Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 8/30/2017 9:46:09 PM
To: John Lott [johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Subject: RE: Question on timing

Got it. Sorry about that. Here are directions to the NH Institute of Politics at St. Anselm: http://www.anselm.edu/Academics/Institutes-Centers-and-the-Arts/NH-Institute-of-Politics/About/Directions.htm. Hope you can make it work – sounds like another nice opportunity.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: John Lott [mailto:johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Sent: Wednesday, August 30, 2017 5:29 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: Question on timing

Thanks, Andrew. I just realized that your hearing is in New Hampshire. When you said the Institute of Politics, I just assumed that it was someplace in DC that I didn't know about. OK, let me see what I can do about setting up something remotely with them. For some reason I don't think that will be an option. They wanted me to talk about the reciprocity bill that will considered in September.

John R. Lott, Jr., Ph.D.
President
Crime Prevention Research Center
>http://crimeresearch.org<
johnrlott@crimeresearch.org
(484) 802-5373

On Wednesday, August30, 2017, at Wednesday, August 30, 5:19 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

Hi John,

Sounds like you're in high demand! You're on the first panel, and we would certainly anticipate you being done by noon. The meeting will come to order at 10:00 a.m., so the panel will likely start around 10:30 or so following some introductory remarks. It should be done within 90 minutes and finish by noon. Is the House R meeting something you could join remotely?

Thanks,
Andrew

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Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: John Lott [mailto:johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Sent: Wednesday, August 30, 2017 4:22 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Question on timing

Dear Andrew:

I was just asked to give a talk to the Republican Caucus in the House on September 12th at 12:30 PM. Before you thought that the panel might start at 10 AM. Are we talking about 2 hours or less from 10 AM to noon?

Thanks.
John

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<image001.jpg>

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Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/10/2017 6:07:39 PM
To: Ronald L. Rivest [rivest@mit.edu]
Subject: Re: quick update

Hi Ron,

Good question - I believe it'll be scenario (2) in your list, but I'm not sure exactly what it will look like yet. I'm headed to NH this evening and will be scouting the location tomorrow, so I'll give you a clearer picture of the setup sometime tomorrow.

Thanks!
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Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 9, 2017, at 4:03 PM, Ronald L. Rivest <rivest@mit.edu> wrote:

> Hi Andrew --
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> I'm curious about the (physical) format of the panels. Perhaps it is undecided. Will we be:
> (1) presenting from a podium (standing up)
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> (3) presenting from standing up, but not with a podium (classroom style)
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> I can do any, of course, but I would find it helpful to know ahead of time what to expect...
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> Thanks!
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> On Tue, Sep 5, 2017 at 4:58 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:
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Thanks again!
Andrew

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Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President

Cell: [redacted]

Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: [redacted] [mailto: [redacted]] **On Behalf Of** Ronald L. Rivest
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 4:38 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: quick update

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Looking forward to it!

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Ronald L. Rivest
Room 32-G692, Stata Center, MIT, Cambridge MA 02139
Tel 617-253-5880, Email <rivest@mit.edu>
>>http://people.csail.mit.edu/<rivest<

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>http://people.csail.mit.edu/rivest<

Message

From: [redacted]
on behalf of Ronald L. Rivest [rivest@mit.edu]
Sent: 9/9/2017 8:02:44 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: Re: quick update

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Subject: Re: quick update
Attachments: 2017-09-12-rivest-for-pence-kobach.ppt

Hi Andrew --

Attached is the slide deck I intend to use for my presentation on next Tuesday (9/12) at the PCEI meeting in Manchester. Feel free to distribute them to the committee members and/or otherwise make them available to interested parties (including the public).

(The slides have a "minimalist" style I haven't used before -- we'll see if it works well... In any case, the two references are excellent.)

Let me know if you need anything else.

Thanks for the leeway in getting these to you!

I'll be riding up to the meeting with Anthony Stevens, so I'm sure we'll be there in plenty of time...

See you soon!

Cheers,
Ron

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Remarks on Election Integrity

Ronald L. Rivest
MIT

Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Manchester, NH
September 12, 2017

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Outline

- **4 Goals**
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
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- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Goal 1/4

Improve Security.

Goal 2/4

Outcomes that are correct.

Goal 3/4

Outcomes perceived correct.

Goal 4/4

Outcomes verifiably correct.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
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- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Challenge 1/4

Secret Ballots.

Challenge 2/4

Diverse voters and elections.

Challenge 3/4

Adversaries!

Challenge 4/4

No free lunches!

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Principle 1/4

Election integrity is nonpartisan.

Principle 2/4

It takes a thief…

Principle 3/4

Adversaries attack weakest link.

Principle 4/4

Detect and Recover.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
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- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Myth 1/4

Federal certification ensures security.

Myth 2/4

Logic and accuracy testing ensures security.

Myth 3/4

“Not connected to internet” ensures security.

Myth 4/4

Decentralization ensures security.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Tool 1/4

Public verification of (almost) everything.

Tool 2/4

Voter verification of their own paper ballots.

Tool 3/4

Compliance audit.

Tool 4/4

Risk-limiting post-election audit.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
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- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Example: 2016 NH Governor

- Reported outcome:
  - 354,040 Sununu
  - 337,589 Van Ostern
  - 33,234 other
- Margin of victory: 2.4%
- *Comparison risk-limiting audit* compares randomly chosen paper ballots with their cast vote records until “risk limit” (e.g. five percent) is met.

Audit

Sample size
Errors found
Risk

Audit

Sample size	100
Errors found	0
Risk	33%

Audit

Sample size	100	200
Errors found	0	0
Risk	33%	10%

Audit

Sample size	100	200	300
Errors found	0	0	0
Risk	33%	10%	4%

Audit

Sample size	100	200	300
Errors found	0	0	0
Risk	33%	10%	4%

Examining only 300 randomly-chosen ballots
(out of 724,863 cast) achieves our “risk limit” of 5% !

References

- Stark, P.B., and D.A. Wagner, 2012. Evidence-Based Elections. *IEEE Security & Privacy*, *10*, 33–41.
- Lindeman, M. and P.B. Stark, 2012. A Gentle Introduction to Risk-Limiting Audits. *IEEE Security & Privacy*, *10*, 42–49.

The End

Thanks for your attention!

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/5/2017 8:58:35 PM
To: Ronald L. Rivest [rivest@mit.edu]
Subject: RE: quick update

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Message

From: [redacted]
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To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
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> I'm curious about the (physical) format of the panels. Perhaps it is
> undecided. Will we be:
> (1) presenting from a podium (standing up)
> (2) presenting from a panel table (sitting down)
> (3) presenting from standing up, but not with a podium (classroom style)
> (4) other??
>
> I can do any, of course, but I would find it helpful to know ahead of time
> what to expect...
>
> Thanks!
>
> Cheers,
> Ron
>
> On Tue, Sep 5, 2017 at 4:58 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
> <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:
>
> Thanks, Ron. Yes, you're right; no need to share anything beyond the presentation unless you decide to bring something else. That's completely up to you. The key thing for us is just to ensure whatever is shared in writing at the meeting is posted in advance.

And yes, that laptop plan sounds good.

If there's anything else we can do for you between now and the meeting, just let me know. Again, we're grateful for your participation, and looking forward to it as well!

Thanks again!
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack

Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President

Cell: [redacted]

Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: [redacted] **On Behalf Of** Ronald L. Rivest
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 4:38 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: quick update

Hi Andrew --

Thanks for this update.

I should have no problem getting to you a final version of my slides

by COB Thursday (or first thing Friday morning).

I am presuming that this is the main thing you'll want/need, and that

other materials (such as attached Powerpoint notes or a separate

testimony document) are optional. Let me know if this is not correct.

I will also presume that I can use my own laptop for the presentation,

but that you'll have another available for backup if needed. I have a

"clicker" for slide advancement on my laptop.

Anthony Stevens will be giving me a ride up to Manchester on Tuesday

morning.

Looking forward to it!

Cheers,

Ron

On Tue, Sep 5, 2017 at 3:39 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

> Dr. Rivest,
>
> If you've already returned from Lake Tahoe, I hope you had a great trip (if you're still there, I hope you're still having a great trip!). I just had a couple quick updates I wanted to share with you.
>
> First, I spoke with Harri Hursti this morning and confirmed his participation on your panel, so it'll be the two of you plus Dr. Appel. Harri said he might reach out to you to discuss the panel in more detail, so I wanted to give you a heads up that he might contact you. I hope to be able to share the full meeting agenda within the next 24 hours as well.
>
> Also, I know the materials deadline has been a moving target, and I apologize again for that inconvenience. We are currently targeting this Friday to post all presentations and meeting materials on our webpage, so if you could shoot for sending me any presentations, handouts, or prepared testimony by COB Thursday (or even at the latest by first thing Friday morning, like 8:00 a.m.), we would really appreciate it. Again, my apologies for the moving target. If this timeline presents an issue for you, please just let me know and we'll figure something out.
>
> If you have any questions or if I can help with anything else between now and the meeting, please do not hesitate to let me know.
>
> Thanks again,

Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

--

Ronald L. Rivest
Room 32-G692, Stata Center, MIT, Cambridge MA 02139
Tel 617-253-5880, Email <rivest@mit.edu>
>>>http://people.csail.mit.edu/<<rivest<

--
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Room 32-G692, Stata Center, MIT, Cambridge MA 02139
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Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/2/2017 1:15:05 AM
To: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
CC: maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Thanks, Harri. Sorry I missed you before you left for your trip, but I appreciate the response. We are grateful for your willingness to participate on the 12th.

A call on Tuesday would be great. I'm open at this point, so feel free to pick a time that works for you and I'll plan on that. I don't think it'll take more than a few minutes.

Safe travels, and I'll look forward to speaking with you next week.

Thanks again,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Harri Hursti [mailto:scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Sent: Friday, September 1, 2017 6:33 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com
Subject: Re: Sept. 12th meeting

Andrew,

Unfortunately I already left for an overseas business trip on Thursday.

I will be available for a call over weekend or on Monday / Tuesday. I am currently 7 hours ahead of EST - from morning to 3 pm EST is suitable time for me any other day except Saturday. On Saturday I am available for calls until 10 am EST.

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> Greetings! I am the executive director for the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity. I wanted to introduce myself and thank you for your willingness to participate in the September 12th meeting in New Hampshire. I understand you're just departing for some travel, but would you have any availability for a quick phone call perhaps sometime today or over the next few days? My work cell is below. I should be free this afternoon after about 3:00 Eastern. If there's a better time for you earlier, I might be able to step out of a meeting. Look forward to connecting soon.
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Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/5/2017 12:41:50 PM
To: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
CC: maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Hi Harri,

Just circling back to see if you'd be available for a call sometime today. I'm still fairly open, so just let me know what works for you, or feel free to try me on my cell anytime.

Thanks,
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Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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Safe travels, and I'll look forward to speaking with you next week.

Thanks again,
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> Thanks again,
> Andrew
>
> Andrew J. Kossack
> Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
> Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
> Cell: [redacted]
> Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

Message

From: Louis Calderone [louis@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Sent: 9/6/2017 6:16:06 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Andrew

Password: [redacted]

Thank you

Louis Calderone
O 212 849 8226
C [redacted]

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 4:17 PM
To: Harri Hursti; Louis Calderone
Cc: Margaret MacAlpine
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Hi Louis,

Nice to meet you via email. Attached is a form for booking the travel service through the General Services Administration. We'll just need to get this on file so we can enter Harri into the travel system. Once that's processed, Harri or you can work directly with GSA's travel agent to book whatever travel he needs.

You can fill out this form and send it back to me, or fax it directly to the GSA using the fax number on the form. If you email it back to me, you'll probably want to encrypt the PDF and send me a password separately, just to be safe.

If you have any questions, just let me know.

Thanks,
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Andrew J. Kossack
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Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 3:39 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>; Louis Calderone <Louis@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
Cc: Margaret MacAlpine <maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
Subject: Re: Sept. 12th meeting

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> Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
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> Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
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> Cell: [redacted]
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> Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov
>
> **From:** Harri Hursti [mailto:scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
> **Sent:** Tuesday, September 5, 2017 8:51 AM
> **To:** Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
> **Cc:** Margaret MacAlpine <maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
>
> **Subject:** RE: Sept. 12th meeting
>
> Andrew,
>
> I will call you today around noon your time.
>
> ...
>
> Sco
>
> On Sep 5, 2017 15:41, "Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP" <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:
>
> > Hi Harri,

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Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack

Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President

Cell: [redacted]

Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

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Thanks again,
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Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President

Cell: [redacted]

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Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

This email has been checked for viruses by Avast antivirus software.
>www.avast.com<

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/8/2017 12:45:05 PM
To: Margaret MacAlpine [maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
CC: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Thank you! If we could get it within the next couple hours, that would be ideal just to ensure we'll have time to post it. Posting things to our webpage is, like everything else around here, quite a bureaucratic process!

Thanks again,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Margaret MacAlpine [mailto:maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 7, 2017 11:31 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: Harri Hursti <scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
Subject: Re: Sept. 12th meeting

Hello Andrew,
Just FYI, Harri will be sending along his presentation as soon as possible, most likely later tonight or early tomorrow morning.
Best regards,
Margaret MacAlpine

On Wed, Sep 6, 2017 at 2:14 PM, Louis Calderone <louis@nordicinnovationlabs.com> wrote:

> Andrew
>
> Please find the EFT Enrollment Form for Harri Hursti. A separate email will follow with password instructions.
>
> Please contact me if you require any further information.
>
> Regards

Louis Calderone
O 212 849 8226
C [redacted]

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 4:17 PM
To: Harri Hursti; Louis Calderone
Cc: Margaret MacAlpine

Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Hi Louis,

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You can fill out this form and send it back to me, or fax it directly to the GSA using the fax number on the form. If you email it back to me, you'll probably want to encrypt the PDF and send me a password separately, just to be safe.

If you have any questions, just let me know.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack

Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President

Cell: [redacted]

Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 3:39 PM
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To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: Margaret MacAlpine <maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com>

Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Andrew,

I will call you today around noon your time.

...

Sco

On Sep 5, 2017 15:41, "Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP" <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

> Hi Harri,
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> Just circling back to see if you'd be available for a call sometime today. I'm still fairly open, so just let me know what works for you, or feel free to try me on my cell anytime.
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Safe travels, and I'll look forward to speaking with you next week.

Thanks again,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack

Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President

Cell: [redacted]

Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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> Andrew J. Kossack
> Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
> Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
> Cell: [redacted]
> Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

This email has been checked for viruses by Avast antivirus software.
>www.avast.com<

--
Margaret E. MacAlpine
Founding Partner
Nordic Innovation Labs
C [redacted]

>www.nordicinnovationlabs.com<

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/8/2017 3:36:34 PM
To: Margaret MacAlpine [maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
CC: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Thanks, Margaret! We will get this posted.

Looking forward to meeting you both on Tuesday.

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Margaret MacAlpine [mailto:maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Sent: Friday, September 8, 2017 11:13 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: Harri Hursti <scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
Subject: Re: Sept. 12th meeting

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Best regards,
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Sent: Thursday, September 7, 2017 11:31 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: Harri Hursti <scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com>

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> O 212 849 8226
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> Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
>
> Cell: [redacted]
>
> Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov
>
> **From:** Harri Hursti [mailto:scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
> **Sent:** Tuesday, September 5, 2017 8:51 AM
> **To:** Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
> **Cc:** Margaret MacAlpine <maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
>
> **Subject:** RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Andrew,

I will call you today around noon your time.

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Sco

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> Hi Harri,
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> Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
>
> Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
>
> Cell: [redacted]
>
> Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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Sent: Friday, September 1, 2017 9:15 PM
To: 'Harri Hursti' <scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
Cc: maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com
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>>www.avast.com<<

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CC: Margaret MacAlpine [maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
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What is the exact name and description of our panel?

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Sent: 9/8/2017 3:31:15 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
CC: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
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Margaret MacAlpine

On Wed, Sep 6, 2017 at 2:14 PM, Louis Calderone <louis@nordicinnovationlabs.com> wrote:

Andrew

Please find the EFT Enrollment Form for Harri Hursti. A separate email will follow with password instructions.

Please contact me if you require any further information.

Regards

Louis Calderone
O 212 849 8226
C [redacted]

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 4:17 PM
To: Harri Hursti; Louis Calderone
Cc: Margaret MacAlpine

Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

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From: Margaret MacAlpine [maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Sent: 9/8/2017 3:12:52 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
CC: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Subject: Re: Sept. 12th meeting
Attachments: WHP.ppt

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Margaret MacAlpine

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Thank you! If we could get it within the next couple hours, that would be ideal just to ensure we'll have time to post it. Posting things to our webpage is, like everything else around here, quite a bureaucratic process!

Thanks again,
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Sent: Thursday, September 7, 2017 11:31 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
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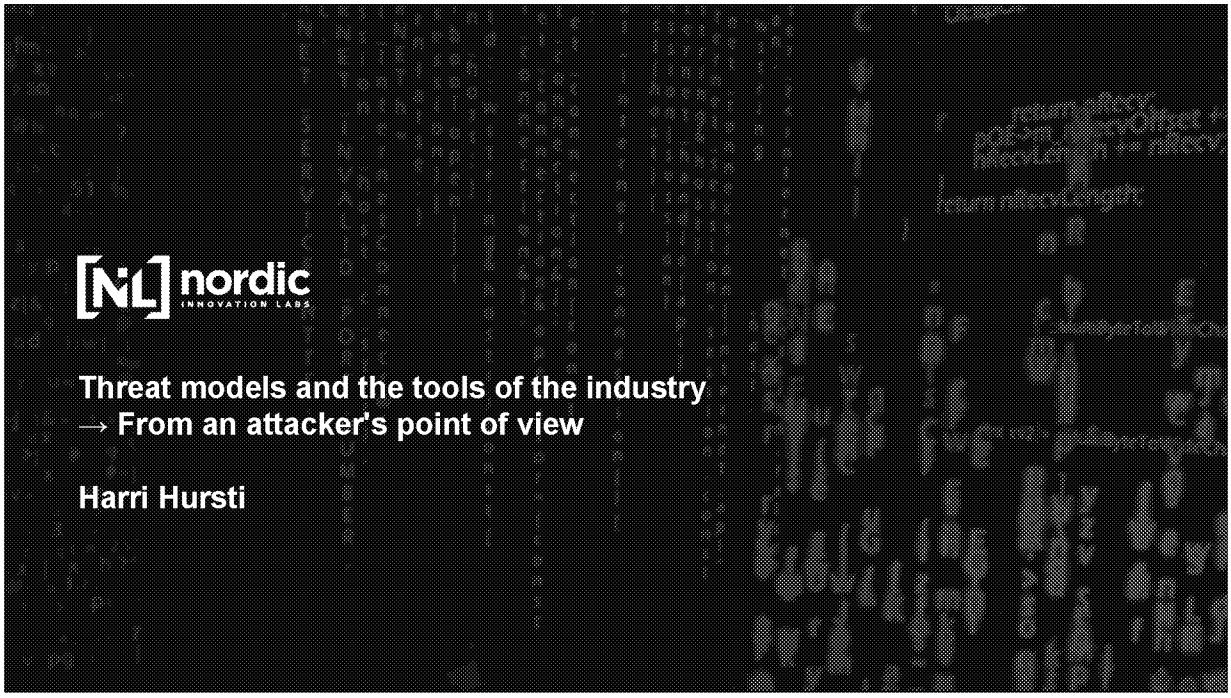

Threat models and the tools of the industry
→ From an attacker's point of view

Harri Hursti

Is our threat model up to date?

... actually it's the wrong threat model

- People outside of the cyber realm have traditionally considered the threat to be a dishonest candidate cheating to win
  - Nation-state attacker motivations are harder to predict than that
  - If the motivation is just to cause distrust and chaos, it opens new attack vectors
- Thinking that hackers cannot do wholesale attacks without the Internet is wrong
  - There are many ways to attack the system on a wholesale basis from the Internet *without* real-time Internet connectivity
  - Even computer viruses infecting consumer computers outdate availability of Internet to the consumers
- The tools are cheap and available to all

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Some attack surfaces

... and sample tools

- USB
  - Central tabulator computers, voting machines and epollbooks all have these
  - Also many voting vendors rely on USB devices in their designs
- WiFi
  - Attacker may be able to leverage personal devices present in sensitive locations as the point to leverage access
- Barcodes
  - Barcodes are used in ballots, and epollbooks can read driving licenses etc

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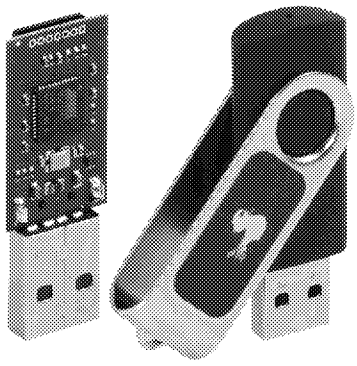
USB is everywhere



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USB is everywhere

... and sometimes hiding in a plain sight

- USB is basically integrated into every device you use
  - Computers
  - USB memory sticks
  - Printers
  - (Video)cameras
  - Mobile phones

- In voting technology they're used to :
  - Store encryption keys
  - Transfer election results from the central tabulator to the reporting system
  - Read and program election information cartridges etc

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USB is everywhere

... and it is never 'just a cable or disk'

- USB device are always controlled by a miniature computer
  - A USB memory stick is an active computer, which responds to the computer's requests to read / write data
  - Even your USB charger is an 'intelligent' device which talks with the device to be charged
  - If the programming of the USB device cannot be trusted, nothing the device communicates can be trusted
    - ... but about half of the devices are reprogrammable
    - ... and the computers like to trust them
    - ... and the standard has serious flaws, the issues are not bugs
    - ... and the devices are unidentifiable from each other
      - the serial number is optional and usually non-existent on many of the devices

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USB is everywhere

... and it can bring many things to the table

- USB device can be from many classes
  - Storage
  - Printer
  - Display
  - Camera
  - Keyboard
  - Mouse
  - Network adaptor (wireless, Ethernet, Bluetooth, whatever)
  - TV/Radio
  - Etc etc etc

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USB is everywhere

... and it is flexible

- It can have many identities and described functionalities
  - I am your Disk and Keyboard with Mouse
- It can change its mind any time
  - USB device can register and de-register itself and the services it provides
    - Become a keyboard only 12 hours after been plugged in, and only for 20 seconds
- USB can register to be a display
  - … and ask to be a mirror display of the primary screen
  - Now it can see everything you see, and either use it for autonomous attacks or send it to the Master
  - … and it has enough horsepower to OCR the content for attack directing

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USB is everywhere

... and it can easily take the control to seriously undermine network security

- As a programmable device, USB device is intelligent
  - malicious features only after trigger activity observed
- USB device can announce itself to be a network device
  - Windows will prefer wireline network connection over wireless
  - ... and then some good old Ethernet spoofing and other fun stuff
- Scenario : USB device spoofs Ethernet adapter
  - USB device replies to DHCP query with DNS evil server on the Internet, but without default gateway
  - Internet traffic is still routed through the normal WiFi connection
  - DNS queries are sent to the evil server, enabling a redirection attack

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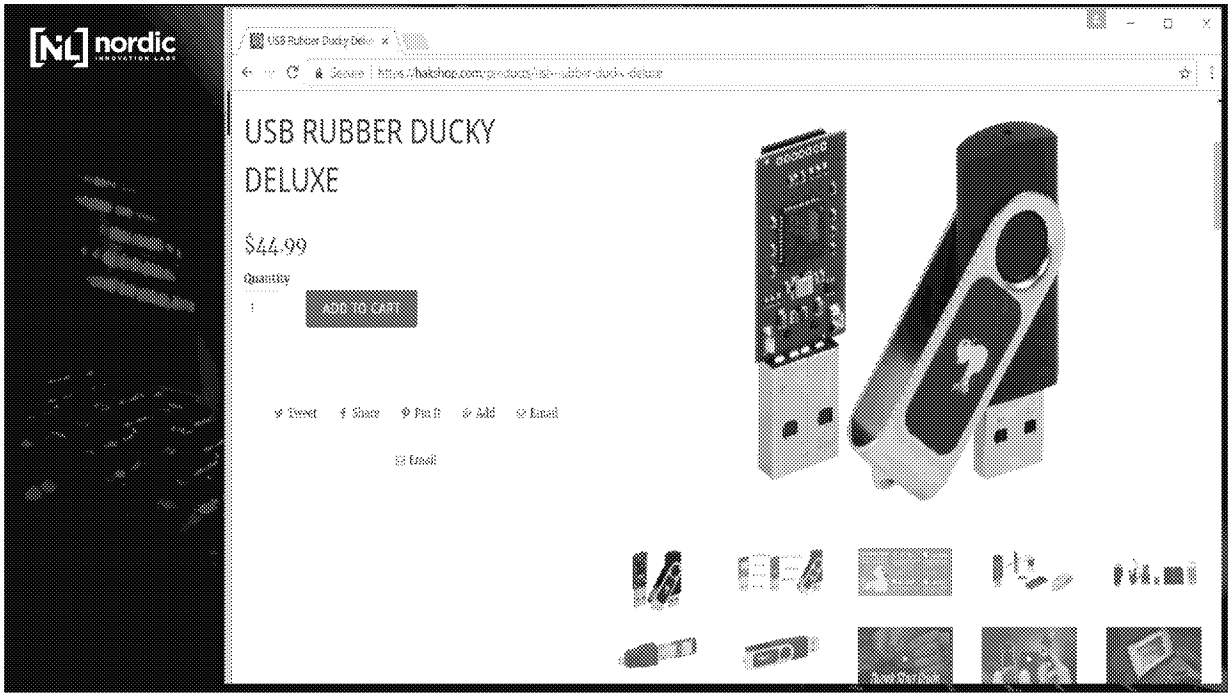
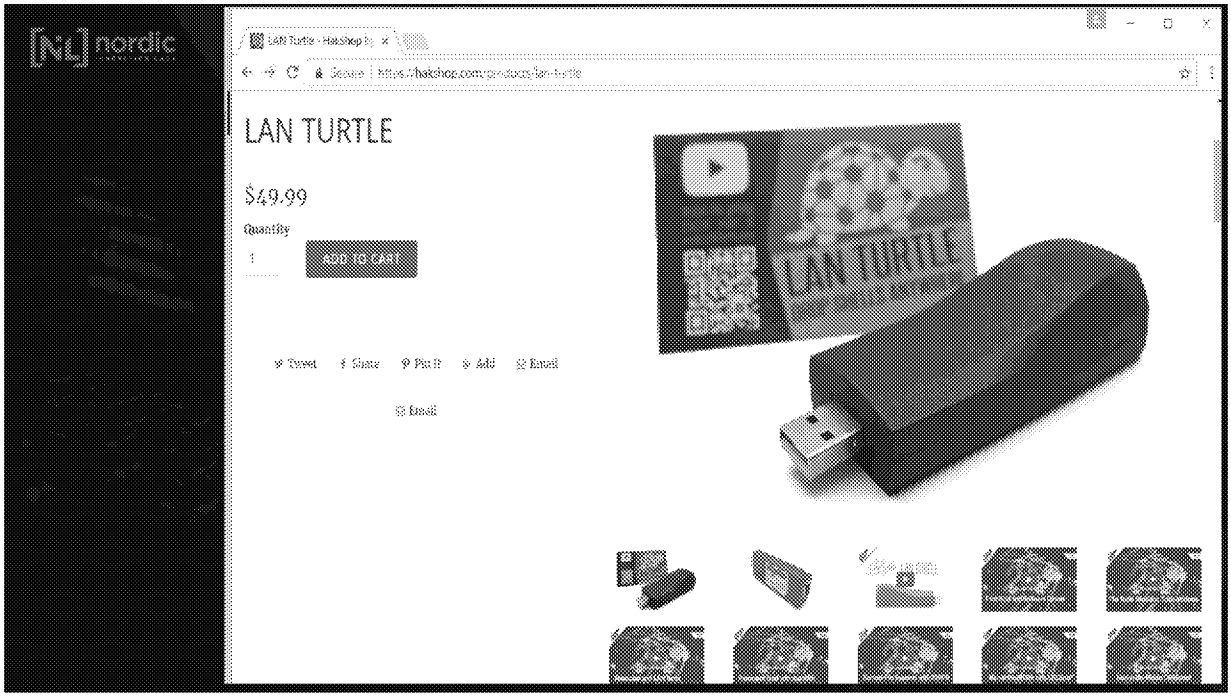

nordic
USB RUBBER DUCKY
DELUXE
$44.99
Quantity
ADD TO CART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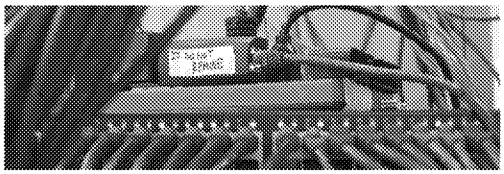
LAN TURTLE
$49.99
Quantity
ADD TO CART
Tweet
Share
Pin It
Add
Email
Email



CONFIGURE MODULES

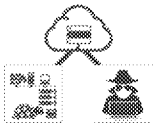
Set it up for Remote Access, Man-in-the-Middle or Network Reconnaissance.

DEPLOY ON LAN

Disguisee as a USB Ethernet Adapter, it easily blends in with your target network.

MAINTAIN ACCESS

Get a shell on your home server or cloud VPS over SSH, OpenVPN, Meterpreter and more.



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Bash Bunny - HakShop
Secure https://hakshop.com/product/bash-bunny
BASH BUNNY
$99.99 $119.99
WORLD'S MOST ADVANCED
USB ATTACK PLATFORM.
Bash Bunny
It opens up attack surfaces that weren't possible before in one single device. Penetration testing attacks and IT automation tasks are all delivered in seconds with the Bash Bunny. By emulating combinations of trusted USB devices — like gigabit Ethernet, serial, flash storage and keyboards - computers are tricked into divulging data, exfiltrating documents, installing backdoors and many more exploits
It features a simple scripting language that you can write in any text editor like notepad. The growing collection of payloads are hosted in a single library – so finding the right attack is quick and easy. Setting up Bash Bunny attacks
Bash Bunny

About barcodes

... can barcodes assist in a jailbreak?

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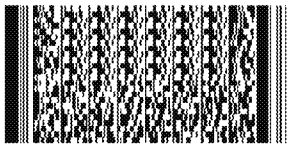
About barcodes

... What is a barcode?

- A barcode is an optical machine-readable representation of data relating to the object to which it is attached;
- Originally barcodes (1D) systematically represented data by varying the widths and spacings of parallel
  - Common misconseption : 1D barcodes are safe and limited compared to 2D barcodes



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- Many barcode scanners are keyboard emulation device
- Some barcode protocols, like Code 128, supports ASCII control characters
  - Almost every barcode scanner supports Code 128 by default
- Almost every barcode scanner has its own additional keyboard emulation features
- Common Hotkeys registered by many programs, like: CTRL+O, CTRL+P can be sent directly
- ADF (Advanced Data Formatting) makes it possible to also send GUI+ keys and for example "right shift"
- Very often reading a barcode is the equivalent of letting something unknown be typed with the keyboard!

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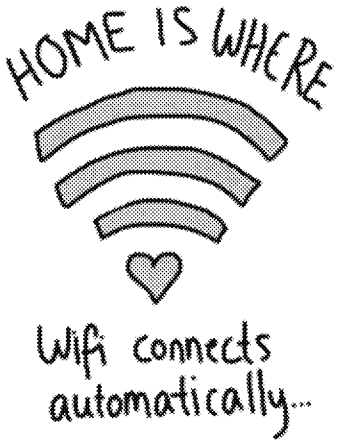
Crash into the WiFi world

WiFi is everywhere

- WiFi is extremely convenient
- One can set their devices to automatically pair with the office network and other networks frequently visited
  - The devices automatically connect into paired networks
- WiFi is an attack surface almost always
  - If the target system does not have WiFi, the people around the system do have wireless devices which may be useful for the attacker to gain intelligence and/or a beachhead to carry out an attack



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Crash into the WiFi world

WiFi management is not secure

- Management frames :
  - Define network SSID, crypto (beacons)
  - Control client access (probe request, response)
- *Not authenticated*
- *Not encrypted*
- New standards seek to address this in the future

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Crash into the WiFi world

How does it connect?

- Finding a WiFi network is really easy
- Networks are really noisy (radios are noisy by design)
  - Access point beacon talks all the time, up to 10x a second
  - Even 'hidden' networks make noise when someone talks to it
- No way to really hide

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Crash into the WiFi world

How does it connect?

- Clients constantly look for networks to join
- And often tell us every network they'd like to see (every network they are paired with)
  - Just as easy to find as networks
  - … and they get very noisy when they cannot find a network to join
- Also they are very trusting, way too trusting
  - If network answers 'I am foo', it must be foo. Right?
    - So if an attacker has a stronger radio than your real Access Point
      - You may not be talking to who you think you're talking to
- EvilAP also called as Evil Twin or Bad Karma
  - Answer ALL probe requests as the ultimate Yes Man
    - Are you “Free Public Wifi”? Sure am.
    - Are you “My Secure Corporate Network”? Yup!

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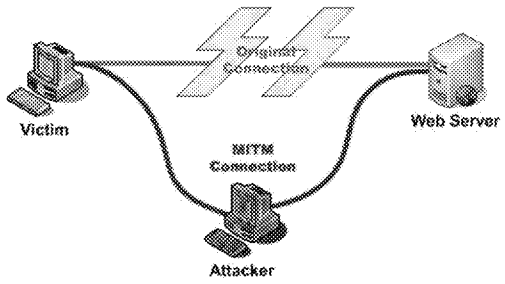
Crash into WiFi world

Disruption can a step on the way

- If one first sets up Evil AP
  - … and then spoofs real AP asking clients to disconnect
  - … and then the clients automatically reconnect



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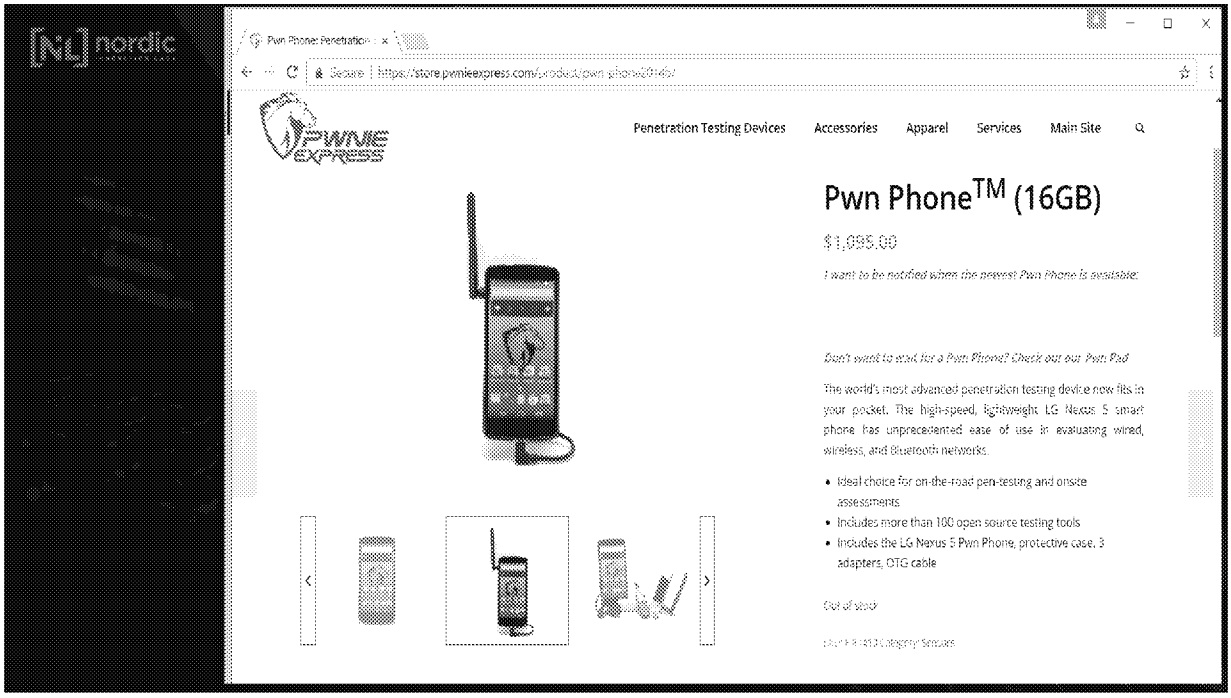
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Pwn Phone: Penetration
Secure | https://store.pwnieexpress.com/product/pwn-phone-16gb
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Accessories
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Main Site
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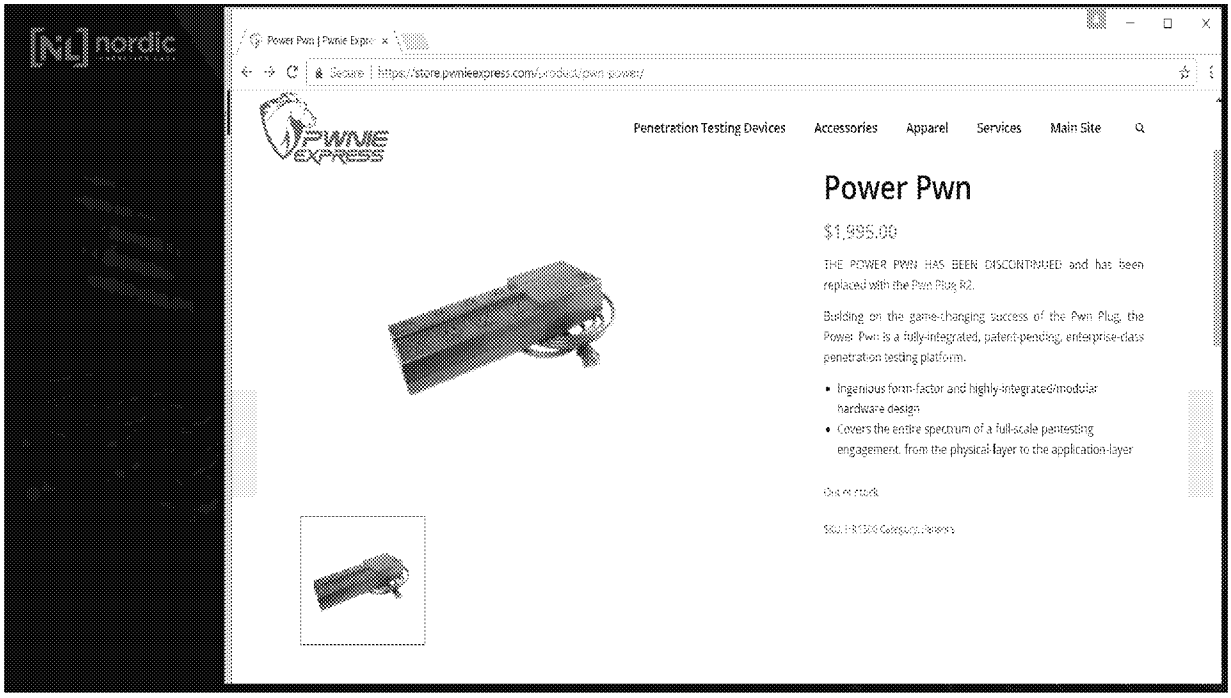
$1,095.00
I want to be notified when the newest Pwn Phone is available.
Don't want to wait for a Pwn Phone? Check out our Pwn Pad
The world's most advanced penetration testing device now fits in your pocket. The high-speed, lightweight LG Nexus 5 smart phone has unprecedented ease of use in evaluating wired, wireless, and Bluetooth networks.
• Ideal choice for on-the-road pen-testing and onsite assessments
• Includes more than 100 open source testing tools
• Includes the LG Nexus 5 Pwn Phone, protective case, 3 adapters, OTG cable
Out of stock
Category: Sensors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Apparel
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THE POWER PWN HAS BEEN DISCONTINUED and has been replaced with the Pwn Plug R2.
Building on the game-changing success of the Pwn Plug, the Power Pwn is a fully-integrated, patent-pending, enterprise-class penetration testing platform.
• Ingenious form-factor and highly-integrated/modular hardware design
• Covers the entire spectrum of a full-scale pentesting engagement, from the physical-layer to the application-layer
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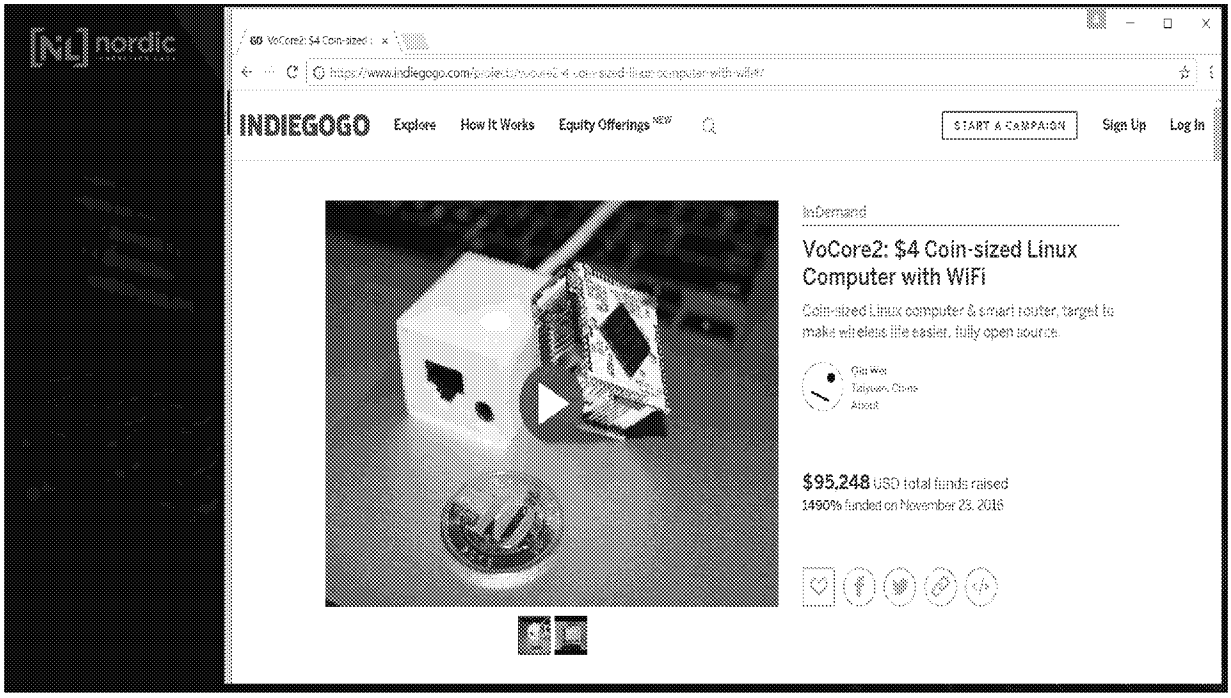
SKU: PR1208 Categories: Pwnies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Explore
How It Works
Equity Offerings NEW
START A CAMPAIGN
Sign Up
Log In
InDemand
VoCore2: $4 Coin-sized Linux Computer with WiFi
Coin-sized Linux computer & smart router, target to make wireless life easier, fully open source
$95,248 USD total funds raised
1490% funded on November 23, 2016

Thank you!

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Message

From: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Sent: 9/5/2017 12:51:02 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
CC: Margaret MacAlpine [maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Andrew,

I will call you today around noon your time.

...
Sco

On Sep 5, 2017 15:41, "Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP" <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

Hi Harri,

Just circling back to see if you'd be available for a call sometime today. I'm still fairly open, so just let me know what works for you, or feel free to try me on my cell anytime.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack

Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President

Cell: [redacted]

Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Friday, September 1, 2017 9:15 PM
To: 'Harri Hursti' <scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
Cc: maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Thanks, Harri. Sorry I missed you before you left for your trip, but I appreciate the response. We are grateful for your willingness to participate on the 12th.

A call on Tuesday would be great. I'm open at this point, so feel free to pick a time that works for you and I'll plan on that. I don't think it'll take more than a few minutes.

Safe travels, and I'll look forward to speaking with you next week.

Thanks again,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack

Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President

Cell: [redacted]

Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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Sent: Friday, September 1, 2017 6:33 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com
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Andrew,

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Sent: 9/5/2017 12:56:08 PM
To: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
CC: Margaret MacAlpine [maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Perfect. Talk to you then. Thanks so much.

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Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 8:51 AM
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Sent: 9/5/2017 8:17:53 PM
To: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]; Louis Calderone [Louis@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
CC: Margaret MacAlpine [maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting
Attachments: EFT_Enrollment_Form.pdf

Hi Louis,

Nice to meet you via email. Attached is a form for booking the travel service through the General Services Administration. We'll just need to get this on file so we can enter Harri into the travel system. Once that's processed, Harri or you can work directly with GSA's travel agent to book whatever travel he needs.

You can fill out this form and send it back to me, or fax it directly to the GSA using the fax number on the form. If you email it back to me, you'll probably want to encrypt the PDF and send me a password separately, just to be safe.

If you have any questions, just let me know.

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Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 3:39 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>; Louis Calderone <Louis@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
Cc: Margaret MacAlpine <maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
Subject: Re: Sept. 12th meeting

Andrew,
Louis,

Louis, Andrew Kossack is Executive Director of Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity. Would you please take care of any paperwork needed for reimbursement of an upcoming event.

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> Andrew J. Kossack
> Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
> Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
> Cell: [redacted]
> Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/6/2017 12:15:02 PM
To: Harri Hursti [scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
CC: Margaret MacAlpine [maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Hi Harri,

The panel is titled, "Electronic Voting Systems and Election Integrity – A Primer." I should be able to share a full agenda sometime later today, but if you have any other questions in the meantime, just let me know.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Harri Hursti [mailto:scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 6, 2017 3:07 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: Margaret MacAlpine <maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com>
Subject: Re: Sept. 12th meeting

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From: Harri Hursti [mailto:scofield@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 8:51 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: Margaret MacAlpine <maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com>

Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Andrew,

I will call you today around noon your time.

...

Sco

On Sep 5, 2017 15:41, "Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP" <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

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CC: Margaret MacAlpine [maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com]
Subject: RE: Sept. 12th meeting

Andrew,

Thanks - just looking if it is possible to prepare few slides before your deadline to send those out.

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Sco

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Sent: 9/1/2017 10:32:31 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
CC: maggie@nordicinnovationlabs.com
Subject: Re: Sept. 12th meeting

Flag: Follow up

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Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

Message

From: [redacted]
on behalf of Ronald L. Rivest [rivest@mit.edu]
Sent: 9/13/2017 1:35:27 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]; Anthony Stevens [Anthony.Stevens@sos.nh.gov]
Subject: Re: Tomorrow's Meeting
Attachments: 2017-09-12-rivest-for-pacei-nh-mtg.pdf; 2017-09-12-rivest-for-pacei-nh-mtg.ppt

Hi Andrew (with cc to Anthony Stevens) --

Pleasure to meet you today! A very interesting meeting!
Thanks for your help in making it happen.

I'm writing to give you an updated copy of my slides, both in ppt and in pdf format. The "slides" themselves are unchanged, aside from fixing a typo (I had "John Sununu" where I should have had "Chris Sununu".) But in addition to the slides, these now have the "notes" section included, from which I was reading today as the slides were presented.

If you are posting the slides, feel free to post these instead of (or in addition to) the slides you already posted. I'm not sure what your "records requirements" say... You did get the slides themselves in advance, and these slides (aside from the typo fix) are just the same, with an extension of the slides to include what I actually said today. Feel free to use them (or post them), or not, as you see best...

Thanks again!

Cheers,
Ron

On Mon, Sep 11, 2017 at 8:25 PM, Ronald L. Rivest <rivest@mit.edu> wrote:
Hi Andrew --

Thanks!

Any further guidance on the time we will have available for our presentations?

I just timed mine, which came in at 17 minutes... ??

Cheers,
Ron

On Mon, Sep 11, 2017 at 7:40 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:
Dear Presenters,

Welcome to New Hampshire! Here are a few details for tomorrow's meeting.

Please try to arrive at St. Anselm's by 8:30 a.m. The address is 8 St. Anselm Drive, Manchester, NH 03102. The Institute's auditorium is near the corner of St. Anselm Drive and Rockland Avenue.

Parking is limited, so please make every effort to use cabs, other public transportation, or carpool. I have attached a parking pass for those who will be driving. If you do not have the ability to print this parking pass, please call me or Ron Williams (Ron's cell is [redacted]) when you arrive and we can bring one out to you.

Again, for your reference, meeting materials are posted here: https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-advisory-commission-election-integrity-resources.

If you have any questions or concerns, please call.

Thanks again!
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

-----Original Message-----
From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Friday, September 8, 2017 2:22 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Meeting Materials for Sept. 12th

Thank you again for participating in the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity's meeting on September 12th. We look forward to your presentation.

I've attached the meeting materials for next week's meeting for your review. Please let us know if there are any issues with your materials, or if you have any additional materials you'd like to present to the Commission. We're in the process of posting the attached materials now, and will need to post any additional materials before close of business today.

If you have any questions, please let me know.

Again, thank you!
Andrew

--
Ronald L. Rivest
Room 32-G692, Stata Center, MIT, Cambridge MA 02139
Tel 617-253-5880, Email <rivest@mit.edu>
>http://people.csail.mit.edu/<rivest

--
Ronald L. Rivest
Room 32-G692, Stata Center, MIT, Cambridge MA 02139
Tel 617-253-5880, Email <rivest@mit.edu>
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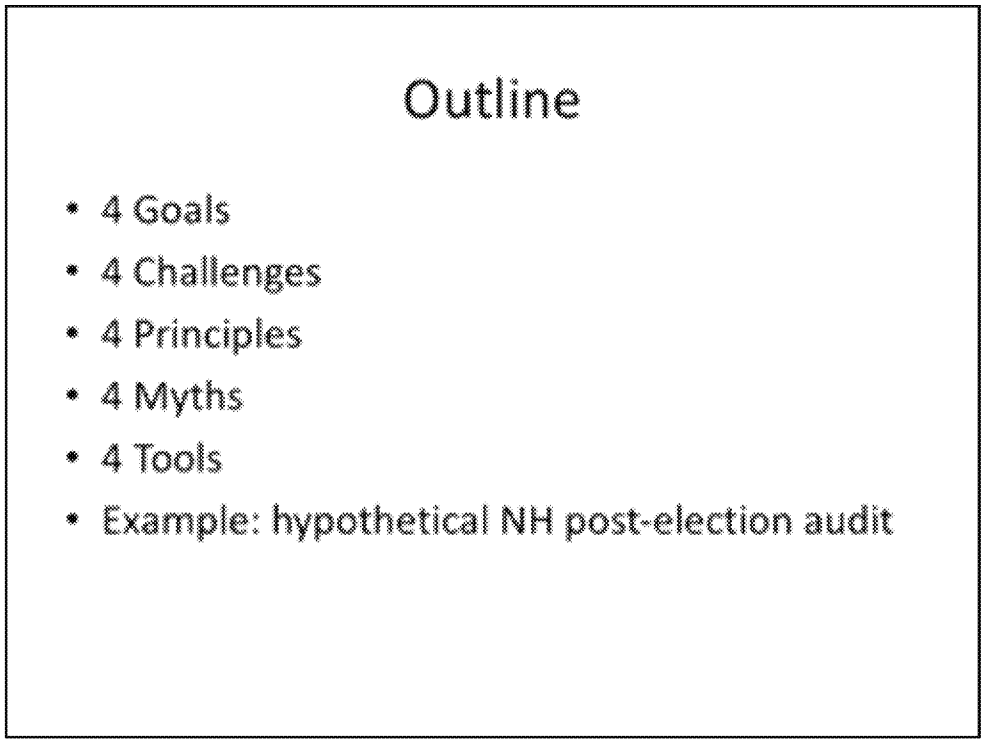
I'd like to begin by thanking the committee co-chairs Mike Pence and Kris Kobach, as well as NH SOS Bill Gardner, for inviting

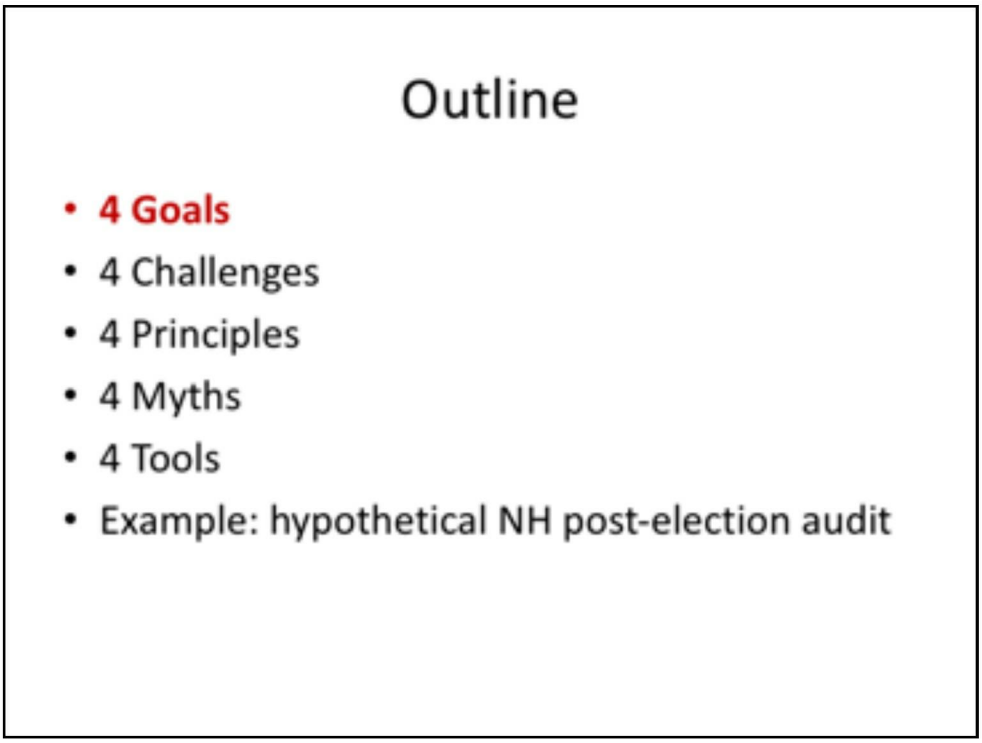
me to testify today. My name is Ron Rivest. I am an Institute Professor at MIT, specializing in computer security, algorithms, cryptography, and election integrity. I have founded two companies in the security area.

I served on TGDC, advisory to the Election Assistance Commission, from 2004--2009, and was chair of the subcommittee on security and transparency. I am a member of the CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project, and on the Board of Verified Voting.



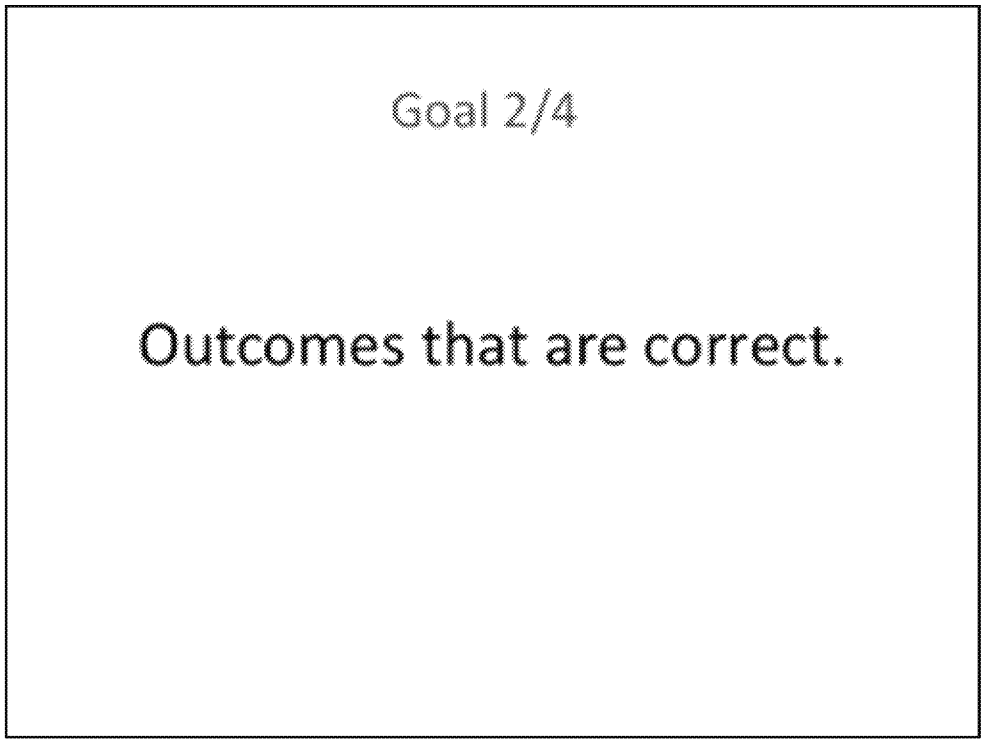
I've arranged my remarks on election integrity into five sections,

on goals, challenges, principles, myths, and tools, and a final section illustrating a hypothetical post-election audit on the most recent race for Governor in the state of NH.

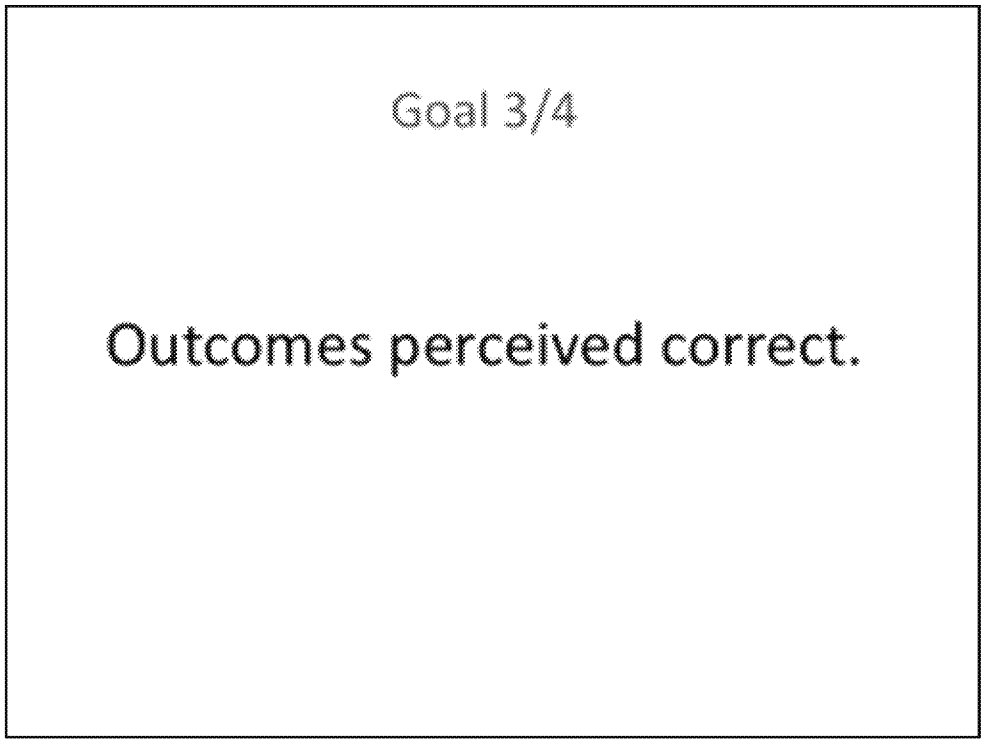


Let's start with four goals.

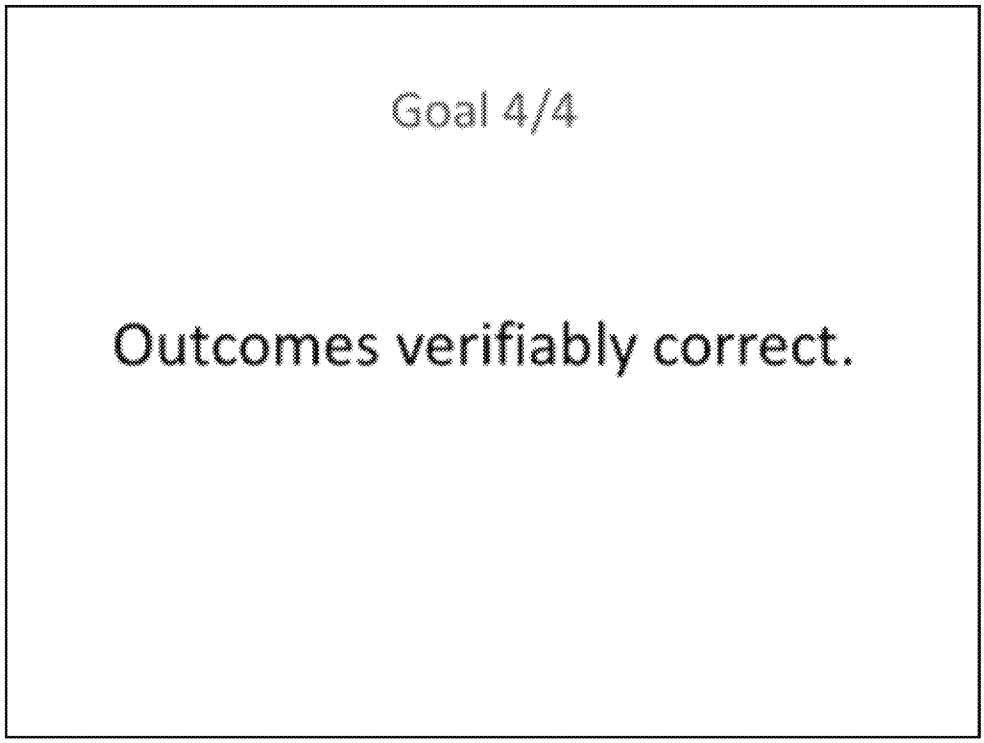
At the highest level, we wish to improve security of our voting systems. Security means, among other things, that every eligible voter is able to vote, is able to cast a vote as intended, and that election outcomes are accurate. I take a "process view" of voting: voting is not a "problem to be solved", but a "process to be continually improved". The way that the FAA manages airline security is a possible role model, since security against attack is a major concern in both cases. But voting is different: unlike air flight, a major voting disaster might be "silent": the wrong person might be elected and no one knows. One goal is thus to ensure that there are no such "silent disasters".



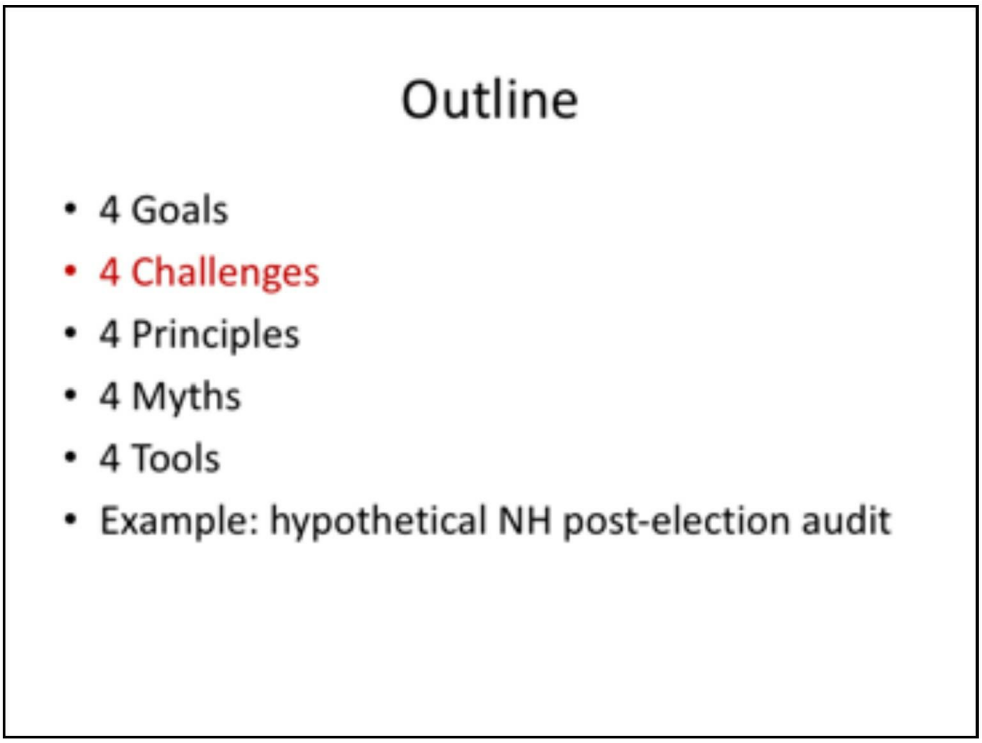
Let us focus on getting outcomes that are correct. Suppose we had a magic trained gorilla who, given a pile of ballots, would pick out one with the majority winner. We'd be getting the right answer, but... would this continue to happen? Computers are a lot like this "magic gorilla"... Stalin said, "The people who cast the votes decide nothing. The people who count the votes decide everything." Do we have to trust a gorilla? Or a computer?



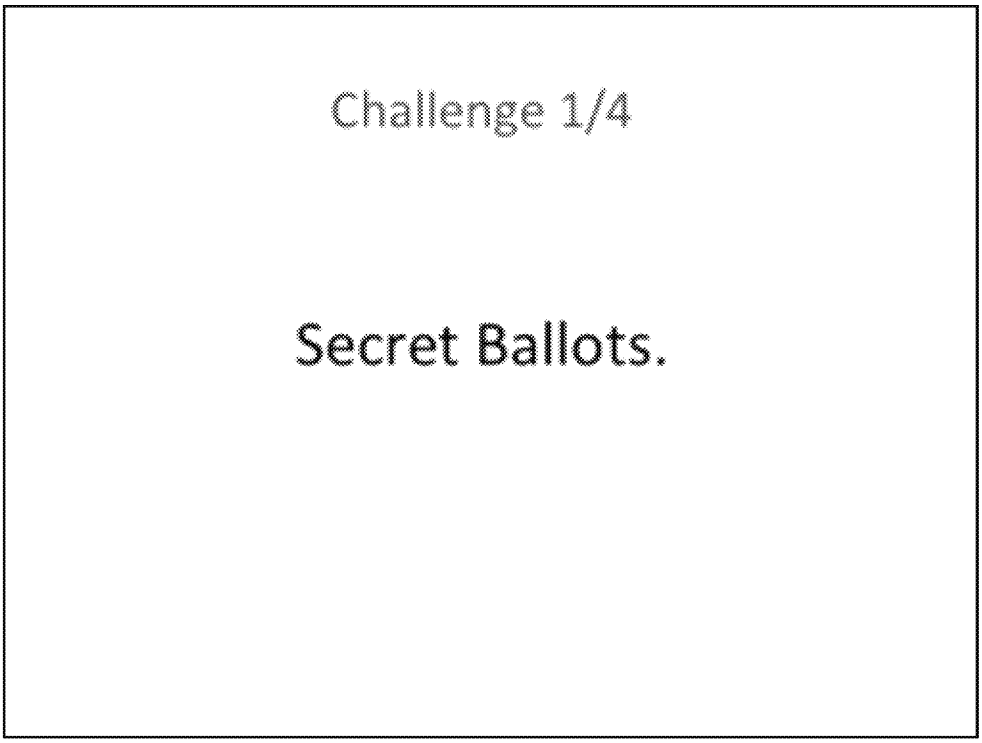
For democracy to work, election outcomes must not only be correct, but must also be perceived to be correct. In particular, the loser and his/her supporters have to be convinced that they "lost fair and square". A gorilla isn't very convincing. Neither is a computer. Folks often trust that election outcomes are correct because they trust election officials, their procedures, and the vendors of voting computers. But such trust is hard to come by, and in any case is generic rather than specific to a particular election outcome.



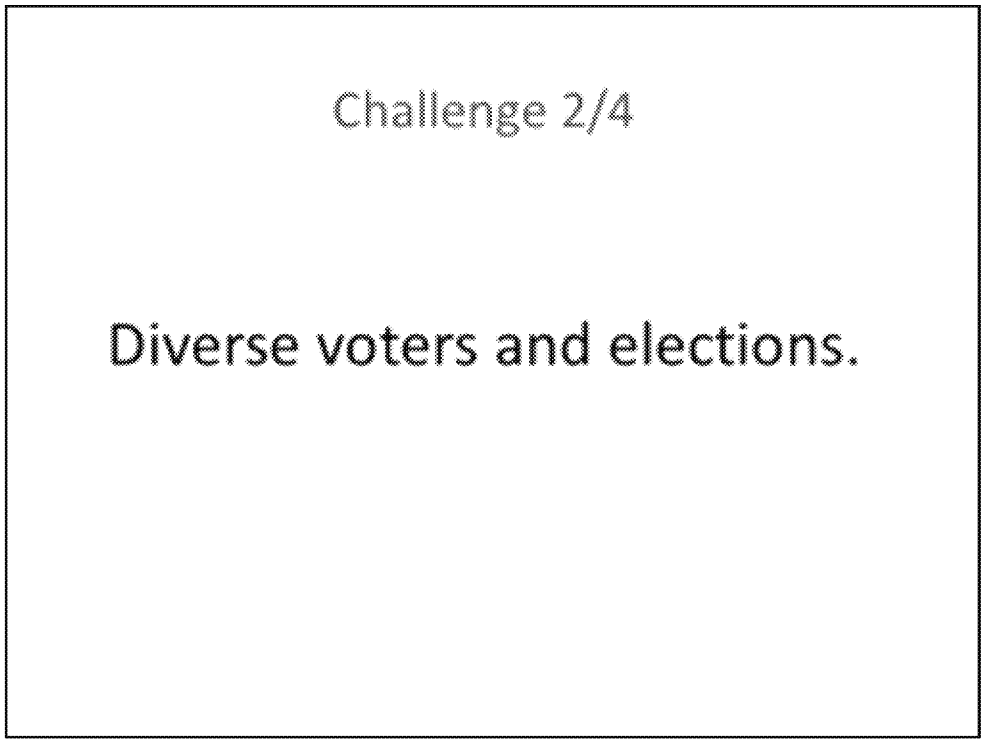
So, we refine this goal once again. The ideal would be to allow each particular election outcome to be verified by anyone, including the losing candidates. Such verification requires credible evidence. Thus, an election must produce not only correct outcomes, but also convincing evidence that those outcomes are correct. I'll say that again, since it is perhaps my most important point. An election must produce not only correct outcomes, but also convincing evidence that those outcomes are correct. One form of credible evidence is a carefully curated paper trail consisting of voter-verified paper ballots.



Let's look at four challenges to achieving these goals.



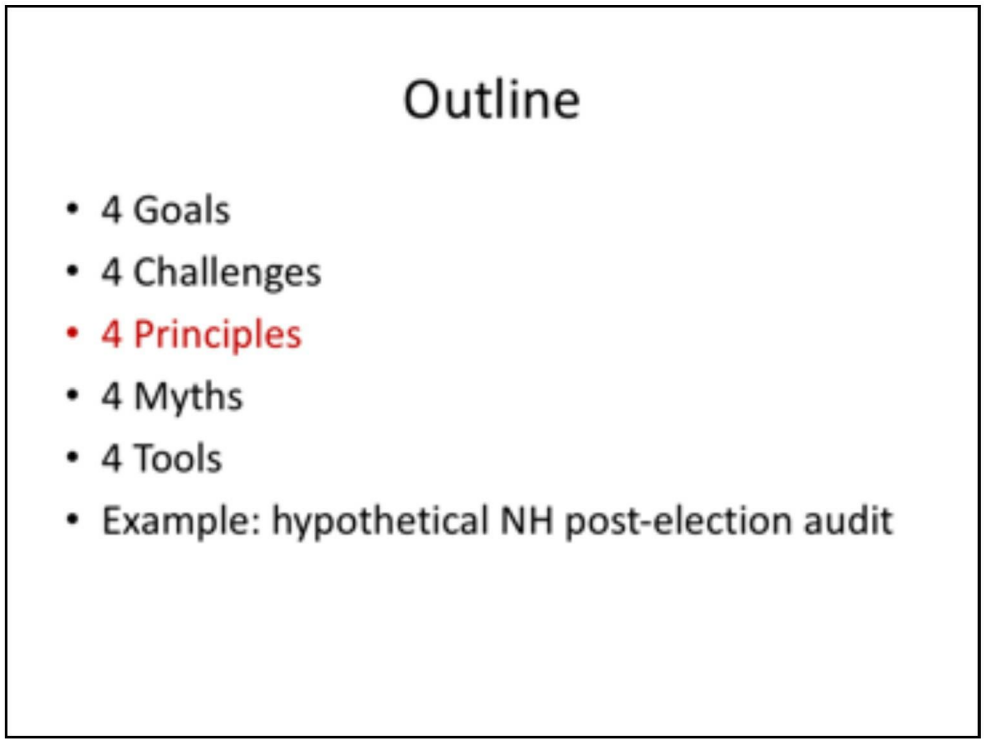
The most severe challenge to election security is ... the secret ballot. It is sensible to run an election so that no one can tell how a voter voted, even if the voter wishes it; this prevents vote-buying. Most countries have secret-ballot elections; the US has had them since the 1890s. But once ballots are decoupled from the identities of their voters, they are subject to manipulation and even wholesale replacement. The secret ballot thus distinguishes voting from say banking, where the identities of the parties to a transaction are always recorded in the audit trail.



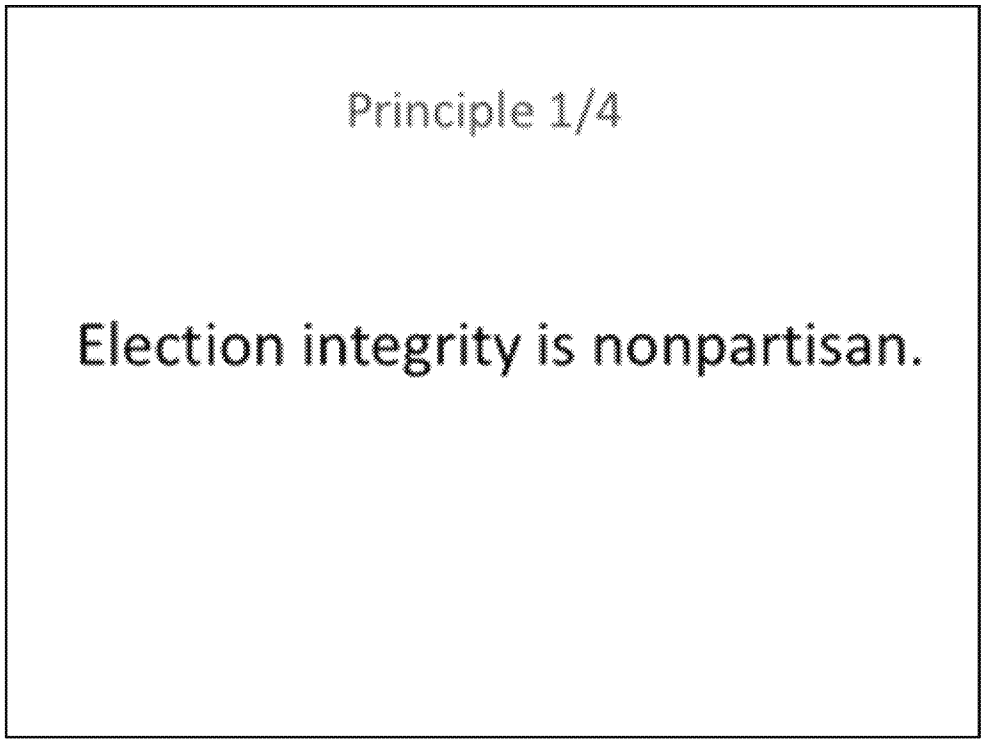
Diverse voters and elections. US elections are incredibly ambitious. Elections are complex due to poll-site voting, vote-by-mail, provisional ballots, support for voters with disabilities, large ballots, complex voting methods such as IRV, and voter registration databases. Election integrity methods must produce evidence for correct election outcomes for all of these complexities.

We've always had adversaries---mostly insiders trying to stuff the ballot box. Today our voting systems are also under attack from foreign states and foreign actors. Moreover, these adversaries may be exceptionally well staffed, well-funded, and persistent. Bob Morris, Sr. (NSA) said, "You will always underestimate the amount of time and effort an adversary will devote to breaking your system." We should think of an Adversary not as a couple guys in a garage, but as an army of thousands of well-trained military folks who work 24/7 for years to disrupt and destroy American democracy. We can put a man on the Moon, if no one is shooting at us. We can elect a President, but only if our election systems can withstand attack. Moreover, no individual should be assumed to be above suspicion. The evidence should still show that the election outcome is correct, without having to trust any particular individuals or computers.

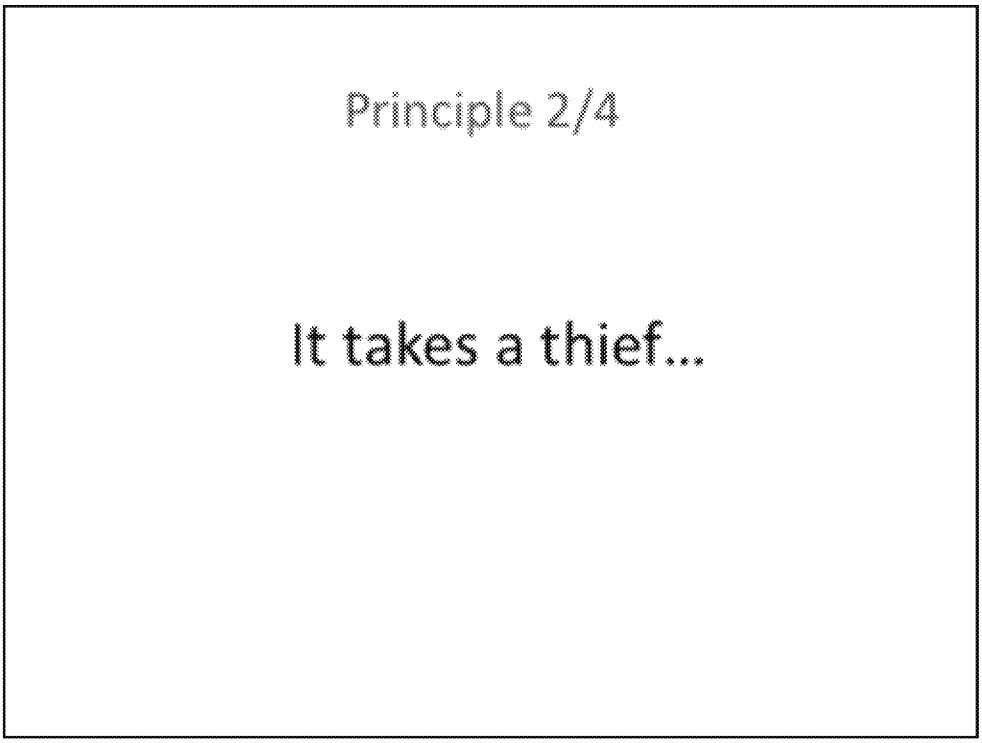
Election integrity doesn't come for free. Evidence must be generated, collected, and evaluated. Improved integrity may incur greater cost, may yield slower results, and may impact usability. Additional mechanisms for security will increase overall system complexity. Tradeoffs are inherent in any voting system. In the end, we still "want our lunch" -- that is, we want verifiably correct election outcomes. Research helps guide the way for doing so with minimal negative impact.



What principles might we keep in mind as we try to resolve these conflicts and achieve our goals?

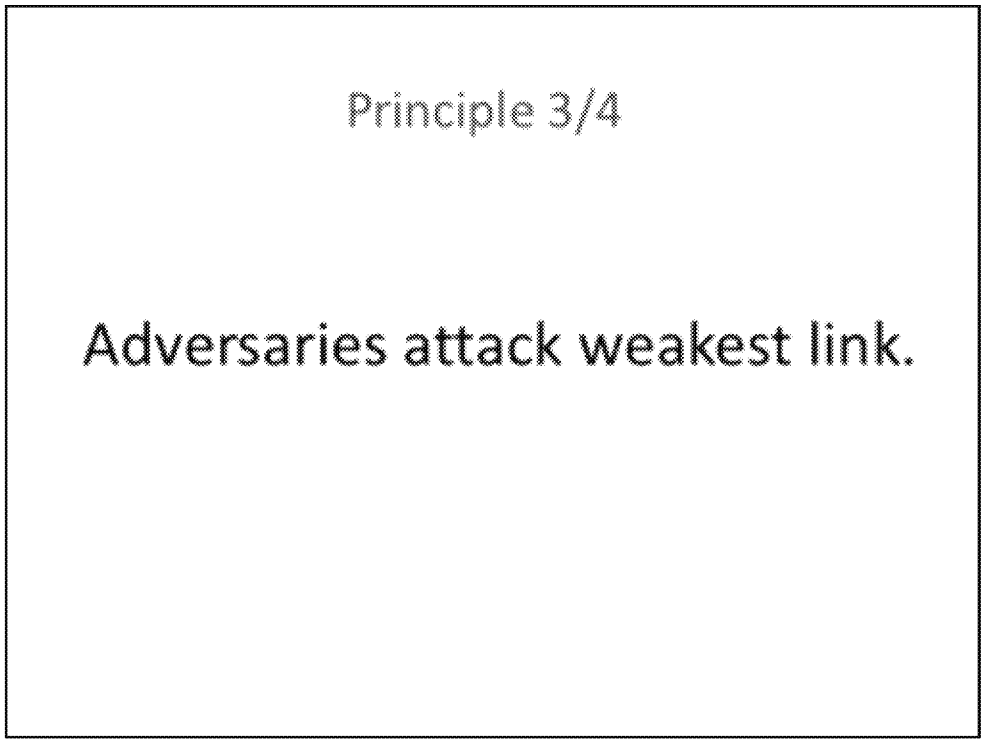


Election integrity is nonpartisan. Democracy is a blessing we all enjoy, independent of party. The party that is "in" one year may be "out" on the next election. Adversaries may favor one side or the other, and that may change. I wouldn't be surprised to hear that Putin is now supporting the Democrats. We need to ensure that the mechanics of democracy run well and run fairly, without manipulation by anyone, no matter which party is running the country.

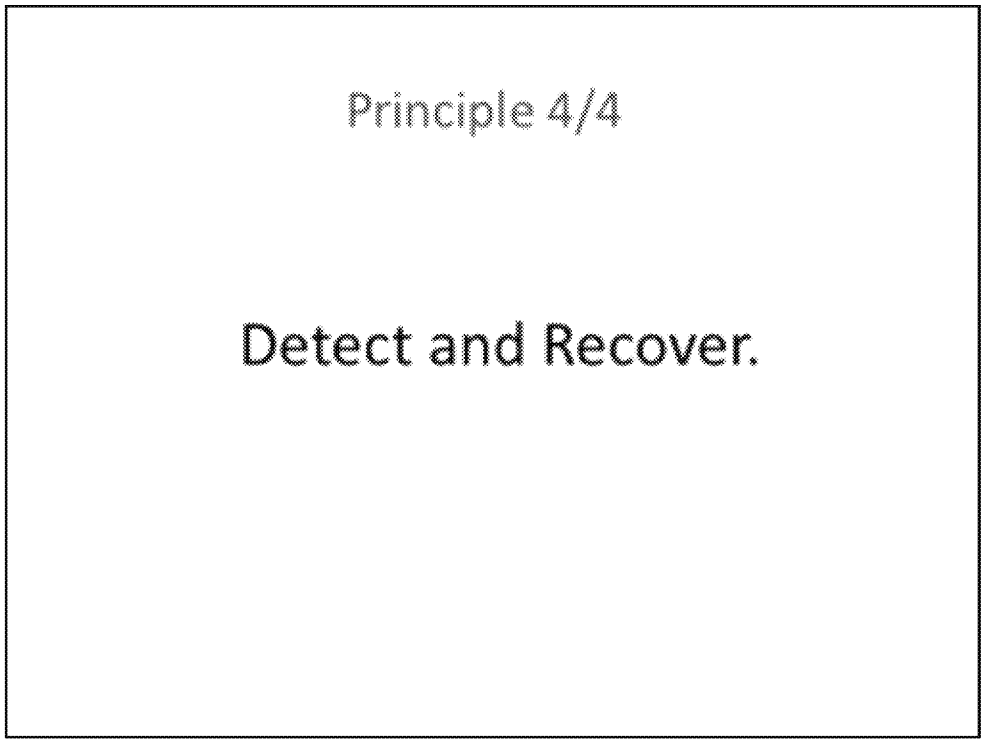


"It takes a thief... to catch a thief."

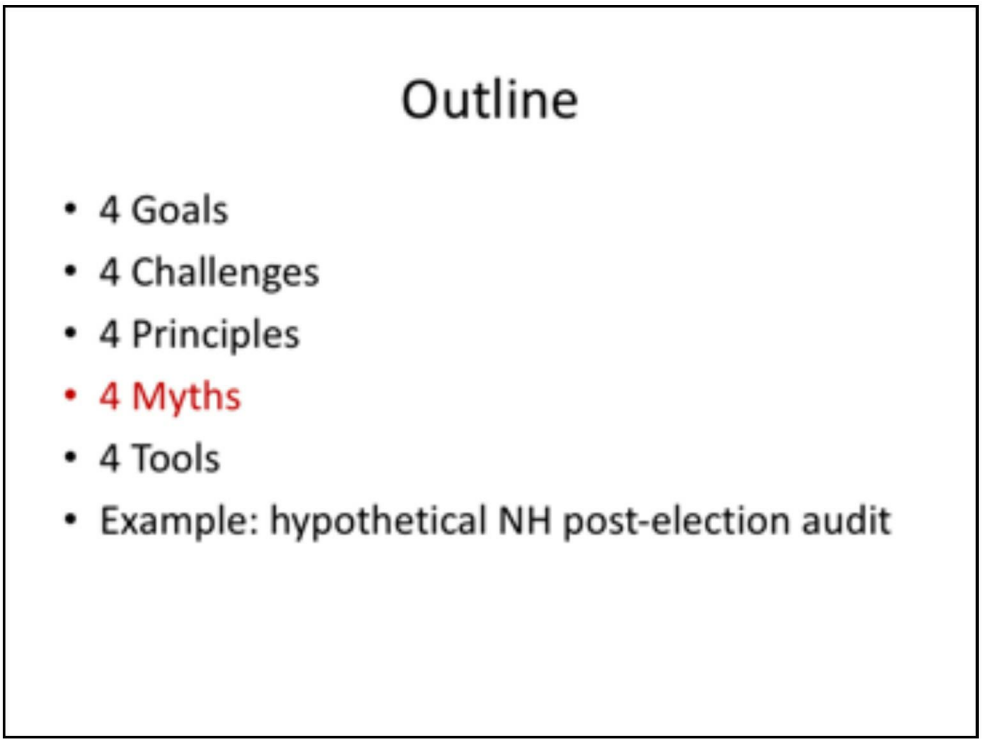
As I tell my students: to achieve security, you must "think like an Adversary". Harri Hursti and Professor Appel, on this panel, are among the best in the world at doing so. Events such as the recent DefCon "Voting Village" and the 2007 California "Top to Bottom Review" show how quickly and effectively some recent voting systems can be compromised. Thinking like an Adversary involves considering chance of success, chance of detection, and cost. An adversary may favor "wholesale fraud" (changing thousands of votes in a computer) over "retail fraud" (buying or changing votes one at a time).



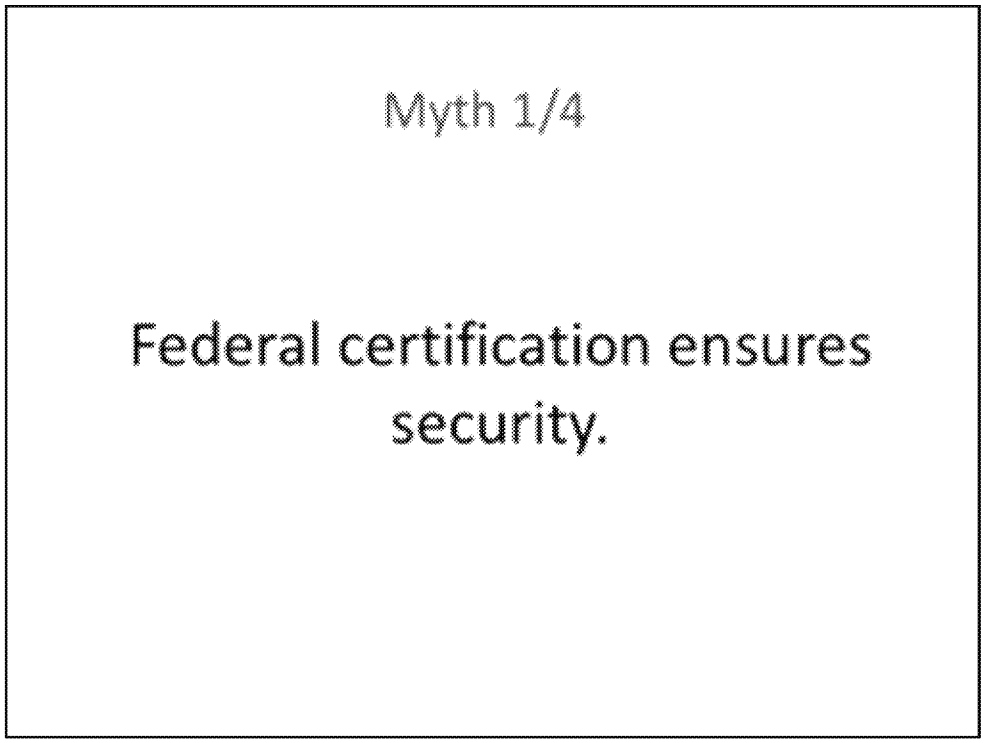
An Adversary is most likely to find a "weakest link" and exploit it. It may be easier to corrupt a vendor than to corrupt 8000 election jurisdictions. It may be easier to corrupt a voter-registration database than to corrupt the tabulation system. Software is notoriously fragile: a voting system may have millions of lines of code (more than there are voters!), many of which may be "weak links". (Commercial code routinely has several bugs per thousand lines of code, in spite of best efforts.) That is why we might think of software as "the gorilla", and aim for voting systems that are "software independent" (where we don't have to trust the gorilla).



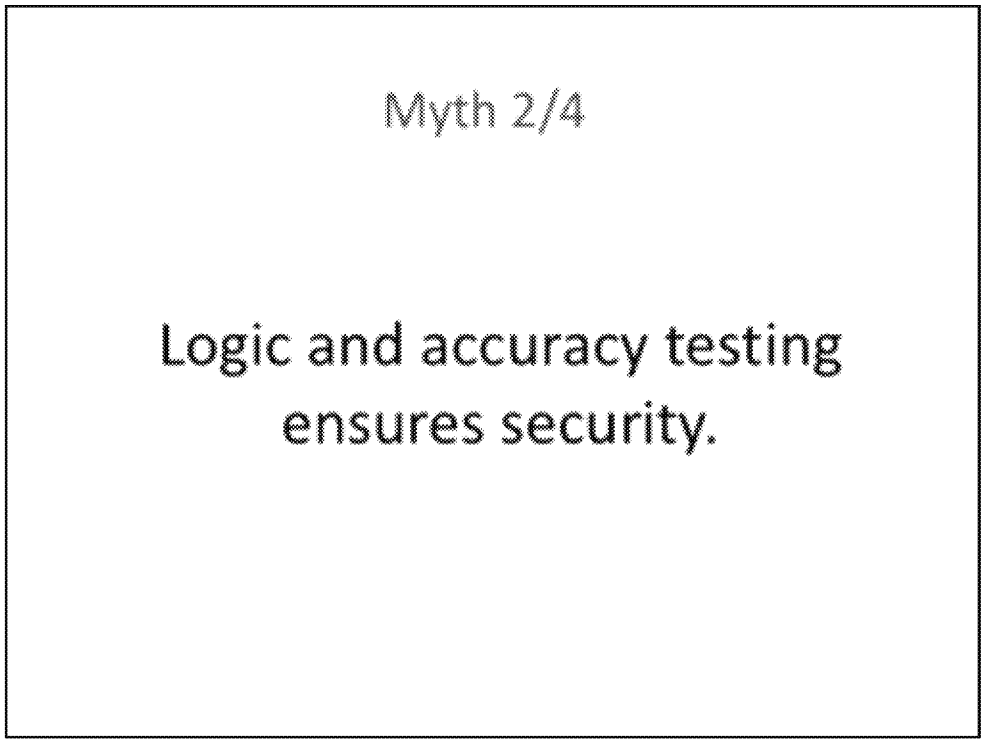
Security mechanisms come in two forms: "prevention" and "detection". Prevention mechanisms try to keep bad things from happening. "Detection" mechanisms try to detect when something bad has happened. Both mechanisms are good and may be used together, but prevention methods frequently fail silently. A detection mechanism can tell you something has gone wrong, and allow you to invoke an associated "recovery" method. As we shall see, a post-election audit is an excellent and simple detection mechanism, with a full hand recount serving as the associated recovery method.



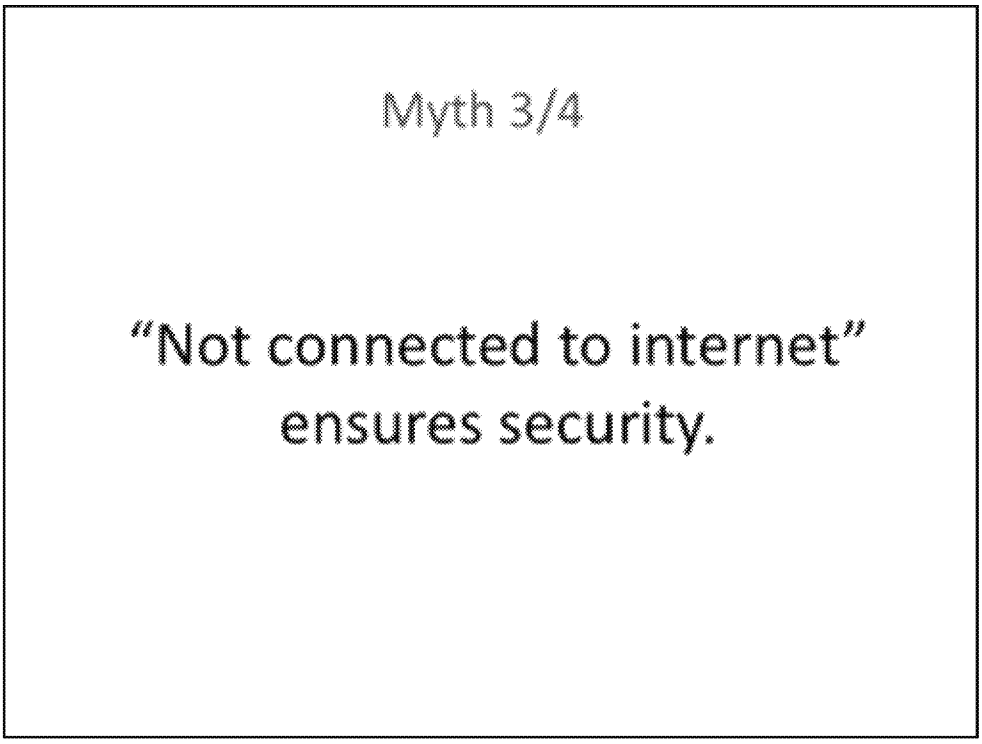
Let's move on to "myths". It is way too easy to infer that a voting system is secure, based on false assumptions or erroneous rules of thumb.



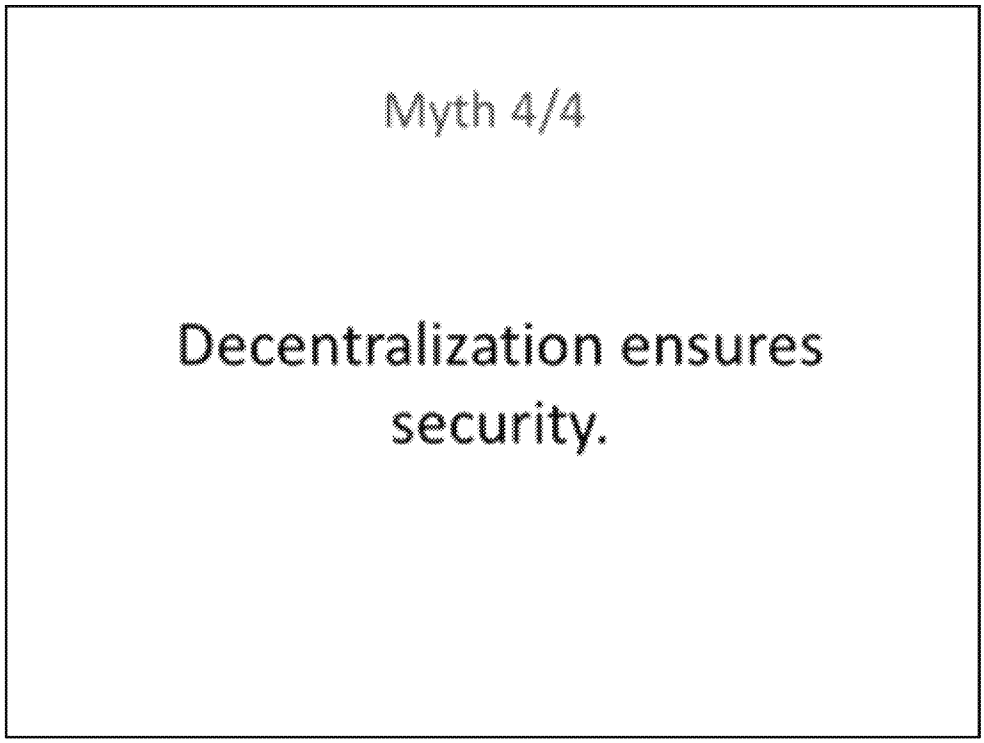
Myth number one: Federal certification ensures security. I was chair of the TGDC "Security and Privacy" subcommittee from 2004--2009; I have some understanding of the certification process. The current certification process is better than nothing, but is hardly an assurance of security, any more than a military parade inspection ensures that an army is ready for battle. Furthermore, there is little or nothing done to check that the voting system software running is even the voting system software that was certified. You can't trust a voting system just because it is certified.



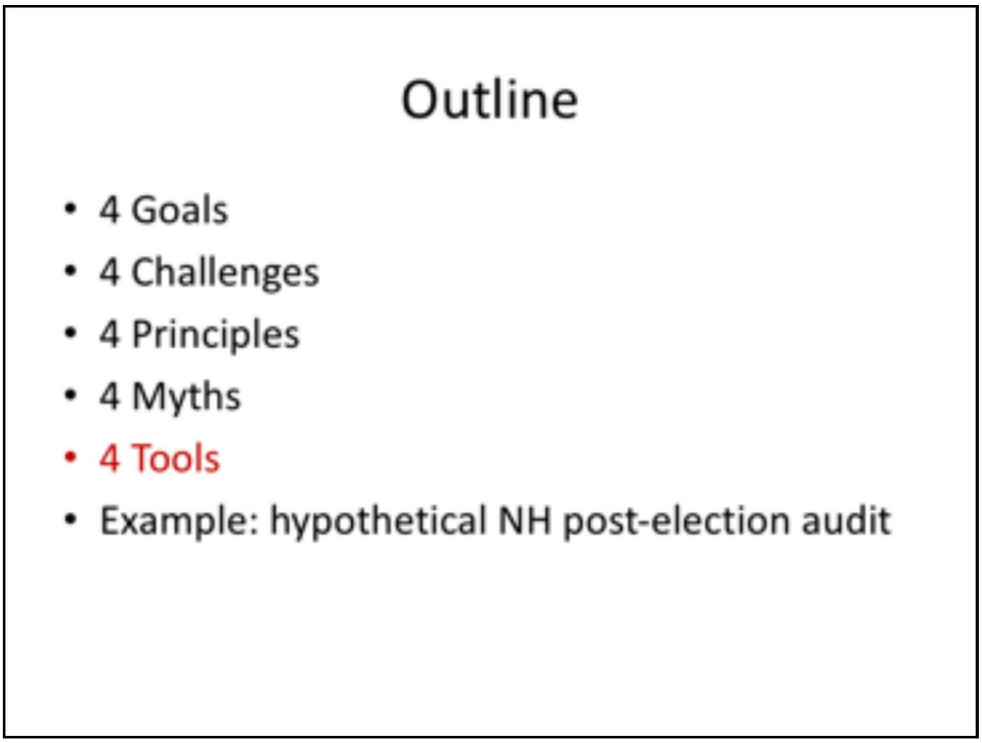
Myth number two: Logic and Accuracy Testing ensures security. Before an election, officials check that a voting system is capable of correctly tabulating a "test deck" of sample ballots. As Professor Appel has argued, such a test is more of a sanity check than any proof that the system is secure. A voting system may easily pass such a logic and accuracy test and then miscount or mis-record the actual ballots.



Myth number three: "Not connected to the internet" ensures security. This is perhaps the most dangerous myth. First of all, folks often don't realize that services such as fax and phone are now done "over the internet". Second, it is not only what happens on Election Day that is important. Are any of these machines connected to the Internet on other days? Perhaps to update their software? What about other computers of election officials or vendors? And the Stuxnet attack on Iranian nuclear sites, shows that even disconnected computers may be attacked successfully.

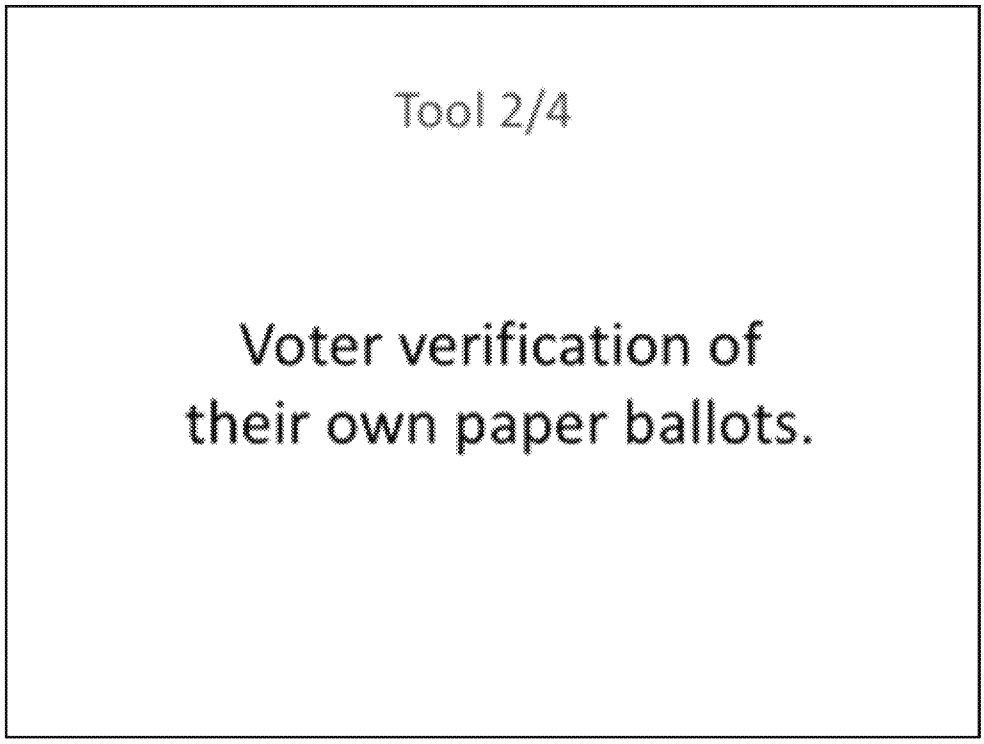


Myth number four: Decentralization ensures security. It is often said that US voting is hard to attack because it is so decentralized. Yes, there are many jurisdictions (7858 according to Brace). But only 462 jurisdictions account for 2/3 of the voters. Moreover, an Adversary may have good polling data, just like the parties do, and be able to "target" attacks on key swing states and jurisdictions. Also, a large well-funded Adversary with thousands of staff may be able to devote two or three attackers per jurisdiction. Finally, every election -- even small ones -- deserve protection!



What tools are available? Fighting fraud requires systems that generate evidence when fraud occurs, and procedures that use such evidence to detect fraud and recover from it. Let's look at four such tools.

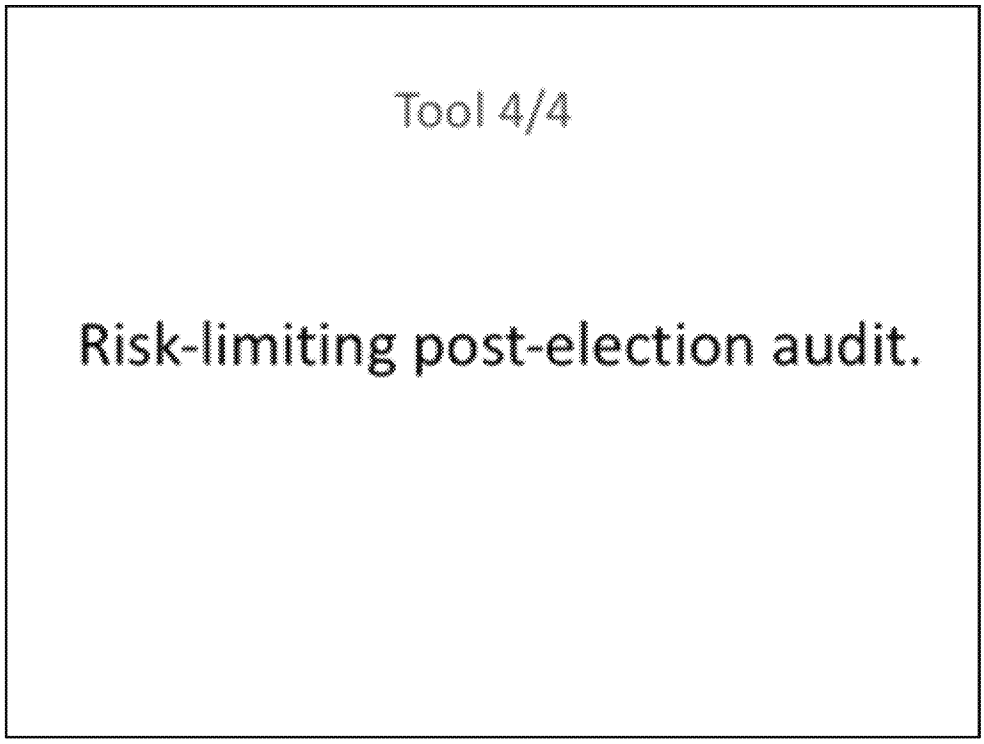
Public verification of (almost) everything. To maximize public confidence that election outcomes are correct, almost all the evidence generated during an election should be available for public review. The only exception is for evidence that shows how individual voters voted. We must preserve the secret ballot. Evidence should not be withheld as "proprietary" or available only in opaque formats. When the evidence is tangible -- as with paper ballots -- it may be that not every voter will be able to review the evidence, but that proxies and representative of the parties and candidates may do so.



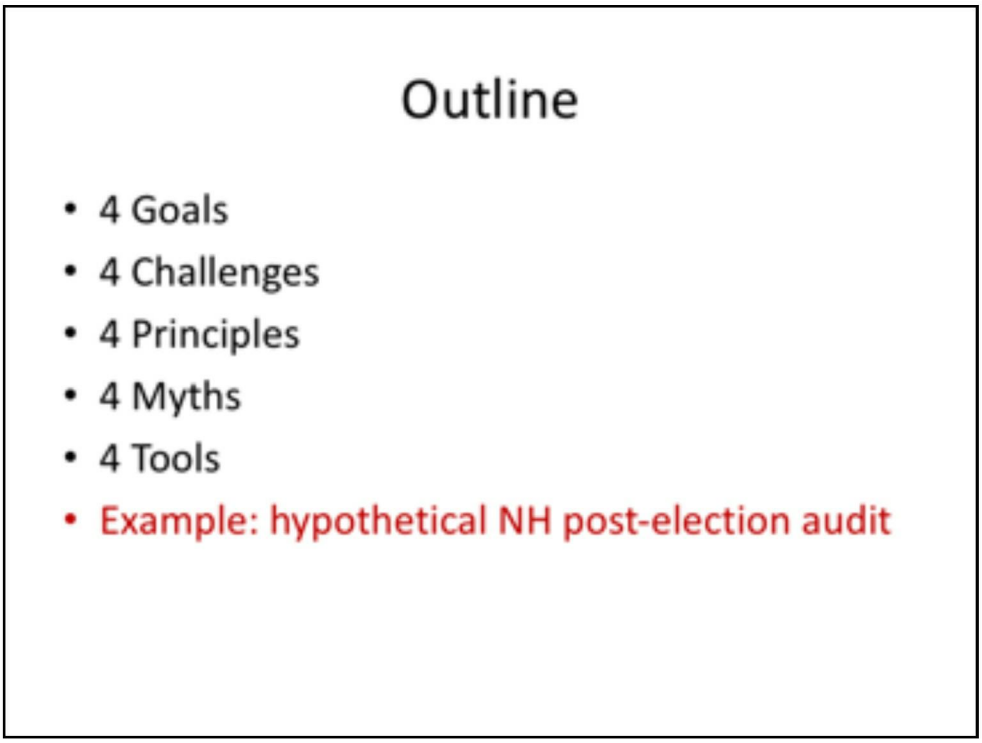
The public can't verify everything. In particular, only a voter knows how he/she intended to vote. The best way to allow voters to verify that their intentions are correctly captured is to use a paper ballot that the voter reviews before casting it. By contrast, DREs only provide a software interface to the actual vote storage -- and such an interface may say it is recording the voter's choices while it is actually recording something else. I note that within the last few days Virginia decided to scrap its DREs in favor of voter-verified paper ballots. A good move.

As we have seen: election integrity is all about the evidence.

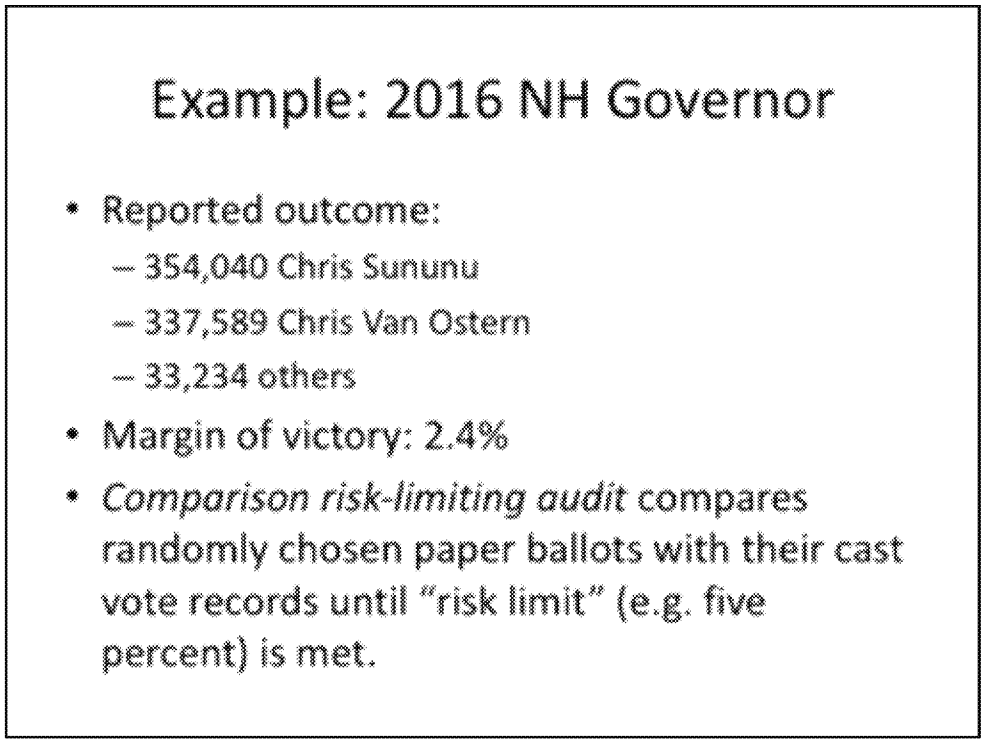
The purpose of a compliance audit is to provide assurance that evidence is credible: the number of cast ballots is correct, a secure chain of custody has been maintained, and so on.



Finally, we get to my favorite tool: a risk-limiting post-election audit. A risk-limiting audit is designed to provide assurance that a reported election outcome is supported by the evidence, where the evidence is a collection of voter-verified paper ballots. The audit uses statistics, looking at randomly sampled ballots until the desired level of assurance is achieved. A specified "risk limit" (say five percent) bounds the chance that an incorrect reported election outcome won't be detected and corrected (by a full hand count). A risk-limiting audit can be incredibly efficient, examining only a handful of randomly-selected ballots before terminating, if the reported outcome is correct and the margin of victory is not tiny.



Let's look at an example.



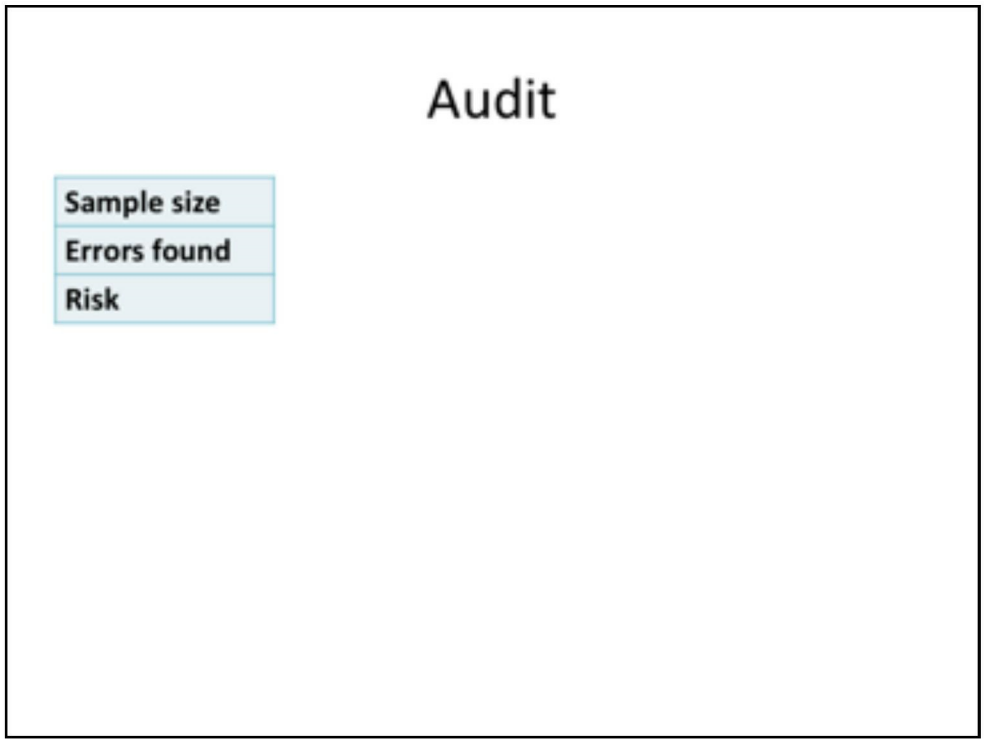
Consider the 2016 race for Governor of NH.

Chris Sununu reportedly had roughly 354,000 votes, Chris Van Ostern had 338,000, and others had 33,000. The margin of victory was 2.4%. Suppose we had wished to audit this race, using a "comparison risk-limiting audit", where each

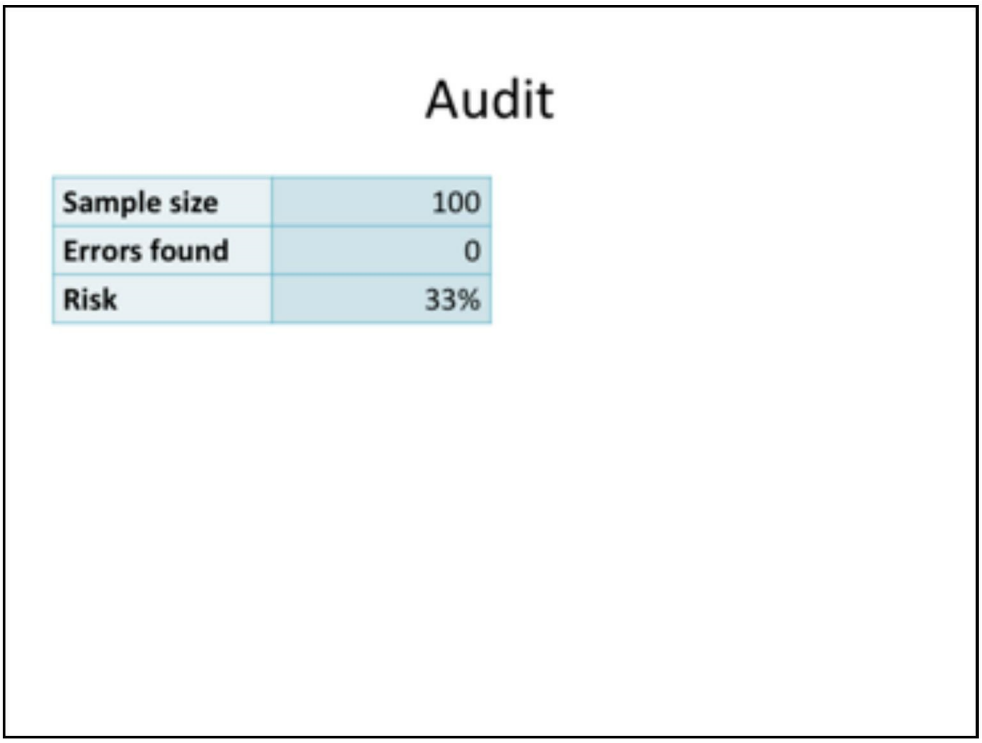
randomly-chosen paper ballot is compared with its corresponding

electronic record, until our target "risk limit" (five percent)

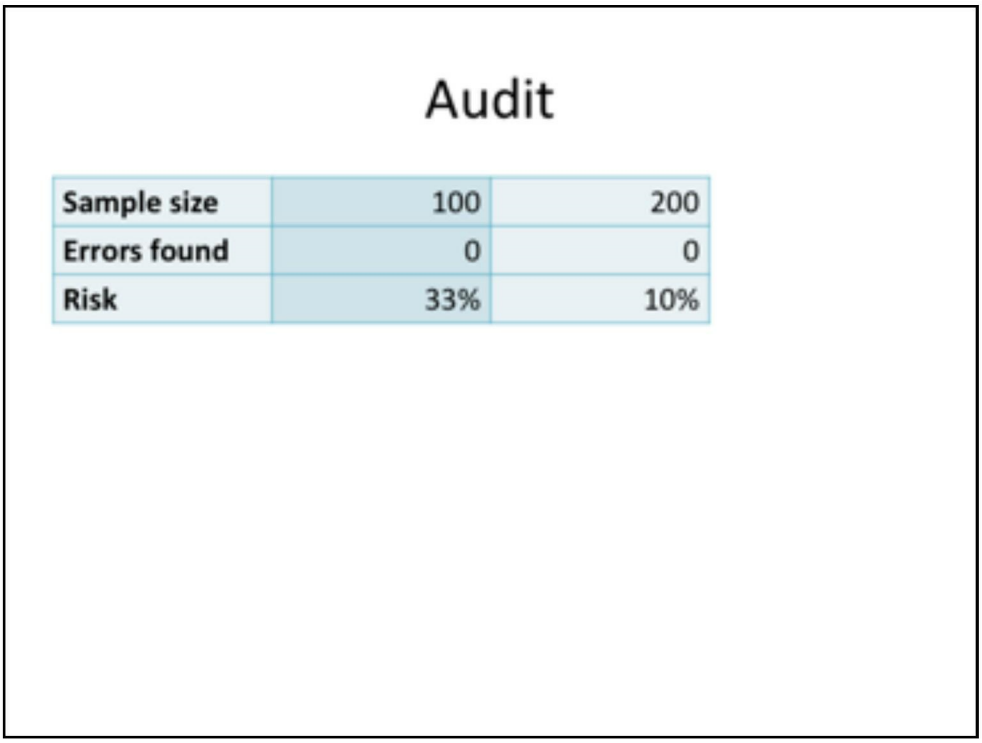
was met.



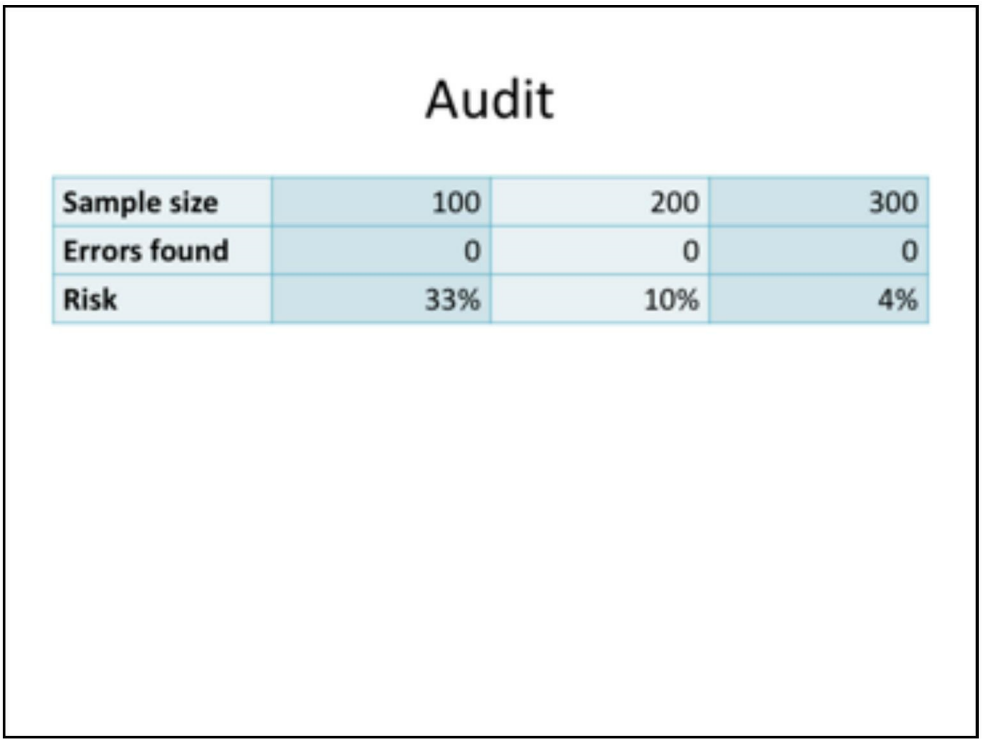
We start sampling, noting where the scanner made errors recording the paper ballots. As we go, we compute the "risk" -- the chance that an incorrect election outcome wouldn't have been detected.



After sampling 100 ballots, we have zero errors, but have a risk level of thirty-three percent. There is a 33% chance that if Chris Van Ostern really won, we wouldn't have detected it. This is too high!



After sampling another 100 ballots, we still have no errors detected. The measured risk has dropped to ten percent. Since our risk limit is five percent, we keep going.



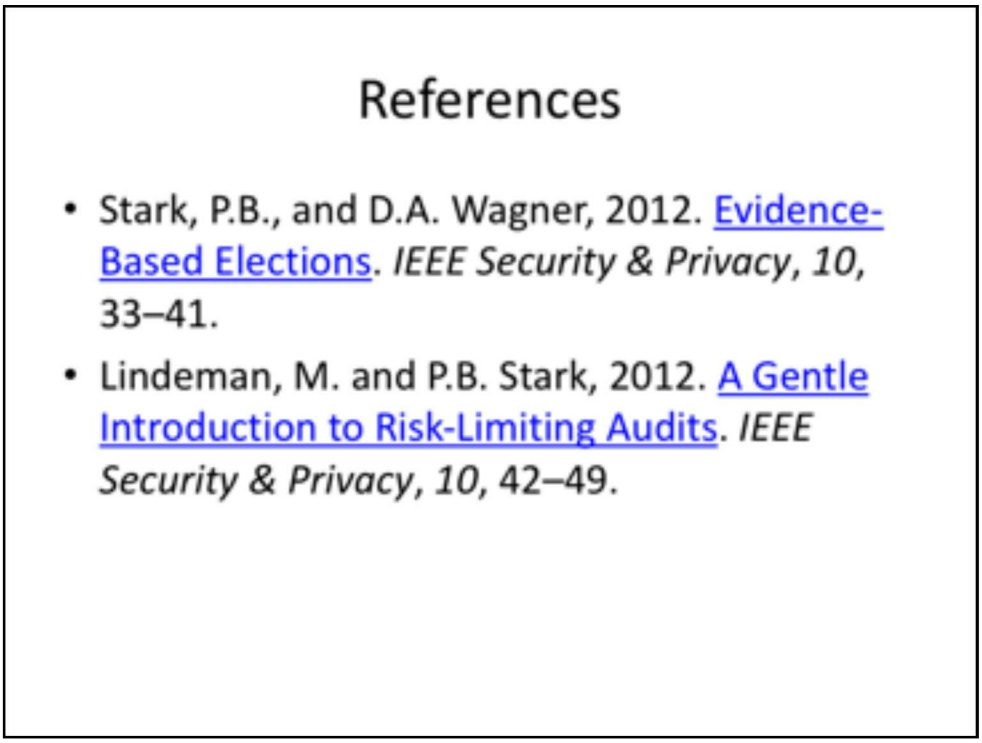
We examine another 100 ballots, bringing the total number of ballots examined to 300. Our measured risk drops to four percent, and we can stop the audit! We can confirm Sununu as the winner!

Audit

Sample size	100	200	300
Errors found	0	0	0
Risk	33%	10%	4%

Examining only 300 randomly-chosen ballots
(out of 724,863 cast) achieves our "risk limit" of 5% !

We see that a risk-limiting audit can be astonishingly efficient. Here we looked at only 300 ballots, which is less than one out of every 1000 ballots cast. Surprisingly, with the same margin of victory, we would expect to have to examine the same number (300) of randomly-selected ballots, even for an audit of the entire US. The size of the audit doesn't scale with the number of cast votes. It does scale inversely with the margin of victory, so a very close election requires more work (as one would expect) to confirm the reported election outcome.



I highly recommend these two papers, on evidence-based elections and risk-limiting audits, for more discussion and details.

Remember -- it's all about the evidence!

A voting system should not only produce the correct

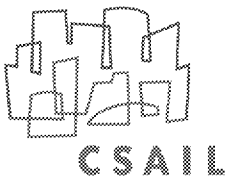
result, but should produce evidence capable of revealing

fraud, when fraud has occurred. Voter verified paper ballots, coupled with post-election audits, are today's "best practice".

Thanks for your attention!

Remarks on Election Integrity

Ronald L. Rivest
MIT



Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Manchester, NH
September 12, 2017

I'd like to begin by thanking the committee co-chairs Mike Pence and Kris Kobach, as well as NH SOS Bill Gardner, for inviting
me to testify today. My name is Ron Rivest. I am an Institute Professor at MIT, specializing in computer security, algorithms, cryptography, and election integrity. I have founded two companies in the security area.
I served on TGDC, advisory to the Election Assistance Commission, from 2004--2009, and was chair of the subcommittee on security and transparency. I am a member of the CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project, and on the Board of Verified Voting.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

I've arranged my remarks on election integrity into five sections,
on goals, challenges, principles, myths, and tools, and a final section illustrating a hypothetical post-election audit on the most recent race for Governor in the state of NH.

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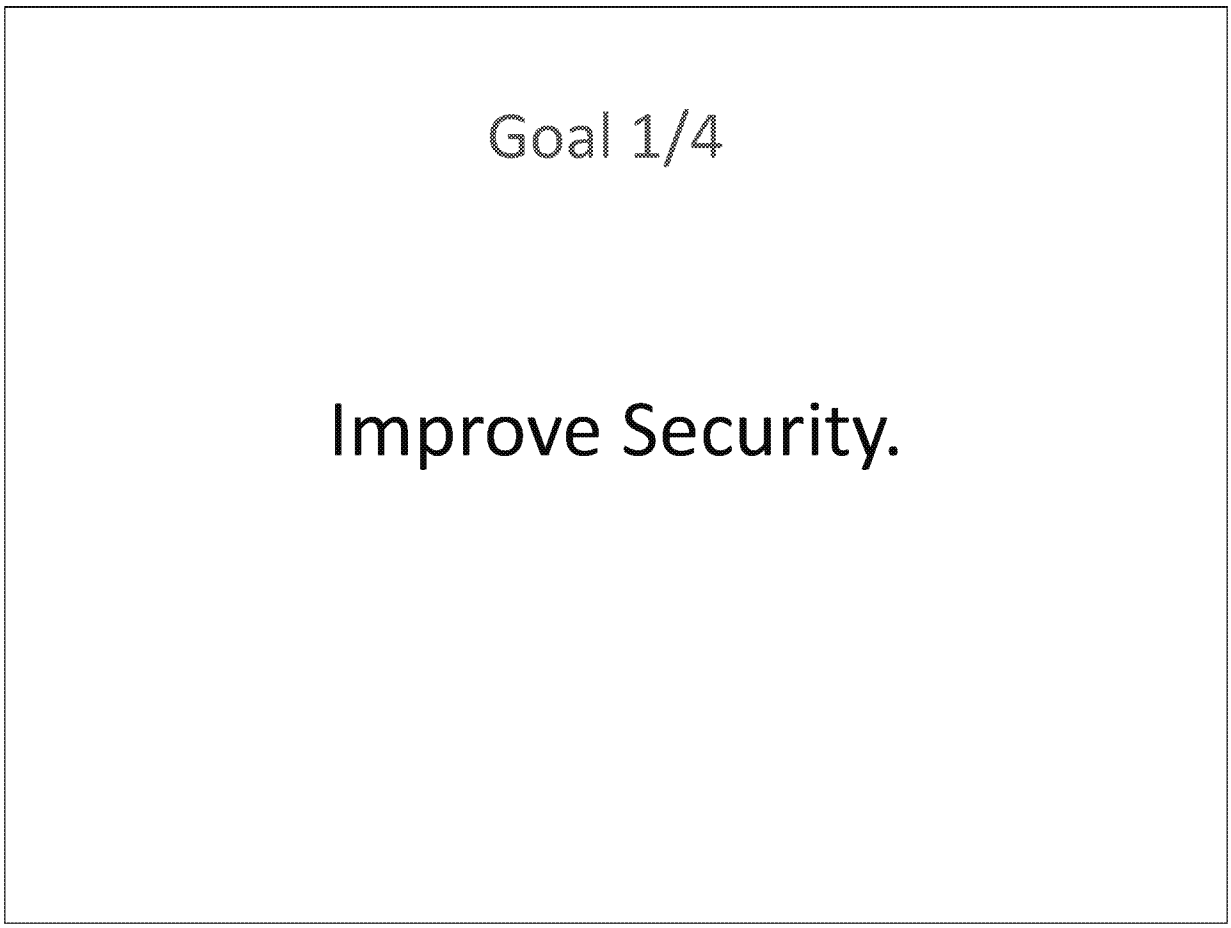
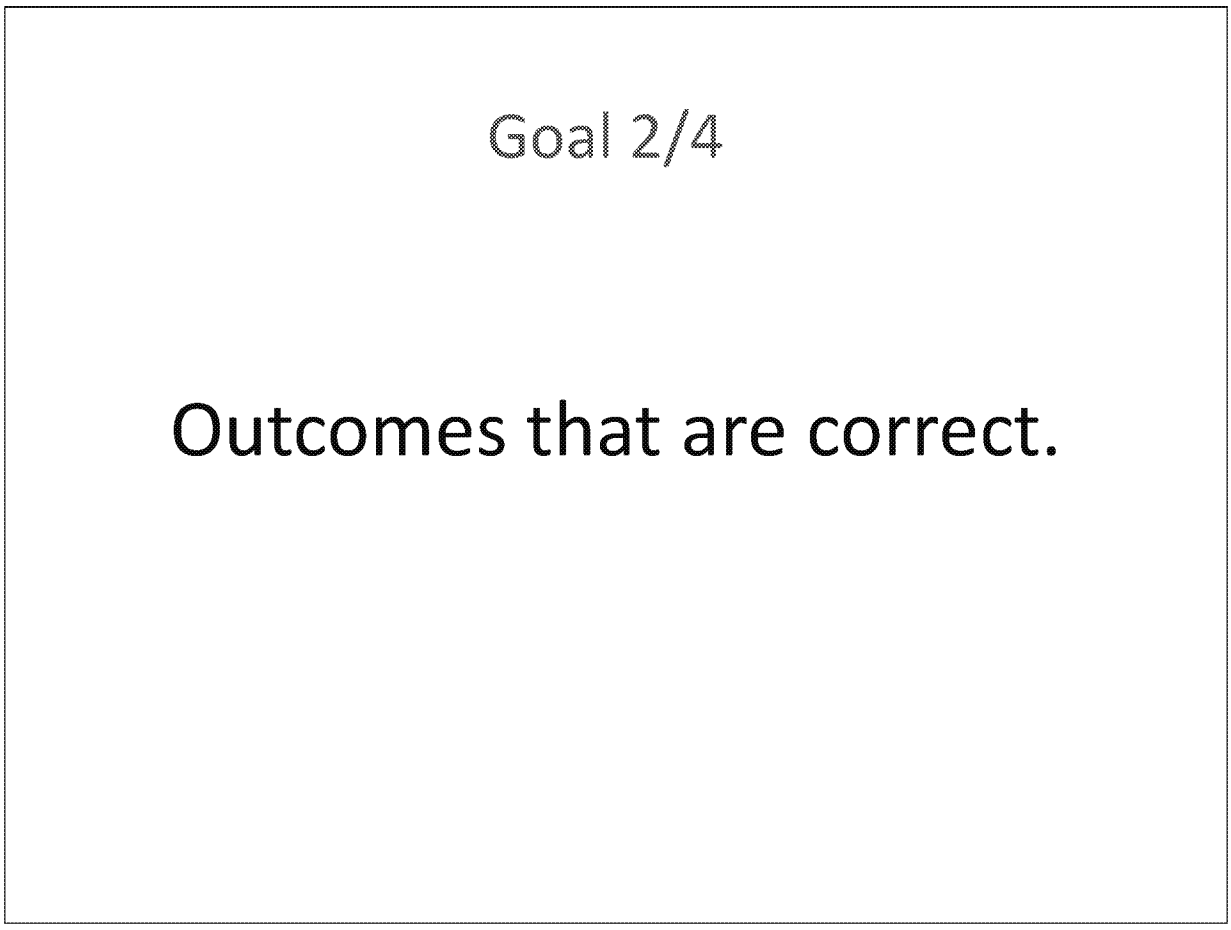
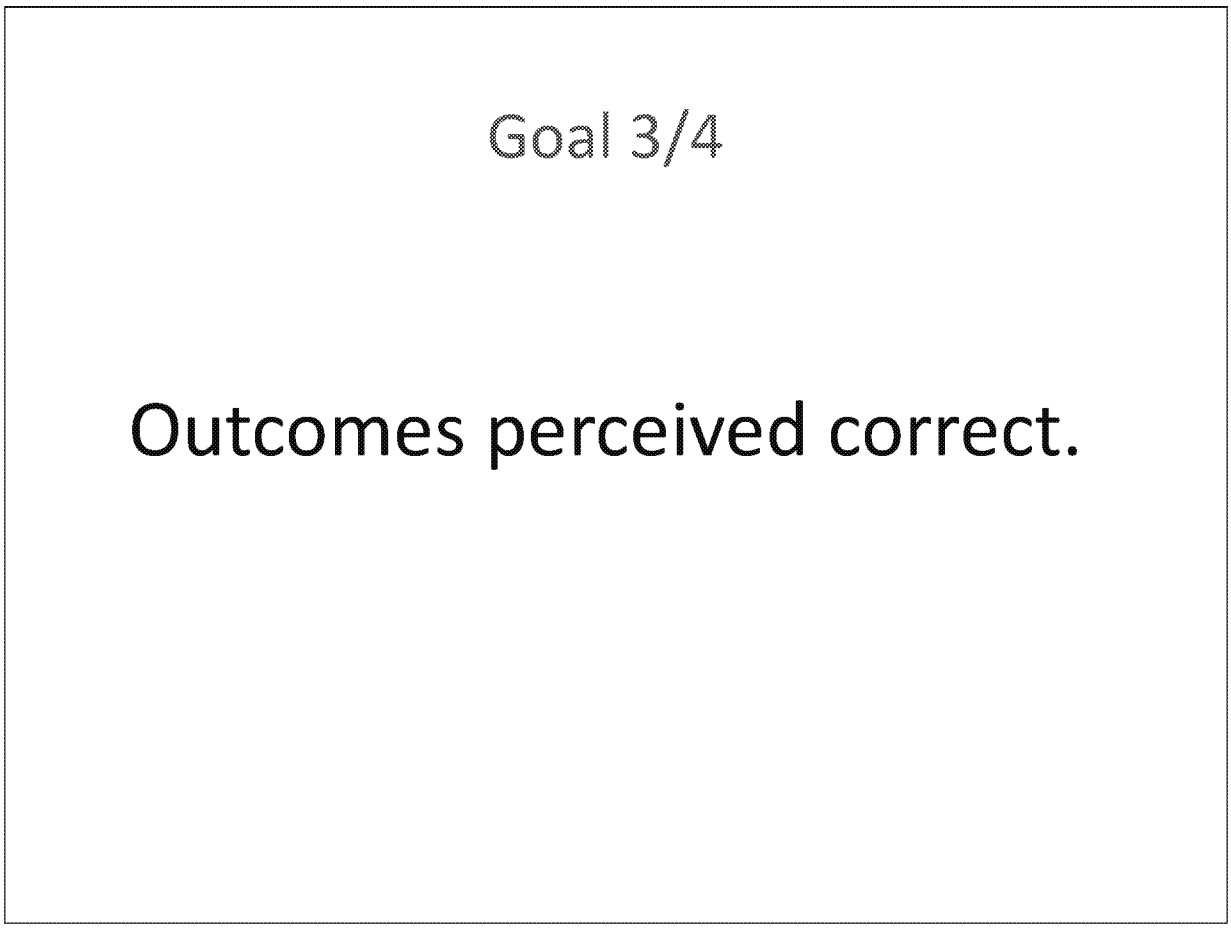
Let's start with four goals.



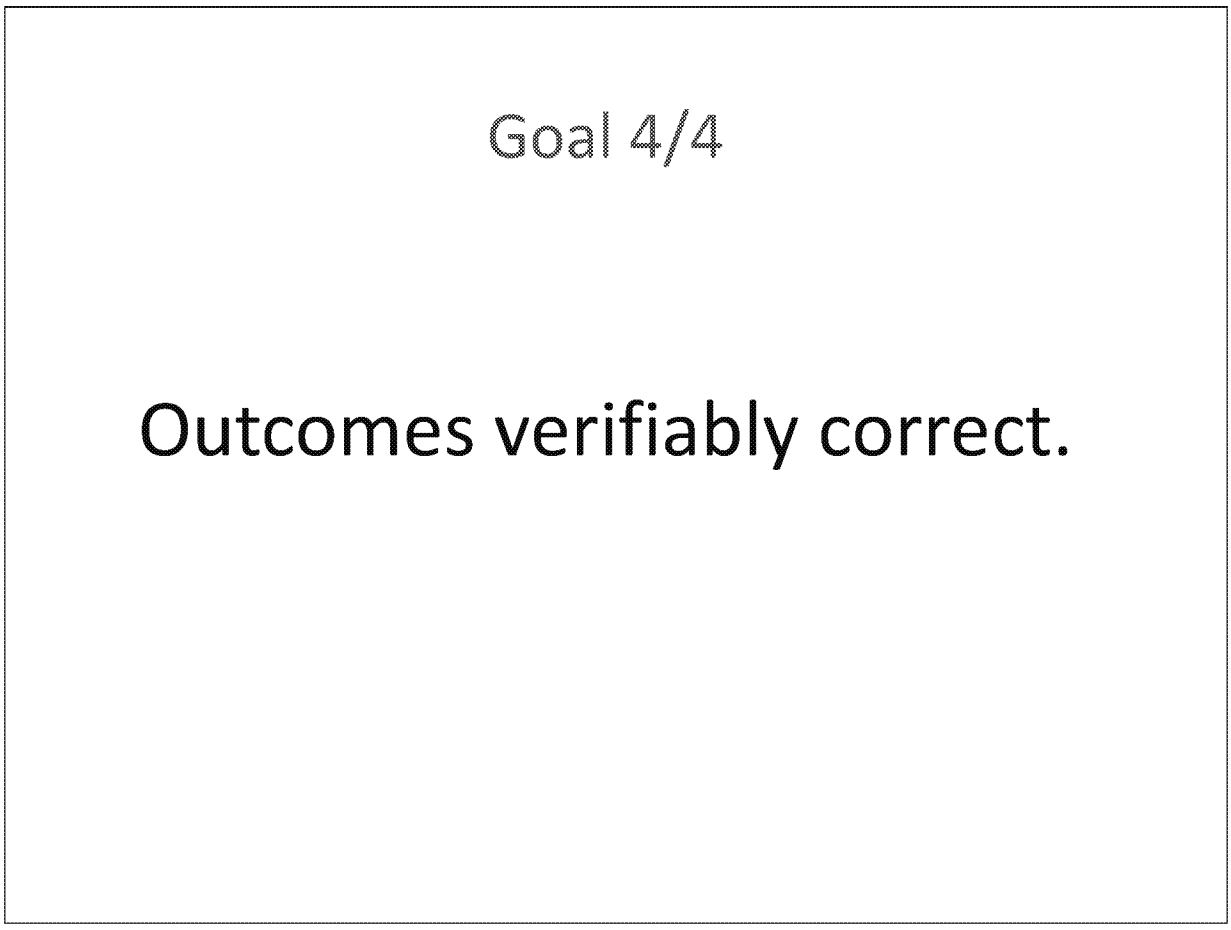
At the highest level, we wish to improve security of our voting systems. Security means, among other things, that every eligible voter is able to vote, is able to cast a vote as intended, and that election outcomes are accurate. I take a "process view" of voting: voting is not a "problem to be solved", but a "process to be continually improved". The way that the FAA manages airline security is a possible role model, since security against attack is a major concern in both cases. But voting is different: unlike air flight, a major voting disaster might be "silent": the wrong person might be elected and no one knows. One goal is thus to ensure that there are no such "silent disasters".



Let us focus on getting outcomes that are correct. Suppose we had a magic trained gorilla who, given a pile of ballots, would pick out one with the majority winner. We'd be getting the right answer, but... would this continue to happen? Computers are a lot like this "magic gorilla"... Stalin said, "The people who cast the votes decide nothing. The people who count the votes decide everything." Do we have to trust a gorilla? Or a computer?



For democracy to work, election outcomes must not only be correct, but must also be perceived to be correct. In particular, the loser and his/her supporters have to be convinced that they "lost fair and square". A gorilla isn't very convincing. Neither is a computer. Folks often trust that election outcomes are correct because they trust election officials, their procedures, and the vendors of voting computers. But such trust is hard to come by, and in any case is generic rather than specific to a particular election outcome.



So, we refine this goal once again. The ideal would be to allow each particular election outcome to be verified by anyone, including the losing candidates. Such verification requires credible evidence. Thus, an election must produce not only correct outcomes, but also convincing evidence that those outcomes are correct. I'll say that again, since it is perhaps my most important point. An election must produce not only correct outcomes, but also convincing evidence that those outcomes are correct. One form of credible evidence is a carefully curated paper trail consisting of voter-verified paper ballots.

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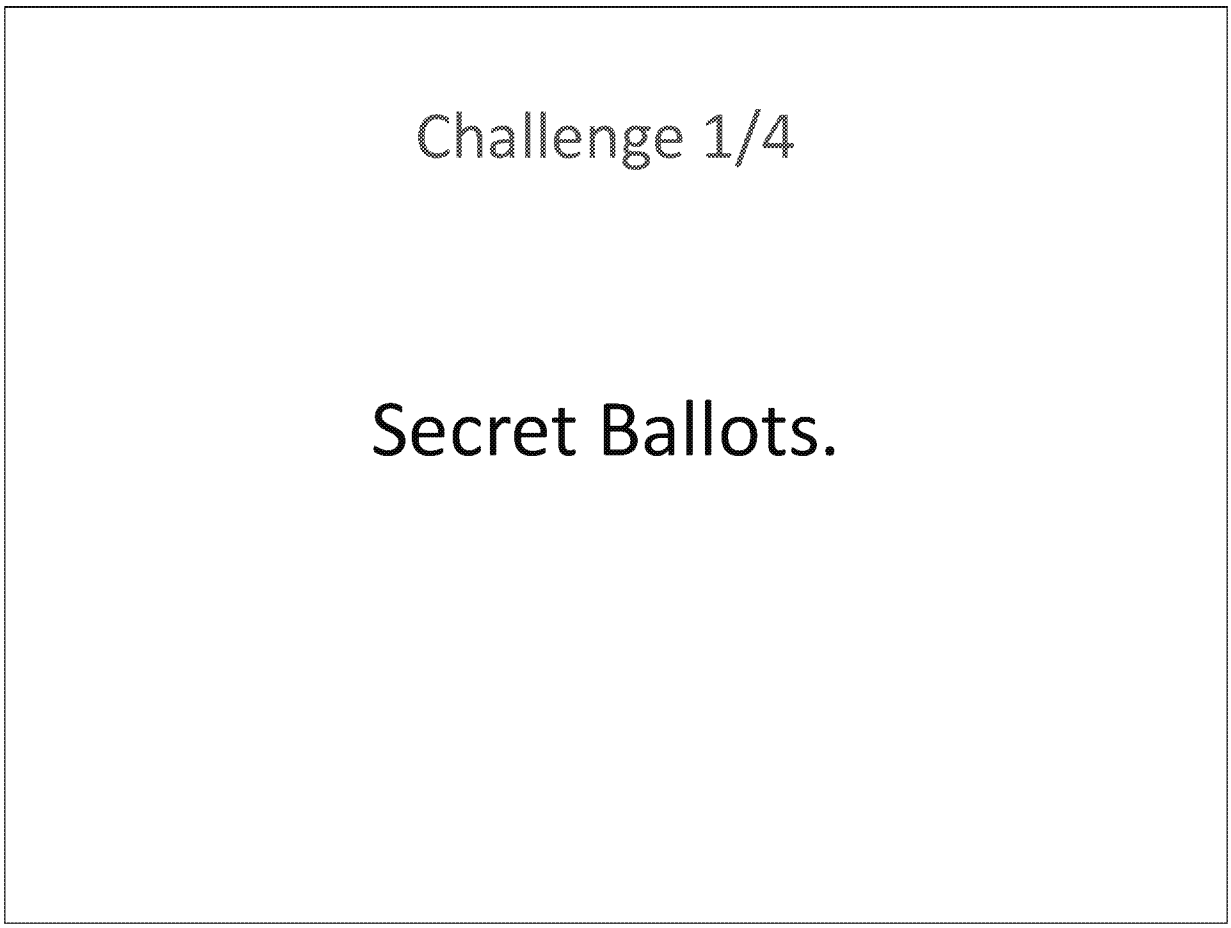
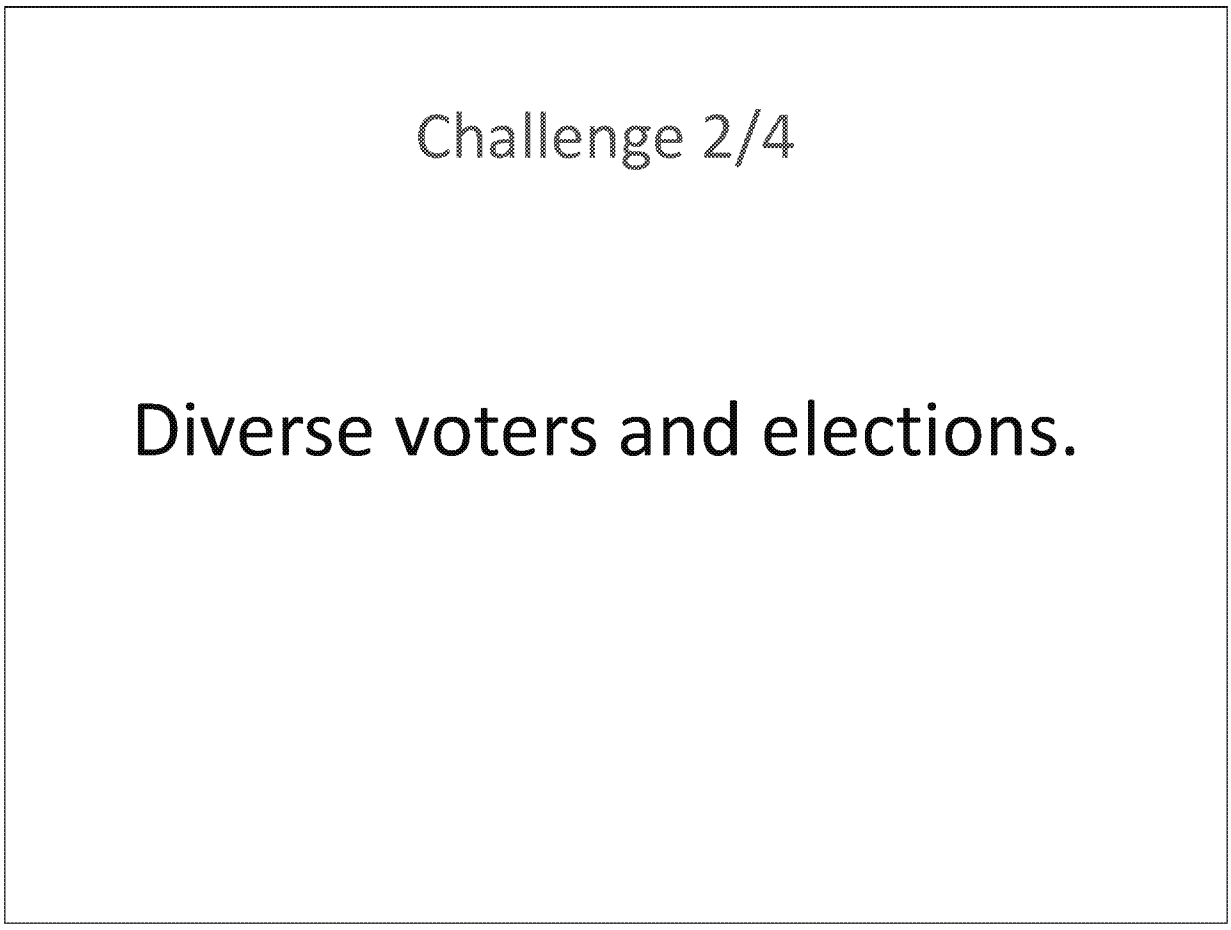
Let's look at four challenges to achieving these goals.



The most severe challenge to election security is ... the secret ballot. It is sensible to run an election so that no one can tell how a voter voted, even if the voter wishes it; this prevents vote-buying. Most countries have secret-ballot elections; the US has had them since the 1890s. But once ballots are decoupled from the identities of their voters, they are subject to manipulation and even wholesale replacement. The secret ballot thus distinguishes voting from say banking, where the identities of the parties to a transaction are always recorded in the audit trail.



Diverse voters and elections. US elections are incredibly ambitious. Elections are complex due to poll-site voting, vote-by-mail, provisional ballots, support for voters with disabilities, large ballots, complex voting methods such as IRV, and voter registration databases. Election integrity methods must produce evidence for correct election outcomes for all of these complexities.

We've always had adversaries---mostly insiders trying to stuff the ballot box. Today our voting systems are also under attack from foreign states and foreign actors. Moreover, these adversaries may be exceptionally well staffed, well-funded, and persistent. Bob Morris, Sr. (NSA) said, "You will always underestimate the amount of time and effort an adversary will devote to breaking your system." We should think of an Adversary not as a couple guys in a garage, but as an army of thousands of well-trained military folks who work 24/7 for years to disrupt and destroy American democracy. We can put a man on the Moon, if no one is shooting at us. We can elect a President, but only if our election systems can withstand attack. Moreover, no individual should be assumed to be above suspicion. The evidence should still show that the election outcome is correct, without having to trust any particular individuals or computers.

Election integrity doesn't come for free. Evidence must be generated, collected, and evaluated. Improved integrity may incur greater cost, may yield slower results, and may impact usability. Additional mechanisms for security will increase overall system complexity. Tradeoffs are inherent in any voting system. In the end, we still "want our lunch" -- that is, we want verifiably correct election outcomes. Research helps guide the way for doing so with minimal negative impact.

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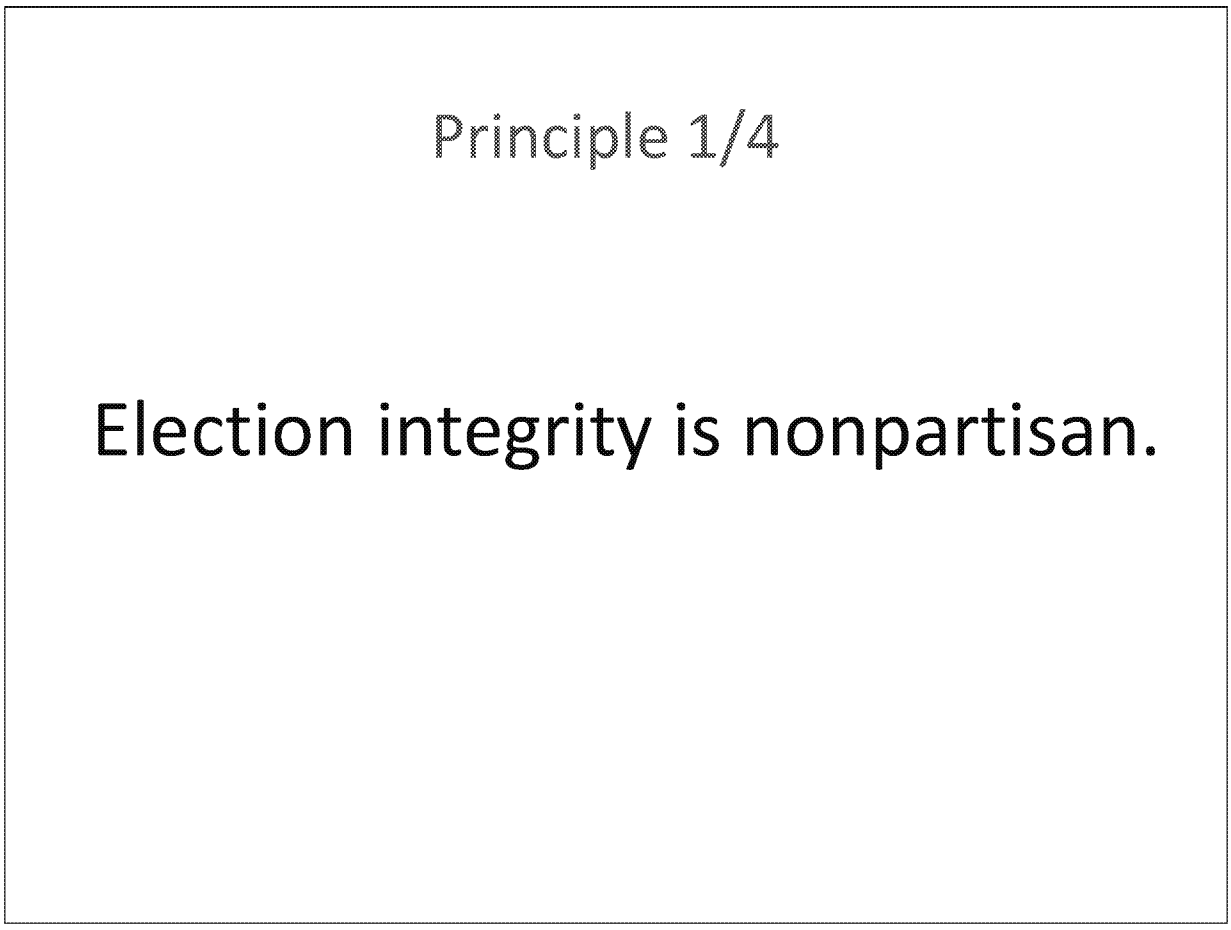
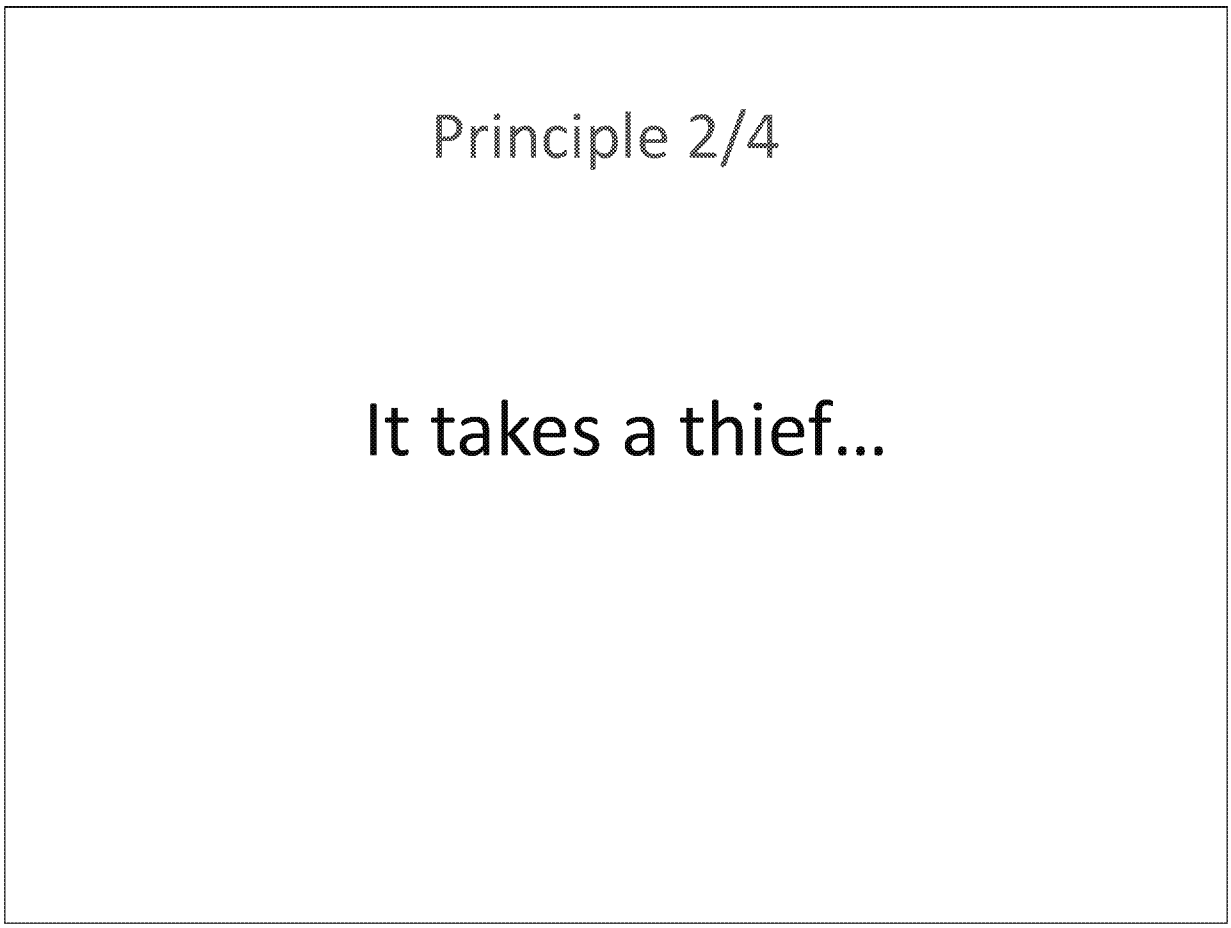
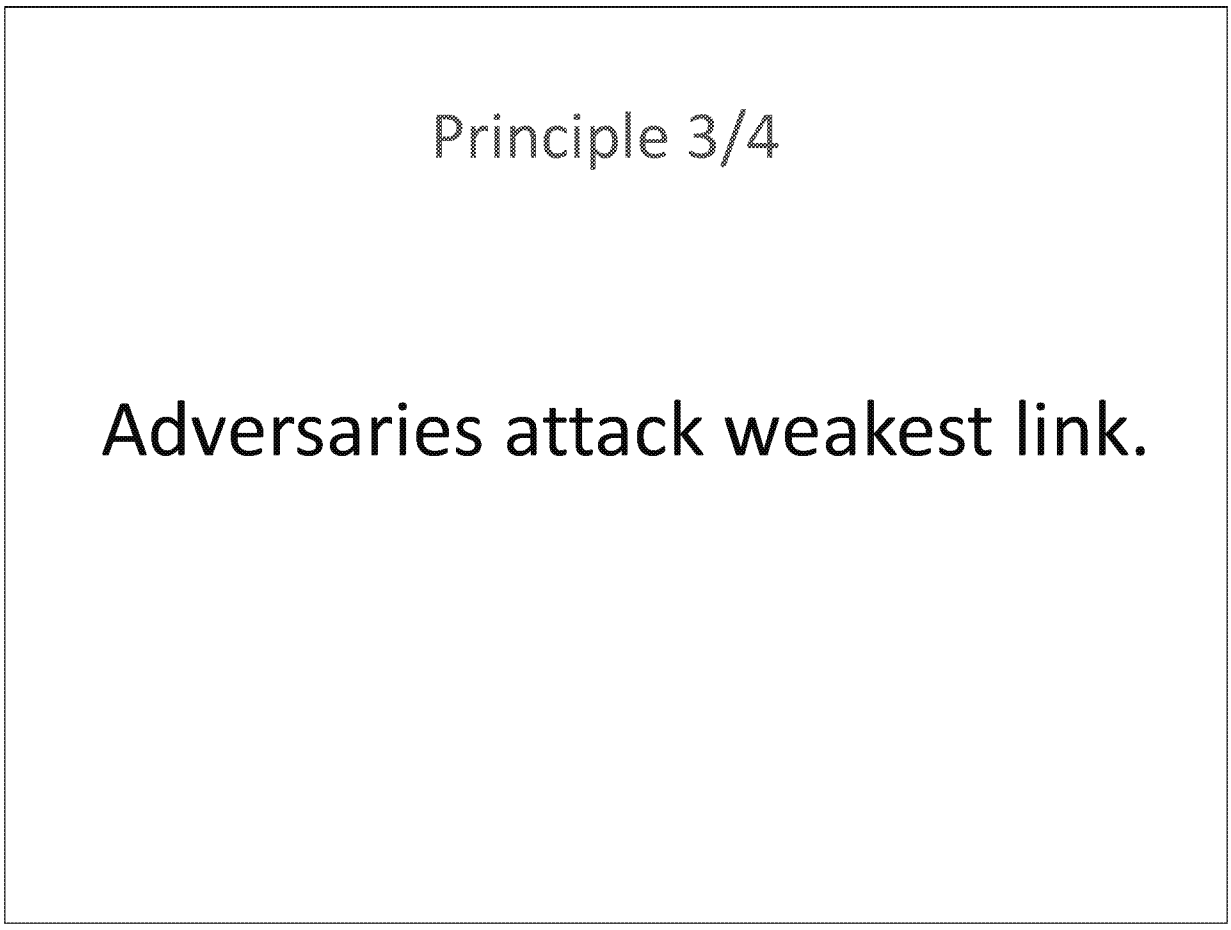
What principles might we keep in mind as we try to resolve these conflicts and achieve our goals?



Election integrity is nonpartisan. Democracy is a blessing we all enjoy, independent of party. The party that is "in" one year may be "out" on the next election. Adversaries may favor one side or the other, and that may change. I wouldn't be surprised to hear that Putin is now supporting the Democrats. We need to ensure that the mechanics of democracy run well and run fairly, without manipulation by anyone, no matter which party is running the country.



"It takes a thief... to catch a thief."
As I tell my students: to achieve security, you must "think like an Adversary". Harri Hursti and Professor Appel, on this panel, are among the best in the world at doing so. Events such as the recent DefCon "Voting Village" and the 2007 California "Top to Bottom Review" show how quickly and effectively some recent voting systems can be compromised. Thinking like an Adversary involves considering chance of success, chance of detection, and cost. An adversary may favor "wholesale fraud" (changing thousands of votes in a computer) over "retail fraud" (buying or changing votes one at a time).



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Principle 4/4

Detect and Recover.

Security mechanisms come in two forms: "prevention" and "detection". Prevention mechanisms try to keep bad things from happening. "Detection" mechanisms try to detect when something bad has happened. Both mechanisms are good and may be used together, but prevention methods frequently fail silently. A detection mechanism can tell you something has gone wrong, and allow you to invoke an associated "recovery" method. As we shall see, a post-election audit is an excellent and simple detection mechanism, with a full hand recount serving as the associated recovery method.

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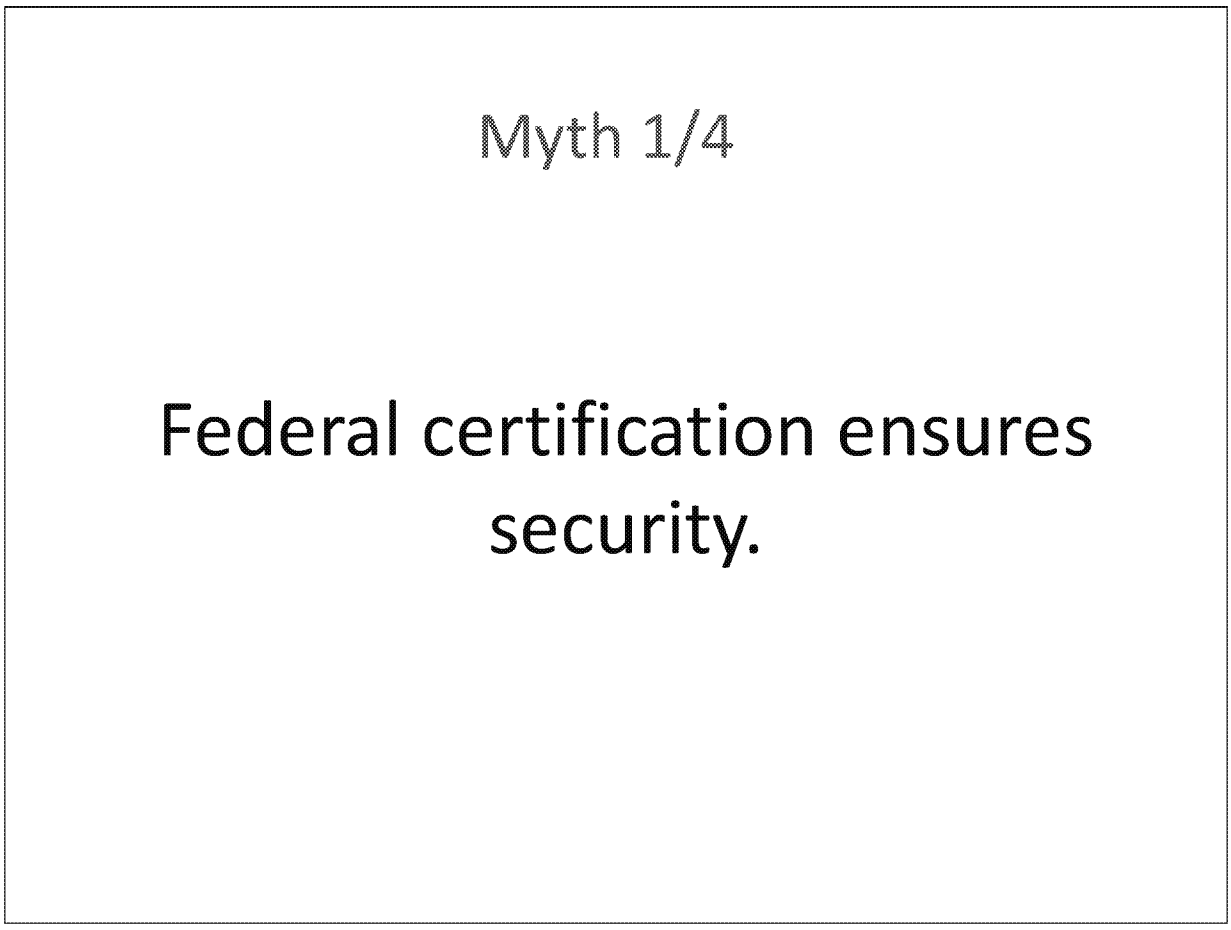

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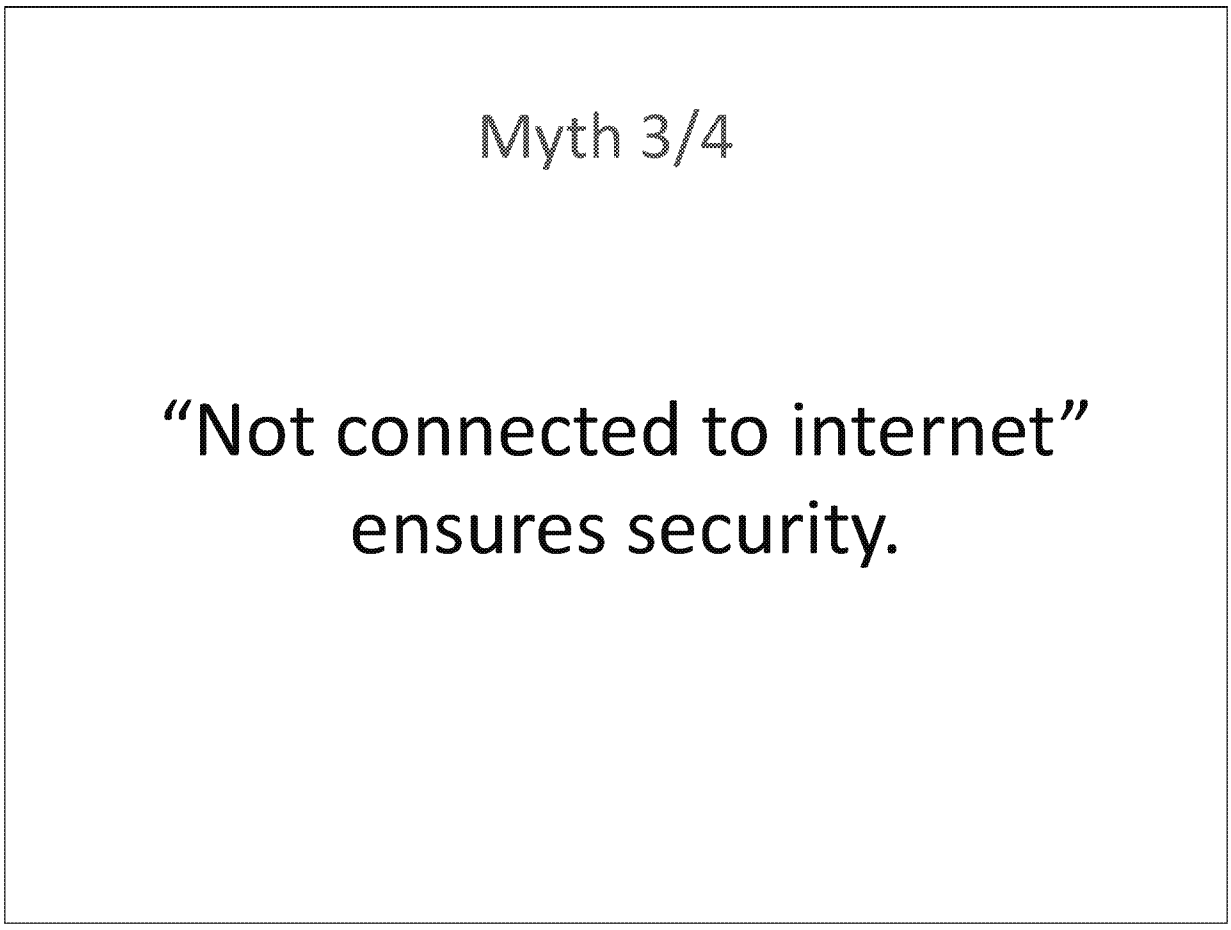
Myth 2/4

Logic and accuracy testing ensures security.

Myth number two: Logic and Accuracy Testing ensures security. Before an election, officials check that a voting system is capable of correctly tabulating a "test deck" of sample ballots. As Professor Appel has argued, such a test is more of a sanity check than any proof that the system is secure. A voting system may easily pass such a logic and accuracy test and then miscount or mis-record the actual ballots.



Myth number three: "Not connected to the internet" ensures security. This is perhaps the most dangerous myth. First of all, folks often don't realize that services such as fax and phone are now done "over the internet". Second, it is not only what happens on Election Day that is important. Are any of these machines connected to the Internet on other days? Perhaps to update their software? What about other computers of election officials or vendors? And the Stuxnet attack on Iranian nuclear sites, shows that even disconnected computers may be attacked successfully.

Myth 4/4

Decentralization ensures security.

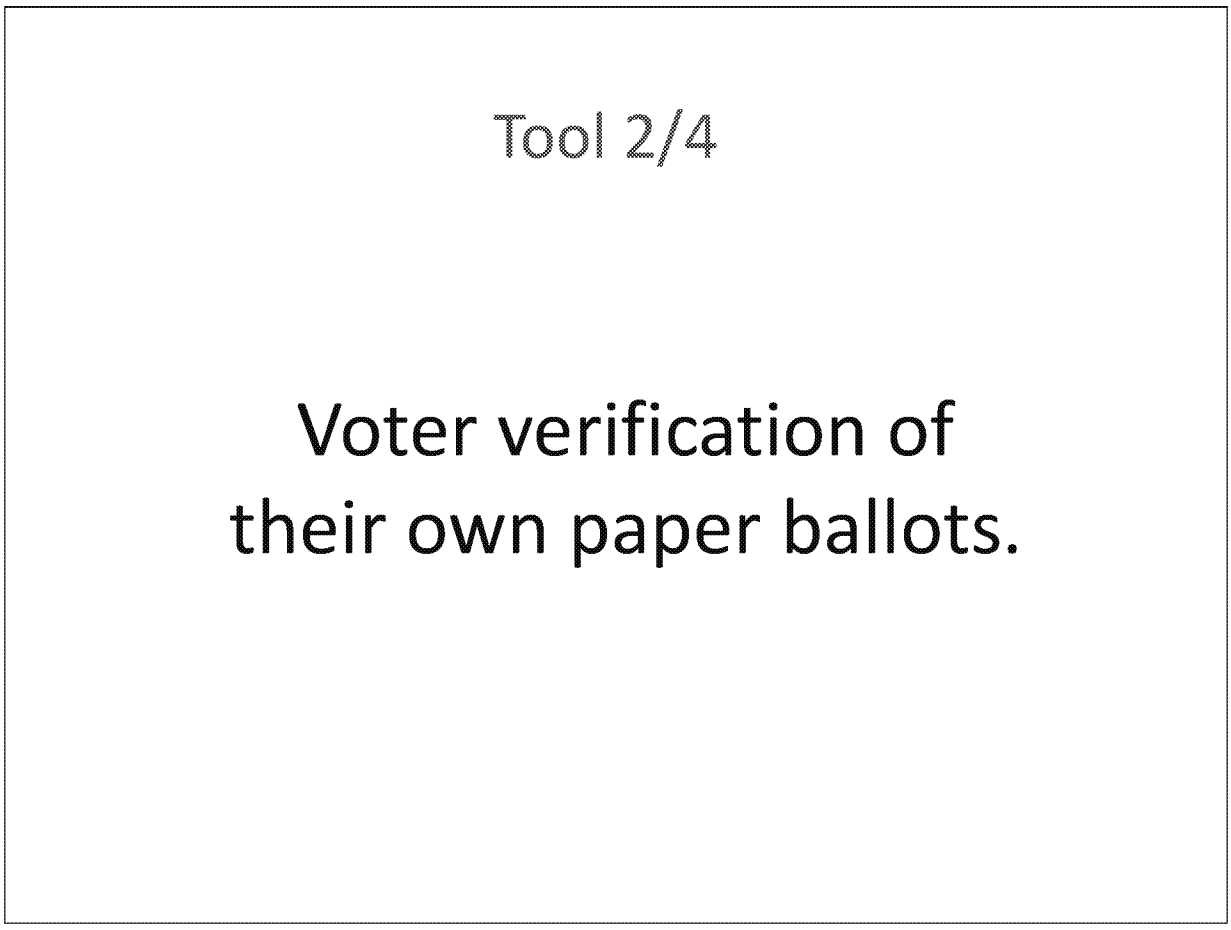
Myth number four: Decentralization ensures security. It is often said that US voting is hard to attack because it is so decentralized. Yes, there are many jurisdictions (7858 according to Brace). But only 462 jurisdictions account for 2/3 of the voters. Moreover, an Adversary may have good polling data, just like the parties do, and be able to "target" attacks on key swing states and jurisdictions. Also, a large well-funded Adversary with thousands of staff may be able to devote two or three attackers per jurisdiction. Finally, every election -- even small ones -- deserve protection!

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

What tools are available? Fighting fraud requires systems that generate evidence when fraud occurs, and procedures that use such evidence to detect fraud and recover from it. Let's look at four such tools.

Public verification of (almost) everything. To maximize public confidence that election outcomes are correct, almost all the evidence generated during an election should be available for public review. The only exception is for evidence that shows how individual voters voted. We must preserve the secret ballot. Evidence should not be withheld as "proprietary" or available only in opaque formats. When the evidence is tangible -- as with paper ballots -- it may be that not every voter will be able to review the evidence, but that proxies and representative of the parties and candidates may do so.

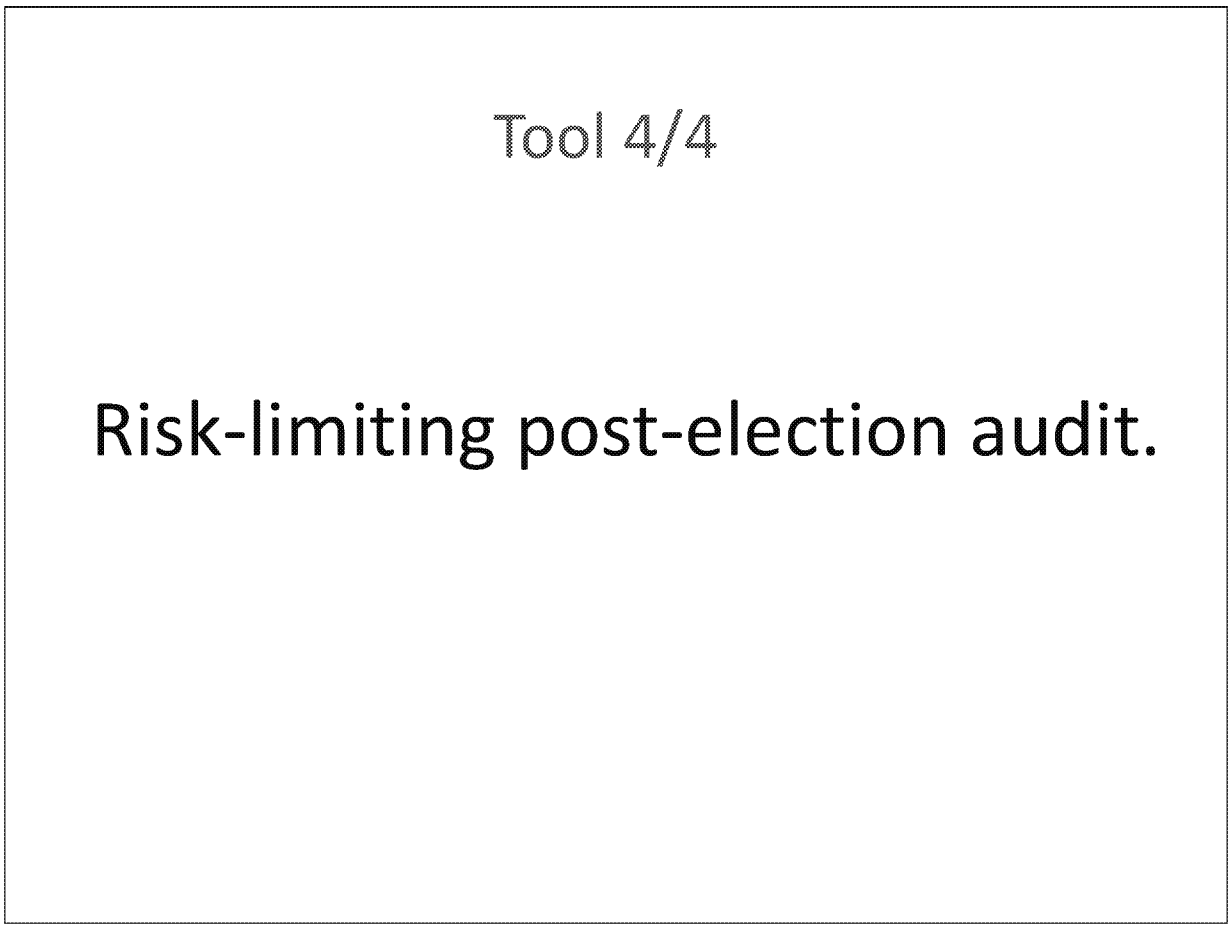


The public can't verify everything. In particular, only a voter knows how he/she intended to vote. The best way to allow voters to verify that their intentions are correctly captured is to use a paper ballot that the voter reviews before casting it. By contrast, DREs only provide a software interface to the actual vote storage -- and such an interface may say it is recording the voter's choices while it is actually recording something else. I note that within the last few days Virginia decided to scrap its DREs in favor of voter-verified paper ballots. A good move.

Tool 3/4

Compliance audit.

As we have seen: election integrity is all about the evidence.
The purpose of a compliance audit is to provide assurance that evidence is credible: the number of cast ballots is correct, a secure chain of custody has been maintained, and so on.



Finally, we get to my favorite tool: a risk-limiting post-election audit. A risk-limiting audit is designed to provide assurance that a reported election outcome is supported by the evidence, where the evidence is a collection of voter-verified paper ballots. The audit uses statistics, looking at randomly sampled ballots until the desired level of assurance is achieved. A specified "risk limit" (say five percent) bounds the chance that an incorrect reported election outcome won't be detected and corrected (by a full hand count). A risk-limiting audit can be incredibly efficient, examining only a handful of randomly-selected ballots before terminating, if the reported outcome is correct and the margin of victory is not tiny.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
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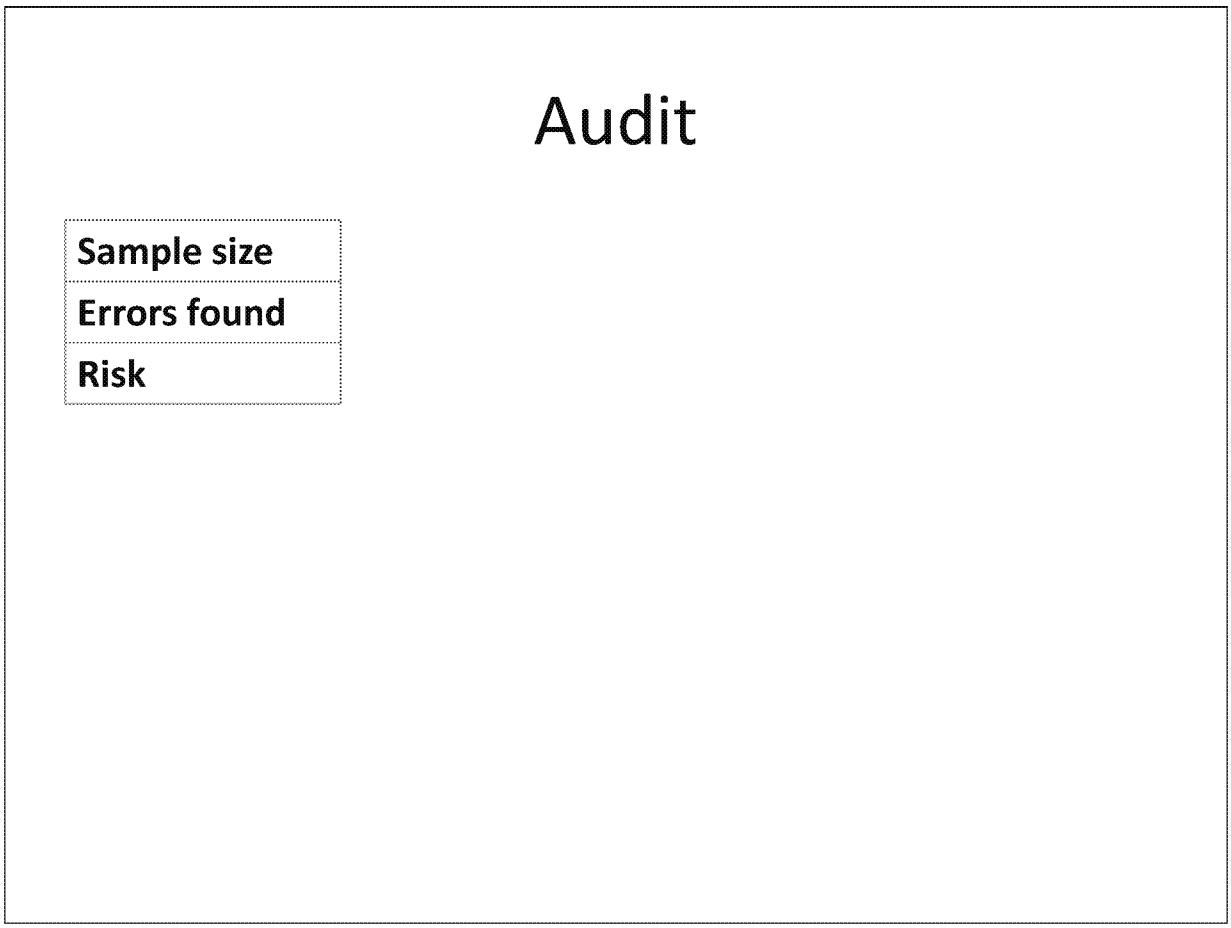
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Let's look at an example.

Example: 2016 NH Governor

- Reported outcome:
  - 354,040 Chris Sununu
  - 337,589 Chris Van Ostern
  - 33,234 others
- Margin of victory: 2.4%
- *Comparison risk-limiting audit* compares randomly chosen paper ballots with their cast vote records until “risk limit” (e.g. five percent) is met.

Consider the 2016 race for Governor of NH.
Chris Sununu reportedly had roughly 354,000 votes, Chris Van Ostern had 338,000, and others had 33,000. The margin of victory was 2.4%. Suppose we had wished to audit this race, using a "comparison risk-limiting audit", where each randomly-chosen paper ballot is compared with its corresponding
electronic record, until our target "risk limit" (five percent)
was met.



We start sampling, noting where the scanner made errors recording the paper ballots. As we go, we compute the "risk" -- the chance that an incorrect election outcome wouldn't have been detected.

Audit

Sample size	100
Errors found	0
Risk	33%

After sampling 100 ballots, we have zero errors, but have a risk level of thirty-three percent. There is a 33% chance that if Chris Van Ostern really won, we wouldn't have detected it. This is too high!

Audit

Sample size	100	200
Errors found	0	0
Risk	33%	10%

After sampling another 100 ballots, we still have no errors detected. The measured risk has dropped to ten percent. Since our risk limit is five percent, we keep going.

Audit

Sample size	100	200	300
Errors found	0	0	0
Risk	33%	10%	4%

We examine another 100 ballots, bringing the total number of ballots examined to 300. Our measured risk drops to four percent, and we can stop the audit! We can confirm Sununu as the winner!

Audit

Sample size	100	200	300
Errors found	0	0	0
Risk	33%	10%	4%

Examining only 300 randomly-chosen ballots
(out of 724,863 cast) achieves our “risk limit” of 5% !

We see that a risk-limiting audit can be astonishingly efficient. Here we looked at only 300 ballots, which is less than one out of every 1000 ballots cast. Surprisingly, with the same margin of victory, we would expect to have to examine the same number (300) of randomly-selected ballots, even for an audit of the entire US. The size of the audit doesn't scale with the number of cast votes. It does scale inversely with the margin of victory, so a very close election requires more work (as one would expect) to confirm the reported election outcome.

References

- Stark, P.B., and D.A. Wagner, 2012. Evidence-Based Elections. *IEEE Security & Privacy*, *10*, 33–41.
- Lindeman, M. and P.B. Stark, 2012. A Gentle Introduction to Risk-Limiting Audits. *IEEE Security & Privacy*, *10*, 42–49.

I highly recommend these two papers, on evidence-based elections and risk-limiting audits, for more discussion and details.

The End

Thanks for your attention!

Remember -- it's all about the evidence!
A voting system should not only produce the correct
result, but should produce evidence capable of revealing
fraud, when fraud has occurred. Voter verified paper ballots, coupled with post-election audits, are today's "best practice".
Thanks for your attention!

Message

From: [redacted]
on behalf of Ronald L. Rivest [rivest@mit.edu]
Sent: 9/13/2017 3:05:41 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]; Anthony Stevens [Anthony.Stevens@sos.nh.gov]
Subject: Re: Tomorrow's Meeting
Attachments: 2017-09-12-rivest-for-pacei-nh-mtg.pdf; 2017-09-12-rivest-for-pacei-nh-mtg.ppt

Hi Andrew --

Sorry, but another (similar) typo fixed: Colin Van Ostern's first name is Colin, not Chris. Here are the fixed slides...

Thanks!

Cheers,
Ron

On Tue, Sep 12, 2017 at 9:35 PM, Ronald L. Rivest <rivest@mit.edu> wrote:
Hi Andrew (with cc to Anthony Stevens) --

Pleasure to meet you today! A very interesting meeting!
Thanks for your help in making it happen.

I'm writing to give you an updated copy of my slides, both in ppt and in pdf format. The "slides" themselves are unchanged, aside from fixing a typo (I had "John Sununu" where I should have had "Chris Sununu".) But in addition to the slides, these now have the "notes" section included, from which I was reading today as the slides were presented.

If you are posting the slides, feel free to post these instead of (or in addition to) the slides you already posted. I'm not sure what your "records requirements" say... You did get the slides themselves in advance, and these slides (aside from the typo fix) are just the same, with an extension of the slides to include what I actually said today. Feel free to use them (or post them), or not, as you see best...

Thanks again!

Cheers,
Ron

On Mon, Sep 11, 2017 at 8:25 PM, Ronald L. Rivest <rivest@mit.edu> wrote:
Hi Andrew --

Thanks!

Any further guidance on the time we will have available for our presentations?

I just timed mine, which came in at 17 minutes... ??

Cheers,
Ron

On Mon, Sep 11, 2017 at 7:40 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:
Dear Presenters,

Welcome to New Hampshire! Here are a few details for tomorrow's meeting.

Please try to arrive at St. Anselm's by 8:30 a.m. The address is 8 St. Anselm Drive, Manchester, NH 03102. The Institute's auditorium is near the corner of St. Anselm Drive and Rockland Avenue.

Parking is limited, so please make every effort to use cabs, other public transportation, or carpool. I have attached a parking pass for those who will be driving. If you do not have the ability to print this parking pass, please call me or Ron Williams (Ron's cell is [redacted]) when you arrive and we can bring one out to you.

Again, for your reference, meeting materials are posted here: https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-advisory-commission-election-integrity-resources.

If you have any questions or concerns, please call.

Thanks again!
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

-----Original Message-----
From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Friday, September 8, 2017 2:22 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Meeting Materials for Sept. 12th

Thank you again for participating in the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity's meeting on September 12th. We look forward to your presentation.

I've attached the meeting materials for next week's meeting for your review. Please let us know if there are any issues with your materials, or if you have any additional materials you'd like to present to the Commission. We're in the process of posting the attached materials now, and will need to post any additional materials before close of business today.

If you have any questions, please let me know.

Again, thank you!
Andrew

--
Ronald L. Rivest
Room 32-G692, Stata Center, MIT, Cambridge MA 02139
Tel 617-253-5880, Email <rivest@mit.edu>
>http://people.csail.mit.edu/ri<vest

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Remarks on Election Integrity

Ronald L. Rivest
MIT

Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Manchester, NH
September 12, 2017

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Outline

- **4 Goals**
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Goal 1/4

Improve Security.

Goal 2/4

Outcomes that are correct.

Goal 3/4

Outcomes perceived correct.

Goal 4/4

Outcomes verifiably correct.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
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Challenge 1/4

Secret Ballots.

Challenge 2/4

Diverse voters and elections.

Challenge 3/4

Adversaries!

Challenge 4/4

No free lunches!

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
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- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Principle 1/4

Election integrity is nonpartisan.

Principle 2/4

It takes a thief…

Principle 3/4

Adversaries attack weakest link.

Principle 4/4

Detect and Recover.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
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- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Myth 1/4

Federal certification ensures security.

Myth 2/4

Logic and accuracy testing ensures security.

Myth 3/4

"Not connected to internet" ensures security.

Myth 4/4

Decentralization ensures security.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
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Tool 1/4

Public verification of (almost) everything.

Tool 2/4

Voter verification of their own paper ballots.

Tool 3/4

Compliance audit.

Tool 4/4

Risk-limiting post-election audit.

Outline

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Audit

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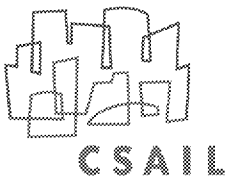
The End

Thanks for your attention!

Remarks on Election Integrity

Ronald L. Rivest
MIT



Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Manchester, NH
September 12, 2017

I'd like to begin by thanking the committee co-chairs Mike Pence and Kris Kobach, as well as NH SOS Bill Gardner, for inviting
me to testify today. My name is Ron Rivest. I am an Institute Professor at MIT, specializing in computer security, algorithms, cryptography, and election integrity. I have founded two companies in the security area.
I served on TGDC, advisory to the Election Assistance Commission, from 2004--2009, and was chair of the subcommittee on security and transparency. I am a member of the CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project, and on the Board of Verified Voting.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

I've arranged my remarks on election integrity into five sections,
on goals, challenges, principles, myths, and tools, and a final section illustrating a hypothetical post-election audit on the most recent race for Governor in the state of NH.

Outline

- **4 Goals**
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
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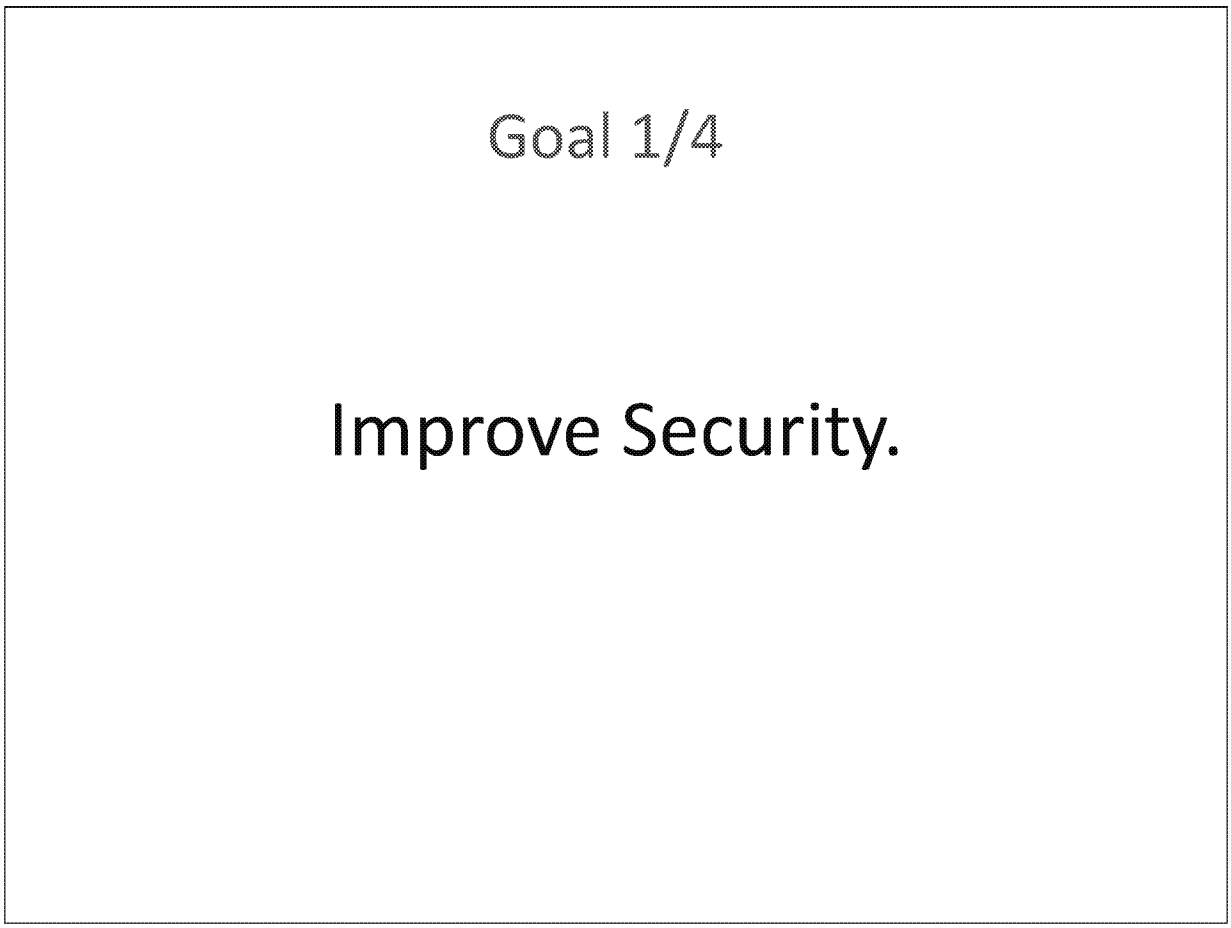
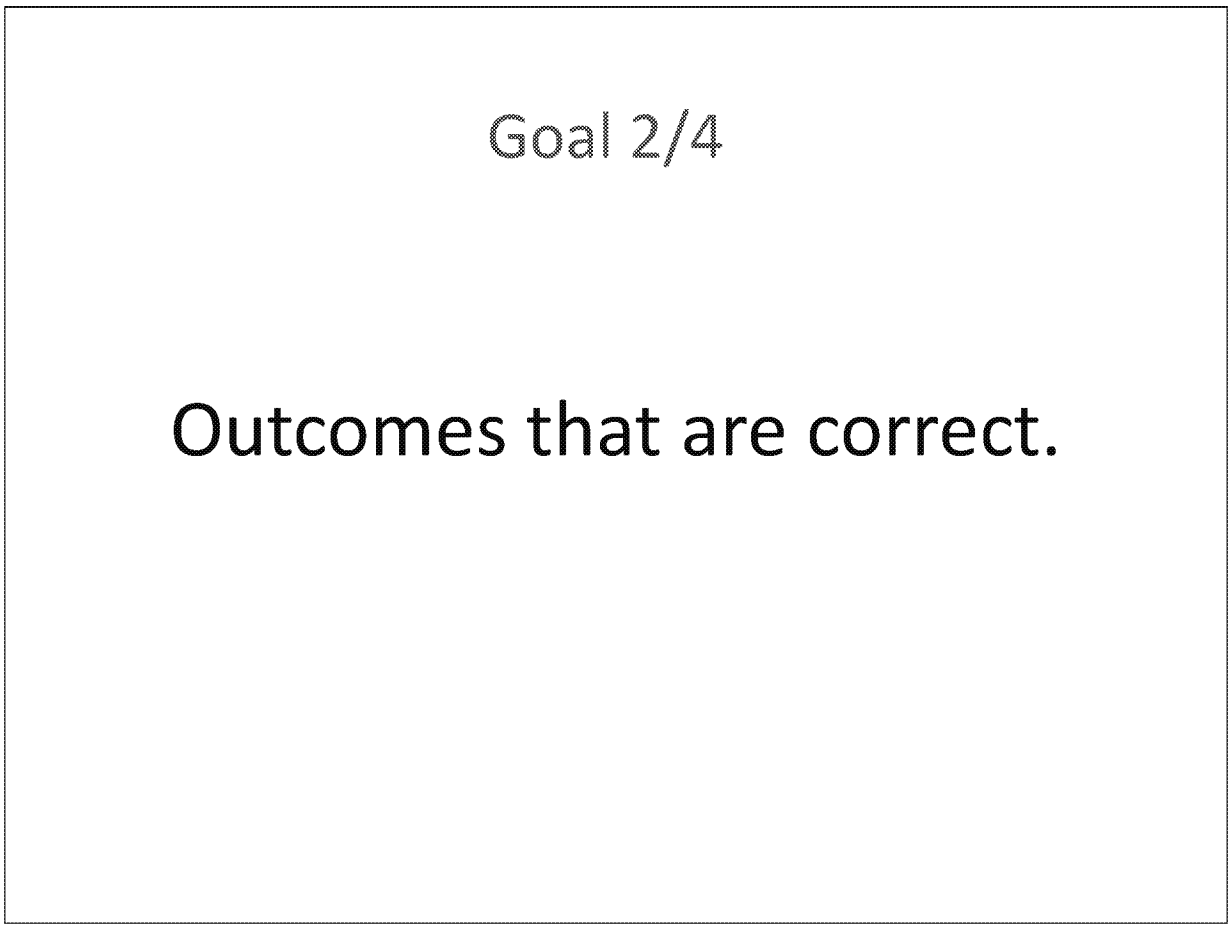
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

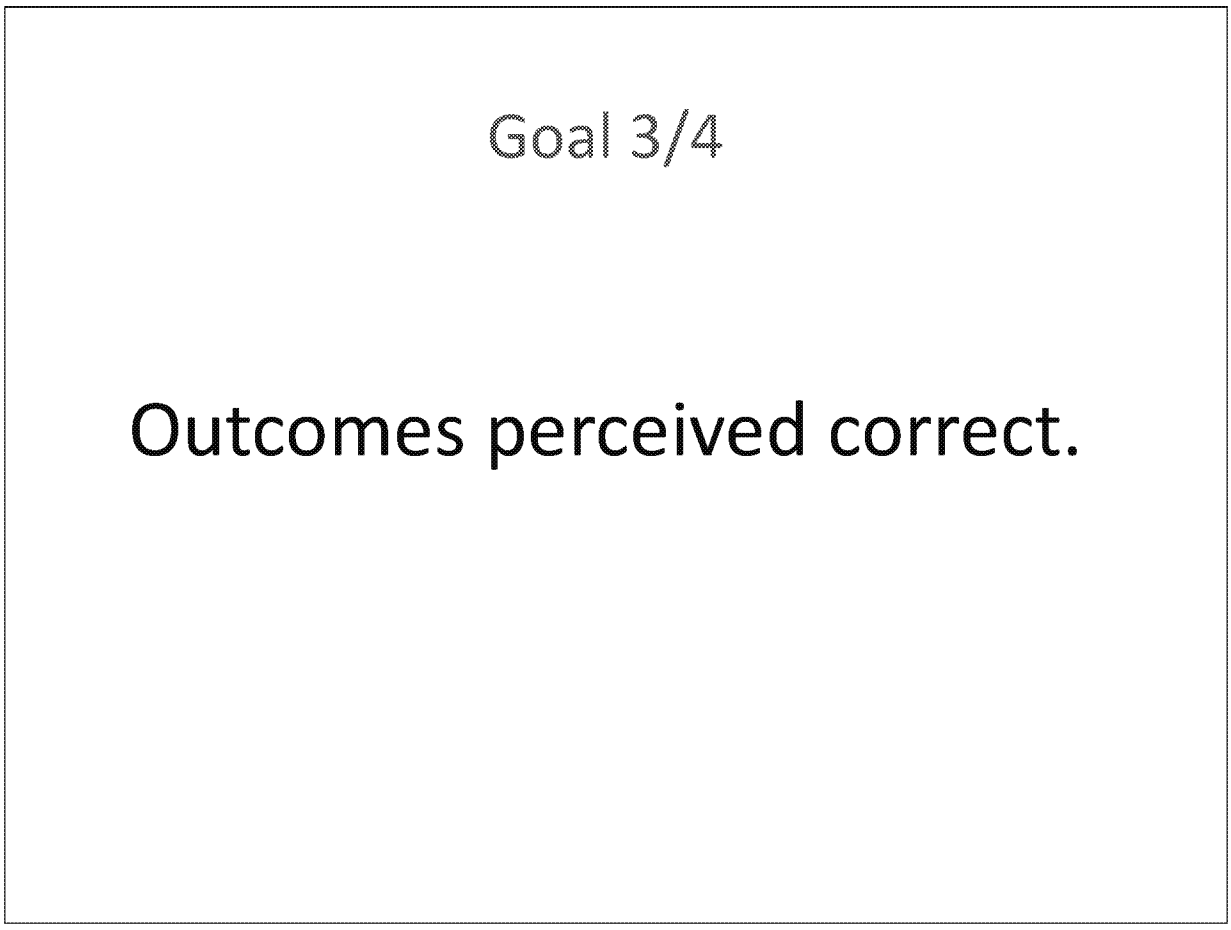
Let's start with four goals.



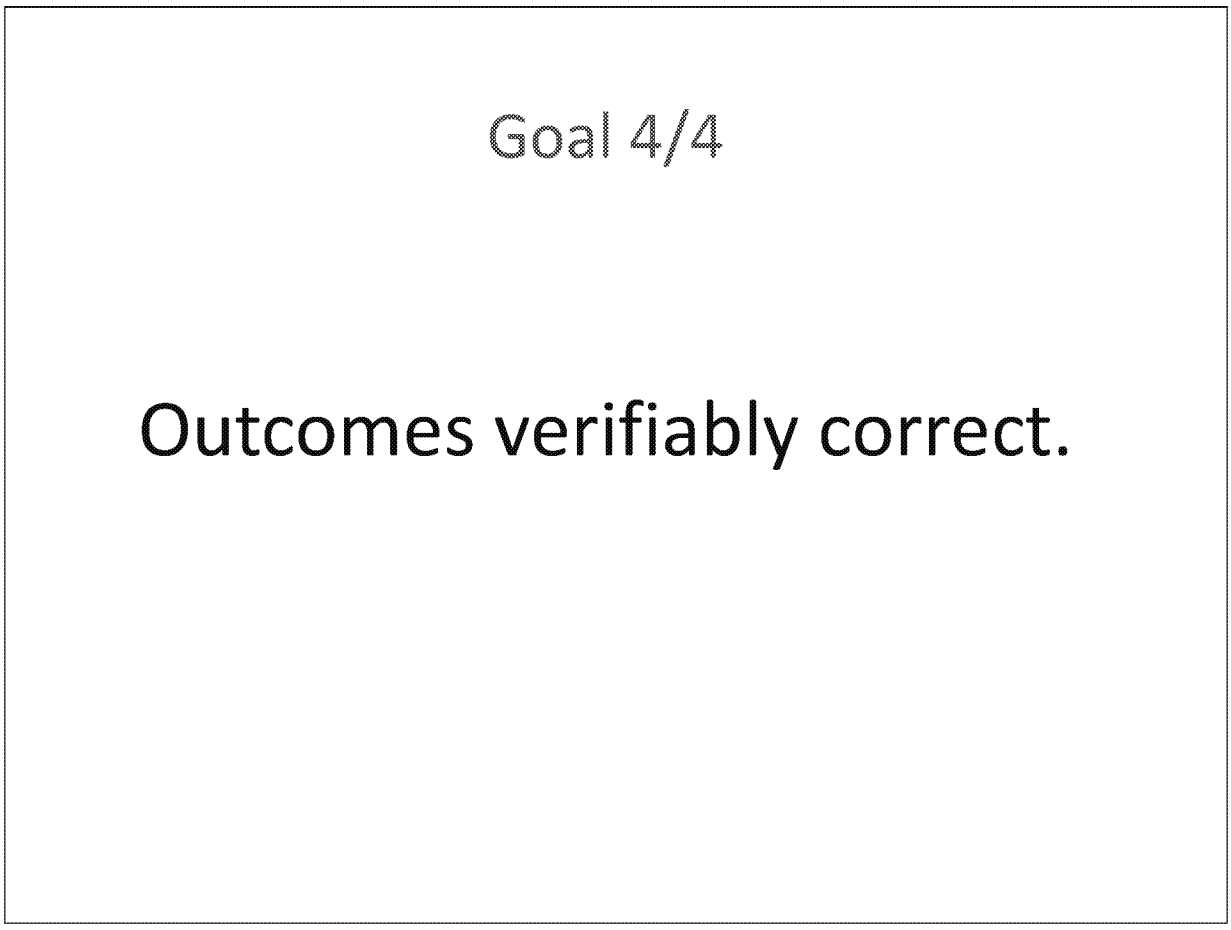
At the highest level, we wish to improve security of our voting systems. Security means, among other things, that every eligible voter is able to vote, is able to cast a vote as intended, and that election outcomes are accurate. I take a "process view" of voting: voting is not a "problem to be solved", but a "process to be continually improved". The way that the FAA manages airline security is a possible role model, since security against attack is a major concern in both cases. But voting is different: unlike air flight, a major voting disaster might be "silent": the wrong person might be elected and no one knows. One goal is thus to ensure that there are no such "silent disasters".



Let us focus on getting outcomes that are correct. Suppose we had a magic trained gorilla who, given a pile of ballots, would pick out one with the majority winner. We'd be getting the right answer, but... would this continue to happen? Computers are a lot like this "magic gorilla"... Stalin said, "The people who cast the votes decide nothing. The people who count the votes decide everything." Do we have to trust a gorilla? Or a computer?



For democracy to work, election outcomes must not only be correct, but must also be perceived to be correct. In particular, the loser and his/her supporters have to be convinced that they "lost fair and square". A gorilla isn't very convincing. Neither is a computer. Folks often trust that election outcomes are correct because they trust election officials, their procedures, and the vendors of voting computers. But such trust is hard to come by, and in any case is generic rather than specific to a particular election outcome.



So, we refine this goal once again. The ideal would be to allow each particular election outcome to be verified by anyone, including the losing candidates. Such verification requires credible evidence. Thus, an election must produce not only correct outcomes, but also convincing evidence that those outcomes are correct. I'll say that again, since it is perhaps my most important point. An election must produce not only correct outcomes, but also convincing evidence that those outcomes are correct. One form of credible evidence is a carefully curated paper trail consisting of voter-verified paper ballots.

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
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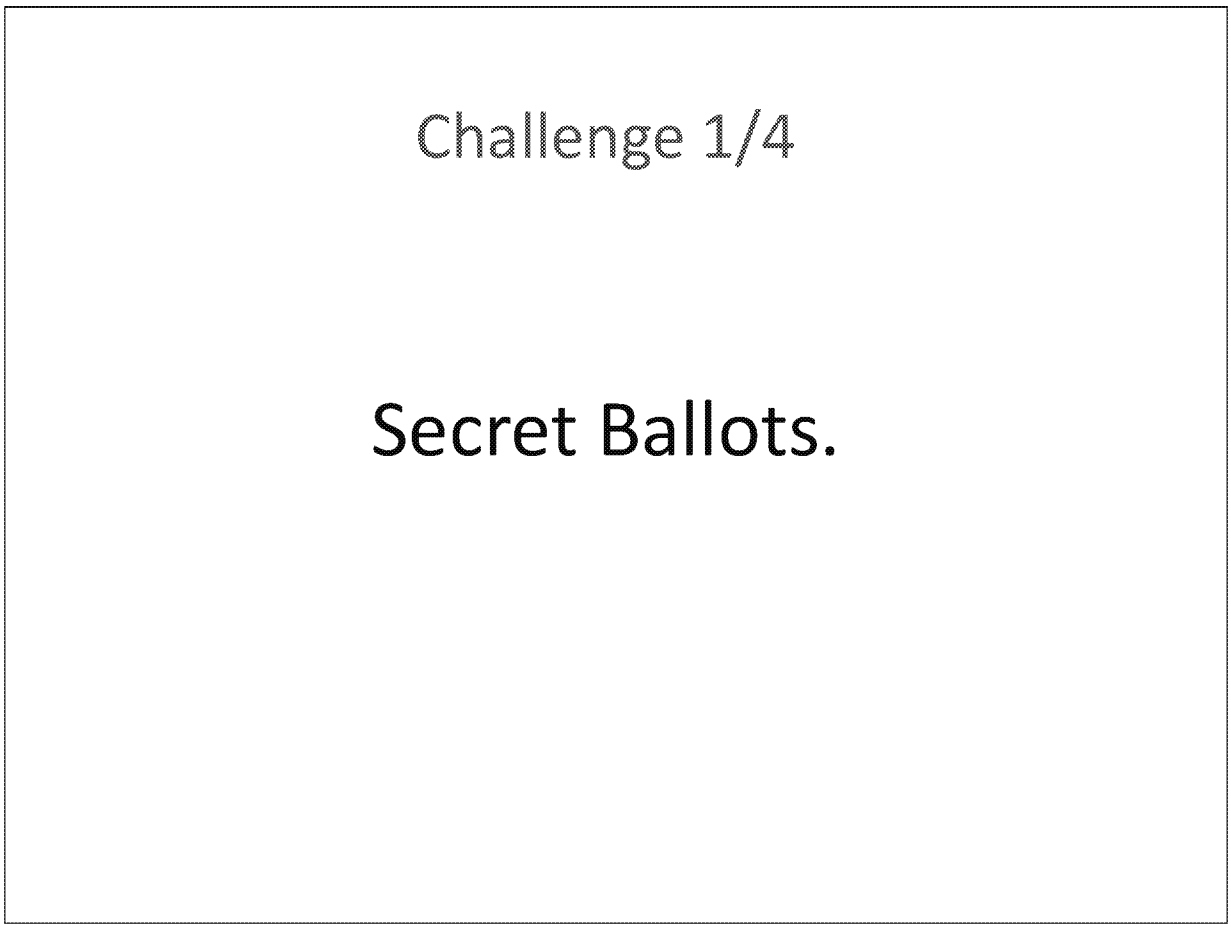
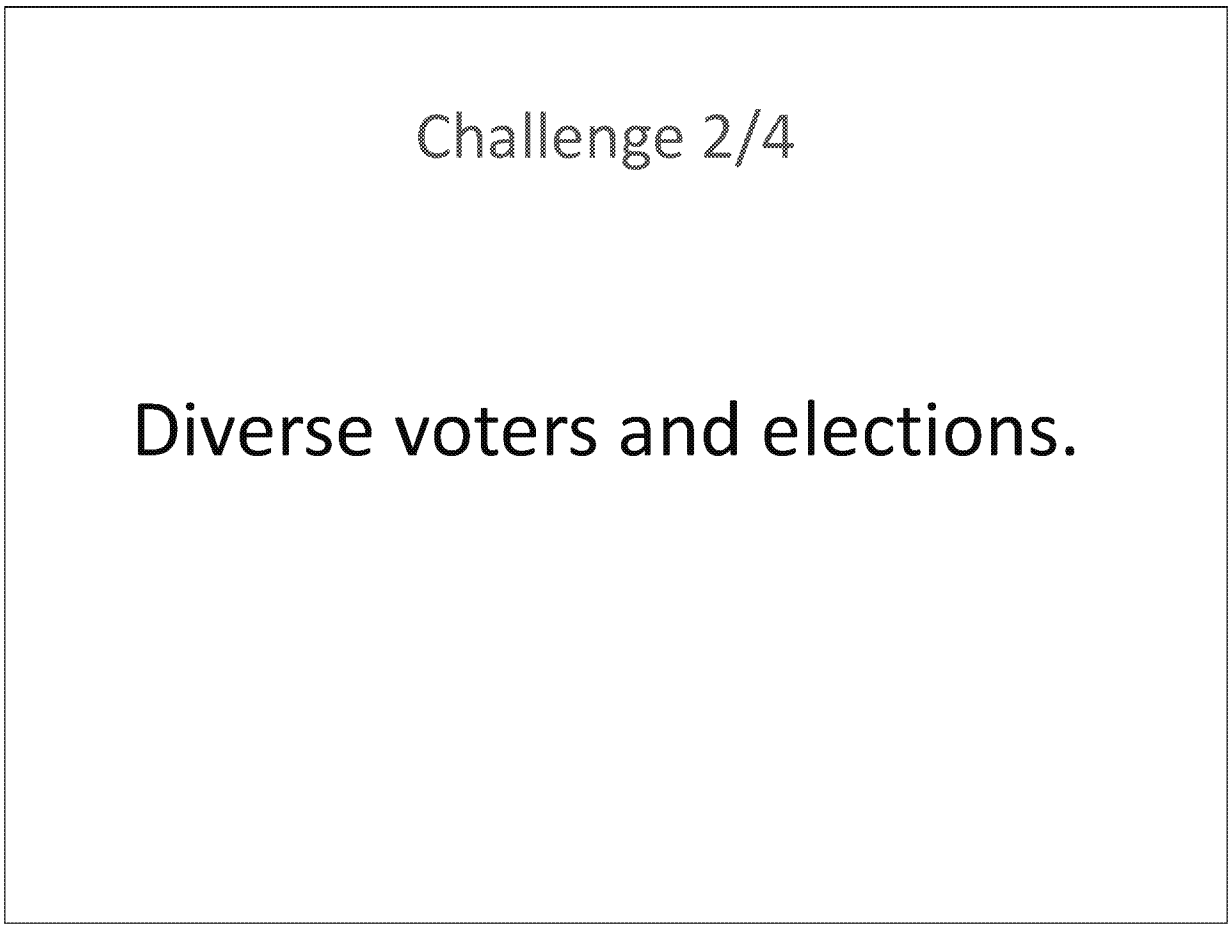
Let's look at four challenges to achieving these goals.



The most severe challenge to election security is ... the secret ballot. It is sensible to run an election so that no one can tell how a voter voted, even if the voter wishes it; this prevents vote-buying. Most countries have secret-ballot elections; the US has had them since the 1890s. But once ballots are decoupled from the identities of their voters, they are subject to manipulation and even wholesale replacement. The secret ballot thus distinguishes voting from say banking, where the identities of the parties to a transaction are always recorded in the audit trail.



Diverse voters and elections. US elections are incredibly ambitious. Elections are complex due to poll-site voting, vote-by-mail, provisional ballots, support for voters with disabilities, large ballots, complex voting methods such as IRV, and voter registration databases. Election integrity methods must produce evidence for correct election outcomes for all of these complexities.

We've always had adversaries---mostly insiders trying to stuff the ballot box. Today our voting systems are also under attack from foreign states and foreign actors. Moreover, these adversaries may be exceptionally well staffed, well-funded, and persistent. Bob Morris, Sr. (NSA) said, "You will always underestimate the amount of time and effort an adversary will devote to breaking your system." We should think of an Adversary not as a couple guys in a garage, but as an army of thousands of well-trained military folks who work 24/7 for years to disrupt and destroy American democracy. We can put a man on the Moon, if no one is shooting at us. We can elect a President, but only if our election systems can withstand attack. Moreover, no individual should be assumed to be above suspicion. The evidence should still show that the election outcome is correct, without having to trust any particular individuals or computers.

Election integrity doesn't come for free. Evidence must be generated, collected, and evaluated. Improved integrity may incur greater cost, may yield slower results, and may impact usability. Additional mechanisms for security will increase overall system complexity. Tradeoffs are inherent in any voting system. In the end, we still "want our lunch" -- that is, we want verifiably correct election outcomes. Research helps guide the way for doing so with minimal negative impact.

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- 4 Goals
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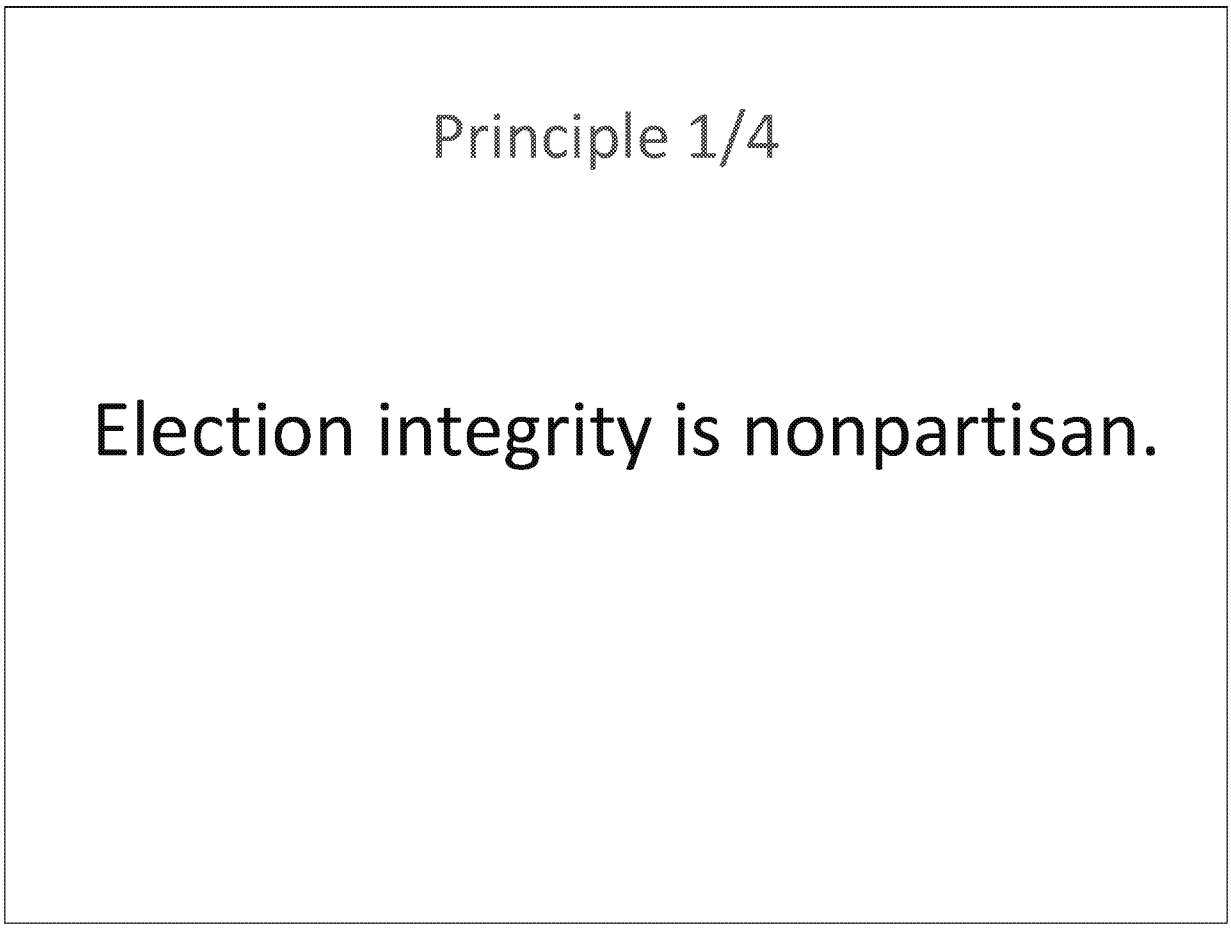
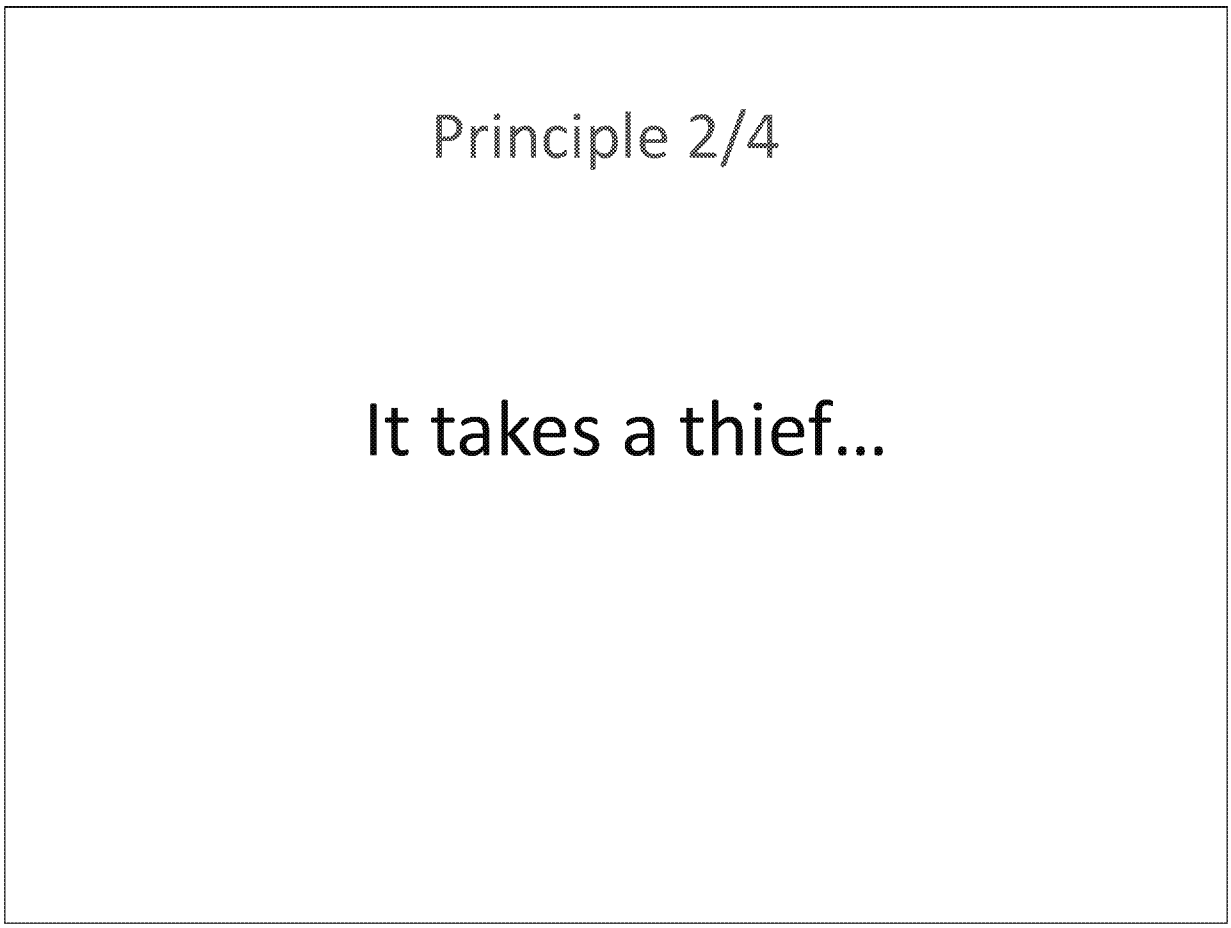
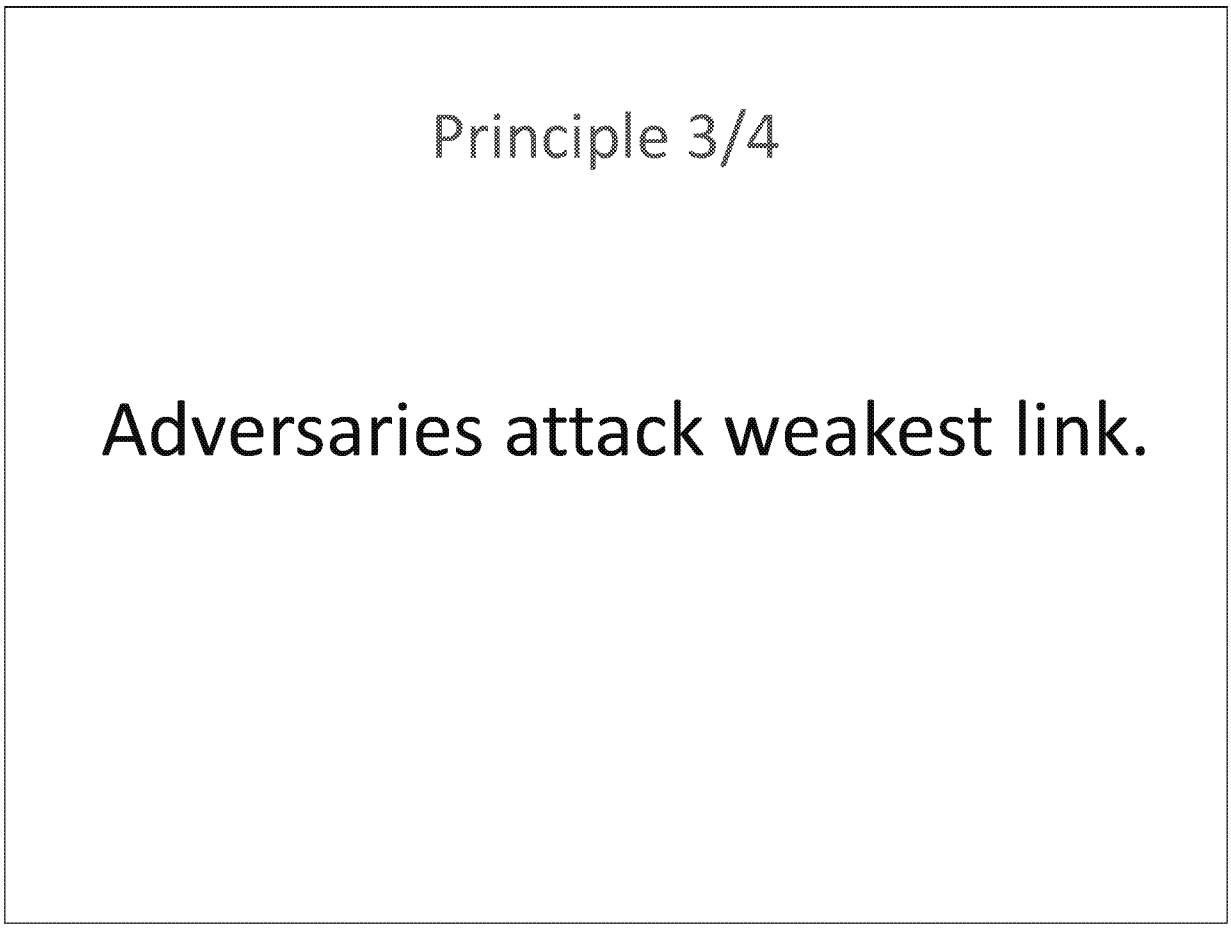
What principles might we keep in mind as we try to resolve these conflicts and achieve our goals?



Election integrity is nonpartisan. Democracy is a blessing we all enjoy, independent of party. The party that is "in" one year may be "out" on the next election. Adversaries may favor one side or the other, and that may change. I wouldn't be surprised to hear that Putin is now supporting the Democrats. We need to ensure that the mechanics of democracy run well and run fairly, without manipulation by anyone, no matter which party is running the country.



"It takes a thief... to catch a thief."
As I tell my students: to achieve security, you must "think like an Adversary". Harri Hursti and Professor Appel, on this panel, are among the best in the world at doing so. Events such as the recent DefCon "Voting Village" and the 2007 California "Top to Bottom Review" show how quickly and effectively some recent voting systems can be compromised. Thinking like an Adversary involves considering chance of success, chance of detection, and cost. An adversary may favor "wholesale fraud" (changing thousands of votes in a computer) over "retail fraud" (buying or changing votes one at a time).



An Adversary is most likely to find a "weakest link" and exploit it. It may be easier to corrupt a vendor than to corrupt 8000 election jurisdictions. It may be easier to corrupt a voter-registration database than to corrupt the tabulation system. Software is notoriously fragile: a voting system may have millions of lines of code (more than there are voters!), many of which may be "weak links". (Commercial code routinely has several bugs per thousand lines of code, in spite of best efforts.) That is why we might think of software as "the gorilla", and aim for voting systems that are "software independent" (where we don't have to trust the gorilla).

Principle 4/4

Detect and Recover.

Security mechanisms come in two forms: "prevention" and "detection". Prevention mechanisms try to keep bad things from happening. "Detection" mechanisms try to detect when something bad has happened. Both mechanisms are good and may be used together, but prevention methods frequently fail silently. A detection mechanism can tell you something has gone wrong, and allow you to invoke an associated "recovery" method. As we shall see, a post-election audit is an excellent and simple detection mechanism, with a full hand recount serving as the associated recovery method.

Outline

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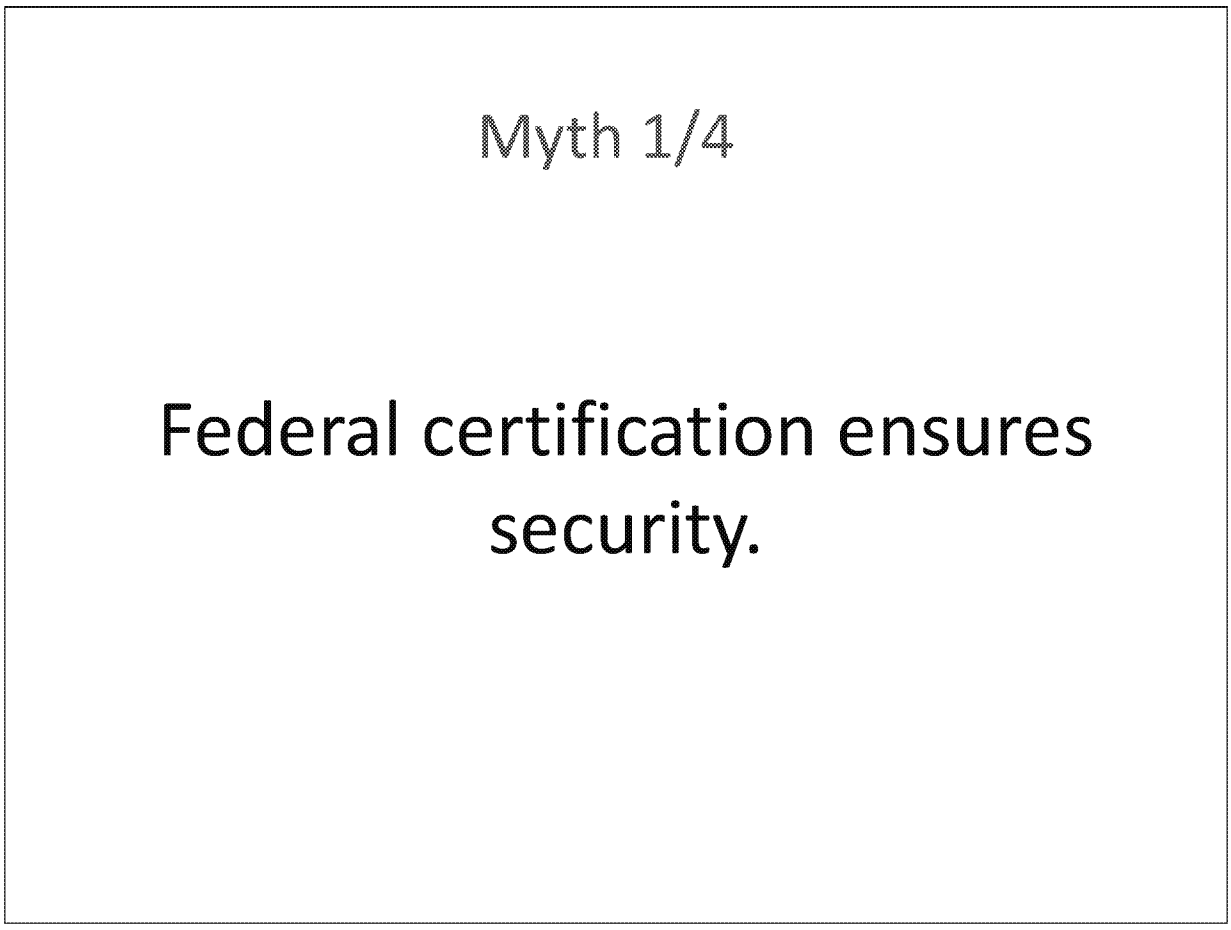
Let's move on to "myths". It is way too easy to infer that a voting system is secure, based on false assumptions or erroneous rules of thumb.

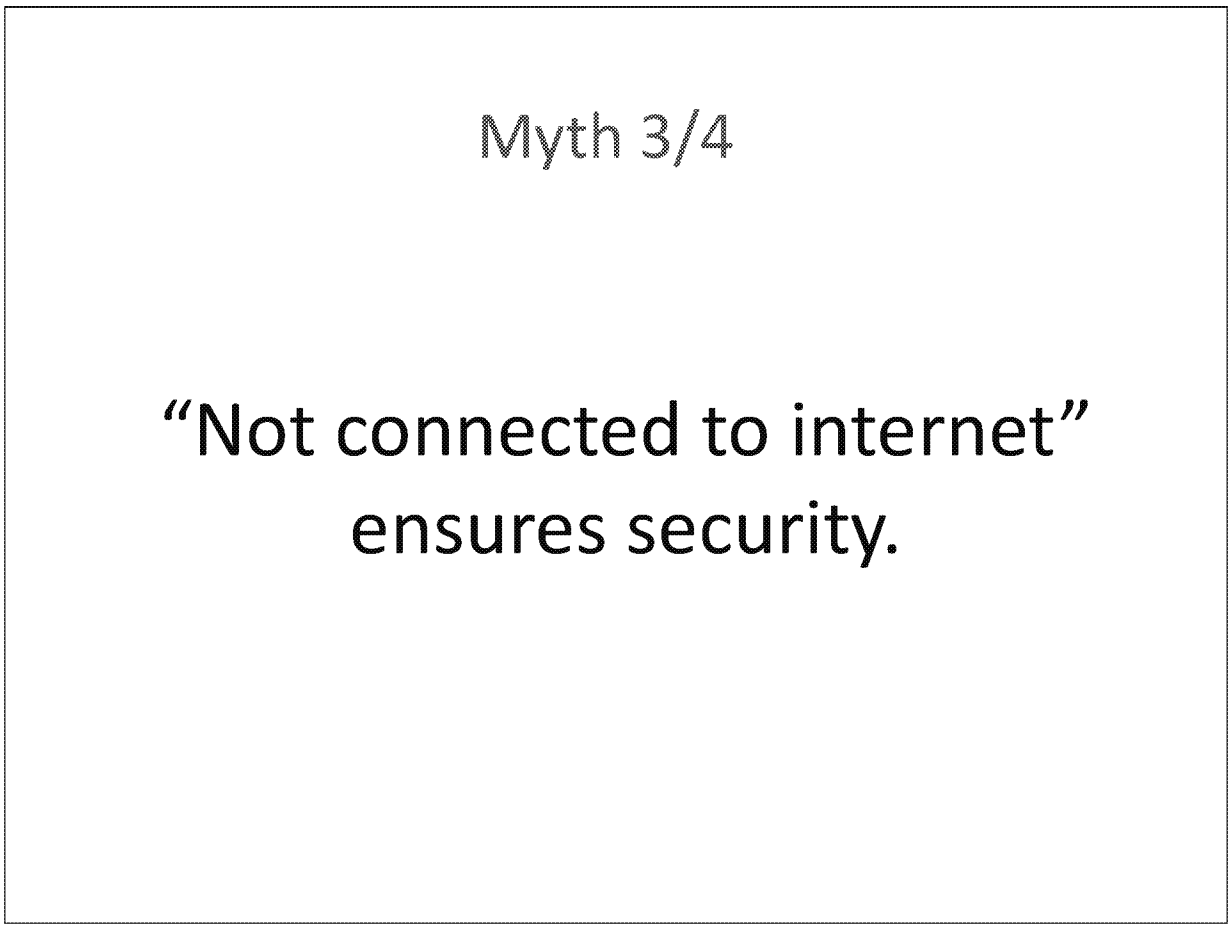


Myth number one: Federal certification ensures security. I was chair of the TGDC "Security and Privacy" subcommittee from 2004--2009; I have some understanding of the certification process. The current certification process is better than nothing, but is hardly an assurance of security, any more than a military parade inspection ensures that an army is ready for battle. Furthermore, there is little or nothing done to check that the voting system software running is even the voting system software that was certified. You can't trust a voting system just because it is certified.

Myth 2/4

Logic and accuracy testing ensures security.

Myth number two: Logic and Accuracy Testing ensures security. Before an election, officials check that a voting system is capable of correctly tabulating a "test deck" of sample ballots. As Professor Appel has argued, such a test is more of a sanity check than any proof that the system is secure. A voting system may easily pass such a logic and accuracy test and then miscount or mis-record the actual ballots.



Myth number three: "Not connected to the internet" ensures security. This is perhaps the most dangerous myth. First of all, folks often don't realize that services such as fax and phone are now done "over the internet". Second, it is not only what happens on Election Day that is important. Are any of these machines connected to the Internet on other days? Perhaps to update their software? What about other computers of election officials or vendors? And the Stuxnet attack on Iranian nuclear sites, shows that even disconnected computers may be attacked successfully.

Myth 4/4

Decentralization ensures security.

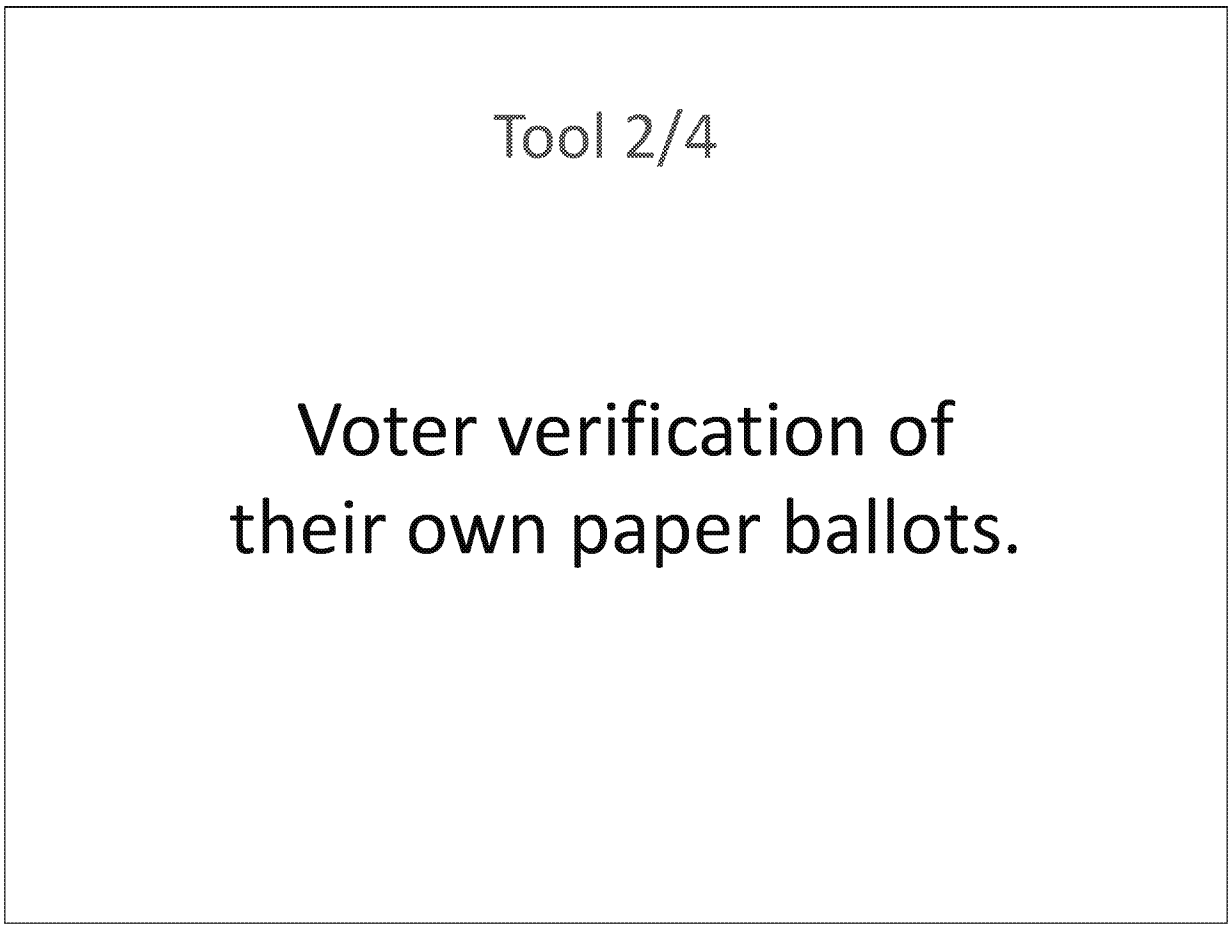
Myth number four: Decentralization ensures security. It is often said that US voting is hard to attack because it is so decentralized. Yes, there are many jurisdictions (7858 according to Brace). But only 462 jurisdictions account for 2/3 of the voters. Moreover, an Adversary may have good polling data, just like the parties do, and be able to "target" attacks on key swing states and jurisdictions. Also, a large well-funded Adversary with thousands of staff may be able to devote two or three attackers per jurisdiction. Finally, every election -- even small ones -- deserve protection!

Outline

- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

What tools are available? Fighting fraud requires systems that generate evidence when fraud occurs, and procedures that use such evidence to detect fraud and recover from it. Let's look at four such tools.

Public verification of (almost) everything. To maximize public confidence that election outcomes are correct, almost all the evidence generated during an election should be available for public review. The only exception is for evidence that shows how individual voters voted. We must preserve the secret ballot. Evidence should not be withheld as "proprietary" or available only in opaque formats. When the evidence is tangible -- as with paper ballots -- it may be that not every voter will be able to review the evidence, but that proxies and representative of the parties and candidates may do so.

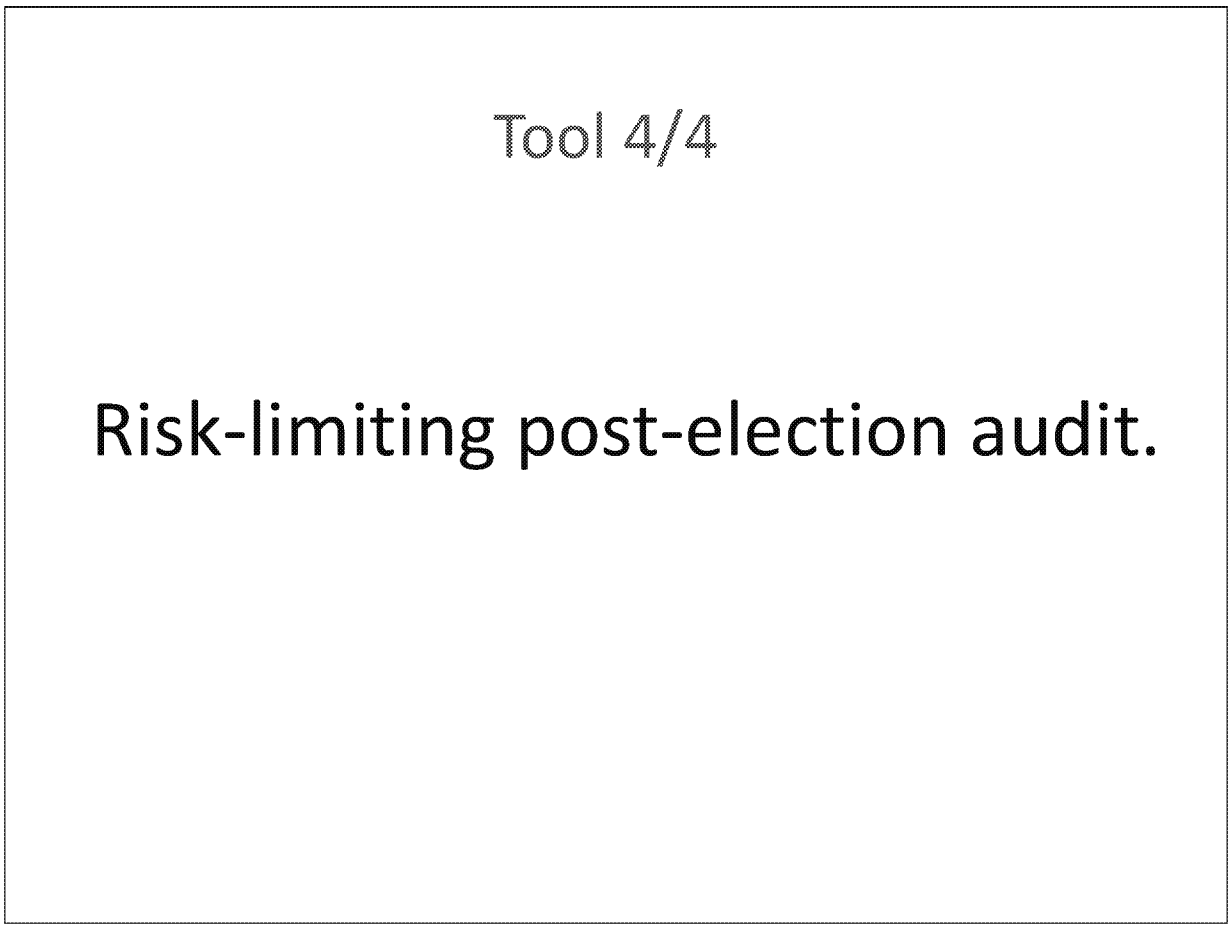


The public can't verify everything. In particular, only a voter knows how he/she intended to vote. The best way to allow voters to verify that their intentions are correctly captured is to use a paper ballot that the voter reviews before casting it. By contrast, DREs only provide a software interface to the actual vote storage -- and such an interface may say it is recording the voter's choices while it is actually recording something else. I note that within the last few days Virginia decided to scrap its DREs in favor of voter-verified paper ballots. A good move.

Tool 3/4

Compliance audit.

As we have seen: election integrity is all about the evidence.
The purpose of a compliance audit is to provide assurance that evidence is credible: the number of cast ballots is correct, a secure chain of custody has been maintained, and so on.



Finally, we get to my favorite tool: a risk-limiting post-election audit. A risk-limiting audit is designed to provide assurance that a reported election outcome is supported by the evidence, where the evidence is a collection of voter-verified paper ballots. The audit uses statistics, looking at randomly sampled ballots until the desired level of assurance is achieved. A specified "risk limit" (say five percent) bounds the chance that an incorrect reported election outcome won't be detected and corrected (by a full hand count). A risk-limiting audit can be incredibly efficient, examining only a handful of randomly-selected ballots before terminating, if the reported outcome is correct and the margin of victory is not tiny.

Outline

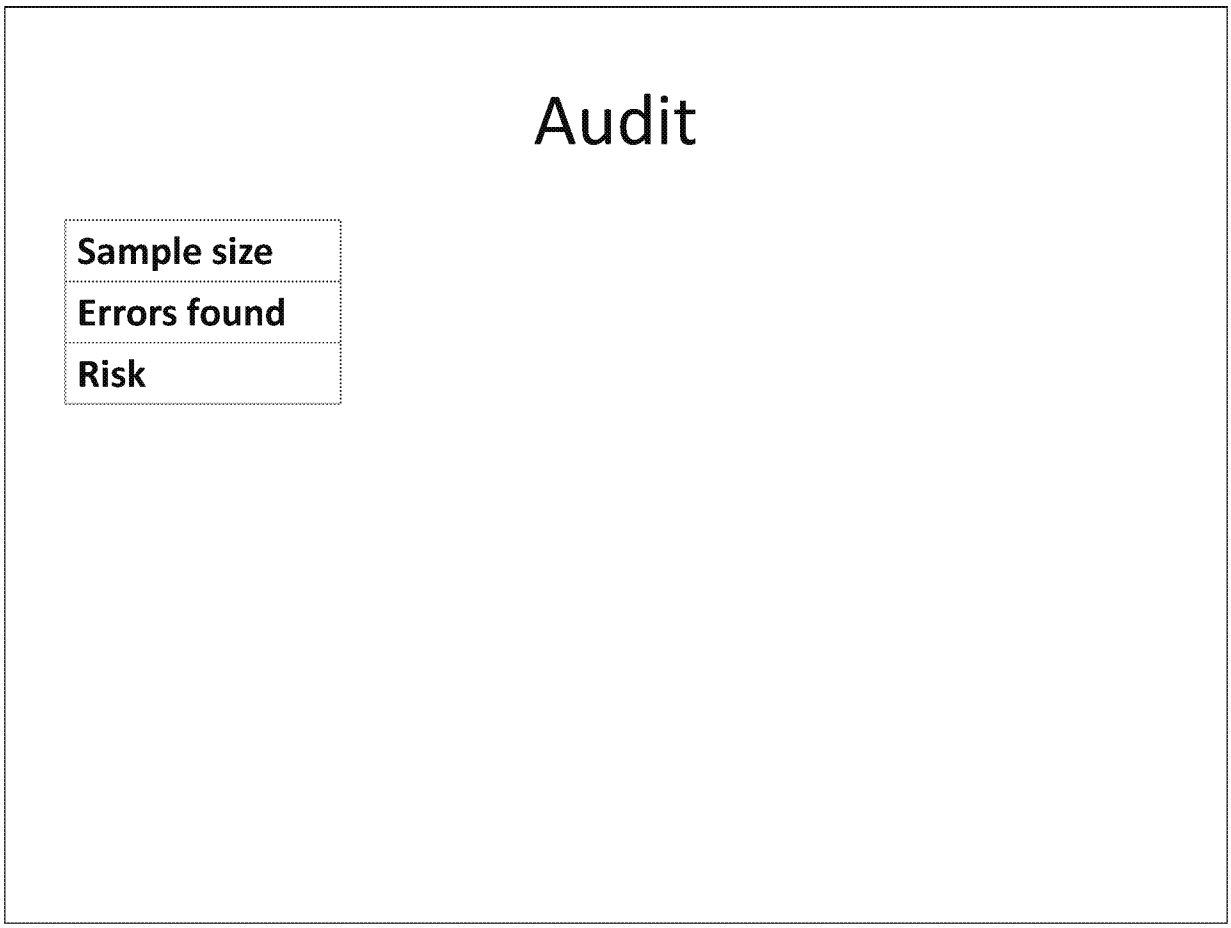
- 4 Goals
- 4 Challenges
- 4 Principles
- 4 Myths
- 4 Tools
- Example: hypothetical NH post-election audit

Let's look at an example.

Example: 2016 NH Governor

- Reported outcome:
  - 354,040 Chris Sununu
  - 337,589 Colin Van Ostern
  - 33,234 others
- Margin of victory: 2.4%
- *Comparison risk-limiting audit* compares randomly chosen paper ballots with their cast vote records until “risk limit” (e.g. five percent) is met.

Consider the 2016 race for Governor of NH.
Chris Sununu reportedly had roughly 354,000 votes, Chris Van Ostern had 338,000, and others had 33,000. The margin of victory was 2.4%. Suppose we had wished to audit this race, using a "comparison risk-limiting audit", where each randomly-chosen paper ballot is compared with its corresponding
electronic record, until our target "risk limit" (five percent)
was met.



We start sampling, noting where the scanner made errors recording the paper ballots. As we go, we compute the "risk" -- the chance that an incorrect election outcome wouldn't have been detected.

Audit

Sample size	100
Errors found	0
Risk	33%

After sampling 100 ballots, we have zero errors, but have a risk level of thirty-three percent. There is a 33% chance that if Colin Van Ostern really won, we wouldn't have detected it. This is too high!

Audit

Sample size	100	200
Errors found	0	0
Risk	33%	10%

After sampling another 100 ballots, we still have no errors detected. The measured risk has dropped to ten percent. Since our risk limit is five percent, we keep going.

Audit

Sample size	100	200	300
Errors found	0	0	0
Risk	33%	10%	4%

We examine another 100 ballots, bringing the total number of ballots examined to 300. Our measured risk drops to four percent, and we can stop the audit! We can confirm Sununu as the winner!

Audit

Sample size	100	200	300
Errors found	0	0	0
Risk	33%	10%	4%

Examining only 300 randomly-chosen ballots
(out of 724,863 cast) achieves our “risk limit” of 5% !

We see that a risk-limiting audit can be astonishingly efficient. Here we looked at only 300 ballots, which is less than one out of every 1000 ballots cast. Surprisingly, with the same margin of victory, we would expect to have to examine the same number (300) of randomly-selected ballots, even for an audit of the entire US. The size of the audit doesn't scale with the number of cast votes. It does scale inversely with the margin of victory, so a very close election requires more work (as one would expect) to confirm the reported election outcome.

References

- Stark, P.B., and D.A. Wagner, 2012. Evidence-Based Elections. *IEEE Security & Privacy*, *10*, 33–41.
- Lindeman, M. and P.B. Stark, 2012. A Gentle Introduction to Risk-Limiting Audits. *IEEE Security & Privacy*, *10*, 42–49.

I highly recommend these two papers, on evidence-based elections and risk-limiting audits, for more discussion and details.

The End

Thanks for your attention!

Remember -- it's all about the evidence!
A voting system should not only produce the correct
result, but should produce evidence capable of revealing
fraud, when fraud has occurred. Voter verified paper ballots, coupled with post-election audits, are today's "best practice".
Thanks for your attention!

Message

From: Andrew Appel [appel@CS.Princeton.EDU]
Sent: 9/17/2017 4:10:36 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: Re: Tomorrow's Meeting

Dear Mr. Kossack:

Please let me know how to submit my travel expenses for reimbursement.

Sincerely,

Andrew Appel

From: "Andrew J. EOP Kossack" <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
To: "Andrew J. EOP Kossack" <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Sent: Monday, September 11, 2017 7:40:48 PM
Subject: Tomorrow's Meeting

Dear Presenters,

Welcome to New Hampshire! Here are a few details for tomorrow's meeting.

Please try to arrive at St. Anselm's by 8:30 a.m. The address is 8 St. Anselm Drive, Manchester, NH 03102. The Institute's auditorium is near the corner of St. Anselm Drive and Rockland Avenue.

Parking is limited, so please make every effort to use cabs, other public transportation, or carpool. I have attached a parking pass for those who will be driving. If you do not have the ability to print this parking pass, please call me or Ron Williams (Ron's cell is [redacted]) when you arrive and we can bring one out to you.

Again, for your reference, meeting materials are posted here: https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-advisory-commission-election-integrity-resources.

If you have any questions or concerns, please call.

Thanks again!
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

-----Original Message-----
From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Friday, September 8, 2017 2:22 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>

Subject: Meeting Materials for Sept. 12th

Thank you again for participating in the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity's meeting on September 12th. We look forward to your presentation.

I've attached the meeting materials for next week's meeting for your review. Please let us know if there are any issues with your materials, or if you have any additional materials you'd like to present to the Commission. We're in the process of posting the attached materials now, and will need to post any additional materials before close of business today.

If you have any questions, please let me know.

Again, thank you!
Andrew

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/5/2017 10:15:13 PM
To: John Lott [johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Subject: RE: travel booking

Thanks, John! Likewise; I am excited to meet you as well.

Still no word on the travel yet, but I'll let you know as soon as I get confirmation. Thanks for your patience.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: John Lott [mailto:johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 3:23 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: travel booking

Great, thank you very much, Andrew! I am looking forward to meeting you next week. Thank you.

John R. Lott, Jr., Ph.D.
President
Crime Prevention Research Center
>http://crimeresearch.org<
johnrlott@crimeresearch.org
(484) 802-5373

On Tuesday, September5, 2017, at Tuesday, September 5, 3:07 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

Hi John,

Per our conversation, here are the instructions for booking travel through GSA:

Booking Travel to New Hampshire Instructions

Members or their support staff who have established traveler accounts with GSA can call the travel agent directly to book their travel.

ADTRAV (GSA travel agent): 877-472-6716, available 24/7

Key Information when calling the travel agent:

- ADTRAV will recognize members by first and last name and agency--which is the General Services Administration (GSA) for the purposes of this travel.
- Have a personal credit card available--hotel will be booked using a personal card. Members can choose their hotel and will be reimbursed up to the maximum per diem rate for Manchester, NH ($108/night) (keep hotel receipts)
- The committee has budgeted for travel for up to 3 days per member between 9/11 and 9/13. Arrangements should be made within those parameters.
- Members (or their staff) should tell the agent the traveler's date of birth if making airline reservations. This is a requirement in order for tickets to be issued.

Travelers will need to follow federal regulations governing travel. Key points:

- Hotel: Max lodging per diem rate reimbursed for Manchester, NH in September: $108 (keep hotel receipts--reimbursed up to $108. Lodging taxes will be reimbursed separately as well.) The travel agent can help members find rooms at or below per diem.
- Airfare: Must use coach class and the contract carrier fare (booked by travel agent)
    - Exceptions to contract fare must be documented/justified--e.g., Timing of contract fare flights do not allow traveler to meet mission or non-contract fare is less expensive
- Meals & Incidental Expenses (MI&E): reimbursed $64 per day for Manchester; $48 on first & last day of travel (no receipts needed, reimbursed $64 for full day and $48 for first and last day of travel)
- Rental cars: Receipt required for all expenses
- Taxis/metro: reimbursed for official business related to the committee--e.g., to/from airport, to/from committee meetings (keep receipts)
- Other (i.e. airline baggage fees): Reimbursed (keep receipts)

Airfare will be booked through the travel agent and paid directly by GSA. All other approved travel expenses (hotel; MI&E; taxis) will be paid for using the member's personal card and will subsequently be reimbursed. Details on reimbursement process will be provided upon completion of the travel.

If members or their staff have questions regarding the above that the travel agent can't answer, please don't hesitate to have the members' staff reach out to Valerie Whittington or Kris Palmer.

valerie.whittington@gsa.gov - 202-501-3395

kris.palmer@gsa.gov - 202-501-0525

You'll either get confirmation directly that you can book, or I'll let you know once I hear you're confirmed through the system. Hopefully we'll get that yet today.

Thanks again for helping us with the Thursday deadline for materials. Apologies again for the time crunch, but we really appreciate your flexibility.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

Message

From: John Lott [johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Sent: 9/7/2017 4:16:11 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: Re: travel booking
Attachments: Testimony Election Integrity Commission.pptx

Flag: Follow up

Dear Andrew:

I took care of the travel arrangements. Thanks.

Attached is a rough PowerPoint for my talk. I have included a discussion on one of the three issues that we discussed, the use of NICS to check eligibility to vote. After thinking about it, I didn't think that it would have the same problems as the other two ideas. However, if you would rather I didn't discuss this, please let me know.

Since you are supposed to make all this public, here is the research that I will be discussing.

>https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=925611<

I assume that minor changes on the presentation are probably acceptable. Note, I have obviously more here than I can go through, but I thought that it was better to go long at this point and have slides that I could refer to if questions arise. However, if I do change, it will be to shorten what I have here.

Thanks.

John R. Lott, Jr., Ph.D.
President
Crime Prevention Research Center
>http://crimeresearch.org<
johnrlott@crimeresearch.org
(484) 802-5373

On Wednesday, September6, 2017, at Wednesday, September 6, 6:27 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

Hi John,

I finally received word that you're clear to book your travel. Please let me know if you have any trouble.

Thanks!
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: John Lott [mailto:johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 3:23 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: travel booking

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John R. Lott, Jr., Ph.D.
President
Crime Prevention Research Center
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(484) 802-5373

<image001.jpg>

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Thanks again for helping us with the Thursday deadline for materials. Apologies again for the time crunch, but we really appreciate your flexibility.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

Presentation to Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity: A suggestion and some evidence

John R Lott, Jr.

How to check if the right people are voting

- Republicans worry about voting by ineligible people.
- Democrats say that Republicans are just imagining things.

How to check if the right people are voting

- Republicans worry about voting by ineligible people.
- Democrats say that Republicans are just imagining things.
- Something that might make both happy?
  - apply the background check system for gun purchases to voting

Democrats' views on the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS)

- Democrats have long lauded background checks on gun purchases as simple, accurate, and in complete harmony with the second amendment right to own guns

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Democrats' views on the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS)

- Democrats have long lauded background checks on gun purchases as simple, accurate, and in complete harmony with the second amendment right to own guns
- Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) has bragged that the checks "make our communities and neighborhoods safer without in any way abridging rights or threatening a legitimate part of the American heritage."
- If NICS doesn't interfere "in any way" with people's constitutional right to self defense, doesn't it follow that it would work for the right to vote?

What NICS Does

- Determines
- criminal histories (felonies and for misdemeanor domestic violence)
- whether a person is an illegal alien, has a non-immigrant visa, or has renounced his citizenship
- NICS doesn't currently flag people who are on immigrant visas, but that could be added

However, many will likely argue that NICS will “abridge” voting rights.

- Most obvious objection is the cost
  - fees that gun buyers have to pay on private transfers can be quite substantial, ranging from $55 in Oregon to $175 in Washington, DC
- But a solution would simply be that states pick up this cost

Evidence of Voter Fraud and the Impact that Regulations to Reduce Fraud have on Voter Participation Rates

- Current debate, Trade off ignored in US debate
  - Making voting more costly
  - Increasing return to voting

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- Difficult to evaluate whether people perceive vote fraud as a significant problem
  - Problems with Polling
  - Other research looks at Photo IDs in isolation from other voting laws

- Current debate, Trade off ignored in US debate
  - Making voting more costly
  - Increasing return to voting
- Difficult to evaluate whether people perceive vote fraud as a significant problem
  - Problems with Polling
  - Other research looks at Photo IDs in isolation from other voting laws
- Almost 100 countries require that voters present a photo ID in orders to vote.

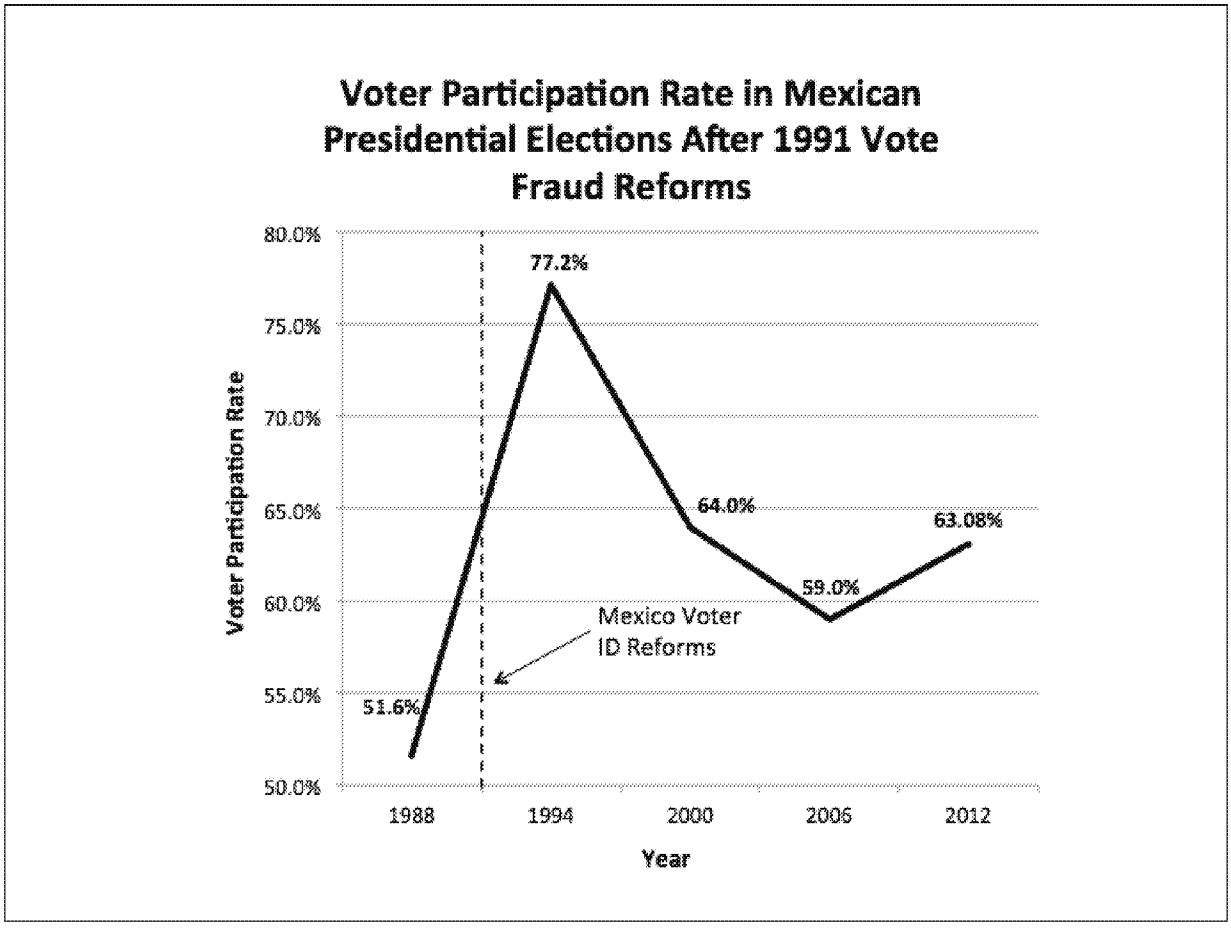
Is it useful to look at percentage of the population with Government issued Photo IDs?

- Discussion typically ignores that people can adjust their behavior.
  - Just because they don't have a photo ID at some point in time (when they may not have any reason to have such an ID), doesn't imply that they won't get one when they have a good reason to do so.
- A better measure is probably percent of those registered to vote before IDs were required who have driver's licenses.
  - But even that ignores the fact that many voter registration lists have not been updated to remove people who have died or moved away

Mexico's 1991 Election Reform

- Many would view Mexico's requirements to get a ID to vote as draconian.
- Only one type of ID accepted to vote. Contains both a photo and thumbprint.
- Must go in person to register and go in again to pick up the ID.
  - At least immediately after the reform, distances needed to travel to get the IDs could be substantial.
- Must show a birth certificate or other proof of citizenship, another form of government issued photo identification, and a recent utility bill.
- Reform banned absentee ballots

- So what would these new requirements do to voter turnout?
- Also, remember that turnout in elections prior to 1991 had been plagued by well acknowledged ballot box stuffing. Few take voter participation rate data seriously prior to late 1980s.


Voter Participation Rate in Mexican Presidential Elections After 1991 Vote Fraud Reforms
80.0%
75.0%
70.0%
65.0%
60.0%
55.0%
50.0%
Voter Participation Rate
77.2%
64.0%
63.08%
59.0%
51.6%
Mexico Voter ID Reforms
1988
1994
2000
2006
2012
Year

Alternative Predicted Impacts of Voter IDs

- Explaining reduction in measured voter participation rate
  - Higher cost of voting: As the cost of voting goes up, fewer people will vote (Discouraging Voter Hypothesis)
  - Elimination of Fraud
  - Thus reduced participation rate may not be bad.

- Why you can get an increased voter participation rate
  - Ensuring Integrity Hypothesis
- All can be occurring simultaneously.
- Question is what dominates.

- How to disentangle the possible effects that voting regulations can have?
- The simplest test is whether different voting regulations systematically alter voter participation rates for different groups supposedly at risk
- The second and more powerful test is to examine what happens to voter participation rates in those geographic areas where voter fraud is claimed to be occurring. If the laws have a much bigger impact in areas where fraud is said to be occurring, that would provide evidence for the Eliminating Fraud and/or Ensuring Integrity hypotheses.

- **Voting Regulations**
- Rules that make fraud harder
  - Photo ID
  - Non-Photo ID
  - Provisional ballots? (John Fund (2004))
- Rules that make fraud easier
  - Same day registration
  - Absentee ballots, particularly without an excuse
  - Registration by mail
  - Voting by mail
  - Pre-election in poll voting

Lots of Different Regulations can impact Voter Turnout

- Campaign finance laws
  - Entrenching incumbents lowers turnout
  - May not change total amount spent, but by changing who is spending it, can make the money spent less efficiently.
- Other factors also matter
  - Races for presidency, governorship, and senate, and the closeness of those races
  - Number and type of ballot initiatives, demographics, income, economy

Data

- The data here constitute county level data for general and primary elections. The general election data goes from 1996 to 2004. For the primary election, the data go represents the time period from July 1996 to July 2006 for the Republican and Democratic primaries.
- Why county level data?
  - Generally have much bigger demographic differences within than across states.

Table 1: Number of States with Different Voting Regulations from 1996 to July 2006						
Regulation	Year					
Voting Regulation	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006
Photo ID (Substitutes allowed, the one exception was Indiana in 2006, which did not allow substitutes)	1	2	4	4	6	8
Non-photo ID	15	14	10	25	44	45
Absentee Ballot with No Excuse	10	14	21	21	24	27
Provisional Ballot	29	29	26	36	44	46
Pre-election day in poll voting/in-person absentee voting	8	10	31	31	34	36
Closed Primary	21	19	22	29	30	24
Vote by mail*	0	0	1	1	1	2
Same day registration	3	3	4	4	4	6
Registration by mail	46	46	46	46	49	50
Registration Deadline in Days	22.94	23.45	23.49	23.00	22.75	22.31

* Thirty-four of Washington State's counties will have an all-mail primary election in 2006, but it is after the period studied in this paper. "In the counties with operational poll sites for the public at large, which include King, Kittitas, Klickitat, Island, and Pierce, an estimated 67 percent of the electorate will still cast a mail ballot." US State News, "Office of Secretary of State Warns: Be cautious with your primary ballots – splitting tickets to cost votes," US State News (Olympia, Washington), August 29, 2006.

Table 2: The Average Voter Turnout Rate for States that Change Their Regulations: Comparing When Their Voting Regulations are and are Not in Effect (Examining General Elections from 1996 to 2004)			
	Average Voter Turnout Rate During Those Elections that the Regulation is not in Effect	Average Voter Turnout Rate During Those Elections that the Regulation is in Effect	Absolute t-test statistic for whether these Averages are Different from Each Other
Photo ID (Substitutes allowed)	55.31%	53.79%	1.6154
Non-photo ID	51.85%	54.77%	7.5818***
Non-photo ID (Assuming that Photo ID rules are not in effect during the years that Non-photo IDs are not in Effect)	51.92%	54.77%	7.0487***
Absentee Ballot with No Excuse	50.17%	54.53%	10.5333***
Provisional Ballot	49.08%	53.65%	12.9118***
Pre-election day in poll voting/in-person absentee voting	50.14%	47.89%	3.8565***
Same day registration	51.07%	59.89%	7.3496****
Registration by mail	50.74%	62.11%	13.8353***
Vote by Mail	55.21%	61.32%	3.7454***

*** F-statistic statistically significant at the 1 percent level.
** F-statistic statistically significant at the 5 percent level.
* F-statistic statistically significant at the 10 percent level.

Trying to account for different Factors that are changing

- First sets of estimates control for the factors discussed
  - No change in voter participation rates from voter Photo ID laws
- Break down results by race, gender, and age to examine differential impact of Photo ID laws
  - No real systematic differences

Table 3: Explaining the Percent of the Voting Age Population that Voted in General Elections from 1996 to 2004 (The various control variables are listed below, though the results for the county and year fixed effects are not reported. Ordinary least squares was used Absolute t-statistics are shown in parentheses using clustering by state with robust standard errors.)

	Endogenous Variables					
	Voting Rate			Ln(Voting Rate)		
Control Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Photo ID (Substitutes allowed)	-0.012 (0.6)	-0.0009 (0.1)	0.0020 (0.2)	-0.0407 (0.9)	-0.0195 (0.5)	-0.0164 (0.4)
Non-photo ID	-0.011 (1.50)	-0.010 (1.3)	-0.0050 (0.6)	-0.039 (2.0)	-0.034 (1.62)	-0.0215 (1.0)
Absentee Ballot with No Excuse		0.0015 (0.2)	-0.0002 (0.0)		0.0063 (0.4)	-0.0003 (0.0)
Provisional Ballot		0.0081 (1.4)	0.0076 (1.2)		0.0139 (0.9)	0.0120 (0.7)
Pre-election day in poll voting/in-person absentee voting		-0.0183 (2.4)	-0.0145 (1.7)		-0.0520 (2.8)	-0.0453 (2.2)
Closed Primary		-0.005 (0.8)	-0.0036 (0.5)		-0.0037 (0.2)	0.0047 (0.2)
Vote by mail		0.0167 (1.7)	-0.0145 (0.4)		0.0107 (0.4)	-0.0803 (0.9)
Same day registration		0.0244 (2.0)	0.0221 (1.6)		-0.0004 (0.0)	-0.0093 (0.2)
Registration by mail		-0.002 (0.1)	0.0122 (0.5)		-0.0333 (1.2)	0.0143 (0.3)
Registration Deadline in Days		-0.0003 (0.3)	-0.0005 (0.5)		-0.0006 (0.3)	-0.0013 (0.5)
Number of Initiatives		0.0002 (0.1)	-0.0054 (1.7)		-0.0022 (0.5)	-0.0195 (2.0)
Real Per Capita Income		-8.60E-07 (0.4)	-9.84E-09 (0.0)		-5.30E-06 (1.3)	-3.68E-06 (1.1)
State unemployment rate		-0.0010 (0.2)	0.0003 (0.1)		-0.0067 (0.6)	0.0000 (0.0)
Margin in Presidential Race in State	-0.0011 (2.2)	-0.0010 (2.1)	-0.001 (1.8)	-0.0022 (1.6)	-0.0020 (1.6)	-0.0023 (1.5)
Margin in Gubernatorial Race	-0.0005 (1.6)	-0.0004 (1.3)	-0.0005 (1.7)	-0.0012 (1.2)	-0.0012 (1.3)	-0.0015 (1.4)
Margin in Senate Race	-0.0001 (1.0)	-0.0001 (0.8)	-0.0001 (0.7)	-0.0001 (0.3)	-0.0001 (0.2)	-0.0001 (0.3)
Initiatives by Subject						
Adj R-squared	.8719	.8828	.8890	0.7958	0.8118	0.8189
F-statistic	117.45	260.55	13852387	75.89	164.02	7429623.34
Number of Observations	16028	14962	14962	16028	14962	14962
Fixed County and Year Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Figure 1: The Change in Voting Participation Rates from the Adoption of Photo IDs by Race for Women

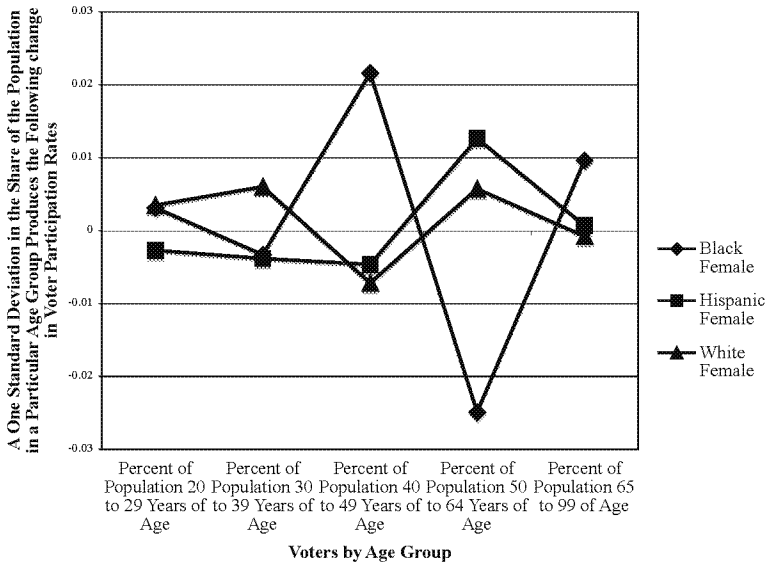
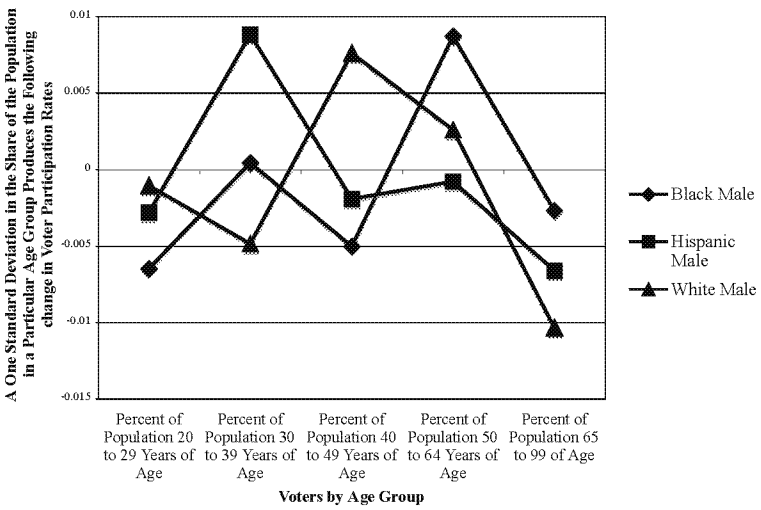


Figure 2: The Change in Voting Participation Rates from the Adoption of Photo IDs by Race for Men



Hot spots of voter fraud

- The impact of this Ensuring Integrity Hypothesis should be strongest where fraud is believed to be most common.
- American Center for Voting Rights
  - Cuyahoga County, Ohio
  - St. Clair County, Illinois
  - St. Louis County, Missouri
  - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
  - King County, Washington
  - Milwaukee County, Wisconsin

- Evidence that requiring voter IDs actually increases turnouts.
- Ironically, while Republicans have been the ones pushing hardest for the new regulations, it appears as if the Democrats might actually be the ones who gain the most. These fraud “hot spots” that experience the biggest increase in turnout tend to be heavily Democratic.

Table 8: Examining Whether the Six "Hot Spots" Counties Identified by the American Center for Voting Rights as Having the Most Fraud: Interacting the Voting Regulations that can affect fraud with the six "Hot Spots" Using Specification 3 in Table 2 as the base (The six "hot spots" are Cuyahoga County, Ohio; St. Clair County, Illinois; St. Louis County, Missouri; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; King County, Washington; and Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. Absolute t-statistics are shown in parentheses using clustering by state with robust standard errors.)

A) Interacting Voting Regulations with Fraud "Hot Spots"

	Impact of Voting Regulations in "Hot Spots"		Impact of Voting Regulations for All Counties	
Voting Regulations that can Effect Fraud	Coefficient	Absolute t-statistic	Coefficient	Absolute t-statistic
Photo ID (Substitutes allowed)	Dropped		0.002	0.17
Non-photo ID Required	0.031	1.95*	-0.005	0.61
Absentee Ballot with No Excuse	0.003	0.2	0.0002	0.03
Provisional Ballot	0.006	0.4	0.008	1.14
Pre-election day in poll voting/in-person absentee voting	0.033	2.26**	-0.014	1.73*
Closed Primary			-0.004	0.46
Vote by mail	Dropped		-0.014	0.39
Same day registration	-0.005	0.28	0.022	1.57
Registration by mail	Dropped		0.012	0.52
Registration Deadline in Days	0.022	2.03**	-0.001	0.54
Adj R-squared	0.8890			
F-statistic	120907.07			
Number of Observations	14962			
Fixed County and Year Effects	Yes			

B) Interacting Voting Regulations with Fraud "Hot Spots" as well as Interacting with the Closeness of the Gubernatorial and Senate Races (Closeness is measured by the negative value of the difference the share of the votes between the top two candidates)						
	Impact of Voting Regulations in "Hot Spots" Interacted with Closeness of Senate Races		Impact of Voting Regulations in "Hot Spots" Interacted with Closeness of Gubernatorial Races		Impact of Voting Regulations for All Counties	
Voting Regulations that can Effect Fraud	Coefficient	Absolute t-statistic	Coef.	Absolute t-statistic	Coef.	Abs. t-statistic
Photo ID (Substitutes allowed)	Dropped		Dropped		0.0021	0.17
Non-photo ID Required	-0.0023	3.98***	-0.0017	0.78	-0.0051	0.61
Absentee Ballot with No Excuse	-0.0012	1.12	-0.0055	3.58***	-0.0002	0.02
Provisional Ballot	-0.0030	1.69*	0.0026	1.83*	0.0076	1.16
Pre-election day in poll voting/in-person absentee voting	0.0026	3.75***	0.0064	1.88*	-0.0145	1.73*
Closed Primary					-0.0035	0.44
Vote by mail	Dropped		Dropped		-0.0145	0.4
Same day registration	-0.0046	2.28**	0.0237	6.48***	0.0221	1.58
Registration by mail	-0.0008	0.28	-0.0025	2.91***	0.0124	0.52
Registration Deadline in Days	0.0001	1.71*	0.0001	1.67*	-0.0005	0.54
Adj R-squared	0.8891					
F-statistic	600520.5					
Number of Observations	14962					
Fixed County and Year Effects	Yes					

*** t-statistic statistically significant at the 1 percent level for a two-tailed t-test.

** t-statistic statistically significant at the 5 percent level for a two-tailed t-test.

Message

From: John Lott [johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Sent: 9/5/2017 7:23:10 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: Re: travel booking

Great, thank you very much, Andrew! I am looking forward to meeting you next week. Thank you.

John R. Lott, Jr., Ph.D.
President
Crime Prevention Research Center
>http://crimeresearch.org<
johnrlott@crimeresearch.org
(484) 802-5373

On Tuesday, September5, 2017, at Tuesday, September 5, 3:07 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

Hi John,

Per our conversation, here are the instructions for booking travel through GSA:

Booking Travel to New Hampshire Instructions

Members or their support staff who have established traveler accounts with GSA can call the travel agent directly to book their travel.

ADTRAV (GSA travel agent): 877-472-6716, available 24/7

Key Information when calling the travel agent:

- ADTRAV will recognize members by first and last name and agency--which is the General Services Administration (GSA) for the purposes of this travel.
- Have a personal credit card available--hotel will be booked using a personal card. Members can choose their hotel and will be reimbursed up to the maximum per diem rate for Manchester, NH ($108/night) (keep hotel receipts)
- The committee has budgeted for travel for up to 3 days per member between 9/11 and 9/13. Arrangements should be made within those parameters.
- Members (or their staff) should tell the agent the traveler's date of birth if making airline reservations. This is a requirement in order for tickets to be issued.

Travelers will need to follow federal regulations governing travel. Key points:

- Hotel: Max lodging per diem rate reimbursed for Manchester, NH in September: $108 (keep hotel receipts--reimbursed up to $108. Lodging taxes will be reimbursed separately as well.) The travel agent can help members find rooms at or below per diem.

- Airfare: Must use coach class and the contract carrier fare (booked by travel agent)

    - Exceptions to contract fare must be documented/justified--e.g., Timing of contract fare flights do not allow traveler to meet mission or non-contract fare is less expensive

- Meals & Incidental Expenses (MI&E): reimbursed $64 per day for Manchester; $48 on first & last day of travel (no receipts needed, reimbursed $64 for full day and $48 for first and last day of travel)

- Rental cars: Receipt required for all expenses

- Taxis/metro: reimbursed for official business related to the committee--e.g., to/from airport, to/from committee meetings (keep receipts)

- Other (i.e. airline baggage fees): Reimbursed (keep receipts)

Airfare will be booked through the travel agent and paid directly by GSA. All other approved travel expenses (hotel; MI&E; taxis) will be paid for using the member's personal card and will subsequently be reimbursed. Details on reimbursement process will be provided upon completion of the travel.

If members or their staff have questions regarding the above that the travel agent can't answer, please don't hesitate to have the members' staff reach out to Valerie Whittington or Kris Palmer.

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kris.palmer@gsa.gov - 202-501-0525

You'll either get confirmation directly that you can book, or I'll let you know once I hear you're confirmed through the system. Hopefully we'll get that yet today.

Thanks again for helping us with the Thursday deadline for materials. Apologies again for the time crunch, but we really appreciate your flexibility.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/6/2017 10:27:07 PM
To: John Lott [johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Subject: RE: travel booking

Hi John,

I finally received word that you're clear to book your travel. Please let me know if you have any trouble.

Thanks!
Andrew

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Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 9/7/2017 11:04:50 PM
To: John Lott [johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Subject: RE: travel booking

Thanks, John. This looks great, and again, really appreciate the quick turnaround. We'll go ahead and get all this posted sometime tomorrow.

Looking forward to seeing you on Tuesday!

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: John Lott [mailto:johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Sent: Thursday, September 7, 2017 12:16 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: travel booking

Dear Andrew:

I took care of the travel arrangements. Thanks.

Attached is a rough PowerPoint for my talk. I have included a discussion on one of the three issues that we discussed, the use of NICS to check eligibility to vote. After thinking about it, I didn't think that it would have the same problems as the other two ideas. However, if you would rather I didn't discuss this, please let me know.

Since you are supposed to make all this public, here is the research that I will be discussing.

>https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=925611<

I assume that minor changes on the presentation are probably acceptable. Note, I have obviously more here than I can go through, but I thought that it was better to go long at this point and have slides that I could refer to if questions arise. However, if I do change, it will be to shorten what I have here.

Thanks.

John R. Lott, Jr., Ph.D.
President
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>http://crimeresearch.org<
johnrlott@crimeresearch.org
(484) 802-5373

On Wednesday, September6, 2017, at Wednesday, September 6, 6:27 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

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Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: John Lott [mailto:johnrlott@crimeresearch.org]
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 3:23 PM
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Subject: Re: travel booking

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<image001.jpg>

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Andrew

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Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]

Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>

To: 'Kris Kobach' [redacted] cwlawson <cwlawson@sos.in.gov>; chipkate <[redacted]>; mattdunlap[redacted] <[redacted]>; kennethblackwell[redacted] <[redacted]>; Christy McCormick <[redacted]>; david <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; Mark Rhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>; Christian Adams <adams@electionlawcenter.com>; King, Alan <kinga@jccal.org>

Cc: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>

Subject: RE: updates on July 19th meeting: schedule and travel arrangements

Date: Fri, Jul 14, 2017 5:19 pm

Attachments: Agenda for July 19, 2017 Initial Meeting.pdf (95K)

Please see the attached agenda for next week's public meeting. As you can see, we hope each of you will take about five minutes to introduce yourself and talk about your vision for your role on the commission. During the discussion portion of the meeting, there will be time to explore and decide what topics the commission will address.

If you have any questions, please let me know.

Andrew J. Kossack
Designated Federal Officer
Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 7/14/2017 9:19:51 PM
To: 'Kris Kobach' [redacted] cwlawson@sos.in.gov; [redacted] Christy McCormick [cacm@aol.com]; david@capitolpartnersar.com; Mark Rhodes [mrhodes@woodcountywv.com]; von Spakovsky, Hans [/O=THF/OU=THFDC/cn=Recipients/cn=spakoskyh]; Christian Adams [adams@electionlawcenter.com]; King, Alan [kinga@jccal.org]
CC: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP [Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov]; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP [Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: RE: updates on July 19th meeting: schedule and travel arrangements
Attachments: Agenda for July 19, 2017 Initial Meeting.pdf

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If you have any questions, please let me know.

Andrew J. Kossack
Designated Federal Officer
Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

Initial Meeting of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

July 19, 2017
11:00 a.m. ET
Eisenhower Executive Office Building, Room 350

Agenda

1. Ceremonial Swearing-In of Members

2. Welcome Remarks – Chairman, Vice President Mike Pence

3. Commissioners' Introductions – All Members (approximately 45 minutes)

4. Short Break

5. Discussion – All Members, led by Vice Chairman, Secretary Kris Kobach (approximately one hour)

    - The Mission, per Executive Order 13799
    - By-Laws and Operating Procedures
    - Possible Topics for Commission to Address
    - Future Meetings

6. Adjourn

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 7/12/2017 6:54:01 PM
To: von Spakovsky, Hans [/O=THF/OU=THFDC/cn=Recipients/cn=spakoskyh]
Subject: RE: updates on July 19th meeting: schedule and travel arrangements

Great. Thank you.

Andrew J. Kossack
Associate Counsel
Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: von Spakovsky, Hans [mailto:Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org]
Sent: Wednesday, July 12, 2017 2:34 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: RE: updates on July 19th meeting: schedule and travel arrangements

EFT Form attached.

Hans von Spakovsky
Manager, Election Law Reform Initiative and Senior Legal Fellow
Institute for Constitutional Government
The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-608-6207
heritage.org

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [mailto:Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, July 11, 2017 5:57 PM
To: 'Kris Kobach' <[redacted]; cwlawson@sos.in.gov; [redacted]; Christy McCormick <[redacted]>; david@capitolpartnersar.com; Mark Rhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>; Christian Adams <adams@electionlawcenter.com>; King, Alan <kinga@jccal.org>
Subject: updates on July 19th meeting: schedule and travel arrangements

Dear Members,

First, I'd like welcome our two newest members, Judge Alan King and J. Christian Adams, whom the President appointed yesterday. We are grateful for their willingness to serve and excited to have them. Congratulations, and welcome!

Thanks for your patience as we've coordinated with the General Services Administration on your travel arrangements. We've been waiting for our commission's budget to be allocated so that we can start approving expenditures. We expect final approval and dedication of funds soon, so we wanted to go ahead and initiate some of the travel processes so you can begin planning accordingly. The most urgent step is to please fill out the attached form titled "EFT Enrollment Form," and then scan and email it back to me as soon as possible.

Related to travel, I also wanted to make you aware of a scheduling note. The meeting on the 19th will begin at 11:00 a.m., but we will need all members present at the Eisenhower Executive Office Building by about 8:15 a.m. to orient you and conduct required ethics training and Federal Advisory Committee Act training. For those of you traveling from outside Washington, D.C., you are welcome to fly in the day before and stay in town overnight. We expect the meeting

to adjourn by mid-afternoon at the latest, so you may plan to fly out in the evening on Wednesday or anytime on Thursday if you care to remain in D.C. Wednesday night.

So that we can begin the process of getting your travel arrangements booked, please reply to me only and let me know if you'll be flying in for the meeting. If so, I'll also need your full name as it appears on your government-issued ID, your date of birth, and your TSA Pre-Check number (if you have one).

Also, if you have not yet submitted your financial disclosure form, please send that back to me as soon as possible. It's critical we get these reviewed as soon as possible, so please try to send them within the next day or so if you can.

I'll be back in touch soon with more information, but please don't hesitate to email or call me anytime if you have any questions or concerns.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Designated Federal Officer
Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <[redacted]>
To: 'Kris Kobach' <[redacted]>; cwlawson <cwlawson@sos.in.gov>; chipkate <[redacted]>; mattdunlap [redacted]; kennethblackwell[redacted] <[redacted]>; Christy McCormick [redacted] david <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; Mark Rhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>; Christian Adams <adams@electionlawcenter.com>; King, Alan <kinga@jccal.org>
Cc: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: RE: updates on July 19th meeting: schedule and travel arrangements
Date: Thu, Jul 13, 2017 6:51 pm

Thanks again for your patience on travel arrangements. The interagency funding agreement was signed this evening, which was the last roadblock to allowing GSA to start booking your travel. I'll be back in touch either sometime this evening or tomorrow morning with detailed instructions on next steps. The process will be fairly simple: GSA will connect you directly with their White Glove travel service, which is a 24/7 service that you can call and book airfare, hotels, rental cars, and whatever else you'll need.

I also wanted to let you know that the Commission's webpage is now live on WhiteHouse.gov. You can view it here: https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2017/07/13/presidential-advisory-commission-election-integrity.

Last, if you haven't yet sent in your 450 Financial Disclosure form, please get that to me as soon as you can so we can clear you before the meeting.

I'll be in touch again soon, but please reach out anytime if you have any questions.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director and Designated Federal Officer
Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Designated Federal Officer
Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Nancy Eisenhart
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Cc: von Spakovsky, Hans
Subject: RE: [EXTERNAL] Re: California Advisory Committee to the USCCR
Date: Thursday, November 02, 2017 11:43:10 AM

Good morning, Andrew-

Thank you very much for replying to my request to Hans Von Spavosky. I will followup on your suggestions before the end of the week.

If there is any way I, as an individual or member of the CA SAC to the Civil Rights Commission, may be of assistance to the Presidential Advisory Committee relating to Los Angeles County's questionable election and voting processes, please get in touch. We are in the belly of the beast.

Best regards
Nancy

Sent from Blue
On Nov 2, 2017, at 8:01 AM, "Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP" <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

> Ms. Eisenhart,
>
> Thank you for reaching out to us. Feel free to email the report to me, or if you'd like to post it online through the Commission's public comment portal, you can access that at the following link: >https://www.regulations.gov/document?D=GSA-GSA-2017-0005-0511<.
>
> If you prefer to send it via U.S. Mail, please send it to my attention at the following address:
>
> Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
>
> Eisenhower Executive Office Building (EEOB), Rm. 268
>
> 1650 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
>
> Washington, DC 20504
>
> Thank you,
> Andrew
>
> Andrew J. Kossack
>
> Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
>
> Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
>
> Cell: [redacted]
>
> Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Nancy Eisenhart [mailto[redacted]
> **Sent:** Wednesday, November 1, 2017 9:02 PM
> **To:** von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>
> **Cc:** Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
> **Subject:** [EXTERNAL] Re: California Advisory Committee to the USCCR

Thank you very much. The USCCR keeps coming up with new and confusing directives. I little clarity will help a lot.

Nancy Eisenhart

On Wednesday, November 1, 2017 7:48 AM, "von Spakovsky, Hans" <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org> wrote:

Ms. Eisenhart,

I am cc'ing Andrew Kossack on this reply. He is the counsel in the Office of the Vice President handling work of the advisory commission. He can tell you how to submit your report.

Hans von Spakovsky
Manager, Election Law Reform Initiative and Senior Legal Fellow
Institute for Constitutional Government
The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-608-6207
heritage.org

From: Nancy Eisenhart [mailto[redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 30, 2017 3:44 PM
To: von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>
Subject: California Advisory Committee to the USCCR

Good afternoon, Hans -

The Western Regional Office of the California Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, at my request, is going to send an official notice of our *Voting Integrity in California* report to the *Presidential Advisory Committee on Election Integrity* of which you are a member.

Please provide me with the best email or snail-mail address and Attention to: I should give the office, in the hope the report doesn't get lost or buried unnecessarily.

If you have any other recommendations as to individuals, agencies, officials or organizations who would be more than ordinarily interested in our report, please let me know anytime something occurs to you. The election and voting issues we cover are on-going.

Thanks for all your help.

Warm regards,

Nancy Eisenhart

CA SAC USCCR Member

--

From: Ken Block
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Subject: RE: [EXTERNAL] RE: Embargoed Rhode Island Voting Integrity release
Date: Tuesday, October 03, 2017 3:51:46 PM

Hi Andrew –

DoJ gave me minimal information when I called to follow up. A secretary informed me that they did in fact receive the referral.

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [mailto:Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, September 27, 2017 10:17 AM
To: Ken Block [redacted]
Subject: RE: [EXTERNAL] RE: Embargoed Rhode Island Voting Integrity release

Hi Ken,

Thanks for sharing this. Ron Williams on our staff is a DOJ alum, and he recommends you send the referral to the following individual/address:

T. Christian Herren, Chief
Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice
1800 G Street, NW, Rm. 7254
Washington, D.C. 20006

Ron also suggested calling later this week to confirm receipt. You could ask for Christian Herren or Tim Mellett, who's in the same section.

Hope that helps.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Ken Block [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 27, 2017 9:41 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: [EXTERNAL] RE: Embargoed Rhode Island Voting Integrity release

Andrew –

The email below which I just sent to you I was asked to send to you by Mark Paoletta.

Although I do not come right out and say it, Central Falls is a tiny urban city of 21,000 people that is mostly immigrants, both legal and illegal. It is very possible that this is the documentation needed that is the beginning of proof that illegals are voting in our elections. Of course, law enforcement will have to take this evidence and go further to be sure.

I will be sending this complaint to the DoJ via Fedex tonight. Do you have a suggestion for the proper person to whom I should send it?

From: Ken Block [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 27, 2017 9:33 AM
To: 'Ken Block' [redacted]
Subject: Embargoed Rhode Island Voting Integrity release

The contents of this email are under embargo until Thursday, 9/28/2017 at 10:00am Eastern time.

Later today, I will be transmitting a complaint to the Department of Justice documenting how the State of Rhode Island is violating federal elections laws. The specifics are contained in the attached document.

In short, the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) requires states to only register voters who provide either driver's licenses or Social Security numbers (PII) on their voter registration forms. Only if a voter has not been issued either form of documentation is a state then allowed to accept other forms of identification. States are required to verify the data collected above with either the DMV or Social Security Administration prior to allowing the registration to be finalized. Rhode Island only performs the mandated requirements above for voters who register by mail.

Rhode Island was in compliance with HAVA until August, 2008, when the Board of Elections promulgated modified voter registration rules that were in violation of HAVA. As a result of the rules change, a large number of new voters registered to vote without presenting PII ahead of the 2008 election and then voted in that election.

The Department of Justice filed a complaint against the State of New Jersey in 2006 for very similar issues, and New Jersey consented to conform to HAVA.

The charts that begin on page 3 of the complaint should be largely self-explanatory. It is crucial to understand why Central Falls stands out as such a remarkable outlier. I also want to point out that all Rhode Island House districts have roughly the same number of voters in each district, as do all Rhode Island Senate districts. The incredible variability in absolute numbers and percentages of voters without PII in these similarly sized districts is an issue that deserves special attention.

I am immediately available for interviews regarding this release. I again remind you that this information must remain under embargo until 10:00 Thursday, 9/28/2017.

I have included Word and PDF versions of the document, as the graphics did not convert well into the PDF. I can also provide very clear, stand-alone graphics images for any chart upon request.

From: Julie Overholt [redacted]
To: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Ben Overholt
Date: Wed, Aug 16, 2017 12:24 pm
Attachments: Resume-Commission.pdf (467K)

Christy,
First off THANK YOU.

Maureen later made it clear that she doesn't have any visibility on detail requests. She originally said she hadn't seen anything, I assumed that meant there hadn't been anything. So its likely it went to Gore and Herren without her knowledge. I am still trying to talk with Herren.

Sorry about the resume, it was a new Word doc. I have attached a PDF below, were the other files readable? I already sent the Word Resume to Kossak. I am now concerned it may be unreadable for him as well. Should I send another? I don't want to come across as obnoxious.

I would be very interested in working in redistricting. Any introductions you could make would be wonderful.

Thanks again for everything.

From: Christy McCormick <[redacted]
To: Julie Overholt [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, August 16, 2017 12:13 PM
Subject: Re: Ben Overholt

Hi Ben,

That's very strange - Kossack definitely told me that DOJ had turned down the detail - so maybe they just talked to Gore and Maureen wasn't aware of it? That's the only thing I can think of. I don't know why they would have told me that if they just decided not to ask for you. I'd still pursue an email to Kossack explaining your interest and qualifications and attaching your resume. It can't hurt.

Speaking of your resume, can you please resend it to me? The attachment I received was garbled and mostly unreadable.

I will also speak to Secretary Kobach and see if he knows anything about the detail request and forward him your resume.

Also, I don't know if you'd be interested, but there are redistricting efforts heating up in both parties and I assume the Republicans may need a good stats person. I could probably put you in touch with someone in that effort if you want. I didn't want to assume anything, especially when it would be political, but I know you badly want out of DOJ.

God bless you and yours,
Christy

On Aug 16, 2017, at 9:46 AM, Julie Overholt [redacted] wrote:

Christy,

I emailed Maureen in the front office. She suggested I get in contact with you. She says she has no information about the detail request. Is it possible it did not get sent over here properly? or was denied somewhere else? by Pence and or Kossak?

Thanks much for everything.

Ben

From: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
To: Julie Overholt [redacted]
Subject: Re: Ben Overholt
Date: Wed, Aug 16, 2017 12:33 pm

I would send Kossack the PDF with a short note that says you discovered a problem with the word version and that you wanted to make sure he received a readable copy.

I haven't opened the other files yet - will let you know if there's a problem. I have a crazy busy day, so perhaps will get time to check later this evening.

I'll look into who may be working on the redistricting effort for the Rs and forward your resume and will let you know when I do.

Happy to help! Hopefully something will come through.

Christy

On Aug 16, 2017, at 12:24 PM, Julie Overholt [redacted] wrote:

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<Resume-Commission.pdf>

From: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
To: Julie Overholt [redacted]
Subject: Re: Ben Overholt
Date: Wed, Aug 16, 2017 12:34 pm

Just quickly checked the other fines and they are good. Did you send the letter and analysis to Kobach?

On Aug 16, 2017, at 12:24 PM, Julie Overholt <[redacted]> wrote:

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> Thanks much for everything.
> Ben

<Resume-Commission.pdf>

From: Julie Overholt <[redacted]
To: Christy McCormick <[redacted]
Subject: Re: Ben Overholt
Date: Wed, Aug 16, 2017 12:35 pm

I just spoke with Herren. He says he request never made it to him. I am planning to contact gore, the acting aag, and see what happened. Thanks again.

On Wed, 8/16/17, Christy McCormick <[redacted] wrote:

Subject: Re: Ben Overholt
To: "Julie Overholt" [redacted]
Date: Wednesday, August 16, 2017, 12:13 PM

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From: Julie Overholt [redacted]
To: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Ben Overholt
Date: Wed, Aug 16, 2017 12:36 pm

I have sent nothing to Kobach. I don't even have his contact info.

On Wed, 8/16/17, Christy McCormick <[redacted]> wrote:

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To: "Julie Overholt" [redacted]
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From: Christy McCormick
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To: Julie Overholt
[redacted]

Sent: Wednesday, August
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Subject: Re: Ben

Overholt

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 Ben

<Resume-Commission.pdf>

From: Christy McCormick <[redacted]
To: Julie Overholt [redacted]
Subject: Re: Ben Overholt
Date: Wed, Aug 16, 2017 1:12 pm

Good idea re Gore. I'm going to try to fit in a call to Kobach, and will let you know after I speak to him. I'll forward your attachments to him with your resume too.

> On Aug 16, 2017, at 12:36 PM, Julie Overholt [redacted] wrote:
>
> I have sent nothing to Kobach. I don't even have his contact info.
> ---
> On Wed, 8/16/17, Christy McCormick <[redacted]> wrote:
>
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> To: "Julie Overholt" [redacted]
> Date: Wednesday, August 16, 2017, 12:34 PM
>
> Just
> quickly checked the other fines and they are good. Did you
> send the letter and analysis to Kobach?
> On Aug 16,
> 2017, at 12:24 PM, Julie Overholt [redacted]
> wrote:
>
> Christy,
> First off THANK YOU.
> Maureen
> later made it clear that she doesn't have any visibility
> on detail requests. She originally said she hadn't seen
> anything, I assumed that meant there hadn't been
> anything. So its likely it went to Gore and Herren without
> her knowledge. I am still trying to talk with
> Herren.
> Sorry
> about the resume, it was a new Word doc. I have attached a
> PDF below, were the other files readable? I already
> sent the Word Resume to Kossak. I am now concerned it may be
> unreadable for him as well. Should I send another? I
> don't want to come across as obnoxious.
> I
> would be very interested in working in redistricting. Any
> introductions you could make would be wonderful.
> Thanks
> again for everything.
>
>
> From: Christy McCormick
> <[redacted]
> To: Julie Overholt

> [redacted]
>
> Sent: Wednesday, August
> 16, 2017 12:13 PM
> Subject: Re: Ben
> Overholt
>
> Hi
> Ben,
> That's
> very strange - Kossack definitely told me that DOJ had
> turned down the detail - so maybe they just talked to Gore
> and Maureen wasn't aware of it? That's the only
> thing I can think of. I don't know why they would have
> told me that if they just decided not to ask for you.
> I'd still pursue an email to Kossack explaining your
> interest and qualifications and attaching your resume. It
> can't hurt.
> Speaking
> of your resume, can you please resend it to me? The
> attachment I received was garbled and mostly
> unreadable.
> I
> will also speak to Secretary Kobach and see if he knows
> anything about the detail request and forward him your
> resume.
> Also,
> I don't know if you'd be interested, but there are
> redistricting efforts heating up in both parties and I
> assume the Republicans may need a good stats person. I could
> probably put you in touch with someone in that effort if you
> want. I didn't want to assume anything, especially when
> it would be political, but I know you badly want out of
> DOJ.
> God
> bless you and yours, Christy
> On Aug 16, 2017, at 9:46 AM, Julie Overholt
> [redacted]
> wrote:
>
> Christy,
> I emailed Maureen in the front office. She suggested I
> get in contact with you. She says she has no information
> about the detail request. Is it possible it did not get sent
> over here properly? or was denied somewhere else? by Pence
> and or Kossak?
> Thanks
> much for everything.
> Ben
>

>
> <Resume-Commission.pdf>

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Subject: Re: Ben Overholt
Date: Wed, Aug 16, 2017 12:13 pm

Hi Ben,

That's very strange - Kossack definitely told me that DOJ had turned down the detail - so maybe they just talked to Gore and Maureen wasn't aware of it? That's the only thing I can think of. I don't know why they would have told me that if they just decided not to ask for you. I'd still pursue an email to Kossack explaining your interest and qualifications and attaching your resume. It can't hurt.

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God bless you and yours,
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>
> Thanks much for everything.
> Ben

From: John Gore [redacted]
To: Christy [redacted]
Subject: Re: Chicago vote problems
Date: Mon, May 15, 2017 3:48 pm

Christy:

I will definitely let you know if I hear of any further developments.

Thanks for your support and your great work for the country!

John

On Mon, May 15, 2017 at 3:37 PM, Christy <[redacted]> wrote:

> Thanks John. Very interesting and disturbing. I'll make sure to bring it to the group. I suspect we won't be meeting for a bit, so if you hear of any updates in the meantime (such as a report from the Bard of Elections!), please let me know.
>
> Hope all is well! I appreciate all you are doing!!!
>
> Christy

-----Original Message-----
From: John Gore [redacted]
To: cacm <[redacted]>
Sent: Mon, May 15, 2017 3:09 pm
Subject: Fwd: Chicago vote problems

Christy:

Chris Cleveland of the Chicago GOP reached out to me a couple months back regarding discrepancies in Chicago's vote totals in the 2016 election. We briefly discussed the issue and he promised to keep me apprised. Per below, he asked if I knew anyone on the task force to whom this information could be sent, so I am sending it along to you. Feel free to call me if you'd like to discuss it.

Thanks.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Chris Cleveland** <[redacted]
Date: Fri, May 12, 2017 at 10:34 AM
Subject: Re: Chicago vote problems
To: John Gore [redacted]

Here it is:

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The board responded with a list of 1,101,178 individuals. A quick check of the elections returns published on the Chicago Board of Elections website showed that 1,115,664 votes had been cast. The difference between the number of voters in the file and the number of votes cast was 14,000, or about 1.3%.

There should be never be more votes than voters; every ballot cast should be recorded against a registered voter.

A breakdown of the votes by precinct shows that the discrepancies are not evenly distributed. Fifteen precincts show 100 more ballots cast than voters. One precinct shows more ballots cast than registered voters. Some precincts show a negative discrepancy, that is, more voters than votes cast. Subtracting out those precincts, the total discrepancy is about 16,000 votes or 1.4%.

The Chicago Republican Party made an inquiry, pursuant to FOIA, as to the source of the discrepancies. Despite repeated followups, the board has failed to respond except to say that they have been "reviewing all discrepancies" and that there will be a "final report". It's been more than three months since the first inquiry and more than six weeks since the report was due. At this point it seems to be more than a simple clerical error.

Given the history of voter fraud in Chicago, the magnitude of the problem, and the Chicago Board of Election's history of favoring the Democrats, the problem warrants external scrutiny.

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> >
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> > Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
> > [redacted]

--
Chris Cleveland
Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

From: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
To: John Gore [redacted]
Subject: Re: Chicago vote problems
Date: Mon, May 15, 2017 3:59 pm

Thanks so much John. Sometimes I dream of a peaceful life, but we can't afford to cede any territory!

On May 15, 2017, at 3:42 PM, John Gore [redacted] wrote:

> Christy:
>
> I will definitely let you know if I hear of any further developments.
>
> Thanks for your support and your great work for the country!
>
> John
>
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> >
> > Chris
> >
> > --
> > Chris Cleveland
> > Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
> > [redacted]

--

Chris Cleveland
Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

From: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
To: John Gore [redacted]
Subject: Re: Chicago vote problems
Date: Wed, Jul 5, 2017 8:15 pm

I have not forgotten and will be bringing this up at our first Presidential Commission meeting on July 19. I've been reading the stories/conspiracy theories about your NVRA letter and the Commission's letter going out to the States on the same day and am amused at all the speculation and conclusions in them. Hopefully between DOJ and the Commission we can clean up the voter rolls. For the life of me, I don't know why people should be against cleaning them up. Of course, that's a rhetorical statement, because I do know why some people are against it. In any case, here's to continuing to do what's right for our country and the voters! Thank you for your sacrifices and all your efforts.

I'm doing well and hope you are too.

On Jul 6, 2017, at 2:50 AM, John Gore [redacted] wrote:

> FYI - consider this me pinging you again.
>
> Hope you're doing well.
>
> ---------- Forwarded message ----------
> From: **Chris Cleveland** [redacted]
> Date: Fri, Jun 30, 2017 at 3:36 PM
> Subject: Re: Chicago vote problems
> To: John Gore [redacted]
>
> John,
>
> It appears that the Election Integrity Commission is finally gearing up. They're in the press today.
>
> Did you succeed in passing this matter on to anyone on the Commission? This might be a good time to ping them again.
>
> Chris
>
> On Mon, May 15, 2017 at 3:03 PM, Chris Cleveland [redacted] wrote:
> > Thanks, John. Will do.
> >
> > On Mon, May 15, 2017 at 2:44 PM, John Gore [redacted] wrote:
> > > Thanks, Chris. I have sent this along to someone I know who may be closer to the task force than I am. If you come across any more info, please feel free to send it along.
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Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

--
Chris Cleveland
Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

--
Chris Cleveland
Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

--
Chris Cleveland
Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

From: John Gore [redacted]
To: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Chicago vote problems
Date: Wed, Sep 6, 2017 6:36 pm

Christy:

Thanks. I'll put Chris Cleveland in touch with you directly.

I hadn't heard about the ACLU suit, but that is unbelievable.

I am thrilled for Maureen that the opportunity opened up for her. I am sure she is knocking it out of the park! Would love to catch up at some point, particularly once we have our confirmed head, which after today is looking much better.

We are doing what we can to fight the good fight - glad to be in the trenches with you!

Best,
John

On Tue, Sep 5, 2017 at 11:44 PM, Christy McCormick <[redacted]> wrote:

> Hi John,
>
> Hope you are well. I sent the info on the Chicago issue (deleting your email address and messages from it) to the staff of the presidential commission a couple of months ago so we can co super it and hopefully investigate it. Please feel free to give Chris Cleveland my contact info. I'd be happy to talk to him.
>
> Did you see the ACLU lawsuit against California for throwing out 40,000 or so ballots? I read that California's defense was that the ballots were tossed because signatures on them didn't match. If that's not admitting that there is voter fraud, then is it otherwise admitting to voter suppression? I have 't read the actual filings, but given the Secretary of State out there says there's no voter fraud, I find it quite fascinating.
>
> I know you must be crazy busy, but would love to catch up soon - maybe we can find some time in October. I spoke to Maureen this week and she told me about her detail to the Western District of Virginia. I honestly don't know how you're doing it! God bless you!!!
>
> Best,
> Christy
>
> On Sep 5, 2017, at 6:43 PM, John Gore [redacted] wrote:
>
> > Christy:
> >
> > I hope you are well. Per below, Chris Cleveland sends the link and asks to be put in touch with you directly. Would you like me to do that?
> >
> > Thanks.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Chris Cleveland** [redacted]
Date: Tue, Sep 5, 2017 at 3:48 PM
Subject: Re: Chicago vote problems
To: John Gore [redacted]

John,

We finally got some national attention on the problem:

http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2017/09/05/chicago-reported-thousands-more-votes-than-voters-in-2016-gop-official-says.html

Can you get this story in front of your friend at the Commission? Can you put me in touch with them?

Chris

On Wed, Jul 5, 2017 at 6:49 PM, John Gore [redacted] wrote:

> Chris:
>
> I did pass this along to someone close to the Commission. I just sent a reminder so it would be back on their radar screen.
>
> Thanks.
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>
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To: johnmgore [redacted]
Subject: Re: Chicago vote problems
Date: Mon, May 15, 2017 3:37 pm

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--
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Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

From: Dick Morris
To: Kris Kobach
Subject: Re: Commission on Election Integrity
Date: Friday, July 07, 2017 1:25:21 PM

Can you give me an e address for Mark Paoletta? thanks

On Sun, Jul 2, 2017 at 12:03 AM, Kris Kobach <[redacted]> wrote:

> Dick,
>
> Thanks for your offer to help.
>
> So far, the (D) states that are not cooperating in providing the (publicly available!) information are: CA, VA, KY, and reportedly RI.
>
> It's inane, since the data can be purchased by any candidate running for office.
>
> The person on the WH staff who is leading the staff effort is Mark Paoletta, 202 456 2734 (work).
>
> Thanks.
>
> Kris
>
> **From:** Dick Morris [mailto:[redacted]
> **Sent:** Saturday, July 01, 2017 4:26 PM
> **To:** [redacted]
> **Subject:** Commission on Election Integrity
>
> Dear Kris,
>
> Congratulations on your appointment as co-chairman of the Federal Voter Fraud Commission. As you may recall, I followed closely your efforts to pin down the extent of voter fraud in North Carolina and I am thrilled that you are applying the idea nationally.

However, I am grieved but not surprised by the reluctance of some secretaries of state to co-operate, particularly among Republicans.

I have a base of 400,000 subscribers all over the country and will send the column below to the 4600 who live in Mississippi, after the holiday, protesting the refusal of their secretary of state, Delbert Houseman, to participate and co-operate.

I anticipate that there will be an outpouring of phone calls to protest his decision.

I would like to help you with any other secretaries who are recalcitrant.whether Democrat or Republican. Can you ask one of your staff to liaise with me so I can get a list of the ones who are giving you problems.

I would also appreciate it if you would give me the name and address of the Vice President's staff member assigned to work with you on the Commission.

You are doing great work and It would be a pleasure to be of assistance.

WHY WON'T DELBERT HOSEMANN, MISSISSIPPI SECTY OF STATE, HELP FIGHT VOTER FRAUD???

by Dick Morris

The most serious effort to stop people from double voting was launched last week by the Federal Voter Fraud Commission, appointed by President Donald Trump. It calls for the cooperation of secretaries of state from all fifty states. Some blue states, with an obvious interest in not tracking down such fraud, have refused to cooperate. But, shockingly, Delbert Hosemann, the Secretary of State of Mississippi won't co-operate either.

The Commission, co-chaired by Vice President Mike Pence and Kansas

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But now, with the imprimatur of the federal commission, Secretary Kobach wants to do a truly national analysis and sent requests to all fifty secretaries of state.

Hosemann replied "they [the Commission] can go jump in the Gulf of Mexico."

Are Democrats right that voter fraud is minimal and that Republicans who warn about it are just trying to suppress turnout of poor people? Or are Republicans right that millions of illegal voters are hauled to the polls each election by party professionals and that this skews the result?

We don't know. But Pence and Kobach are trying to find out and Delbert Hossman should co-operate.

If you agree, please call his office at (601) 359-1350 and tell him what you think.

Thanks

Dick Morris

From: Dick Morris
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: Commission on Election Integrity
Date: Sunday, July 02, 2017 5:50:04 PM

Mississippi too, so I should not write a column attacking them?

On Sun, Jul 2, 2017 at 4:50 PM, [redacted] wrote:

> Yes
>
> Sent from my LG Escape2, an AT&T 4G LTE smartphone
>
> ------ Original message------
> **From:** Dick Morris
> **Date:** Sun, Jul 2, 2017 10:36 AM
> **To:** Kris Kobach;
> **Subject:**Re: Commission on Election Integrity
>
> Are all the R states cooperating except Mississippi?
>
> On Sun, Jul 2, 2017 at 12:03 AM, Kris Kobach <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > Dick,
> >
> > Thanks for your offer to help.
> >
> > So far, the (D) states that are not cooperating in providing the (publicly available!) information are: CA, VA, KY, and reportedly RI.
> >
> > It's inane, since the data can be purchased by any candidate running for office.
> >
> > The person on the WH staff who is leading the staff effort is Mark Paoletta, 202 456 2734 (work).
> >
> > Thanks.
> >
> > Kris
> >
> > **From:** Dick Morris [mailto:[redacted]
> > **Sent:** Saturday, July 01, 2017 4:26 PM
> > **To:** [redacted]
> > **Subject:** Commission on Election Integrity
> >
> > Dear Kris,

Congratulations on your appointment as co-chairman of the Federal Voter Fraud Commission. As you may recall, I followed closely your efforts to pin down the extent of voter fraud in North Carolina and I am thrilled that you are applying the idea nationally.

However, I am grieved but not surprised by the reluctance of some secretaries of state to co-operate, particularly among Republicans.

I have a base of 400,000 subscribers all over the country and will send the column below to the 4600 who live in Mississippi, after the holiday, protesting the refusal of their secretary of state, Delbert Houseman, to participate and co-operate.

I anticipate that there will be an outpouring of phone calls to protest his decision.

I would like to help you with any other secretaries who are recalcitrant.whether Democrat or Republican. Can you ask one of your staff to liaise with me so I can get a list of the ones who are giving you problems.

I would also appreciate it if you would give me the name and address of the Vice President's staff member assigned to work with you on the Commission.

You are doing great work and It would be a pleasure to be of assistance.

WHY WON'T DELBERT HOSEMANN, MISSISSIPPI SECTY OF STATE, HELP FIGHT VOTER FRAUD???

by Dick Morris

The most serious effort to stop people from double voting was launched last week by the Federal Voter Fraud Commission, appointed by President Donald Trump. It calls for the cooperation of secretaries of state from all fifty states. Some blue states, with an obvious interest in not tracking down such fraud, have refused to cooperate. But, shockingly, Delbert Hosemann, the Secretary of State of Mississippi won't co-operate either.

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Thanks

Dick Morris

From: [redacted]
To:
Subject: Re: Commission on Election Integrity
Date: Sunday, July 02, 2017 4:50:30 PM

Yes

Sent from my LG Escape2, an AT&T 4G LTE smartphone

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>
> Thanks.
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> **To:** [redacted]
> **Subject:** Commission on Election Integrity
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Thanks

Dick Morris

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
To: Hamilton, Gene; Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP; Kris Kobach
Cc: Cassil, Susanne
Subject: RE: Conf call tomorrow
Date: Tuesday, August 22, 2017 7:50:08 AM

I booked a conference line for us. Here's the info:

Participant Dial-In: (202) 395-[redacted]
Participant Code: [redacted]

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

-----Original Message-----
From: Hamilton, Gene [mailto:gene.hamilton@hq.dhs.gov]
Sent: Monday, August 21, 2017 9:32 PM
To: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Kris Kobach <[redacted]>; Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: Cassil, Susanne <susanne.cassil@hq.dhs.gov>
Subject: RE: Conf call tomorrow

That should work on my end. I'll be in AZ. Adding Susanne to schedule for me.

Thanks,

Gene P. Hamilton
Senior Counselor to the Secretary
U.S. Department of Homeland Security

-----Original Message-----
From: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP [mailto:Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: Monday, August 21, 2017 9:30 PM
To: Hamilton, Gene <gene.hamilton@hq.dhs.gov>; Kris Kobach <[redacted]>; Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Conf call tomorrow

Gene,
Can we do 9 am eastern tomorrow morning with Kris Kobach on call? He is CC'd here.
Thanks
Mark

Mark Paoletta
Counsel to the Vice President
202 456 2734 (work)
[redacted] (cell)

Sent from my iPhone

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Mark Paoletta
Counsel to the Vice President
202 456 2734 (work)
[redacted](cell)

Sent from my iPhone

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
To: Christy McCormick [redacted]
Subject: RE: Election Integrity Commission
Date: Mon, Jun 26, 2017 6:07 pm

Christy,

Thanks so much for your helpful and thoughtful message. These are great ideas, and I look forward to unpacking them further in the weeks/months ahead. We'll certainly have no shortage of issues to tackle! I will keep all of the items you raise on the radar as we work toward agenda development, both at the initial meeting and future meetings as well.

My apologies for using the wrong email for you! I'll fix that going forward. Thanks for letting me know.

I look forward to meeting you and working with you, as well!

Thanks again,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Associate Counsel
Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

-----Original Message-----
From: Christy McCormick [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 26, 2017 1:13 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Election Integrity Commission

Dear Andrew,

Thank for your email this morning on the chartering of the Election Integrity Commission and the upcoming meeting dates. As a DFO for a Federal advisory committee, I very much appreciated your review of the FACA rules.

I received your email on my official Election Assistance Commission (EAC) email address. Because the Election Integrity Commission (EIC) work is separate from my work as an EAC commissioner, in the future I think it would be best to use my personal email address so as not to confuse the two. My personal email address is: [redacted]

I've been thinking about possible databases we may want to consult for our work on the EIC. The obvious databases are of course anything that the Department of Homeland Security maintains, including SAVE. We should also look at whether E-Verify may help. Also, we need to ask if ICE, USCIS, or CBP maintain any databases or records on contacts with noncitizens or new citizens. I am thinking we should go back probably a decade or so. USCIS has a genealogy program that keeps a Master index of names - I've never used it, but USCIS website says it consists of individuals who came into contact with the INS and may be found under a subject heading describing their relationship to the agency. We might also consider looking at Immigration

case files if we have time/resources to do so.

The Department of Education may also have some databases, since they seem to track noncitizen attendance/languages at public schools.

Also obvious, State Departments of Motor Vehicles databases are important. When I was working with DOJ, we used 42 USC 1974 (which may since have been transferred to a different code number) to get access to Georgia's database in connection with the Georgia ID cases. That statute allows the Attorney General to have access to any election records for the past 22 months, which would include DMV records due to motor voter. A question would be if the Attorney General would be able to help us with that. Unless we add him or someone from DOJ with litigation authority, we might not be able to use that statutory authority.

We should also see if state vital statistics indexes, especially birth and death records, could be relevant.

You mentioned getting jury records from Federal district courts. Hopefully there is a way we can get records from state courts regarding their jury lists as well. The state court juries are often the way state and local election officials discover that someone claiming to be a noncitizen for purposes of jury duty has registered to vote and/or has been voting.

Private databases would also be if immense help, especially Experian and ancestry.com. We'd have to pay for those resources, but it would be money well spent. The credit bureaus have the best, most recent, and accurate data available.

Otherwise, I think we should brainstorm every instance where and how noncitizens might interact with the government - public assistance services, IRS, etc. and see if we can find any records there.

As to what we should look at in addition to the voter registration databases, we might want to look at provisional ballots and by who, when and why they are used. Turn away data will also be important. The EAC collects that data in the EAVS as a starting point. That report for the November 2016 election will be sent to Congress by the end of this month.

We need to look at amending the NVRA. It is so dated!

We might look at the efficacy of each state's voter registration processes and what they ask on their forms, whether it be online, paper in person, 3rd party registration drives, DMV process, as well as those states that have implemented or will implement soon Automatic Voter Registration.

Another question that has recently arisen is children of overseas citizens who have never resided in the United States. Right now, that is governed by state law, and those laws vary widely.

We should also look at the federal role in the election process - besides the EAC, we should look at the other federal entities involved with elections, including FVAP in the DOD, GAO, NIST in the Department of Commerce, and of course the role of DOJ's Civil Rights Voting Section and the Criminal Division's Public Integrity Section (responsible for prosecuting election crimes).

I hope this is helpful. I'm looking forward to participating and to meeting you in person!

Best regards,

Christy McCormick

From: Christy <[redacted]>
To: rjones60 <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Great Radio Opportunity
Date: Fri, Jul 21, 2017 5:11 pm

Hi Russ,

Next Thursday, July 27th, is good for me. If you would, please give me a head's up on time, so I can put Tony on my calendar. The best number for me is [redacted]. That's my cell and I have it with me all the time.

Best always,

Christy

-----Original Message-----
From: Russ Jones <[redacted]>
To: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
Cc: Ken Blackwell <[redacted]>
Sent: Thu, Jul 20, 2017 3:05 pm
Subject: Re: Great Radio Opportunity

Ken - thanks so much for the introduction.

Christy - it is nice to meet you. We have many moving parts today as Tony is doing the show from on the road.

Might you be available one day next week? Please let me know a good phone number for you.

Kindest Regards,
Russ

Russ Jones
Producer, Media Consultant
CELL: [redacted]
PERSONAL STUDIO: [redacted]

On Thu, Jul 20, 2017 at 11:02 AM, Christy McCormick <[redacted]> wrote:

> Thanks so much Ken. It was so nice to finally meet you and I very much appreciated hearing your wise words as we get this mission started.
>
> I'll be happy to talk to you Russ. I have a few meetings today, so please let me know when you would like to talk and I will try to work it into my schedule. Best number to contact me is my cell: [redacted]. Feel free to respond to this, my personal email address. I check it often.
>
> Best regards,
>
> Christy
>
> > On Jul 20, 2017, at 11:53 AM, Ken Blackwell <[redacted]> wrote:
> >
> > Hi Christy,
> >

> Great working with you yesterday!
>
> Russ produces Tony Perkins' Daily Radio.
>
> I recommended he contact you for today's show.
>
> Best,
>
> Ken
>
> [redacted]

From: Christy McCormick <[redacted]
To: Ken Blackwell <[redacted]>
Cc: Russ Jones <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Great Radio Opportunity
Date: Thu, Jul 20, 2017 12:02 pm

Thanks so much Ken. It was so nice to finally meet you and I very much appreciated hearing your wise words as we get this mission started.

I'll be happy to talk to you Russ. I have a few meetings today, so please let me know when you would like to talk and I will try to work it into my schedule. Best number to contact me is my cell: [redacted]. Feel free to respond to this, my personal email address. I check it often.

Best regards,

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> Best,
>
> Ken
>
> [redacted]

From: Agen, Jarrod P. EOP/OVP
To: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP; Lotter, Marc E. EOP/OVP
Cc: [redacted], Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Subject: RE: hans
Date: Friday, June 30, 2017 12:01:48 PM

Need to get Kris on Fox to respond to claim by Julie Roginsky.

MSNBC
http://mms.tveyes.com/MediaCenterPlayer.aspx?u=aHR0cDovL21lZGlhY2VudGVyLnR2ZXllcy5jb20vZG93bmxvYWRnYXRld2F5LmFzcHg%2FVXNlcklEPTU0ODk1NiZNRElEPTgzMjQyOTcmTURTZWVkPTIxOTEmVHlwZT1NZWRpYQ%3D%3D

FOX News
http://mms.tveyes.com/MediaCenterPlayer.aspx?u=aHR0cDovL21lZGlhY2VudGVyLnR2ZXllcy5jb20vZG93bmxvYWRnYXRld2F5LmFzcHg%2FVXNlcklEPTU0ODk1NiZNRElEPTgzMjQ5MjgmTURTZWVkPTc1ODcmVHlwZT1NZWRpYQ%3D%3D

-----Original Message-----
From: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP
Sent: Friday, June 30, 2017 11:51 AM
To: Lotter, Marc E. EOP/OVP <Marc.E.Lotter@ovp.eop.gov>; Agen, Jarrod P. EOP/OVP <Jarrod.P.Agen@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: [redacted] Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: hans

Hans is willing to do press and Kris would like him to. His number is 2[redacted]

MARK R. PAOLETTA
Counsel to the Vice President
202 456 2734 (work)
[redacted](cell)
Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
To: Ken Blackwell [redacted]; kkobach [redacted]; connie [redacted]; chipkate [redacted]; mattdunlap [redacted]; Christy McCormick [redacted]; david <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; luis.borunda <luis.borunda@maryland.gov>; mrhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>
Cc: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: RE: HOLD: Organizational Call - PCEI
Date: Tue, Jun 27, 2017 12:53 pm
Attachments: Organizational Conference Call 6.28.2017.docx (273K)

Attached is the agenda for tomorrow's call. Once we have the call-in information, I'll send an updated calendar invitation and attach this to that message as well, but we wanted you to have this in advance.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Associate Counsel
Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Ken Blackwell [mailto [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 27, 2017 11:24 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: [redacted]; Christy McCormick <[redacted]>; david@capitolpartnersar.com; luis.borunda@maryland.gov; mrhodes@woodcountywv.com; Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: HOLD: Organizational Call - PCEI

🤗Great. I'm a day early anyway!

> Call in details for
>
> On Mon, Jun 26, 2017 at 11:37 AM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

From: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: HOLD: Organizational Call - PCEI
Date: Tue, Jun 27, 2017 7:39 pm

Hi Andrew,

Thank you for the call instructions. I am only available on my [redacted] number, as I am in Tennessee for a conference until tomorrow evening. Hopefully the line quality for that number will be acceptable.

Thanks very much,
Christy

On Jun 27, 2017, at 6:34 PM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

> Instructions for call attendees:
>
> Beginning as early as 11:00am, Signal via the White House Communications Agency **will call you directly on the either of the numbers you provided below**. This process is done to ensure that all conferees are in the conference on time, and line quality is validated before adding the Vice President into the conference last at 11:30 am. If you have any difficulties connecting, please call: 202-757-6000.

	Commission Member	Primary Phone	Secondary Phone
1	Michael R. Pence	n/a	n/a
2	Kris Kobach	(c) [redacted]	(w) 785-296-4575
3	Connie Lawson	(c) [redacted]	(w) 317-232-6531
4	Bill Gardner	(c) [redacted]	(w) 603-271-2403
5	Matt Dunlap	(c) [redacted]	(w) 207-626-8401
6	Ken Blackwell	(c) [redacted]	(w) 513-221-6703
7	Christy McCormick	(c) [redacted]	(w) 301-563-3965
8	David Dunn	(c) [redacted]	n/a
9	Luis Borunda	(c) [redacted]	(w) 410-260-3868
10	Mark Rhodes	(c) [redacted]	(w) 304-424-1892

> <mime-attachment.ics>
>
> <Organizational Conference Call 6.28.2017.pdf>

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
To: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: HOLD: Organizational Call - PCEI
Date: Tue, Jun 27, 2017 7:50 pm

Thanks, Christy. We'll make it work! Talk to you tomorrow.

Best,
Andrew

On Jun 27, 2017, at 7:39 PM, Christy McCormick <[redacted]> wrote:

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> >
> > Beginning as early as 11:00am, Signal via the White House Communications Agency **will call you directly on the either of the numbers you provided below**. This process is done to ensure that all conferees are in the conference on time, and line quality is validated before adding the Vice President into the conference last at 11:30 am. If you have any difficulties connecting, please call: 202-757-6000.

	Commission Member	Primary Phone	Secondary Phone
1	Michael R. Pence	n/a	n/a
2	Kris Kobach	(c) [redacted]	(w) 785-296-4575
3	Connie Lawson	(c) [redacted]	(w) 317-232-6531
4	Bill Gardner	(c) [redacted]	(w) 603-271-2403
5	Matt Dunlap	(c) [redacted]	(w) 207-626-8401
6	Ken Blackwell	(c) [redacted]	(w) 513-221-6703
7	Christy McCormick	(c) [redacted]	(w) 301-563-3965
8	David Dunn	(c) [redacted]	n/a
9	Luis Borunda	(c) [redacted]	(w) 410-260-3868
10	Mark Rhodes	(c) [redacted]	(w) 304-424-1892

> <mime-attachment.ics>

<Organizational Conference Call 6.28.2017.pdf>

From: Ken Blackwell [redacted]
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: kkobach [redacted] connie [redacted] chipkate [redacted] [redacted]; Christy McCormick [redacted] david [redacted] luis.borunda <luis.borunda@maryland.gov>; mrhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: HOLD: Organizational Call - PCEI
Date: Tue, Jun 27, 2017 11:23 am

Great. I'm a day early anyway!

> Call in details for
>
> On Mon, Jun 26, 2017 at 11:37 AM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:
>
> |

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From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
To: Ken Blackwell <[redacted]>
Cc: kkobach <[redacted]>; connie <[redacted]>; chipkate [redacted]; mattdunlap [redacted] Christy McCormick <[redacted]>; david <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; luis.borunda <luis.borunda@maryland.gov>; mrhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: RE: HOLD: Organizational Call - PCEI
Date: Tue, Jun 27, 2017 11:20 am

Thanks for following up. We're booking a secure line and it's still in process. I'll send the information as soon as I have it.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Associate Counsel
Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Ken Blackwell [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 27, 2017 11:17 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: [redacted]; cmccormick@eac.gov; david@capitolpartnersar.com; luis.borunda@maryland.gov; mrhodes@woodcountywv.com; Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: HOLD: Organizational Call - PCEI

Call in details?

On Mon, Jun 26, 2017 at 11:37 AM, Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:

From: Chris Cleveland [redacted]
To: John Gore [redacted]
Cc: Christy <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Introduction
Date: Wed, Sep 6, 2017 7:48 pm

Thanks, John.

Christy, I can give you much more information on the inner workings of the Chicago Board of Elections. It's an extremely partisan organization that has been working on behalf of the Democrats for decades. They got sloppy in this most recent matter, and it was bad enough to draw public attention. But what isn't public is that their behavior is part of a larger pattern of giving an advantage to one party in ways both large and small.

We had to sue them in federal court last year to stop them from trying to install Democrats in internal Republican Party positions. (Hard to believe, but true.) We won, and the judge wasn't kind to them. But it's rare that we can get them into federal court when they step over the line. (Here's the case, if you're curious: http://cookcountyrecord.com/stories/511011314-judge-not-a-close-case-chicago-gop-has-right-to-exclude-dem-voters-from-committeeman-ranks)

I would like to bring some of the problems to the attention of the Commission. Tell me how best to proceed. I'd be happy to have a call with you, or to do a succinct write up on our experiences with them.

I believe a broader investigation into their practices is more than warranted.

Chris

On Wed, Sep 6, 2017 at 5:39 PM, John Gore [redacted] wrote:

> Chris:
>
> By this email, I introduce you to Christy McCormick. Christy is a member of the President's Commission on Election Integrity and, in her day job, Commissioner of the Election Assistance Commission.
>
> I have sent Christy your information on the Chicago issue, and she has passed it on to the staff of the Commission on Election Integrity. Feel free to reach out to Christy directly if you would like to provide her any more information or discuss the issue further.
>
> Best,
> John

--
Chris Cleveland
Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

From: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
To: Chris Cleveland [redacted]
Cc: John Gore [redacted]
Subject: Re: Introduction
Date: Wed, Sep 6, 2017 10:11 pm

Thank you John, and hello Chris!

Chris, as John mentioned, I have forwarded the information he sent to me on the Chicago issue to the Presidential Commission staff. I will follow up on that and find out what they are doing to investigate it.

I don't know the members of the Chicago Board of Elections, but I do know Lance Gough, the Executive Director. I also know David Orr and Noah Praetz from Cook County. Is Cook County also involved in this particular issue? It does not surprise me at all that they are working on behalf of Democrats.

A write-up of your experiences would be very helpful. I'd be happy to speak with you as well. Please send me a good phone number for you and some times it would be best to call. If you are willing, I could also ask the Presidential Commission's Director if we might add you to one of our meeting agendas as a witness. I think the entire Commission would benefit from hearing from you on what is going on in Chicago.

Thanks for fighting the good fight!

Best,
Christy

On Sep 6, 2017, at 7:48 PM, Chris Cleveland [redacted] wrote:

> Thanks, John.
>
> Christy, I can give you much more information on the inner workings of the Chicago Board of Elections. It's an extremely partisan organization that has been working on behalf of the Democrats for decades. They got sloppy in this most recent matter, and it was bad enough to draw public attention. But what isn't public is that their behavior is part of a larger pattern of giving an advantage to one party in ways both large and small.
>
> We had to sue them in federal court last year to stop them from trying to install Democrats in internal Republican Party positions. (Hard to believe, but true.) We won, and the judge wasn't kind to them. But it's rare that we can get them into federal court when they step over the line. (Here's the case, if you're curious: http://cookcountyrecord.com/stories/511011314-judge-not-a-close-case-chicago-gop-has-right-to-exclude-dem-voters-from-committeeman-ranks)
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>
> Best,
> John

--
Chris Cleveland
Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

From: Chris Cleveland [redacted]
To: Christy McCormick [redacted]>
Subject: Re: Introduction
Date: Mon, Sep 11, 2017 4:49 pm

Christy,

Sorry for the delay in replying.

Lance Gough and his crew are the problem. We haven't dealt much with David Orr / Noah Praetz's office, although I understand they've got their own issues.

I'm working on the writeup. It will be brief. We can add detail later.

I'm at [redacted] I'm available most days after 10 am CST and would be happy to chat. This is a good week; my schedule is pretty light.

And yes, I would love to testify before the commission.

Chris

On Wed, Sep 6, 2017 at 9:11 PM, Christy McCormick <[redacted]> wrote:

> Thank you John, and hello Chris!
>
> Chris, as John mentioned, I have forwarded the information he sent to me on the Chicago issue to the Presidential Commission staff. I will follow up on that and find out what they are doing to investigate it.
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> A write-up of your experiences would be very helpful. I'd be happy to speak with you as well. Please send me a good phone number for you and some times it would be best to call. If you are willing, I could also ask the Presidential Commission's Director if we might add you to one of our meeting agendas as a witness. I think the entire Commission would benefit from hearing from you on what is going on in Chicago.
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> Christy
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We had to sue them in federal court last year to stop them from trying to install Democrats in internal Republican Party positions. (Hard to believe, but true.) We won, and the judge wasn't kind to them. But it's rare that we can get them into federal court when they step over the line. (Here's the case, if you're curious: http://cookcountyrecord.com/stories/511011314-judge-not-a-close-case-chicago-gop-has-right-to-exclude-dem-voters-from-committeeman-ranks)

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I believe a broader investigation into their practices is more than warranted.

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>
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>
> Best,
> John

--
Chris Cleveland
Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

--
Chris Cleveland
Chairman, Chicago Republican Party
[redacted]

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>

To: 'Kris Kobach' <[redacted]>; cwlawson <cwlawson@sos.in.gov>; chipkate <[redacted]> mattdunlap[redacted] <[redacted]>; kennethblackwell[redacted] <[redacted]>; Christy McCormick <[redacted]>; david <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; Mark Rhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>; Christian Adams <adams@electionlawcenter.com>; Alan L. King <[redacted]>

Cc: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>

Subject: RE: letters from two states

Date: Tue, Jul 25, 2017 12:28 pm

Attachments: Reply Letter to PACEI.PDF (478K)

FYI – Please see the attached letter from Ohio SoS John Husted.

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Friday, July 21, 2017 4:18 PM
To: 'Kris Kobach' <[redacted]>; 'cwlawson@sos.in.gov' <cwlawson@sos.in.gov>; [redacted]; 'Christy McCormick' [redacted]; 'david@capitolpartnersar.com' <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; 'Mark Rhodes' <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; 'von Spakovsky, Hans' <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>; 'Christian Adams' <adams@electionlawcenter.com>; 'Alan L. King' <[redacted]>
Cc: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: letters from two states

Please see the two attached letters we recently received from the Colorado and Wyoming secretaries of state. These will be added to our webpage soon as well.

Hope everyone has a great weekend.

Thanks,
Andrew

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
To: 'Kris Kobach' <[redacted] cwlawson <cwlawson@sos.in.gov>; chipkate <[redacted]; mattdunlap[redacted] [redacted]>; kennethblackwell[redacted]; Christy McCormick [redacted] david <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; Mark Rhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>; Christian Adams <adams@electionlawcenter.com>; Alan L. King [redacted] matthew.dunlap <matthew.dunlap@maine.gov>; King, Alan <kinga@jccal.org>; David Dunn [redacted]>
Cc: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>; Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP <Ronald.E.Williams@ovp.eop.gov>; Passantino, Stefan C. EOP/WHO <Stefan.C.Passantino@who.eop.gov>; Gast, Scott F. EOP/WHO <Scott.F.Gast@who.eop.gov>
Subject: RE: Meeting Materials for September 12th
Date: Fri, Sep 8, 2017 6:20 pm

If anyone did not receive my email below due to the large file sizes, the meeting materials are now posted here: https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-advisory-commission-election-integrity-resources. Please check to confirm that any materials you plan to present or distribute at the meeting are posted here. If you have any questions, just let me know.

Thanks again,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

-----Original Message-----
From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Friday, September 8, 2017 2:15 PM
To: 'Kris Kobach' <[redacted]; 'cwlawson@sos.in.gov' <cwlawson@sos.in.gov>; [redacted] 'Christy McCormick' [redacted]; 'david@capitolpartnersar.com' <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; 'Mark Rhodes' <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; 'von Spakovsky, Hans' <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>; 'Christian Adams' <adams@electionlawcenter.com>; 'Alan L. King' <[redacted]; 'matthew.dunlap@maine.gov' <matthew.dunlap@maine.gov>; 'King, Alan' <kinga@jccal.org>; 'David Dunn' <[redacted]>
Cc: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>; Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP <Ronald.E.Williams@ovp.eop.gov>; Passantino, Stefan C. EOP/WHO <Stefan.C.Passantino@who.eop.gov>; Gast, Scott F. EOP/WHO <Scott.F.Gast@who.eop.gov>
Subject: Meeting Materials for September 12th

Members,

Attached are materials for next week's meeting. My apologies for the large file sizes.

We are in the process of posting these materials on our webpage for public viewing. I will let you know once they are available there.

Many thanks to all of you for your hard work and flexibility on the timeline for submitting these materials.

Thank you,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Kris Kobach
To: John Gizzi
Subject: Re: Please read over...want as lead in Newsmax tomorrow
Date: Tuesday, July 25, 2017 12:31:11 AM

---

2 changes...

I wouldn't say the commission will get the data from counties if states say no. That is yet to be determined.

It's over 30 states that have said they will cooperate not 30.

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 24, 2017, at 5:57 PM, John Gizzi <[redacted] wrote:

Reports of "Non-Cooperation" From States Is

"Fraud," Election Fraud Commission Vice-Chairman Tells Newsmax

By John Gizzi

"There is a great deal of fake news and lazy news being reported about the work of the bipartisan Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity," said its vice chairman, Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach, "and the truth is, we're proceeding along just fine."

In an exclusive interview with Newsmax last week, Kobach took after national reporters who have been, in his words, "mis-reporting what we are doing, just as we're getting started."

Kobach specifically pointed to widespread reports that more than 30 states were not "not complying with the commission" and "not making available" data on registered voters.

"That is flat-out wrong," he told us, adding that several reports said the Commission was turned down when it requested "personal information."

The Commission, according to Kobach, "never requested any 'personal information' but, rather, just the information on voters that is publicly available from every county in the U.S."

So far, he added, 30 states are cooperating with the Commission and "will provide the data we are requesting." Only fourteen have definitely said "no," according to Kobach, and this

will force the commission to get the voter data from individual counties.

Kobach pointed to Virginia, where Democratic Gov. Terry McAuliffe last month became the first governor in the nation to announce that he would not cooperate with the commission.

"Virginia conducts fair, honest, and democratic elections, and there is no evidence of significant voter fraud in Virginia," McAuliffe wrote in response to Kobach's request for voter information.

McAuliffe's response came about three weeks after Andrew Spieles, a James Madison University student, pled guilty to charges he submitted eighteen fraudulent voter registrations last year. Spieles, who worked for the Democratic Party-affiliated organization Harrisonburg Votes, was sentenced to 100- to-120 days in prison.

Kobach also noted that commission member and former Federal Elections Commission member Hans von Spakovsky spelled out 938 specific cases of non-existent voters since 2000.

Kobach himself presented to the commission his own record of prosecuting 128 cases of non-citizens voting in Kansas.

The commission is chaired by Vice President Mike Pence and has two full-time staffers working out of the vice president's office. Kobach expects that the commission will hold "two or three further hearings" and will have a final report "by next summer or early spring—assuming, of course, that the left-wing lawsuits that have been filed against us don't slow us down."

From: Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Subject: RE: Possible Components of Commission Report
Date: Wednesday, August 09, 2017 2:01:34 PM
Attachments: Possible Components of Commission Report_Ron"s comments.docx

---

Hi Andrew,

Attached are my comments/suggestions for the possible components of the commission report - which is also pretty rough. I moved a few things around and added a few others.

We can discuss when you have a chance.

Thanks,
Ron

-----Original Message-----
From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Wednesday, August 9, 2017 9:23 AM
To: Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP <Ronald.E.Williams@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Possible Components of Commission Report

This is pretty rough, but please take a look when you have a chance. I welcome your additions/suggestions/deletions/etc.

Possible Components of Commission Report

Executive Summary (VP)
Introduction

- Definition of election integrity; various examples of voter fraud
- Methodology
    - Use of anecdotal and statistical data
    - State voter registration data used
- Key recommendations

Part I: Purpose [or Mission] of the Commission

- Enhancing American people's confidence in the integrity of the voting process
- Identifying what undermines American's confidence in the integrity of the voting process
- Identifying vulnerabilities in voting systems

Part II: Laws, rules, policies, activities, strategies and practices the enhance the American people's confidence in the integrity of the voting process used in Federal Elections

- Pre-Election Day practices
    - Importance of civics; encouraging participation
    - Outreach to diverse electorate (i.e., minorities, elderly, military voters)
    - Anecdotal data/voter narratives (approx.. 3-4)
    - Statistical data (i.e., US Census data "Reasons for not Voting")
    - Best practices
- Election Day practices
    - Proof of eligibility
    - Voter photo ID
    - Provisional ballots and other mechanisms to ensure eligible voters have the ability to cast ballot
    - Statistical data (i.e., voter turnout and voter photo ID; comparison of states with voter ID vs states without voter ID)
    - Best practices
- Post-Election Day practices
    - Auditability of election results
    - Investigation and prosecution of election crimes and violations of election laws
    - Statistical data (i.e., number of investigations, prosecutions, and convictions by voter fraud type)
    - Best practices
- On-going practices by State Election Officials
    - Importance of maintaining accurate and updated voter registration lists
        - States that have productive list maintenance processes/state policies
    - Intra-State voter registration data sharing (i.e., use of DMV, jury data, tax information)
    - Inter-State voter registration data sharing (i.e., Crosscheck, ERIC)

- State-Federal partnerships to verify voter eligibility
- Public-Private partnerships (i.e., use of commercial databases to verify voter registration eligibility)
- Statistical data (i.e., states participating in data sharing programs; accuracy rate; outcomes)
- Best practices

Part III: Laws, rules, policies, activities, strategies and practices the undermine the American people's confidence in the integrity of the voting process used in Federal Elections

- States' reluctance to maintain accurate and updated voter registration lists
  - Litigation
  - Formatting challenges when comparing/utilizing multiple databases
- Improper voter registration practices
- Instances of fraudulent or improper voting (e.g., duplicate voting, non-citizen, in-person voter impersonation)
  - Recent case studies (approx.. 3-4)
- Instances of other election crimes (e.g., voter intimidation, vote buying, voter suppression)
  - Recent case studies (approx.. 3-4)
- Proliferation of personal information and effect on potential for improper or fraudulent voting
  - ID theft
  - Ability for fraudsters to identify voters who have moved, declined to vote in previous elections, etc.
- Best practices for achieving election integrity (e.g., coordination between election officials and DOJ/USAO/Public Integrity Section)

Part IV: Vulnerabilities in voting systems

- Election-related cybersecurity
  - Domestic and international cyber threats to state voter registration data
- Voting equipment and technology
  - Types of commonly used voting equipment; system vulnerabilities
  - Outdated voting equipment
  - Funding strategies for equipment upgrades
- Foreign interference
  - Hacking
  - Propaganda
- Best practices to safeguard against system vulnerabilities

Part V: Review of Federal Election laws

- NVRA
- HAVA

Part VI: Conclusion and Recommendations

Supplemental Information

- Glossary of terms
- Relevant maps, graphs, tables, and other illustrations
- Other resources
- References

From: Christy [redacted]>
To: Andrew.J.Kossack <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: Statistician
Date: Fri, Jul 21, 2017 5:07 pm
Attachments: EFT Enrollment Form. McCormick.pdf (81K)

Thanks Andrew. I hope Ben works out. I will not say anything to him and leave any discussion to you all.

If you don't mind forwarding the EFT form to GSA, I'd very much appreciate it. I've attached the completed form.

Thanks so much and I hope you have a good weekend!

Best,

Christy

-----Original Message-----
From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
To: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
Sent: Fri, Jul 21, 2017 4:21 pm
Subject: RE: Statistician

Thank you, Christy! I will reach out next week. Sounds like a great candidate.

I heard back from GSA on your EFT form. Unfortunately, you'll need to file a new form with GSA because it's a separate accounting system. Sorry for the inconvenience. I've attached the form to this message. Several folks faxed it to the number on the form directly, which seems to be easiest way to get it on file, but if you'd like to send it to me I'm happy to pass it along to GSA as well. Whatever's easiest for you.

Thanks!
Andrew

From: Christy McCormick [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, July 21, 2017 10:06 AM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Statistician

Hi Andrew,

The statistician's name is Benjamin Overholt and he can be reached at [redacted] He works in the Voting section in the Civil Rights Division. I don't have his email, but given the format of DOJ email addresses, my guess is: Benjamin.Overholt@usdoj.gov

Tom Wheeler is the Acting AAG for Civil Rights, but the front office person who would likely sign off on the detail is John Gore, Deputy Assistant Attorney General: John.Gore@usdoj.gov
Best way to get John is through Maureen Riordan, who works with him in the front office of the Civil Rights Division: Maureen.Riordan@usdoj.gov
Maureen's numbers are [redacted].

Best regards,
Christy

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
To: Christy McCormick <[redacted]>
Subject: RE: Statistician
Date: Fri, Jul 21, 2017 4:21 pm
Attachments: EFT_Enrollment_Form.pdf (727K)

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Thanks!
Andrew

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Sent: Friday, July 21, 2017 10:06 AM
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Hi Andrew,

The statistician's name is Benjamin Overholt and he can be reached at [redacted]. He works in the Voting section in the Civil Rights Division. I don't have his email, but given the format of DOJ email addresses, my guess is: Benjamin.Overholt@usdoj.gov

Tom Wheeler is the Acting AAG for Civil Rights, but the front office person who would likely sign off on the detail is John Gore, Deputy Assistant Attorney General: John.Gore@usdoj.gov
Best way to get John is through Maureen Riordan, who works with him in the front office of the Civil Rights Division: Maureen.Riordan@usdoj.gov
Maureen's numbers are [redacted].

Best regards,
Christy

From: Christy McCormick [redacted]
To: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>
Cc: Agen, Jarrod P. EOP/OVP <Jarrod.P.Agen@ovp.eop.gov>; Lotter, Marc E. EOP/OVP <Marc.E.Lotter@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: Suggested TPs
Date: Wed, May 10, 2017 8:47 pm

Thank you Mark. This is very helpful. I'm looking forward to working with you all.

Best regards,
Christy

> On May 10, 2017, at 7:55 PM, Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov> wrote:
>
> Hi Christy,
> Attached are some suggested talking points regarding the Election Integrity Commission. If you receive a call from a reporter, please refer the reporter to Jarrod Agen, the VP's Comms Director. His cell number is [redacted]. I am also cc'ing Marc Lotter, the VP's press secretary, and Matt Morgan.
> Thanks.
> Mark
>
> MARK R. PAOLETTA
> Counsel to the Vice President
> 202 456 2734 (work)
> [redacted](cell)
> Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov
>
>
> <Talking Points Election Commission.docx>

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
To: von Spakovsky, Hans
Subject: RE: Wednesday meeting
Date: Monday, July 17, 2017 12:09:36 PM
Attachments: EOP-Campus-Map.pdf

Great. They should come to the 17th and State St. entrance (Southwest Screening Facility). Map attached.

Andrew J. Kossack
Associate Counsel
Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: von Spakovsky, Hans [mailto:Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org]
Sent: Monday, July 17, 2017 12:06 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: RE: Wednesday meeting

Yes, just the public meeting. Which gate should they come to?

Hans von Spakovsky
Manager, Election Law Reform Initiative and Senior Legal Fellow
Institute for Constitutional Government
The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-608-6207
heritage.org

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [mailto:Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: Monday, July 17, 2017 12:01 PM
To: von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>
Subject: RE: Wednesday meeting

Thanks, Hans. Sounds good. Are you thinking they'd just attend the public meeting? If so, I'd tell them to arrive by around 9:45 or 10:00 to clear security and get into the room.

Andrew J. Kossack
Associate Counsel
Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: von Spakovsky, Hans [mailto:Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org]
Sent: Monday, July 17, 2017 11:46 AM

To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Wednesday meeting

Andrew,

Here are the three individuals from Heritage I would like to have attend the Wednesday meeting:

Jessica Kline
[redacted]
Arlington, VA 22204
DOB: [redacted]
SS#: [redacted]

Jason William Snead
[redacted]
Alexandria, VA 22304
DOB: [redacted]
SS#: [redacted]

Benjamin D. Janacek
[redacted]
Califon, NJ, 07830
DOB: [redacted]
SS# [redacted]

They have been working on our voter fraud database and will be bringing over the documents I am going to distribute to the members of the commission. What time should I tell them to be there?

Hans von Spakovsky
Manager, Election Law Reform Initiative and Senior Legal Fellow
Institute for Constitutional Government
The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-608-6207
heritage.org

From: Christian Adams
To: "Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP"
Subject: RE: Your voicemail
Date: Friday, July 28, 2017 2:37:00 PM

I can dig deeper if this doesn't pan out.

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [mailto:Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: Friday, July 28, 2017 2:35 PM
To: Christian Adams <a@electionlawcenter.com>
Subject: RE: Your voicemail

Thanks, Christian. Really appreciate this helpful response, especially in the midst of your trial prep. I'll work these leads and keep you updated.

Thanks again,
Andrew

From: Christian Adams [mailto:a@electionlawcenter.com]
Sent: Friday, July 28, 2017 1:32 PM
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Your voicemail

Andrew – I got your voicemail. I am in a federal trial in Miami this week and next. The statisticians I worked with at the Justice Department are problematic for a variety of reasons so I would caution against any details to the commission. I mostly use demographers in my current cases. My suggestion is to talk to Hans or Bridgett Wagner at Heritage because I presume they have someone their considering their size, who will know someone who is solid.

My next suggestion is to talk to Don Boudreaux at Mercatus: >https://www.mercatus.org/donald-j-boudreaux< Boudreaux certainly must have a line on someone who might be a solid statistician in the area. Don won't remember me even though our paths crossed 24 years ago when he was in South Carolina.

My last suggestion is to contact John Lopatka (Low-PAT-ka). He is a solid law professor at Penn State Law. He specializes in antitrust and must certainly use statistics in his law and economics work and must somehow travel in the world of sane academics on that score. He is a friend and you can certainly mention I suggested you call: [redacted] . [redacted]

From: Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP
To: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Subject: RE: Possible Components of Commission Report
Date: Wednesday, August 09, 2017 2:01:34 PM
Attachments: Possible Components of Commission Report_Ron"s comments.docx

---

Hi Andrew,

Attached are my comments/suggestions for the possible components of the commission report - which is also pretty rough. I moved a few things around and added a few others.

We can discuss when you have a chance.

Thanks,
Ron

-----Original Message-----
From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP
Sent: Wednesday, August 9, 2017 9:23 AM
To: Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP <Ronald.E.Williams@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: Possible Components of Commission Report

This is pretty rough, but please take a look when you have a chance. I welcome your additions/suggestions/deletions/etc.

Possible Components of Commission Report

Executive Summary (VP)
Introduction

- Definition of election integrity; various examples of voter fraud
- Methodology
    - Use of anecdotal and statistical data
    - State voter registration data used
- Key recommendations

Part I: Purpose [or Mission] of the Commission

- Enhancing American people's confidence in the integrity of the voting process
- Identifying what undermines American's confidence in the integrity of the voting process
- Identifying vulnerabilities in voting systems

Part II: Laws, rules, policies, activities, strategies and practices the enhance the American people's confidence in the integrity of the voting process used in Federal Elections

- Pre-Election Day practices
    - Importance of civics; encouraging participation
    - Outreach to diverse electorate (i.e., minorities, elderly, military voters)
    - Anecdotal data/voter narratives (approx.. 3-4)
    - Statistical data (i.e., US Census data "Reasons for not Voting")
    - Best practices
- Election Day practices
    - Proof of eligibility
    - Voter photo ID
    - Provisional ballots and other mechanisms to ensure eligible voters have the ability to cast ballot
    - Statistical data (i.e., voter turnout and voter photo ID; comparison of states with voter ID vs states without voter ID)
    - Best practices
- Post-Election Day practices
    - Auditability of election results
    - Investigation and prosecution of election crimes and violations of election laws
    - Statistical data (i.e., number of investigations, prosecutions, and convictions by voter fraud type)
    - Best practices
- On-going practices by State Election Officials
    - Importance of maintaining accurate and updated voter registration lists
        - States that have productive list maintenance processes/state policies
    - Intra-State voter registration data sharing (i.e., use of DMV, jury data, tax information)
    - Inter-State voter registration data sharing (i.e., Crosscheck, ERIC)

- State-Federal partnerships to verify voter eligibility
- Public-Private partnerships (i.e., use of commercial databases to verify voter registration eligibility)
- Statistical data (i.e., states participating in data sharing programs; accuracy rate; outcomes)
- Best practices

Part III: Laws, rules, policies, activities, strategies and practices the undermine the American people's confidence in the integrity of the voting process used in Federal Elections

- States' reluctance to maintain accurate and updated voter registration lists
  - Litigation
  - Formatting challenges when comparing/utilizing multiple databases
- Improper voter registration practices
- Instances of fraudulent or improper voting (e.g., duplicate voting, non-citizen, in-person voter impersonation)
  - Recent case studies (approx.. 3-4)
- Instances of other election crimes (e.g., voter intimidation, vote buying, voter suppression)
  - Recent case studies (approx.. 3-4)
- Proliferation of personal information and effect on potential for improper or fraudulent voting
  - ID theft
  - Ability for fraudsters to identify voters who have moved, declined to vote in previous elections, etc.
- Best practices for achieving election integrity (e.g., coordination between election officials and DOJ/USAO/Public Integrity Section)

Part IV: Vulnerabilities in voting systems

- Election-related cybersecurity
  - Domestic and international cyber threats to state voter registration data
- Voting equipment and technology
  - Types of commonly used voting equipment; system vulnerabilities
  - Outdated voting equipment
  - Funding strategies for equipment upgrades
- Foreign interference
  - Hacking
  - Propaganda
- Best practices to safeguard against system vulnerabilities

Part V: Review of Federal Election laws

- NVRA
- HAVA

Part VI: Conclusion and Recommendations

Supplemental Information

- Glossary of terms
- Relevant maps, graphs, tables, and other illustrations
- Other resources
- References

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 7/10/2017 2:04:06 PM
To: 'Kris Kobach' [redacted]; cwlawson@sos.in.gov; [redacted] Christy McCormick [redacted] david@capitolpartnersar.com; Mark Rhodes [mrhodes@woodcountywv.com]; von Spakovsky, Hans [Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org]
CC: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP [Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov]; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP [Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: recent email re: data request

Dear Members,

Please see the email below, which just went out to state election officials a few minutes ago. As you can see, in light of the recent litigation, we have asked states to hold off on submitting data at this time. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Associate Counsel
Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: FN-OVP-Election Integrity Staff
Sent: Monday, July 10, 2017 9:40 AM
Subject: Request to Hold on Submitting Any Data Until Judge Rules on TRO

Dear Election Official,

As you may know, the Electronic Privacy Information Center filed a complaint seeking a Temporary Restraining Order ("TRO") in connection with the June 28, 2017 letter sent by Vice Chair Kris Kobach requesting publicly-available voter data. See Electronic Privacy Information Center v. Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Until the Judge rules on the TRO, we request that you hold on submitting any data. We will follow up with you with further instructions once the Judge issues her ruling.

Andrew Kossack
Designated Federal Officer
Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
ElectionIntegrityStaff@ovp.eop.gov

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 7/10/2017 2:04:06 PM
To: 'Kris Kobach' [redacted]; cwlawson@sos.in.gov; [redacted] Christy McCormick [redacted] david@capitolpartnersar.com; Mark Rhodes [mrhodes@woodcountywv.com]; von Spakovsky, Hans [/O=THF/OU=THFDC/cn=Recipients/cn=spakoskyh]
CC: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP [Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov]; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP [Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov]
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Thanks,
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Office of the Vice President
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Andrew Kossack
Designated Federal Officer
Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
ElectionIntegrityStaff@ovp.eop.gov

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>
To: 'Kris Kobach' [redacted] cwlawson <cwlawson@sos.in.gov>; chipkate [redacted]; mattdunlap [redacted]; kennethblackwell [redacted]; Christy McCormick [redacted] david <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; Mark Rhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>
Cc: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>
Subject: recent email re: data request
Date: Mon, Jul 10, 2017 10:04 am

Dear Members,

Please see the email below, which just went out to state election officials a few minutes ago. As you can see, in light of the recent litigation, we have asked states to hold off on submitting data at this time. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Associate Counsel
Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: FN-OVP-Election Integrity Staff
Sent: Monday, July 10, 2017 9:40 AM
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Andrew Kossack
Designated Federal Officer
Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
ElectionIntegrityStaff@ovp.eop.gov

Message

From: White House Press Office [whitehouse-noreply@messages.whitehouse.gov]
Sent: 7/19/2017 5:01:03 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Remarks by President Trump and Vice President Pence at the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity Meeting

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release July 19, 2017

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT TRUMP AND VICE PRESIDENT PENCE AT THE PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON ELECTION INTEGRITY MEETING

Eisenhower Executive Office Building

11:28 A.M. EDT

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Well, good morning. Please be seated. On behalf of the First Family, welcome to the White House. And welcome to the inaugural meeting of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity.

Just over two months ago, on May the 11th, President Trump signed an executive order to create a commission to, in his words, help to "promote fair and honest federal elections" -- the foundation of our democracy.

Election integrity matters to every American. President Calvin Coolidge reminded us, in his words, that the "whole system of American government rests on the ballot box." And President Reagan declared that the "right to vote is the crown jewel of American liberties."

By establishing this commission, President Trump is taking action to ensure that the ballot box remains inviolate, and that the crown jewel shines brighter than ever before.

At the President's direction, I'll have the honor to serve as chairman of this commission. And it's a privilege to convene this first meeting today. President Trump knows that the integrity of our electoral system transcends party lines, and I'm grateful this commission has brought together a distinguished group of bipartisan election experts and public officials from federal, state, and the local level. And together, this bipartisan group will perform a truly non-partisan service to the American people.

I'd especially like to recognize our vice-chairman, who you'll hear more from after the President's remarks, a man whose long service has established him as a national leader on election integrity, Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach. I also, as a point of personal privilege, would like to express my thanks and appreciation to Indian's Secretary of State, Connie Lawson, who joins us as a part of this panel.

President Trump knows that the principle of "one person, one vote" is foundational to the American system of democracy. This commission has been charged to study the registration and voting processes used in federal elections. The commission will identify the laws, rules, policies, activities, strategies, and practices that will enhance the American people's confidence in the integrity of our electoral system. We'll also explore the vulnerabilities in our system that could lead to improper voter registration and even improper voting.

This commission, let me be clear -- this commission has no preconceived notions or preordained results. We're fact-finders. And in the days ahead, we will gather the relevant facts and data, and at the conclusion of our work, we will present the President with a report of our findings.

I'm confident this commission will have a healthy and robust debate, but the President and I expect nothing less, because respectful debate is also a hallmark of our democracy. And I know that we'll find many areas of common ground, as well.

I'm pleased to report that the commission has already started its work, requesting publicly available data, and we are grateful for the more than 30 states that have already indicated their intention to provide this information, pursuant to the laws of their states.

Today is just the first of several meetings that the commission will hold in the coming months. Today we will hear from each of the commission's members. Each of you brings a unique perspective based on your experience and your research, and we welcome your participation and your insights.

I'd like to note that our commission includes five current and former secretaries of state. And Secretary Kobach and I look forward to working with each one of you, as the chief election officers from across America, to foster a collaborative and respectful relationship for the benefit of your states' voters and our nation's electoral process.

And finally, as the Commission on Election Integrity begins its work, I'd like to personally invite the American people to offer their public comments and input on our work, and the challenges and opportunities that face our electoral system.

We want to hear the voice of the American voter -- because that's really what this is all about. You know, it's the greatest privilege of my life to serve as Vice President to a President who cares so deeply

about the integrity of America's elections and the right of each and every American to see the sanctity of their vote protected.

This President knows that the success of our democracy depends on the American people's confidence in this electoral system. And the President and I are both confident that this bipartisan commission will make the strongest democracy in the history of the world even stronger.

And so with gratitude for his commitment to fair and honest elections, it is my high honor and distinct privilege to introduce to all of you the 45th President of the United States of America, President Donald Trump.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Please, be seated. Mr. Vice President, distinguished guests, and members of the media: I'm honored to welcome you here today as the bipartisan Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity prepares to conduct its first official meeting. Very, very important.

This commission is tasked with the sacred duty of upholding the integrity of the ballot box and the principle of "one citizen, one vote." Every time voter fraud occurs, it cancels out the vote of a lawful citizen and undermines democracy. Can't let that happen. Any form of illegal or fraudulent voting, whether by non-citizens or the deceased, and any form of voter suppression or intimidation must be stopped.

I'm pleased that more than 30 states have already agreed to share the information with the commission and the other states. That information will be forthcoming. If any state does not want to share this information, one has to wonder what they're worried about. And I asked the Vice President, I asked the commission: What are they worried about? There's something. There always is.

This issue is very important to me because, throughout the campaign and even after it, people would come up to me and express their concerns about voter inconsistencies and irregularities, which they saw. In some cases, having to do with very large numbers of people in certain states. All public officials have a profound responsibility to protect the integrity of the vote. We have no choice. If we want to make America great again, we have to protect the integrity of the vote and our voters.

This is not a Democrat or a Republican issue, it's an American issue. It's about the concern of so many Americans that improper voting has taken place and canceling out the votes of lawful American citizens. That is why President Theodore Roosevelt once said, it is the affair of every honest voter, wherever born, to see that no fraudulent voting is allowed anywhere.

I want to thank Vice President Pence for chairing the commission. I also want to thank Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach for serving as vice-chair. It's going to be a lot of work. They're going to work very hard over a fairly short period of time. And I want to thank you both

very much -- Kris, Mike.

This is a bipartisan panel consisting of both Republican and Democratic leaders and experts on voter integrity. I'd like to personally thank each of our panel members for serving. Really do appreciate it.

In addition to the chair and vice-chair, this distinguished bipartisan panel includes: Indiana Secretary of State Connie Lawson -- thank you; New Hampshire Secretary of State, Bill Gardner -- thank you; Maine Secretary of State, Matthew Dunlap; former Ohio Secretary of State, Ken Blackwell; Election Assistance Commissioner, Christy McCormick; former Arkansas State Representative, David Dunn -- thank you, David; Wood County West Virginia Clerk, Mark Rhoades; Heritage Foundation Senior Legal Fellow and Manager of the Election Law Reform Initiative -- a real expert -- Hans von Spakovsky; President and General Counsel of the Public Interest Legal Foundation -- great group -- J. Christian Adams; and Jefferson County, Alabama Probate Judge, Alan King. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Each of you has been entrusted with a great responsibility of helping to advance the cause of fair, honest, and lawful elections. Your work will help protect our democracy. This will be a very transparent process. It's going to be very open for everybody to see. You will approach this important task with a very open mind and with no conclusions already drawn. You will fairly and objectively follow the facts wherever they may lead.

I look forward to the findings and recommendations your report will produce, and I share your report as soon as I can and as soon as possible with the American people so the full truth will be known and exposed, if necessary, in the light of day. We call on every state to give its full support and total cooperation in this effort. Most of them have really done brilliantly, and we appreciate it. And the rest, all of that information will be forthcoming.

Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President. Thank you. And, Kris, thank you. Panel, thank you very much. We appreciate it. Do a great job. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you. Thank you very much.

END 11:39 A.M. EDT

Unsubscribe

The White House · 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW · Washington DC 20500 · 202-456-1111

JON HUSTED
Ohio Secretary of State

180 East Broad Street, 16th Floor
Columbus, OH 43215
(877) 767-6446 | (614) 466-2655
info@OhioSecretaryofState.gov
www.OhioSecretaryofState.gov

July 24, 2017

Sent via electronic mail to:
ElectionIntegrityStaff@ovp.eop.gov

Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Members of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity,

I am providing the publicly available information requested in Commission Vice Chair Kris Kobach's June 28, 2017, letter sent on behalf of the Commission. We are unable to provide the last four digits of Social Security numbers and driver's license numbers, as they are not public information under Ohio law.[1]

The relevant portions of Ohio's voter file that are public records under state law are available at https://www6.sos.state.oh.us/ords/f?p=111:1 to the Commission, media, political parties, or any person.

I trust that in responding to the Commission, the information we are providing will assist you in sharing the facts about the system of elections that are carried out by each of the 50 states. It is my belief that should the other states cooperate, you will be able to provide a clear and honest assessment of our elections. When your work is completed, I believe that you will conclude as I have that voter fraud exists, it is rare and we should take reasonable measures to prevent it and hold violators accountable.

After each of the last three federal elections in Ohio, I instructed our state's bipartisan county boards of elections to review any credible accusations of election fraud or suppression.[2] No

[1] *See* R.C. 149. 43(A)(1)(dd); *see also* R.C. 149.45(A)(1).

[2] Further, Ohio has engaged in careful maintenance and modernization of its voter registration rolls. We have removed 568,000 deceased voters and resolved 1.67 million duplicates from the voter file; improved the accuracy of the statewide voter registration database (SWVRD) by increasing the number of records with complete information to 90%, up from 20% in 2011; contacted 1.5 million Ohioans who needed to update their voter registration and another 1.67 million who were eligible but unregistered to vote; advocated for and won legislative approval for online voter registration (launched January 1, 2017); created an online change of address system through which 470,000 Ohioans have updated their address; brought Ohio into compliance with NVRA's Section 5(d) for the first time; and reduced the rate of provisional voting and increased the percentage of provisional ballots counted in 2016 compared to 2012 and 2008.

allegations of suppression were reported by the bipartisan boards; the results of their review of credible allegations of fraud were as follows:

- 153 irregularities were identified following the 2016 election cycle,[3] from which 52 were referred for further investigation and prosecution, including 22 individuals identified through Crosscheck who voted in more than one state;

- 42 irregularities were identified following the 2014 election cycle,[4] from which 14 were referred for further investigation and prosecution, including 2 individuals identified through Crosscheck who voted in more than one state; and

- 625 irregularities were identified following the 2012 election cycle,[5] of which 270 were referred for further investigation and prosecution, including 20 individuals identified through Crosscheck who voted in more than one state.

In addition, my office has used what data-matching resources are available to us to identify non-citizens on Ohio's voter rolls. To date my office has identified 821 individuals on the voter rolls who were non-citizens, of whom 126 have cast ballots and have been referred for prosecution.[6]

Identifying and addressing any instance of voter fraud, no matter how limited, is important because every vote matters. Over the last four years, Ohio has had 112 elections decided by one vote or tied.[7] While none of these elections were impacted by the cases of voter fraud we have uncovered, it serves as an example why we as election officials must remain diligent in our efforts to preserve the integrity of our elections. The federal government can help states in this effort by ensuring we have access to adequate resources and support.

This leads me to my first recommendation for consideration by the Commission. The federal government maintains a database of legally present non-citizens. However, access to this resource is limited, and searching it is difficult unless the individual's Alien Identification Number is a part of the state records. Since the federal government issues Social Security numbers to non-citizens and requires states to register a voter using the last four digits of that person's Social Security number, the federal government should give states better and more efficient access to federal databases to enable them to verify eligibility. Otherwise there is no way to know if a person using this information to register to vote is a citizen or not. I testified on

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[3] https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2017/2017-05-19-a.aspx
[4] https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2015/2015-06-25.aspx
[5] https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2013/2013-05-23.aspx
[6] https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2017/2017-02-27.aspx. It should be noted that at least some of these individuals may have registered to vote as a result of the National Voter Registration Act's Section 5 requirement for the state registrar of motor vehicles to solicit voter registration from every driver license applicant, even if the registrar has information that the person would not otherwise be eligible to register to vote.
[7] https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2016/2016-12-16.aspx

this topic before the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittees on National Security & Healthcare, Benefits & Administrative Rules,[8] and brought this issue to the attention of the Obama Administration,[9] without reply.

My second recommendation for the Commission's consideration is the question of election security. While the Commission and other federal entities investigate concerns around elections-related cybersecurity, one thing the federal government can do immediately is provide adequate and ongoing funding for updated voting equipment. Outdated technology can be more vulnerable than modern, more sophisticated systems. More practically, current technology builds greater confidence. Most of the voting technology used in the country, as has been noted by others, was purchased before Apple launched its first-generation iPhone. Congress created new requirements for the voting systems used by states and only partially funded the purchase of voting systems that met those requirements in 2002. If Congress is not going to relax the functional requirements of those systems, it should continue to fund its mandate.

On behalf of the State of Ohio, I hope you will strongly consider our recommendations, which are the same recommendations we provided to the Presidential Commission on Election Administration under the Obama Administration.[10] I encourage you to use the opportunity this Commission presents to assist us in building a more secure system of elections that will build more trust and confidence among voters.

Sincerely,

Jon Husted

[8] https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2015/2015-02-12.aspx

[9] https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2015/2015-02-04.aspx and https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2015/2015-07-08.aspx

[10] https://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/mediaCenter/2013/2013-09-20a.aspx

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [/O=EXCHANGE ORGANIZATION/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=39FF6C312E514F0FAC9DD16139907782-KO]
Sent: 7/18/2017 3:52:54 PM
To: Kris Kobach [redacted]
CC: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP [/o=Exchange Organization/ou=Exchange Administrative Group (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/cn=Recipients/cn=8aba9b5542f6420a92cc812de2026bb8-Pa]; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP [/o=Exchange Organization/ou=Exchange Administrative Group (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/cn=Recipients/cn=4f932f0d4b284d1c8583feab97894024-Mo]
Subject: revised agenda; final by-laws
Attachments: draft PACEI By-Laws FINAL.DOCX; Revised Agenda - Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity ....docx

Kris,

Attached is an updated, clean copy of the draft by-laws. This is substantially similar to what you reviewed last night, with the exception of a few fixes for clarification, formatting, etc. We revised the Public Comment section (IV(J)) just to clarify how that interacts with the open meetings language in IV(E), so you might want to take a quick look at that.

Also attached is a revised agenda reflecting the deletion of the swearing in ceremony.

These are on final review here. Once they clear and if you're ok with these, we'll shoot them out to members ASAP. If there's anything else you'd like me to mention to members at this point, just let me know.

Thanks,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Associate Counsel
Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
By-Laws and Operating Procedures

The following By-Laws and Operating Procedures ("By-Laws") will govern the operations of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity ("Commission").

Section I: Purpose, Organization, and Operation

Pursuant to Executive Order 13799 of May 11, 2017, the Commission shall, consistent with applicable law, study the registration and voting processes used in Federal elections. The Commission shall be solely advisory and shall submit a report to the President that identifies those laws, rules, policies, activities, strategies, and practices that enhance the American people's confidence in the integrity of the voting processes used in Federal elections; those laws, rules, policies, activities, strategies, and practices that undermine the American people's confidence in the integrity of voting processes used in Federal elections; and those vulnerabilities in voting systems and practices used for Federal elections that could lead to improper voter registrations and improper voting, including fraudulent voter registrations and fraudulent voting. The Commission shall provide its advice and recommendations, analysis, and information directly to the President.

Section II: Authority

The Commission was established by Executive Order 13799 of May 11, 2017, and by the authority vested in the President of the United States by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America. The Commission has voluntarily agreed to operate in accordance with the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App.) ("FACA"). The Commission filed a charter on June 23, 2017, with the General Service Administration's Committee Management Secretariat.

Section III: Membership

(A) In General. The Commission shall be composed of the Vice President and not more than fifteen (15) additional members ("Members"). The Members shall be appointed by the President and shall represent a bipartisan set of perspectives and experience in elections, election management, election fraud detection, and voter integrity efforts, and may include any other individuals with knowledge or experience determined by the President to be of value to the Commission. The Members of the Commission may include both regular Government Employees and Special Government Employees.

(B) Chair and Vice Chair. The Vice President shall chair the Commission. The Vice President may select a Vice Chair from among those Members appointed by the President, who may perform the duties of the Chair if so directed by the Vice President.

(C) Commission Staff. The Vice President may select an Executive Director of the Commission and any additional staff he determines necessary to support the Commission.

(D) Designated Federal Officer. The Designated Federal Officer ("DFO") will be a full-time officer or employee of the Federal Government appointed by the GSA Administrator, pursuant to 41 CFR § 102-3.105 and in consultation with the Chair of the Commission. The DFO will approve or call all Commission meetings, prepare all meeting agendas, attend all meetings, and adjourn any meeting when the DFO determines adjournment to be in the public interest. Should the Chair designate any subcommittees, the DFO will similarly approve or call all subcommittee meetings,

prepare all subcommittee meeting agendas, attend all subcommittee meetings, and adjourn any subcommittee meeting when the DFO determines adjournment to be in the public interest. In the DFO's discretion, the DFO may utilize other Federal employees as support staff to assist the DFO in fulfilling these responsibilities.

Section IV: Meetings

(A) In General. The Commission shall meet as frequently as needed and called and approved by the DFO. The Chair will preside at all Commission meetings, unless the Chair directs the Vice Chair to perform the duties of the Chair. Members who cannot attend meetings in person may participate by means of conference telephone or similar communications equipment if all Members can hear one another at the same time and members of the public entitled to hear them can do so. A Member who participates by such means will be counted as present for purposes of a quorum, and the Member may participate in any votes and other business as if the Member were physically present at the meeting.

(B) Notice. A notice of each Commission meeting will be published in the Federal Register at least 15 calendar days before the meeting, except in exceptional circumstances. The notice will include (1) the name of the Commission; (2) the time, date, place, and purpose of the meeting; (3) a summary of the agenda, and/or topics to be discussed; (4) a statement as to whether all or part of the meeting is open to the public and, if any part is closed, a statement as to why, citing the specific exemption(s) of the Government in the Sunshine Act (5 U.S.C. § 552b(c)) ("GISA") as the basis for closure; and (5) the name and telephone number of the DFO or other official who may be contacted for additional information concerning the meeting.

(C) Agenda. The Chair or, at the Chair's direction, the Vice Chair, shall establish the agenda for all Commission meetings. The DFO will prepare and distribute the agenda to the Members before each meeting and will make available copies of the agenda to members of the public. Items for the agenda may be submitted to the Chair by any Member. Items may also be suggested by any member of the public.

(D) Quorum. Commission meetings will be held only when a quorum is present. For this purpose, a quorum is defined as a simple majority of the Members (including the Chair) then serving on the Commission.

(E) Open Meetings. Unless otherwise determined in advance, all Commission meetings will be open to the public either in person as space permits or through electronic means as permitted by FACA and its implementing regulations. Once an open meeting has begun, it will not be closed for any reason. However, if, during the course of an open meeting, matters inappropriate for public disclosure arise during discussion, the Chair shall order such discussion to cease and will schedule the matter for closed session in accordance with FACA. All materials brought before, or presented to, the Commission during the conduct of an open meeting will be made available to the public. All such materials will be made available on the Commission's webpage as soon as practicable.

(F) Activities Not Subject to Notice and Open Meeting Requirements. Consistent with 41 CFR §102-3.160, the following activities of the Commission are excluded from the procedural requirements contained in Sections IV(B) and (E):

i. Preparatory work. Meetings of two or more Commission Members or subcommittee Members convened solely to gather information, conduct research, or analyze relevant

issues and facts in preparation for a Commission meeting, or to draft position papers for deliberation by the Commission; and

ii. Administrative work. Meetings of two or more Commission Members or subcommittee Members convened solely to discuss administrative matters of the Commission or to receive administrative information from a Federal officer or agency.

(G) Closed Meetings. Meetings of the Commission will be closed only in limited circumstances and in accordance with applicable law. Where the DFO has determined in advance that a Commission meeting will disclose matters inappropriate for public disclosure, an advance notice of a closed meeting will be published in the Federal Register in accordance with GISA.

(H) Hearings. The Commission may hold hearings to receive testimony or oral comments, recommendations, and expressions of concern from the public. The Commission may hold hearings at open meetings or in closed session in accordance with the standards in these By-Laws for closing meetings to the public. The Chair may specify reasonable guidelines and procedures for conducting orderly hearings, such as requirements for submitting requests to testify and written testimony in advance and placing limitations on the number of persons who may testify and the duration of their testimony.

(I) Minutes. The DFO will prepare minutes of each meeting, distribute copies to each Member, and ensure that the Chair certifies the accuracy of all minutes within 90 calendar days of the meeting to which they relate. Minutes of open or closed meetings will be available to the public, subject to the withholding of matters which are exempt from disclosure under applicable law. The minutes will include: (1) the time, date, and place of the Commission meeting; (2) a list of the persons who were present at the place of the meeting; (3) an accurate description of each matter discussed and the resolution, if any, made by the Commission regarding such matter; and (4) a copy of each report or other document received, issued, or approved by the Commission at the meeting.

(J) Public Comment. Subject to Section IV(E), members of the public may, at the determination of the Chair, offer oral comment at any meeting open to the public. The Chair may decide in advance to exclude oral public comment during a meeting, in which case the meeting announcement published in the Federal Register will note that oral comment from the public is excluded and will invite written comment as an alternative. Members of the public may submit written statements to the Commission at any time.

Section V: Voting

(A) In General. When a decision or recommendation of the Commission is required, the Chair shall request or accept a motion for a vote. Any Member, including the Chair, may make a motion for a vote. No second after a proper motion will be required to bring any issue or recommendation to a vote. A quorum must be present when a vote is taken.

(B) Voting Eligibility. Only the Members, including the Chair, may vote on a motion.

(C) Voting Procedures. Votes will ordinarily be taken and tabulated by a show of hands or by voice vote.

Section VI: Subcommittees

The Chair of the Commission, in consultation with the DFO, is authorized to create subcommittees as necessary to support the Commission's work. Subcommittees may not incur costs or expenses without prior written approval of the Chair or the Chair's designee and the DFO. Subcommittees must report directly to the Commission, and must not provide advice or work products directly to the President or any other official or agency.

Section VII: Administrative Support and Funding

Pursuant to Executive Order 13799, to the extent permitted by law, and subject to the availability of appropriations, the General Services Administration shall provide the Commission with such administrative services, funds, facilities, staff, equipment, and other support services as may be necessary to carry out its mission, to the extent permitted by law and on a reimbursable basis. However, the President's designee will be responsible for fulfilling the requirements of subsection 6(b) of the FACA.

Section VIII: Records

The records of the Commission and its subcommittees shall be handled in accordance with the Presidential Records Act of 1978 and FACA.

Section IX: Termination

The Commission shall terminate no more than two (2) years from the date of the Executive Order establishing the Commission, unless extended by the President, or thirty (30) days after it presents its final report to the President, whichever occurs first.

Section X: Amendment of By-Laws

Amendments to the By-Laws must conform to the requirements of the Executive Order, charter establishing the Commission, and FACA, and be agreed to by two-thirds of the Members. The DFO must ensure that all Members receive a copy of the proposed amendment before any vote is taken on it.

[EMBED Acrobat.Document.11]

Initial Meeting of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

July 19, 2017
11:00 a.m. ET
Eisenhower Executive Office Building, Room 350

Agenda (Revised July 18, 2017)

1. Welcome Remarks – Chairman, Vice President Mike Pence

2. Commissioners' Introductions – All Members (approximately 45 minutes)

3. Short Break

4. Discussion – All Members, led by Vice Chairman, Secretary Kris Kobach (approximately one hour)

    - The Mission, per Executive Order 13799
    - By-Laws and Operating Procedures
    - Possible Topics for Commission to Address
    - Future Meetings

5. Adjourn

Note: Due to time limitations, commission members will be sworn in prior to the commencement of the meeting.

Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity

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July 19, 2017
11:00 a.m. ET
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    - The Mission, per Executive Order 13799
    - By-Laws and Operating Procedures
    - Possible Topics for Commission to Address
    - Future Meetings

5. Adjourn

Note: Due to time limitations, commission members will be sworn in prior to the commencement of the meeting.

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 8/30/2017 2:20:56 AM
To: Kris Kobach [redacted]
CC: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP [Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: revised letter
Attachments: draft Kobach letter re meeting material deadline.docx

Kris,

Thanks again for your review. Attached is a revised version. Please let us know if this works. Just want to make sure you're comfortable.

Thanks,
Andrew

[EMBED Acrobat.Document.11]

August 30, 2017

Dear Fellow Commissioners,

I look forward to seeing you on September 12th in New Hampshire. My thanks again to Secretary Gardner for hosting us.

I wanted to contact you with a request regarding any written materials for the September 12th meeting. We want to ensure we operate with the highest level of transparency and in a way that allows the public to be fully informed of our Commission's work.

To that end, if you intend to share written materials with the other Commission members at the meeting, I ask that you please submit such materials to the Commission staff no later than 10 a.m. Eastern Time on Monday, September 11th. Materials that are not received by this time, or that staff is unable to post to the website by Monday, September 11th at 7:00 p.m. due to technical or other issues, will not be used at the September 12th meeting, so I encourage you to submit your materials by Friday, September 8th, if possible. We also will ask presenters for the meeting to meet these same deadlines for their materials they intend to share with the Commission.

This approach is intended to ensure a transparent meeting on September 12th. Consistent with that goal, the Commission has represented in ongoing litigation that materials that you intend to share with your fellow Commission members will be shared with the public in advance of meetings, where possible. I do not want to undermine our Commission's discussion or limit the free flow of information, and I understand unexpected issues could arise and members could desire to introduce other documents at the meeting. I would ask that other documents be shared at the meeting only under extraordinary circumstances that could not have been foreseen with sufficient time to send them to Commission staff by the deadline. Should this occur, however, please coordinate with Commission staff to ensure that sufficient copies are available to distribute to meeting participants and the public.

I look forward to a great meeting on September 12th.

Sincerely,

Kris W. Kobach
Vice Chair

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 8/24/2017 5:02:51 PM
To: 'Kris Kobach [redacted]; cwlawson@sos.in.gov; [redacted] Christy McCormick [redacted] david@capitolpartnersar.com; Mark Rhodes [mrhodes@woodcountywv.com]; von Spakovsky, Hans [Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org]; Christian Adams [adams@electionlawcenter.com]; Alan L. King [redacted] matthew.dunlap@maine.gov
CC: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP [Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov]; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP [Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov]; Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP [Ronald.E.Williams@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: September Meeting - 9/12 in Manchester, New Hampshire

Dear Members,

Thank you for holding September 12th for our next meeting, and for your patience as we worked through some logistical details. I am excited to share that Secretary Gardner has kindly offered to host the Commission in New Hampshire at the New Hampshire Institute of Politics at St. Anselm College. The meeting will begin at 10:00 a.m. Eastern on Tuesday, September 12th, and we expect to finish no later than 4:00 p.m.

Please feel free to proceed with making your travel arrangements. As a reminder, here are the instructions for booking travel through GSA's travel services:

Booking Travel to New Hampshire Instructions
Members or their support staff who have established traveler accounts with GSA can call the travel agent directly to book their travel.

ADTRAV (GSA travel agent): 877-472-6716, available 24/7

Key Information when calling the travel agent:

- ADTRAV will recognize members by first and last name and agency--which is the General Services Administration (GSA) for the purposes of this travel.
- Have a personal credit card available--hotel will be booked using a personal card. Members can choose their hotel and will be reimbursed up to the maximum per diem rate for Manchester, NH ($108/night) (keep hotel receipts)
- The committee has budgeted for travel for up to 3 days per member between 9/11 and 9/13. Arrangements should be made within those parameters.
- Members (or their staff) should tell the agent the traveler's date of birth if making airline reservations. This is a requirement in order for tickets to be issued.

Travelers will need to follow federal regulations governing travel. Key points:

- Hotel: Max lodging per diem rate reimbursed for Manchester, NH in September: $108 (keep hotel receipts--reimbursed up to $108. Lodging taxes will be reimbursed separately as well.) The travel agent can help members find rooms at or below per diem.
- Airfare: Must use coach class and the contract carrier fare (booked by travel agent)
  - Exceptions to contract fare must be documented/justified--e.g., Timing of contract fare flights do not allow traveler to meet mission or non-contract fare is less expensive
- Meals & Incidental Expenses (MI&E): reimbursed $64 per day for Manchester; $48 on first & last day of travel (no receipts needed, reimbursed $64 for full day and $48 for first and last day of travel)
- Rental cars: Receipt required for all expenses
- Taxis/metro: reimbursed for official business related to the committee--e.g., to/from airport, to/from committee meetings (keep receipts)
- Other (i.e. airline baggage fees): Reimbursed (keep receipts)

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If members or their staff have questions regarding the above that the travel agent can't answer, please don't hesitate to have the members' staff reach out to Valerie Whittington or Kris Palmer.

valerie.whittington@gsa.gov - 202-501-3395
kris.palmer@gsa.gov - 202-501-0525

We will share more information about the meeting and agenda soon. If you have any questions in the meantime, please let me know.

Thank you,
Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

Message

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP [Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov]
Sent: 8/24/2017 5:02:50 PM
To: 'Kris Kobach' [redacted]; cwlawson@sos.in.gov; [redacted]; Christy McCormick [redacted] david@capitolpartnersar.com; Mark Rhodes [mrhodes@woodcountywv.com]; von Spakovsky, Hans [Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org]; Christian Adams [adams@electionlawcenter.com]; Alan L. King [redacted]; matthew.dunlap@maine.gov
CC: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP [Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov]; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP [Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov]; Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP [Ronald.E.Williams@ovp.eop.gov]
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Andrew

Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

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To: 'Kris Kobach' [redacted]; cwlawson@sos.in.gov; [redacted] Christy McCormick [redacted]; david@capitolpartnersar.com; Mark Rhodes [mrhodes@woodcountywv.com]; von Spakovsky, Hans [/O=THF/OU=THFDC/cn=Recipients/cn=spakoskyh]; Christian Adams [adams@electionlawcenter.com]; Alan L. King [redacted]; matthew.dunlap@maine.gov
CC: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP [Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov]; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP [Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov]; Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP [Ronald.E.Williams@ovp.eop.gov]
Subject: September Meeting - 9/12 in Manchester, New Hampshire

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Andrew J. Kossack
Executive Director, Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
Associate Counsel, Office of the Vice President
Cell: [redacted]
Email: Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov

From: Kossack, Andrew J. EOP/OVP <Andrew.J.Kossack@ovp.eop.gov>

To: 'Kris Kobach' [redacted] cwlawson <cwlawson@sos.in.gov>; chipkate <[redacted] mattdunlap[redacted] kennethblackwell[redacted] [redacted]; Christy McCormick [redacted]; david <david@capitolpartnersar.com>; Mark Rhodes <mrhodes@woodcountywv.com>; von Spakovsky, Hans <Hans.VonSpakovsky@heritage.org>; Christian Adams <adams@electionlawcenter.com>; Alan L. King [redacted]; matthew.dunlap <matthew.dunlap@maine.gov>

Cc: Paoletta, Mark R. EOP/OVP <Mark.R.Paoletta@ovp.eop.gov>; Morgan, Matthew E. EOP/OVP <Matthew.E.Morgan@ovp.eop.gov>; Williams, Ronald E. EOP/OVP <Ronald.E.Williams@ovp.eop.gov>

Subject: September Meeting - 9/12 in Manchester, New Hampshire

Date: Thu, Aug 24, 2017 1:03 pm

Dear Members,

Thank you for holding September 12th for our next meeting, and for your patience as we worked through some logistical details. I am excited to share that Secretary Gardner has kindly offered to host the Commission in New Hampshire at the New Hampshire Institute of Politics at St. Anselm College. The meeting will begin at 10:00 a.m. Eastern on Tuesday, September 12th, and we expect to finish no later than 4:00 p.m.

Please feel free to proceed with making your travel arrangements. As a reminder, here are the instructions for booking travel through GSA's travel services:

Booking Travel to New Hampshire Instructions
Members or their support staff who have established traveler accounts with GSA can call the travel agent directly to book their travel.

ADTRAV (GSA travel agent): 877-472-6716, available 24/7

Key Information when calling the travel agent:

- ADTRAV will recognize members by first and last name and agency--which is the General Services Administration (GSA) for the purposes of this travel.
- Have a personal credit card available--hotel will be booked using a personal card. Members can choose their hotel and will be reimbursed up to the maximum per diem rate for Manchester, NH ($108/night) (keep hotel receipts)
- The committee has budgeted for travel for up to 3 days per member between 9/11 and 9/13. Arrangements should be made within those parameters.
- Members (or their staff) should tell the agent the traveler's date of birth if making airline reservations. This is a requirement in order for tickets to be issued.

Travelers will need to follow federal regulations governing travel. Key points:

- Hotel: Max lodging per diem rate reimbursed for Manchester, NH in September: $108 (keep hotel receipts--reimbursed up to $108. Lodging taxes will be reimbursed separately as well.) The travel agent can help members find rooms at or below per diem.
- Airfare: Must use coach class and the contract carrier fare (booked by travel agent)
  - Exceptions to contract fare must be documented/justified--e.g., Timing of contract fare flights do not allow traveler to meet mission or non-contract fare is less expensive
- Meals & Incidental Expenses (MI&E): reimbursed $64 per day for Manchester; $48 on first & last day of travel (no receipts needed, reimbursed $64 for full day and $48 for first and last day of travel)
- Rental cars: Receipt required for all expenses
- Taxis/metro: reimbursed for official business related to the committee--e.g., to/from airport, to/from committee meetings (keep receipts)

- Other (i.e. airline baggage fees): Reimbursed (keep receipts)

Airfare will be booked through the travel agent and paid directly by GSA. All other approved travel expenses (hotel; MI&E; taxis) will be paid for using the member's personal card and will subsequently be reimbursed. Details on reimbursement process will be provided upon completion of the travel.

If members or their staff have questions regarding the above that the travel agent can't answer, please don't hesitate to have the members' staff reach out to Valerie Whittington or Kris Palmer.

valerie.whittington@gsa.gov - 202-501-3395
kris.palmer@gsa.gov - 202-501-0525

We will share more information about the meeting and agenda soon. If you have any questions in the meantime, please let me know.

Thank you,
Andrew

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