	time for questions.
3	But Florida's 2020 presidential election,
4	which of course was held in the midst of a global
5	pandemic, we had over 11 million votes cast. We has
6	few complaints of long lines. And a low rate for the
7	State of Florida of vote by mail rejections.
8	So it was, so this is why the, given that
9	the amendments that followed that general election of
10	these two bills seemed to be looking to solve a
11	problem that had not been substantiated. Which is
12	part of what our, why we wanted to look more deeply at
13	this.
14	Now some of the provisions were blocked.
15	The U.S. District Court for the Northern District of
16	Florida blocked several of SB 90's provisions finding
17	that the legislature had enacted the laws for racially
18	discriminatory reasons. Later the U.S. Court of
19	Appeals for the 11th Circuit rejected the District
20	Court's ruling and allowed the provisions to take
21	affect during the 2020 midterm elections.
22	Despite the new restrictions on, that SB
23	90 imposed, we really did not have enough data to show
24	any immediate impact. And it's quite likely that
25	because of the nature and the timing of this there is
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1 going to have to be more data gathered and reviewed to 2 be able to say whether or not this has had a negative 3 impact, a positive impact or no impact at all. 4 And concerns remain regarding SO 5 restrictions governing the use of ballot boxes, the 6 new rules governing third-party voter registration, 7 which is a major way that people access their right to 8 Ballot collection groups. vote. 9 And potential intimidation of legally 10 authorized voters resulting from prosecutions within 11 this newly established office of election crimes and 12 security. These are matters that we committed to 13 monitoring, very closely. 14 The Office of Election Crimes and Security 15 did some very high-profile arrests. You know, 16 cameras, perp walks, the whole thing, despite the fact 17 that overwhelmingly those cases were, did not result 18 in any convictions. 19 Again, the recommendations. Around ballot 20 boxes the Committee is recommending that the Florida 21 legislature modify both of those senate bills. 22 When it comes to ballot drop box we ask 23 them to consider whether continuous live monitoring of 24 video camera and lock box locations may be adequate 25 substitute for the very costly and onerous in-person **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1716 14TH ST., N.W., STE 200 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009-4309 (202) 234-4433 www.nealrgross.com

UNEDITED	19
staffing.	
Around third-party registration	we
recommend a reduction in penalties for inadverten	t or
isolated violations of registration rela	ated

requirements by third-party voters. These groups acting in good faith as opposed to, you know, a conspiracy of an attempting to rig the system.

Vote by mail ballots, we ask for the monitor, them to monitor and publicly disclose data regarding vote by mail ballot rejections, expired vote by mail ballot requests, and address verification efforts.

13 Line warming activities include specific 14 provisions to allow private line relief, such as food 15 and water distribution and chairs. Require restroom 16 access where feasible at polling places where lines 17 are reasonably expected. Florida has a history of 18 long lines, particularly in Black, majority Black 19 districts. And so there is a deep concern that long 20 lines, while cutting off the ability for people to get 21 relief from sitting in lawn chairs, drinking water, 22 bathroom excess when there are hours and hours of 23 waiting, that we can do better than that.

24 And then when it comes to the Office of 25 Crimes and Security, require the office to focus on

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identifying widespread or systemic fraud. Focus on specialized efforts on cybersecurity to protect voter registration rolls, voting equipment and election related computer systems.

5 And, you know, as I said earlier, there 6 were high-profile arrests that did not request in 7 convictions, but we heard from any different people that it had a chilling effect. Especially for people 8 9 trying to access these, returning citizens trying to 10 access their right to vote as the overwhelming 11 majority of Floridians voted via ballot measure to 12 restore those rights.

13 Voter list maintenance requirements. 14 Implement proactive verification efforts to ensure 15 that updating voter registration rolls does not 16 inaccurately remove eligible voters. And a better job 17 basically of communicating these changes in law to the 18 public. Evaluate proposed changes in election law to 19 ensure they will not improperly make voting more 20 difficult, particularly for members of historically 21 marginalized communities.

And with that I will pause for questions. I do want to say that as someone who has been a member of the Committee and has Chaired the Committee now for a number of years, this has been a really

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1 hardworking Committee. It has been a fairly balanced 2 Committee. 3 And I fear right now that we've had a 4 number of resignations, people that have moved out of 5 state and are seeking, I think, to be on other 6 committees where they live now, but it has left us in 7 a position where we have a number, a very large number 8 of absences or vacancies on our advisory board. And 9 it has, and it is doing a disservice now as we prepare 10 to head into the next phase of our public, you know, 11 the next phase of our hearings. And I really want to ask the Committee to

And I really want to ask the Committee to consider very strongly helping us reconstitute all these absences, vacancies on our board. I think we have worked very well together because there has been a balance of viewpoints and perspectives. And now we are in a position where we don't have our full complement.

19 And I know that there are a number of 20 other states that are perhaps, you know, worst off 21 than Florida. But I just want to encourage the 22 Commission not to starve one of your fastest horses. 23 We've got a lot of work to do and we really need to 24 have a fully functioning Advisory Board. And with 25 that, I turn it back over to you, Chair. And thank

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1 you for your attention.

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CHAIR GARZA: Thank you, Chair Smith. Appreciate your comments on your report and your requests at the end. This is something that we are working to address actively.

So with that I'm going to just turn it over to Commissioners for any particular questions. Please let me know if you want to be recognized.

COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Madam Chair?

CHAIR GARZA: Yes, Commissioner Adams.

COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Thank you, Chair Smith, for your report. I have a number of questions. I so wish you could be here in person, only because I hope you can hear me okay. And if you don't, please let me know.

16 So the first question I have is, your 17 report says that SB 90 seems to say there is no 18 impact. Is that a fair characterization?

MS. SMITH: I'm sorry --

COMMISSIONER ADAMS: There --

(Simultaneous speaking.)

22 MS. SMITH: -- you're asking me if we're 23 saying that SB 90 has no impact?

24 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Well, what would you25 say about the impact because I thought it said that

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	UNEDITED 23
1	you couldn't find any impact of SB 90.
2	MS. SMITH: Oh. One of the challenges
3	that
4	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: I
5	MS. SMITH: I understand your question
6	now. I think one of the challenges that we face is
7	the accessing data that would allow us to dive deep
8	enough for that analysis.
9	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Okay. So in other
10	words
11	MS. SMITH: And what
12	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: you don't have the
13	data to show an impact right now?
14	MS. SMITH: Right. We think that this is
15	something that's going to require at least one more
16	election cycles. Both in terms of the compilation of
17	the data and the ability to just make comparisons
18	between pre-SB 90 and post-SB 90.
19	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Your report also
20	references a number of times the term "unnecessary
21	burdens" in the report. Wouldn't you agree with me
22	that there is some tension between saying that there
23	is no impact you found so far, and yet there is
24	unnecessary burdens? Is that a consistent conclusion?
25	MS. SMITH: Well I would say that what we
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1 heard, if you were to read through all of the 2 testimony we heard, there were a lot of assertions 3 from organizations that work closely with the public 4 from individuals that provided testimony. Pardon me. 5 But the data to, the access to data, so for example, 6 if you said to me, our lines were seven hours long, 7 could we, through the state, find the information that showed us precisely how long all the waiting periods 8 9 were all across the state and then do a comparison 10 based on historically marginalized communities, we 11 don't have that data. 12 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: All right. Let me 13 ask you --14 MS. SMITH: So people --15 (Simultaneous speaking.) 16 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: I'm sorry. 17 MS. SMITH: Oh sure, go ahead. 18 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Page 22 and 21, 22, 19 23, I want to ask you about your reliance on Judge 20 Walker's opinion. That was reversed, wasn't it? 21 Judge Walker's --22 MS. SMITH: On --23 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: -- district court 24 opinion. 25 MS. SMITH: Yes. NEAL R. GROSS COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1716 14TH ST., N.W., STE 200

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	UNEDITED 25
1	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Okay.
2	MS. SMITH: The district court
3	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Yet your report
4	(Simultaneous speaking.)
5	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: makes a great deal
6	of reliance on a reversed opinion by the 11th circuit,
7	doesn't it?
8	MS. SMITH: I believe what we're doing is
9	lifting up, I mean, we take the testimony of
10	organizations, of individuals, and the arguments that
11	are made within it.
12	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: And those
13	MS. SMITH: But we're not
14	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: were rejected by -
15	_
16	MS. SMITH: decision
17	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: the 11th circuit,
18	weren't they?
19	MS. SMITH: Well the conclusions are
20	rejected but the issues that are raised are ones that
21	we, I mean, just to be clear, when we, we are not a
22	legal body. We're not here deciding what is and what
23	is not, you know, within this legal realm. We are
24	surfacing the concerns that are being raised by the
25	public about access to the ballot.
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	UNEDITED 26
1	So to the degree that information included
2	in that trial was information was helpful for us in
3	seeking to understand where impediments might exist,
4	then we relied both on what came out of the U.S.
5	district court in the northern district, and also what
6	came out of the U.S. court of appeals for the 11th
7	circuit.
8	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Thanks. I want to
9	ask you a series of questions regarding your testimony
10	involving the state-wide election crime's office. And
11	your, it's fair to say that you aren't a advocate or
12	fan of that office, is that a fair assessment?
13	MS. SMITH: Whether, I had lots of
14	questions, as I think many people do, about
15	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Well let me put it
16	this way, do you
17	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner?
18	(Simultaneous speaking.)
19	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner?
20	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: support its
21	existence?
22	CHAIR GARZA: I'm going to interrupt here.
23	Commissioner Adams, because she's on the phone
24	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Wait.
25	MS. SMITH: let's let her answer.
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	UNEDITED 27
1	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Right. I'm trying to
2	focus her into so I can, these are just foundational
3	questions.
4	CHAIR GARZA: Okay. But we
5	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: So, well listen, I
6	heard your testimony, I'll move on to the next
7	question.
8	Would you agree with me if county
9	prosecutors were not pursuing good faith credible
10	referrals that there might be a need for a state
11	election crimes office?
12	MS. SMITH: I think my role is to reflect
13	the product of the Committee rather than what I
14	specifically think in any of these. And I think part
15	of what our Committee has done well is to keep in mind
16	that isn't the, this is not a report of any
17	individual, and so I do want to stay within the lane
18	of reflecting the overall recommendations of the
19	Committee.
20	And I would say that while there was,
21	across the board, a desire to ensure that only people
22	who ought to legally be able to vote, vote, there is
23	also concern that we heard from the public that these
24	high-profile arrests that did not result actually in
25	any convictions and that seemed to be products of
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	UNEDITED 28
1	misunderstanding were not, were having, we were
2	reasonable for people to say that has a chilling
3	effect.
4	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Do you know who Craig
5	Latimer is?
6	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Adams, I'm
7	going to interrupt here.
8	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: That was a yes or no
9	question and
10	(Laughter.)
11	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: 45 seconds.
12	CHAIR GARZA: I'll let her, I'll let her
13	answer the questions but we've got to open it up for
14	other folks
15	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Understood
16	CHAIR GARZA: to ask questions, okay?
17	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Madam Chair. But
18	I
19	CHAIR GARZA: Just, if you can ask
20	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: almost never ask
21	questions like this. This is an area of particular
22	concern. I only have a few more, so if I could please
23	proceed.
24	CHAIR GARZA: One more question, if that's
25	all right
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	UNEDITED 29
1	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Really?
2	CHAIR GARZA: so we can open up to
3	others. And then we'll go back to you.
4	MS. SMITH: You're asking me if I know who
5	Craig Latimer is?
6	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Well, I can tell you,
7	he's the supervisor of elections of Hillsborough
8	County.
9	MS. SMITH: He's the Hillsborough
10	supervisor.
11	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Right.
12	MS. SMITH: Yes.
13	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: He refuses
14	MS. SMITH: I know who he is.
15	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: to report
16	elections crimes, doesn't he, to the county attorney?
17	MS. SMITH: I'm sorry, I couldn't hear the
18	full, everything you said
19	VICE CHAIR NOURSE: Isn't this in the
20	report, Mr. Adams?
21	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Well, listen, you can
22	ask your questions. Isn't it true that Craig Latimer,
23	the Hillsborough County election supervisor, refuses
24	to report election crime, potential election crimes,
25	to the county attorney?
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1	MS. SMITH: I don't know.
2	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Okay. That's all I
3	have.
4	CHAIR GARZA: Okay, thank you,
5	Commissioner Adams. I'm going to move on to other
6	folks that have questions. I saw Vice Chair Nourse,
7	you have your hand up.
8	VICE CHAIR NOURSE: Thank you very much,
9	ma'am, for working on this difficult report. I was
10	born in a little town called Dunedin, Florida. And my
11	sisters live in Sarasota and Clearwater respectively
12	so I've got a lot of interest in what's going on in
13	Florida.
14	So I know this is often difficult these
15	days. We have had a very difficult set of elections.
16	We have had events in this country that have never
17	occurred involving violence and elections. And there
18	are lots of differing views about how to approach
19	that.
20	My question for you is really about how
21	you plan to proceed with this. I think the overall
22	reading I have of the report is that some of this was
23	litigated. The district court's opinion was rejected
24	in the 11th circuit, that is set forth in the report,
25	as any good legal document would.
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31 1 And you go on to say, well, we simply 2 don't have the data. And I think that sounds correct 3 in the terms of being, you know, a legal law professor, social scientist. Yes, you're going to 4 5 need more time to do that. 6 So my question is, as you move forward do 7 you have any plans to seek more data from the Election Crimes and Security Administration? 8 9 I've looked at their website. They 10 investigate about 1,300 people. They came up with 11 about 100 cases that they refer to the Attorney 12 Typically in most states the Attorney's General. 13 General Office handles these things. This is a 14 special commission. 15 And so, when I looked at their report I 16 was just curious as to, if there's any data about who 17 they are prosecuting? And based on race, sex, gender, 18 those kinds of things. 19 That's question one. And question two is, 20 one thing that may be affecting all of this is your 21 felon disenfranchisement amendment. And there are 22 individuals who are assessed fines, but Florida had 23 difficulty telling them what the fines were. So how 24 much of an impact has that had?

So the first one is, are you capable of

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trying to push forward on data from the Election Crimes Agency, and two, what impact do you think that the question of fines has had on confusion about voting eligibility?

Thank you. To your first MS. SMITH: 6 question, about the accessing data, it has been a 7 challenge. In our report in 2020 we actually were not able to get anyone from the Governor's office or 9 State's office to meet with the Secretary of 10 Commission. The Advisory Committee.

This time the Secretary of State did attend and did provide us testimony. The challenge is, both in terms of what was available and the timeline it was available for us to incorporate, and also in places, data that just wasn't include, this isn't currently being gathered.

17 So we were not able to, at the time we 18 began this, and we were holding our hearings, or 19 public hearings, the data from the election office was 20 not, you know, it was not available. What we had were 21 high-profile arrests that had made lot а of 22 television, a lot of headlines. And all of those 23 became very murky.

So people were testifying that, as you say, for someone who was convicted of a felony, served

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their time, was a returning citizen seeking to vote, the ability to find out who gives you the green light that says, you're good, you check all the boxes, that has been repeatedly brought to us as a huge obstacle. And then people who believe they had checked all the boxes, cast their ballot, some of them were suddenly on television being in a perp walk, you know, looking like they had very intentionally subverted the law.

9 So I think that, you know, looking forward 10 I think all of the questions that we weren't able to 11 answer because we couldn't access data, the 12 information that has subsequently come online, there 13 had been changes already in how this office functions. 14 I think there was an issue of jurisdiction in the 15 first iteration of the election office that subsequent 16 legislation altered.

17 So yes, I do think that while there are 18 many red flags and concerns that have been raised we 19 have to see where the data takes us. And that, 20 unfortunately, is going to take both the time to 21 collect it but also some, I would hope some initiative 22 on the Secretary State's Department and the Division 23 of Elections to actually gather that information in a 24 good faith effort to seek understanding of what impact 25 it's having.

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	UNEDITED 34
1	VICE CHAIR NOURSE: Thank you.
2	CHAIR GARZA: So I think we're going to
3	just do one more question. And, Commissioner
4	Magpantay?
5	COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: Thanks, Chair
6	Smith, for your service and for the great work that
7	you all are doing. It's important, and I'm grateful
8	to you for everything that is here, and also managing
9	a committee tries to bring in a report, that tried to
10	bring in inclusive views of everyone in Florida.
11	The, and I'm looking at the report, again,
12	of the second finding. And my colleague Mr. Adams I
13	think was right about the District Court opinion.
14	But I wanted to ask, Chair Smith, so the
15	court can find that there is not an intentionally
16	racially discriminatory impact of these laws on racial
17	and ethnic minorities in the state of Florida. I get
18	that. I see that in the opinion.
19	But it could be that there is still a
20	racially disparate impact that has the effect of
21	disenfranchising racial and ethnic minority voters in
22	the State of Florida, you just don't have the data
23	yet. But that is very much possible, correct?
24	MS. SMITH: Well that's correct. And
25	that's why I say, well, our role is not to litigate.
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certainly.

The information embedded in that case was important in pointing us towards the concerns that were emerging. So yes, is it possible to find that something has a disparate impact without it being intention,

6 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: And you would 7 think that, and that's important because the 8 Commission on Civil Rights, and I think the Justice 9 Department has the ability to enforce racially 10 disparate impacts and effect in violation to the 11 Voting Rights Act and that these can be shared with 12 the appropriate enforcement agencies, is that correct? 13 MS. SMITH: Well --14 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: If vou --15 (Simultaneous speaking.) 16 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: -- if you weren't 17 a lawyer shouldn't we look to the Justice Department? 18 Wouldn't you think that we should look to the Justice 19 Department to enforce the law? 20 MS. SMITH: I mean, I think I'd begin with

20 MS. SMITH: I Mean, I think I'd begin with 21 the premises that if, if we all begin with the belief 22 that everyone who has a right to vote ought to have 23 access to the ballot?

24 And if we say, hey, listen, there are 25 these things that are disproportionately impacting

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1 students, not because they were targeting students but 2 because of the way students move and live, this thing 3 that doesn't impact other people in this way impacts 4 students. 5 Similarly, hey, listen, there is a certain 6 configuration of how we've structured our voting 7 rights that is having a disproportionate impact on, you know, the Black communities because we still have 8 9 very segregated housing patterns in the State of 10 It may not have been setup specifically for Florida. 11 that purpose, but the impact doesn't matter if you're 12 in seven hour lines trying to vote. And so yes, I 13 think we have an --14 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: That's 15 interesting, Ms. Smith. 16 (Simultaneous speaking.) 17 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: So what you're 18 telling me is that there is actually other areas of 19 racial discrimination in the State of Florida. Not 20 only in voting but has created the effect of 21 disenfranchising minorities in that jurisdiction. 22 MS. SMITH: Well I think one, you know, 23 reading through the testimony what you hear, like I 24 think it's reasonable for people to say, hey, we 25 should do everything to secure ballots, who would NEAL R. GROSS COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1716 14TH ST., N.W., STE 200 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009-4309 (202) 234-4433 www.nealrgross.com

UNEDITED 1 disagree with that? 2 But is there a tipping point and a balance 3 point between, we're doing everything to secure 4 ballots and we are creating barriers for people who 5 don't have the luxury of leaving their job at this 6 period of time, who rely on early voting, who rely on 7 being able to drop things off at a ballot. So yes, I 8 think our job is, we're not a court, we're here to 9 listen to the people, we're here to look at where the 10 data takes us and to raise up the places where we are, 11 we see the actual or the potential for creating 12 impediments unnecessarily for people to cast that out. 13 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: That's excellent. 14 Thank you so much, Chair Smith --15 MS. SMITH: Okay. 16 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: _ _ 17 service. 18 (Off microphone comment.) 19 MS. SMITH: Thank you. 20 CHAIR GARZA: Sorry. 21 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: We're only an 22 enforcement, we are not an enforcement agency, we can

23 onlv do fact finding and refer matters to the 24 enforcement agencies with this report. Thank you very 25 much for your service.

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	UNEDITED 38
1	MS. SMITH: Thank you.
2	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Madam Chair, I've
3	got a quick comment if I can?
4	CHAIR GARZA: I want to move us all along.
5	How quick is your comment?
6	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: It's very quick. I
7	just want to thank the Chair for her report and for
8	her presentation.
9	I understand that there was a member of
10	the committee who concurred in part and dissented in
11	part. I would have liked to have heard from him. I
12	understand that we used to do that pretty routinely.
13	That when there was a dissent, even a dissent in part,
14	that we would ask that person if they would like to
15	present as well. A request was made for this earlier
16	and we didn't seem to get it. But like I hope in the
17	future we will.
18	CHAIR GARZA: Okay.
19	MS. SMITH: And I'll just add that I
20	believe we had multiple, I think we had two dissents.
21	One I would say from a conservative perspective and
22	one from a more liberal perspective. And I would
23	encourage the Commission to re-vote.
24	COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Yes, I would want
25	both too. Thank you very much, Madam Chair.
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	UNEDITED 39
1	MS. SMITH: Thank you.
2	CHAIR GARZA: Well, with that, thank you,
3	Chair Smith, for coming here and presenting. We're
4	going to go ahead and move on to our next agenda item.
5	I just want to also echo that I appreciate
6	your leadership, Chair Smith, on the Florida Advisory
7	Committee and taking these questions from us.
8	Our second presenter is the United State
9	Advisory Committee Chair, Pamela Colon, who will
10	present her, present the report on the Status of Civil
11	Rights in the U.S. Virgin Islands.
12	This report highlights the pressing civil
13	rights issues stemming from the political and legal
14	status of the U.S. Virgin Islands. It delves into the
15	significant disparities faced by U.S. citizens
16	residing there emphasizing the lack of political
17	representation and unequal access to federal programs.
18	This comprehensive investigation brings to
19	light the ongoing challenges in achieving equality,
20	and the full measure of civil rights for the
21	residents. We eagerly anticipate discussing the
22	bipartisan recommendations that aim to address these
23	systemic barriers and ensure a more equity for the
24	people of the U.S. Virgin Islands, and other similarly
25	situated territories.
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	UNEDITED 40
1	So, Chair COLON, thank you for being here
2	in person, the floor is yours.
3	PRESENTATION BY THE UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS
4	ADVISORY COMMITTEE CHAIR, PAMELA COLON, ON THE
5	STATUS OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS
6	MS. COLON: Good morning, everyone. And
7	thank you so much for the invitation to present to you
8	in person. I am thrilled and excited to be here as a
9	member of the inaugural committee from the United
10	State Virgin Islands.
11	The fact that we have a Committee from the
12	United State Virgin Islands makes me very hopeful.
13	And I'm thrilled to be presented before you today.
14	This report was a unanimous report
15	bipartisan without dissent or concurring statements.
16	And it really does reflect the Committee's hard work
17	and a consensus of what we felt was important for the
18	Commission to know about the Virgin Islands.
19	And before I go any further I want to
20	specifically thank our David Barreras and Sarah
21	Villanueva, our technical assistant because this
22	report would have taken at least another year to
23	create without their assistant. They were invaluable
24	and their support was tremendous.
25	As you know, Committees get to pick the
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topic they're going to address. And of course that was the first thing our Committee had to do. And unfortunately there were so many topics to choose from.

5 We did consider the voting rights issues 6 in the Virgin Islands. We also considered the effect 7 of the insular cases on the United States Virgin 8 Islands. But the Committee, after a few months of 9 reflection decided that our best approach was to take 10 a 30,000 foot view and to provide the historical 11 context from which to assess the status of the United 12 States Virgin Island and civil rights in the 13 territory. And to educate all stakeholders, both here 14 in the mainland United States and in the federal 15 government, but also locally in the U.S. Virgin 16 Islands as well.

Because this was also our inaugural report we had no institutional history. The Committee was starting fresh. We didn't really know how to begin exactly. There is a philosopher on our committee, and I appreciate Judge Smith's input, he started to ask the basic questions. What is a civil right, what does it mean to be a citizen.

And we started from that premises, and lo and behold, we found that if we looked to this

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Commission's inaugural report from 1959, the same questions were asked. And we thought, all right then, we have a very good guide here, let's take a look at what the Commission did in its initial report and let's try to see how closely it relates to the issues that we are facing today. And remarkably the Commission's mandate at that time was to "provide knowledge and understanding of all of the complex problems involved." And that in

fact was the mission that we decided that our committee had to take as well. So we were seeing these parallels run through our inaugural report with what the Commission did initially.

In 1959 there was a disenfranchisement throughout the country of a large segments of racial and ethnic minorities. In 2024, in the United States Virgin Islands, which is a mostly racial minority population territory, we are also all disenfranchised.

19 In 1959 Black Americans were prohibited 20 from traveling free, freely throughout the country. 21 In 2024 you cannot leave the United States Virgin 22 Islands to come here to the United States, so U.S. 23 soil to U.S. soil, without going through customs and 24 I had to do that to come present to you immigration. 25 I would have had to done that if I went next today.

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door to Puerto Rico. So again, there is a parallel. In 1959 Black Americans were found to have, by the Commission, were found to have a lack of self-determination at many levels of government. And in 2024 United States citizens residing in the U.S. Islands also lack self-determination Virgin as ultimate control over all of our political, judicial and legislative activities lies with Congress. Interestingly, again, as I said, the

10 questions involving both inaugural reports circles around, what are civil rights. What are civil rights in the U.S. Virgin Islands? What does it mean to be a citizen of the United States that resides in the U.S. Virgin Islands?

15 Referring back to the 1959 report the 16 Commission "found that there was a conflict between 17 those who would extend the Republican principle to all 18 men, and those who would limit it to some men, or who 19 would delay its application and that has produced 20 tension in the minds and hearts of Americans and 21 American laws that is still with us." Again, that was 22 the 1959 report.

23 Well the U.S. Virgin Islands is still 24 trapped in that tension 65 years after that report was 25 published. And a 107 years since it was published,

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excuse me, since it was purchased by the United S	States
from Denmark.	

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Many people don't even realize that we are the only territory, at least currently, that was bought. We are purchased property. That does give us a very distinct relationship with the United States. And it's one that has lasted 107 years and has not been altered.

9 Again, the definitions of the 1959 report, 10 the majority, not the entire, but the majority of the 11 Commission at that time found that civil rights was 12 defined as the rights of citizens, though under the 13 constitution many of those rights extends to all 14 persons.

15 In 1959 the immediate concerns of the 16 Commission were the right to vote and equal 17 immediate protection. In 2024 our Committee's 18 concerns were the right to vote and the lack of self-19 determination.

20 We heard from a number of experts, very 21 qualified people, and we learned that in 1946 the 22 United States placed the United States Virgin Islands 23 on the United Nations list of non-self-governing 24 And by Article 73(b) of the United territories. 25 Nations Charter, it was mandated that the United

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States Virgin Islands be brought to full measure of self-government. Instead here we are so many decades U.S. citizens living in the U.S. Virgin later. are subjects of the United States Islands who Congress, seemingly indefinitely.

6 This results in a number of really 7 intriguing ironies. For example, a U.S. living in South Carolina or Florida who moves to the United 8 9 Virgin Islands will States have to become 10 disenfranchised and will no longer be able to vote in 11 federal elections. Yet had that same person moved a 12 half a mile away to the British Virgin Islands they 13 would have retained their right to vote even though 14 they were now living in the British Commonwealth 15 instead of on U.S. soil.

16 Another irony is presented when you have a 17 person who had been born in Mexico but became a 18 naturalized citizen who is now living in Texas and of 19 course could vote in federal elections. But a person 20 born in Texas who moved to the U.S. Virgin Islands would not be allowed to vote in federal elections 22 anymore.

23 At the mackerel level the system that has 24 been perpetuated has disenfranchised and left 3.6 25 million people, 3.6 million people without self-

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determination. The territories collectively have a population that is more than the five least popular states together. So to give you a perspective on how many people we're talking about how many citizens are affected, if you put those five least populated states together it's more than that.

The Committee found that this system is an actuality a system of apartheid that the United States has imposed on its territories. Despite us being the land of the free and the home of the brave.

And with that we found a number of conclusions. We found that the lack of determination of American citizens living in the United States Virgin Islands raises constitutional, international and human rights concerns.

16 We found that the international law 17 requirements, we mandated by the United Nations 18 treaty, requires the United States to bring the U.S. 19 Virgin Islands to full measure of self-government. We 20 found that the three political solutions are 21 independence, incorporation and free association. We 22 found that the general population of the United States 23 may lack awareness of the political status of the U.S. 24 citizens living in the U.S. Virgin Islands. And we 25 found that the Department of Interior has an

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obligation to inform the citizens of the U.S. Virgin Islands of the options available and their role within the framework of the United States political system. Our key conclusions included that citizens living in the United States Virgin Islands lack the self-determination and equal protections guaranteed by the United States Constitution of other citizens of the United States who freely enjoy those. Also that international law requirements as mandated by the United Nations Treaty, which is the United States is part of, and which is also the supreme law of the United States, right along with the constitution, requires that the United States bring the United States Virgin Islands to full measure of

16 And we further have a key conclusion that 17 the millions of United States citizens living in the 18 territories share the following. None can vote for 19 president. None are represented by a voting member of 20 None can effectively participate in self-Congress. 21 determination at any level of government. And each 22 has a lower status of citizenship compared to the 23 citizens living in the 50 states. And to certain 24 extent even to Washington, D.C.

We are presenting to this Commission the

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United following recommendations. The States Commission on Civil Rights should initiate a series of joint discussions with Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Northern Mariana Islands and the United States Virgin Islands to reference the civil rights 6 concerns on a larger context. There are common 7 concerns that are so ingrained and aligned in the nature of territorial governance that addressing them 9 jointly would justify stakeholder concern.

10 We are also recommending that the United 11 States Commission on Civil Rights recommend to 12 Congress that the Department of Interior, Office of 13 Insular Affairs, draft a proposal for the Congress to 14 consider that would give U.S. citizens living in the 15 territories a vote in federal elections and voting 16 representation in Congress.

17 And finally, we are recommending that the 18 United States Commission on Civil Rights recommend to 19 Congress that it should pass legislation implementing 20 the constitution in full, to all of the territories. 21 Even, even the opinion in Downes v. Bidwell, the first 22 of the insular cases.

23 Acknowledged the terror, excuse me. 24 Congressional governance over the territory was only 25 "for a time." We're a 123 years later, I think the

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1 time has come. And wouldn't it be a great gift to the 2 country if for its 250th birthday it permitted all 3 U.S. citizens equal protection under the constitution? 4 Thank you for your concern and your interest and for 5 listening to me today. 6 CHAIR GARZA: Thank you so much, Chair 7 Colon. COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Madam Chair? 8 I'm 9 sorry, I --10 CHAIR GARZA: Wait, wait, wait, wait. 11 We're not doing that. We're going to --12 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Doing what? 13 CHAIR GARZA: We're going to entertain --14 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: He wants to be 15 recognized too. 16 CHAIR GARZA: We'll I'm not recognizing 17 either of you because we are going to move on to the 18 other presentation. 19 Well, Madam Chair, COMMISSIONER ADAMS: 20 part of parliamentary procedure, these are radically 21 different stories and I would suggest that we have 22 bifurcated questions of each of these witnesses. 23 These are not the same territories. 24 CHAIR GARZA: Of course they're not, but 25 you can address your question to each of them. So NEAL R. GROSS COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1716 14TH ST., N.W., STE 200 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009-4309

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1 what we're going to do, per the request of Chair Colon 2 and Chair Cordova, we're going to entertain joint 3 question and answer period once they both have 4 finished their comments. And we're going to go ahead 5 Rican and proceed with the Puerto Advisory 6 presentation. 7 So at this time we're going to turn the 8 floor over to final Advisory Committee presenter, 9 Puerto Rico Advisory Committee Member, or Chair, 10 Andrés L. Cordova, who will present on insular cases 11 and the doctrine of the unincorporated territory and 12 its effects on the civil rights of the residents of 13 Puerto Rico. 14 Puerto Rico Advisory Committee's The report looks into how these legal precedents have perpetuated a lack of political representation and unequal access to federal programs, embedding racial and national discrimination. As we explore these

15 16 17 18 19 enduring issues today, the bipartisan recommendations 20 from this report could serve as quidelines for 21 rectifying historical injustices and ensuring 22 equitable treatment for all Puerto Ricans 23 We look forward to hearing your invaluable 24 insights, proposed pathways forward for Puerto Rico 25 and other similarly situated territories. So, Chair **NEAL R. GROSS**

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Cordova, if you could please proceed. PRESENTATION BY THE PUERTO RICO ADVISORY COMMITTEE CHAIR, ANDRES CORDOVA, ON THE INSULAR CASES AND DOCTRINE OF THE UNINCORPORATED TERRITORY

MR. CORDOVA: Thank you, Chair Garza. And thank you for having these hearings today. I'd like to begin by echoing Chair Colon's statements. I think even though we are different territories there are a lot of similarities between our, both our islands and we face similar problems affect us.

In our case our memo is the first in the series that hopefully lead to a final report on the effects on the insular cases and the non-incorporated territory doctrine on the civil rights of the residents of Puerto Rico. This memo is the first one, written originally in Spanish, and translated in English. As also is the case that the Committee is the only one to conduct its meetings in Spanish with English interpretation.

I'd like to begin basically with a very brief background on the memo. The insular cases are a trade of cases which deal with the then recently acquired territories in 1898 that declared the full constitutional rights do not automatically apply to certain territories because they were not incorporated

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into the United States. This has led to unequal and equal treatment of the United States citizens in Puerto Rico who do not have voting representation in Congress.

Under Downes v. Bidwell, which Chair Colon just referenced, Puerto Rico belongs to, but is not a part of the United States. In this case dehumanizes the residents of Puerto Rico by describing them as alien races who are different from other United States citizens.

The broad interpretation of the insular cases has also allowed the federal government to apply programs and benefits differently to Puerto Rico. Despite having a population of over 3.2 million residents, which is larger than at least 20 states, Puerto Rico is limited in its access to full constitutional rights and resources from the federal government.

We held hearings in May when we did this first part of the memo. We came to some preliminary findings. The first preliminary finding identified the testimony and overview of the state which included the panelists agreed that Puerto Rico was living under a subordinate or colonial relationship between United States and Puerto Rico which has led to an equal and

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discriminatory treatment on behalf of the United States Government and due to the lack of representation at the federal level.

4 Some of the testimony we heard cited a 5 2012 website in which the majority of voters expressed 6 that it did not want a territorial status of Puerto 7 Rico to continue. Nonetheless, Congress has failed to address this issue. 8

9 This leaves the Island in a continued 10 state of limbo while we remain subject to loss and 11 decisions with Congress and the President. As stated 12 in the stated testimony, "calling Puerto Rico as equal 13 citizens but at the same time treating them 14 differently by limiting their rights as а 15 contradiction without justification."

16 We also had, as a preliminary finding, 17 the non-incorporated doctrine that treats the 18 residents of Puerto Rico as less than the United 19 States citizens and has been used a pretext for 20 unequal treatment. And here I would reference the 21 recent case of the United States v. Vaello-Madero of 22 Which I precisely uphold as doctrine. 2022.

23 Panelists would argue that the insular cases should not have to be re-recognized because they have been the legal norm. Congress has unilateral

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power over Puerto Rico and can even modify its local government. As recently evidenced with the fiscal oversight management board established through PROMESA in 2016.

And while Congress took a series of 6 actions in the 20th Century to naturalize the 7 residents of Puerto Rico, they granted citizenship in And it has not been specified whether birth in 1916. an unincorporated territory guarantees citizen under 10 the United States Constitution, even though we have the 14th Amendment. And panelists argued, and agreed, 12 that this can be resolved only be limiting the non-13 incorporated doctrine.

14 We also found that ongoing disparities and 15 the access to assistance programs, such as Medicaid, 16 SSI, Medicare and nutritional assistance. For 17 example, the investment of Medicaid for a person in 18 Puerto Rico is \$1,198 annually, while in the United 19 States it's just over \$6,000. Even though 39 percent 20 of all residents in Puerto Rico are enrolled in the 21 program compared to the ten percent of the population 22 in the United States.

23 When it comes to Medicare there's a 24 disparate treatment in the reimbursement rate for 25 medical providers, which is 43 percent below the

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national average. This has led to a brain draining of health professionals from Puerto Rico leaving patients with disabilities more vulnerable. We're living through that right now in this time. In this period. SSI is not available to the residents of Puerto Rico. Even though an estimated 40 or 36,000 residents would qualify. The age, blind, disabled program does exist in Puerto Rico, but recipients get approximately \$60 per month, while beneficiaries of SSI in the United States receive approximately \$900 a month.

In Puerto Rico where 20 percent of the populations are people with disabilities, and almost half of them live below the poverty line. Many individuals have to decide between spending their limited income on food or medicine, and many are able to decide to leave for the states with benefits and healthcare they need to survive.

19Panelists have also pointed out that20Puerto Rico ranked seventh in the world in terms of21having the oldest population. And the poverty level22is four times greater than in the states.

Although in an AARP survey, 80 percent of the older adults want to age in their homes, Puerto Rico does not have funds or infrastructure for those

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services. Defects of Hurricane Maria, for example, unveil the severity of the need of the older population in Puerto Rico where seniors were found to be the sole caretakers of individuals even older than them. There are no robust community networks, and there is an urgent need for fully covered Medicaid and SSI which can help approximately 700,000 a person.

8 Veterans is another group that's affected 9 by non-incorporated doctrine. Over 200,000 Puerto 10 Ricans have served in the United States in the last 11 century in the Armed Forces, but they do lack the 12 basic rights, including the right to run for president 13 who sends them to war. Approximately 30,000 veterans 14 in Puerto Rico live below the poverty line and would 15 also benefit from SSI.

16 Veterans also face other challenges, such 17 as not having the same level of healthcare options as 18 veterans in the states to TRICARE, which is not 19 available in Puerto Rico. Unequal education benefits 20 of the GI Bills, since Puerto Rico is considered for 21 in navigating their record online, the forms it, 22 available in the Department of Veterans and the 23 Department of Defense are only available in English 24 which basically screws many of the Puerto Ricans who 25 do not speak English. Many of the veterans have

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migrated to the states, especially since Hurricane Maria, and the veteran population is expected to continue decreasing in the coming decades.

Community leaders who shared testimony expressed that the uncertainty that comes with the territorial status, and the ability to have the resources for well-being have caused increased rates of depression and emotional issues among the community members. Many individuals had to leave their homes 10 temporarily after Maria, but due to lack of resources are still living in the mainland.

12 After the hurricane in 2017, there was an 13 11 percent drop in Puerto Rico's population which 14 panelists takes to symbolize accumulative results of 15 unequal treatment in Puerto Rico. And the ongoing 16 migration is having a long-lasting impacts on the 17 social and cultural life in the island.

18 With this background we have some 19 preliminary recommendations for the panelists. First 20 of all, it is important to attend the issue of the 21 non-incorporated doctrine, which is а common 22 denominator between all these problems as we 23 understand it. And we need to address it through the 24 lens, not only of constitutional and United States 25 law, but also through the lens of international law

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1	according to some of the panelists.
2	We believe that Congress should hold
3	public hearings on what self-determination process can
4	look like in Puerto Rico. This would also eliminate,
5	or eradicate the insular cases which would reduce
6	disparage on this society and eliminate the harmful
7	contradictions between, with Congress and supreme
8	court treat Puerto Rico. And other panelists have
9	argued that the state is the only way to acquire equal
10	treatment and the right to vote.
11	And in the end we believe that there
12	should be a declaration on behalf of the Commission
13	that the insular cases are a form of discrimination
14	against the civil rights of the residents in Puerto
15	Rico. We will probably be, we will be submitting
16	later memorandum to different hearings we're holding
17	in the next couple, next couple months. So in the end
18	we will be sending our final recommendations as a
19	committee. Thank you for your time, and we're
20	available for questions.
21	CHAIR GARZA: Thank you so much, Chair
22	Colon. I mean, Chair Cordova. We appreciate I
23	feel like taking both of your comments together was
24	really good here so that we can understand the issues
25	of the territories.
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1 I know that these, that the SACs are newer 2 in the territories, which I think obviously has 3 brought to light a lot of issues that have been left 4 by the wayside and not addressed because this impacts 5 millions of people, as I saw in your report. Or in 6 the report of the Virgin Islands. I felt the chart 7 was pretty indicative of how many millions of people 8 are impacted. 9 So thank you both for being here, for 10 presenting together because I do think these issues 11 are something that we need to look at as one issue. 12 I'm going to take a point of privilege 13 before I let others ask anything. What do you feel, I 14 mean, since both of you have, you know, touched on 15 this issue, I mean, what do you think is the number 16 one recommendation here? How do you think that we 17 resolve these issues? 18 I know that's a broad question, but I know 19 that you've made some recommendations in each of your 20

reports, but give us like your top line of what you think could be done.

22 MS. COLON: I'm going to speak just for 23 the United States Virgin Islands because I actually 24 realize that this may not be the top line for every 25 territory. But in the United States Virgin Islands we

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believe that the full implementation and application of the constitution to every U.S. citizen is the first thing that needs to be done. And I would follow that with an educational process to inform our judges, our commissioners, our senators, our presidents, our congressmen and women of what the actual status is of the territories as a whole. That would be my second, and I think our committees second, most important request.

MR. CORDOVA: I would think that after 128, 126 years of American flag in Puerto Rico, we still haven't had the opportunity to vote and decide on what is our future. I think that needs to change.

14 I think the only event that could arguable 15 considered that we did have some kind of he 16 opportunity was in 1952 when we voted on the 17 But that was not really a vote on our constitution. 18 self-determination.

19 And Congress is the one who needs to 20 legislate that. Congress is the one that has the 21 primary power. And the insular cases basically have 22 been used as a bulwark against any kind of process of 23 self-determination. So that to me is a fundamental 24 And all the other issues basically derive problem. 25 from that.

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	UNEDITED 61
1	CHAIR GARZA: Thank you for that. Vice
2	Chair Nourse?
3	VICE CHAIR NOURSE: Well these were
4	incredible reports, thank you so much. And Chair
5	Colon talked about the home of the brave. And I
6	mentioned this to Chair Cordova earlier.
7	One of the things that I learned when I
8	was in Puerto Rico last is the number of veterans.
9	They have served us in war and yet they are not
10	allowed to vote. It's just, it's shameful.
11	I'm going to say as a professor there is a
12	ray of hope. I'm going to read a little bit from
13	Justice Gorsuch appointed by President Trump.
14	COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: Very nice.
15	VICE CHAIR NOURSE: Because no party asked
16	us to overrule the insular cases to resolve today's
17	despite I join the court's opinion. But the time has
18	come to recognize that the insular cases rest on a
19	rotten foundation. And I hope the day comes soon when
20	the courts squarely overrules them. We should follow
21	Justice Harlan and settle this question right. Our
22	fellow Americans in Puerto Rico deserve no less.
23	So thank you. I believe education is very
24	important. We will try to tear it, take the torch
25	elsewhere. But I do think there is also a ray of hope
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	UNEDITED 62
1	here that people on both sides of the isle understand
2	the history and the great ironies and sadness that
3	American Citizens are so excluded.
4	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Gilchrist
5	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Oh, Commissioner
6	
7	CHAIR GARZA: and then
8	(Simultaneous speaking.)
9	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Okay.
10	CHAIR GARZA: I'll go to
11	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Okay, great.
12	CHAIR GARZA: And then I'll go to
13	Commissioner Magpantay.
14	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Let me thank you
15	as well for a very informative report today. I just
16	have a quick question for you. Do you think within
17	the territories that folks see themselves as Americans
18	or something else based upon geography?
19	And this kind of gets to the conversation
20	about whether independence is something that folks in
21	the territories are considering. But any comments on
22	that?
23	MS. COLON: It's not within the report,
24	but I will give you my
25	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Sure.
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	UNEDITED 63
1	MS. COLON: my impressions after having
2	lived there for 32 years, by choice, relinquishing all
3	of these rights I would have had, had I stayed in
4	Chicago.
5	(Laughter.)
6	MS. COLON: We very much see ourselves as
7	U.S. Citizens and we are wondering why we are at a
8	second class status. That's how we see ourselves, as
9	second class U.S. Citizens.
10	MR. CORDOVA: Your question goes to the
11	problem in Puerto Rico. To the heart of the political
12	debate. Basically a political identity. The
13	Commission did not address that issue in the report,
14	so I'm just speaking for myself
15	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Sure.
16	MR. CORDOVA: in this regard. After
17	126 years of United States presence in Puerto Rico our
18	political identity I think is driven by our
19	citizenship in United States. That does not exclude
20	of course cultural manifestations and other views
21	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Right.
22	MR. CORDOVA: of how people understand
23	themselves.
24	There is a sector that favors independence
25	and use that criteria as a fundamental impediment to
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statehood or to any collaboration with United States. So that's the political debate. COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Right. My belief is that the MR. CORDOVA: be addressed through political debate needs to participation of the political process. You know, we need to have the vote. We have to decide. So that's why my initial suggestion, top line recommendation would be that Congress needs to legislate a process by which we can vote and decide what we want. To what future we want. COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Thank you, Madam Chair. I'll let other Commissioners chime in before my next question. Commissioner CHAIR GARZA: Okay. Magpantay? COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: Yes. You know, I remember, thank you very much. I learning about the insular cases in law school, very confusing. You know, it's not my practice area but I tend, you know, as a civil rights lawyer I carry a copy of the United States Constitution with me. Are what you saying that this United States Constitution does not apply to the territories of the United States of American in full? Please **NEAL R. GROSS** COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS 1716 14TH ST., N.W., STE 200

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	UNEDITED 65
1	explain that to me. And I read the statements. Is
2	that what you're saying?
3	MS. COLON: We are absolutely saying that.
4	Fortunately in, I think it was 1871, Congress did
5	vote for the full application of the United States
6	Constitution to the U.S. Citizens residing in
7	Washington, D.C. Yay for all of you.
8	Here we are 150 years later, gosh, we
9	would love the same thing. That is absolutely
10	correct, Commissioner. Thank you.
11	MR. CORDOVA: In the last decade of the
12	19th Century there was a debate from legal scholars in
13	Harvard on creating precisely the non-incorporated
14	doctrine with a view basically of the expanding of
15	United States into Caribbean and to the Pacific. But
16	yes, the flag does, the constitution does not follow
17	the flag.
18	COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: Thank you.
19	MR. CORDOVA: So there's fundamental
20	rights, whatever those might be.
21	COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: And all of you
22	are U.S. flag waiving area schools and entities.
23	That's, thank you for that clarity.
24	And then you said just one thing, that we
25	had brought scholars together to look at these issues.
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And I think, Chair Colon, you had said that, if the territories came together in some sort of meeting to try to see, because, one of the common issues that we, as the United States Commission on Civil Rights can present to the United States Congress and to the President?

7 And I'm certainly not the expert, I don't 8 know these issues very well, but if we brought the 9 advocates and all the state advisory committees 10 together to have that dialogue and discussion, or even 11 a hearing and an investigation on these, together we 12 could really try to find nice package а of 13 legislation, or sorry, recommendations to present to 14 the Congress and the President, would that be helpful?

MS. COLON: Absolutely. It would be extraordinarily helpful. As long as it did keep in mind there are certain distinctions between each territory that each territory would definitely present. But the common issues are fundamental.

20 MR. CORDOVA: There are differences 21 between our territories, but the common tread in 22 insular cases is non-incorporated doctrine.

23 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: Excellent.
24 MR. CORDOVA: So yes, that would be a very
25 good idea.

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1 COMMISSIONER MAGPANTAY: That's great. 2 Because I think the Commission is uniquely positioned 3 in the United States Government, it's the only agency 4 that actually has structural advisory committees in 5 every one of the territories. We have a unique 6 ability to bring in people from affected communities 7 I don't think any other agency has that. together. We should have more conversation of how we 8 9 can explore these, and enforce statutes, that will 10 apply for, and apply common ground, to make those 11 recommendations. Thank you so much. 12 CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Adams? 13 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Thank you, Madam 14 Chair. My questions are for you, Chair Colon, please. 15 As you know, I'm interested in territorial issues. 16 MS. COLON: Yes. Thank you. 17 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: And I want to ask 18 about inertia. 19 (Laughter.) 20 COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Because I found 21 inertia in places. What is the inertia, I want to ask 22 you, keep and get rid of. What is the inertia on the 23 Virgin Island for the status quo? 24 Like in other territories it's they like 25 the tax situation, they like their U.S. Passport. **NEAL R. GROSS**

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	UNEDITED 68
1	What is the status quo inertia, why do people want to,
2	why do they like what they have?
3	MS. COLON: I'm not positive they like
4	everything they have. For sure they don't like
5	everything.
6	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Right.
7	MS. COLON: But I would, it was one of our
8	recommendations that even the people within the United
9	States Virgin Islands do not have the requisite and
10	knowledge and understanding of our political
11	relationship to the United States and our status as an
12	un-incorporated territory. And exactly what that
13	means, and what options are available, and should be
14	available. So I think lack of information, lack of
15	knowledge is a fundamental issue.
16	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Okay. Let me ask you
17	about keeping the Virgin Islands. Now one of the
18	reasons the United States keeps Guam is because of
19	Andersen, right? And the Navy Base and strategic
20	importance.
21	I just don't know, what are the reasons
22	why the United States shouldn't make the Virgin
23	Islands St. Lucia or an independent country? What is
24	there besides tourism? Educate us, why keep the
25	Virgin Islands?
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	UNEDITED 69				
1	MS. COLON: First of all, I think the				
2	2 United States Virgin Islands would have to be the on				
3	to make that decision, not the United States.				
4	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Sure.				
5	MS. COLON: And certainly not				
6	unilaterally.				
7	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: But they could do the				
8	insular cases. They could say we're done.				
9	MS. COLON: True. True.				
10	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: You're on your own.				
11	MS. COLON: True.				
12	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: So what is the reason				
13	behind the United States, besides maybe the price paid				
14	for the Islands, why are they keeping them?				
15	MS. COLON: I think fundamentally if you				
16	go back historically as to why they were purchased in				
17	the first place, and it is my understanding from a				
18	historical perspective that although they were				
19	purchased from Denmark in 1917 the United States had				
20	been trying to purchase the Islands at least 40 years				
21	before that.				
22	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Is there a deepwater				
23	port?				
24	MS. COLON: It was for strategic Military				
25	purposes				
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	UNEDITED 70				
1	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Got you.				
2	MS. COLON: even back then. And even				
3	still now. There was a submarine base in World War II				
4	on St. Thomas and it was vital.				
5	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Last question. Yo				
6	mentioned in your list, this is about the CNMI.				
7	MS. COLON: Yes.				
8	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: You mentioned in your				
9	list, you know, all these territories should do.				
10	Isn't the CNMI a little differently positioned since				
11	it's a trust territory that it maybe shouldn't be in				
12	this bundle of let's talk about this? Because we				
13	really, it's not really United States territory as				
14	much as it's a trust territory.				
15	MS. COLON: I agree. And I came to that				
16	education. And I was so informed after the, well				
17	actually right during when the report of my Committee				
18	was published. And I absolutely agree that each				
19	territory has its own unique situation. And certainly				
20	the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands is				
21	differently situated from all others. But so is the				
22	Virgin Islands because we're the only one that was				
23	purchased.				
24	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Yes. Thank you.				
25	MS. COLON: Thank you as well.				
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	UNEDITED 71				
1	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Madam Chair, may				
2	I have a follow-up? Just a quick followup.				
3	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Gilchrist, go				
4	ahead.				
5	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Thank you. What				
6	is, for the Virgin Islands, what is the geographic				
7	makeup of the Island?				
8	MS. COLON: Geographic makeup?				
9	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Yes.				
10	Demographic. I'm sorry, demographic makeup.				
11	MS. COLON: Demographic makeup.				
12	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Yes.				
13	MS. COLON: I believe currently, if you go				
14	by the 2020 census, I think 79 percent of the				
15	population identify as African-American. And then the				
16	other 21 percent is of a pretty good mixture of,				
17	actually, there are a number of people who identify as				
18	Puerto Rican because when Vieques was taking over by				
19	the U.S. Army and created into a bombing site, the				
20	thought process was, of course this was back in '40s				
21	or '50s I believe, the thought process was, well,				
22	we'll just move all these people who live here over to				
23	St. Croix because, well, it's just the next island.				
24	Not understanding that there was a very different				
25	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Right.				
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	UNEDITED 72				
1	MS. COLON: cultural background and				
2	very different historical background.				
3	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Sure.				
4	MS. COLON: But now we do have a large				
5	Puerto Rican population as well. And also of course				
6	Caucasian and many other minorities living there as				
7	well.				
8	COMMISSIONER GILCHRIST: Okay, thank you.				
9	MS. COLON: Yes.				
10	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Super quick.				
11	CHAIR GARZA: Commissioner Adams.				
12	COMMISSIONER ADAMS: Chair Colon, has				
13	there ever been discussion at all, like, is this even				
14	something anyone has said, about incorporating the				
15	Virgin Islands into Florida?				
16	Because there is talk about Guam and				
17	Hawaii, so what about that?				
18	MS. COLON: I've never heard that before.				
19	(Laughter.)				
20	MS. COLON: I've heard incorporating the				
21	Virgin Islands into Puerto Rico, and that does not go				
22	over very well at all. I don't think Florida would be				
23	well received either.				
24	(Laughter.)				
25	CHAIR GARZA: Well, with that, I				
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appreciate you all. I just want to say, I appreciate you entertaining questions that are beyond the scope of the reports.

(Laughter.)

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CHAIR GARZA: I think we need to level set here and, you know, next time we have a SAC presentation we'll say this at the outset, but, I mean, these presentations, you are our guest, you are not here as witnesses. You are here to represent the SAC, as well as what was voted upon in your report. And we deeply appreciate your presence and ability to do that.

13 And Ι just want to make a comment, 14 quickly, on the statement of dissents and other 15 opinions. Those things can be based on other 16 individual committee member's opinions, it doesn't 17 necessarily have to be accurate. What you all are 18 here talking about today is based on what was voted 19 upon, what has been recommended as a committee based 20 on the testimony that you have.

21 So this is, I just want to make that 22 distinction for the record so that folks understand 23 that our SAC Committee Chair, is the purpose of these 24 presentations is to hear from you all as 25 representatives of this Committee. And what you are

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	UNEDITED 74			
1	seeing, what you are recommending, and what we sho			
2	take into consideration. So thank you for being here			
3	and for doing that today.			
4	So we're going to go ahead and move on to			
5	our final agenda item. We have Staff Director			
6	Morales, the monthly Staff Director's report. The			
7	floor is yours.			
8	MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONS REPORT BY STAFF DIRECTOR			
9	MAURO MORALES			
10	MR. MORALES: Thank you, Madam Chair. In			
11	the interest of time I have nothing further to add			
12	than what's already contained in the report. And as			
13	always, I'm available to individual Commissioner if			
14	they have any specific question of anything that's			
15	contained in the report. So with that I will yield			
16	back my time.			
17	CHAIR GARZA: Okay, thank you, Mr. Staff			
18	Director. This appears to conclude the business on			
19	the agenda for today's business meeting. So if there			
20	is nothing further I'm going to hereby adjourn us at			
21	11:28 a.m. Eastern time.			
22	ADJOURNED			
23	CHAIR GARZA: Thank you. Have a wonderful			
24	weekend, everyone.			
25	(Whereupon, the above-entitled matter went			
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off the re	cord at 11:28 a.m.)	
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